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**SEARCHING FOR HOME AND BELONGING: A QUALITATIVE
STUDY TO UNDERSTAND THE “EMOTIONAL CITIZENSHIP” OF
DIASPORA MEMBERS RETURNING TO BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA**

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**Searching for home and belonging: A qualitative study to understand the
“emotional citizenship” of diaspora members returning to Bosnia and
Herzegovina**

Yuva ve aidiyet arayışında: Bosna Hersek’e geri dönen diaspora üyelerinin “vatandaşlık kavramının duygusal boyutunu” irdeleme amaçlı bir nitel çalışma

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Abstract

Searching for home and belonging: A qualitative study to understand the “emotional citizenship” of diaspora members returning to Bosnia and Herzegovina

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This Ph.D. thesis examines the case of voluntary return migration to a post-conflict society, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the returnee, given a viable alternative of livelihood and a well-integrated social presence abroad, freely chooses to go back. My first claim that the motivation for this type of return is primarily *emotional* and, although the much researched (Brown, 2014) emotion of “patriotic love” is certainly part of the returnees’ emotional landscape, other emotions play an equal, and in some cases more important, role. Secondly, due to the emotionally motivated return, the returnees, many of whom are also dual citizens, possess a uniquely significant perspective on the theoretical concepts relevant to this thesis. The unifying conceptual framework of the study is *citizenship*, also seen as a “prism through which to address the political” (Nyers, 2007, p. 3), and more specifically its *emotional dimension*, which scholars have so far conceptualized through *home* and *belonging*. This perspective on citizenship builds on the foundations set by George Marcus, inspired by David Hume, who presents a treatise of the connection between citizenship and emotions, radically asserting that, contrary to the conventional view in political theory, emotions enable rationality and good citizenship, mainly because they foster democratic action. The emotional dimension of citizenship has been further theorized by geography scholars, such as Elaine Lynn-Ee Ho and Lucy Jackson, both of whom employ the concepts of *home* and *belonging* as instrumental to our understanding of citizenship. Although these concepts have been developed with contributions from feminist scholars, geographers, social psychologists and anthropologists, a

thorough analysis of the theoretical connections between citizenship and emotions is still in its initial stages. Also, an analysis of the actual, specific and distinct emotions comprising home, belonging and the emotional dimension of citizenship, is gravely missing. Based on a qualitative study of 35 in-depth interviews conducted with members of the Bosnia and Herzegovinian diaspora/transmigrants, who have voluntarily decided to return and settle in BiH, I argue that, in the case of a post-conflict society, the emotional dimension of citizenship is *not* conceptualized as home and belonging, primarily due to the lack of security/safety provided by the state to its citizens and the inherent challenges of developing sustainable civic belonging.

Keywords: emotional citizenship, home, belonging, return migration, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Özet

Yuva ve aidiyet arayışında: Bosna Hersek’e geri dönen diaspora üyelerinin “vatandaşlık kavramının duygusal boyutunu” irdeleme amaçlı bir nitel çalışma

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Bu doktora tezi, Bosna- Hersek gibi çatışma sonrası bir topluma gönüllü geri göç olgusunu inceler. Bu çalışma örneğinde, geri göç eden kişi, yurtdışında sürdürülebilir bir geçinme alternatifine sahiptir ve oradaki topluma da iyi entegre olmuştur, fakat kendi özgür iradesi ile geri dönmeyi seçer. Benim ilk iddiam, bu tür bir geri göçte temel motivasyonun duygusal olduğu yönündedir. Literatürde önemli bir yeri olan “vatan sevgisi” duygusu (Brown, 2014) şüphesiz geri göç edenlerin duygusal çerçevesinde önemli bir yer teşkil ederken, diğer duyguların da bir o kadar, hatta bazı durumlarda daha da önemli bir yeri vardır. İkinci olarak, duygusal nedenlerle geri dönenler, ki pek çoğu aynı zamanda çift vatandaşdır, bu tez ile ilgili teorik kavramlar üzerinde eşsiz bir önem arz eden bir perspektif sunmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın bütünleştirici kavramsal çerçevesi, “siyasi olanı yansıtan prizma”(Nyers, 2007, s.3) olarak da tanımlanan, akademisyenlerin *yuva* ve *aidiyet* aracılığı ile kavramsallaştırdığı *vatandaşlık* kavramı, ve özellikle de vatandaşlığın *duygusal boyutudur*. Bu bakış açısıyla vatandaşlık, David Hume’dan esinlenen George Marcus tarafından belirlenen temeller üzerine kurulmuştur. Vatandaşlık ve duygular arasında bağ olduğunu öne süren tezi ile David Hume, siyaset teorisindeki geleneksel görüşün aksine, insanları demokratik eyleme teşvik ettiği için, rasyonelliği ve iyi vatandaşlığı duyguların mümkün kıldığını öne sürmüştür. Vatandaşlığın duygusal boyutu Elaine Lynn-Ee Ho ve Lucy Jackson gibi coğrafya akademisyenleri tarafından da kuramlaştırılmıştır. Her ikisi de *yuva* ve *aidiyet* kavramlarını kullanarak bunların vatandaşlık kavramını anlamamızda önem arz ettiğini savunurlar. Her ne kadar bu kavramlar feminist akademisyenler, coğrafyacılar, sosyal psikologlar ve antropologların katkılarıyla geliştirilmişse de, vatandaşlık ve duygular arasındaki kuramsal bağların esaslı bir incelemesi henüz

başlangıç düzeyindedir. Ayrıca, literatürde, *yuva*, *aidiyet* ve *vatandaşlığın duygusal boyutunu* kapsayan asli, özgül ve farklı duyguların incelenmesi hususunda ciddi bir eksiklik vardır. Memleketlerine kendi iradeleri ile geri dönüp yerleşen Bosna-Hersek diaspora/göçmenlerinden 35 kişiyi içeren derinlemesine mülakatlara dayanan nitel çalışmama dayanarak, ben, çatışma sonrası bir toplumda, öncelikle devletin vatandaşlarına sağladığı güvenlik/korumanın eksikliğinden ve sürüdürülebilir bir yurttaşlık aidiyeti geliştirilmesine içkin zorluklar sebebiyle, vatandaşlığın duygusal boyutunun, *yuva* ve *aidiyet* olarak kavramsallaştırılmadığını savunuyorum..

Anahtar kelimeler: vatandaşlık kavramının duygusal boyutunu, yuva, aidiyet, geri göç, Bosna-Hersek



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The participants in my study have entrusted with me their life stories and have continuously inspired me with their courage, determination and resilience. I feel humbled by your experiences and deeply thankful for your willingness to share them so generously with me. Needless to say, your voices give meaning to my work. I thank you and wish you continued success with your return to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Above all, I am thankful to my mother, Nermina and my sister, Amila, whose love has given me a sense of purpose. To these two, I dedicate my thesis. Finally, an enormous thank you goes to my loyal feline companion – depending on linguistic circumstances alternatively referred to as Džidži, Cici or Gigi.

List of Abbreviations

BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
RS	Republika Srpska/Republic of Srpska
B-C-S	Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (the languages of BiH)
DPA	Dayton Peace Agreement
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
PLIP	Property Law Implementation Plan
GFC	Global Financial Crisis
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ARBiH	Armija Bosne i Hercegovine (BiH Army)
VRS	Vojska Republike Srpske (Republika Srpska Army)
HV	Hrvatska vojska (Croatian Army)
HVO	Hrvatsko vijeće obrane (Croatian Defense Council)
ZAVNOBiH	Zemaljsko antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja BiH (State Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of BiH)
DP	Displaced person
PTSD	Post-traumatic stress disorder
SDA	Stranka demokratske akcije (Party of Democratic Action)
HDZ	Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (Croatian Democratic Union)
NDH	Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (Independent State of Croatia)
JNA	Jugoslovenska narodna armija (Serbian Democratic Party)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OHR	Office of the High Representative

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Introduction

“Where we love is home – home that our feet may leave, but not our hearts.”
– Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr.

The quote by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., the U.S. writer and poet, lays prominently displayed on the website of RESTART, a company based in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, “aims to serve entrepreneurs, business-oriented individuals, and municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina in need of better international networks, information bases, as well as direct and indirect investment.” Restart is a social business to connect diaspora organizations and foreign companies with investment opportunities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). They serve as facilitators for diaspora entrepreneurs to return to the home country; set up their businesses and invest in its economy. The juxtaposition of the “love for home” and a business enterprise might be confusing at first, yet, when confronted with the reality of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the mere confusion turns into a true puzzle.

Collyer (2013) ranks Bosnia and Herzegovina to be the third country with the highest emigrant population relative to total population, meaning that 40.4% of its citizens live as emigrants abroad. The Occupied Palestinian Territory tops the list with 137.2%, followed by Albania with 44.6% of its nationals living outside of its borders. According to more recent, UNDP estimates, close to two million citizens originating from BiH, or approximately one half of the prewar population, currently lives and works abroad. The newer estimates place Bosnia and Herzegovina at the top of the list of net emigration countries (relative to total population) in Europe. The forced migration during the 1990s wars in the former Yugoslavia, together with largely failed policies of sustainable refugee return, are largely responsible for the widely spread BiH diaspora. However, the population movements of the tragic 1990s are not the only culprit. Even after twenty two years of peace and a “failed success” (Bieber, 2015), people of all ethnic backgrounds: Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks and Others are leaving this small European

country in droves to find employment and opportunity elsewhere. The consistently high emigration rate coupled with a decreasing birth rate and an increasing mortality rate lead observers to predict that the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina will shrink considerably by 2030 and age to make it the 10th oldest country in the world (Euromonitor International, 2013). A politically dysfunctional state structure embedded in a Constitution which was set up to end a war and not to build the foundations for a lasting and prosperous peace; a society deeply divided along ethnoreligious fault lines; years of lagging economic growth with high unemployment rates and the world's highest youth unemployment rate of 67.6% (World Bank, 2016); as well as widespread corruption and nepotism have been some of the main contributing factors to the startling numbers of BiH citizens leaving the country.

Within the general trend of alarming emigration rates, a small number of people are deciding to do exactly the opposite. They are leaving the relatively secure lives they managed to establish for themselves abroad, mainly in developed countries of the West, to return and settle in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The people returning to BiH are members of the diaspora which was created with forced migration resulting from the collapse of Yugoslavia, but also descendants of previous labor migration waves from the former Yugoslavia. They have lived in various countries, established lives and careers abroad, gained citizenship of the host country and are now returning to try to make a life for themselves in the country of their original citizenship. What puzzles is the obvious contradiction. Why would people with apparent alternatives for livelihood be coming back to a country from which so many people seem to be desperately running away? What motivation drives their seemingly irrational move from stable Western democracies such as Sweden, Norway, United States or Switzerland to a country still recovering from the aftermath of a devastating war? When they do return to Bosnia and Herzegovina, what happens to them there? How well do they integrate?

To answer some of the questions above, in May 2016, Al Jazeera Balkans broadcasted a documentary series entitled “I want to go home” (*Hoću Kući*) featuring the stories of some forty individuals who have built careers and established themselves as artists, entrepreneurs, scientists, academics or different kinds of professionals in developed countries and decided to return to countries of ex-Yugoslavia, from Slovenia, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina to Kosovo and Macedonia. The documentary series consisted of interviews with the returnees to discuss a variety of issues pertaining to their return with snapshots from their newly established lives in the Balkans. Almost each participant in the documentary, while acknowledging the benefits of greater career opportunities, economic advantages, democratic freedoms and political stability of living in the West, emphasized how they *feel* better in their original Balkan country; how they belong there and how they are socially and spiritually more fulfilled in that environment. During the interviews, they often invoked the well-known phrases such as “There’s no place like home,” “Home is where the heart is,” or a Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian saying that goes something like “Travel the world and keep coming back home (*Svijetom pođi, kući dođi*).” While such sayings and expressions have seemingly universal appeal, their direct application to a context of forced migration and displacement, where some of the returnees were victims of mass expulsions, is questionable. What also struck me as strange is that such warm and “homely” responses were accepted and not questioned or problematized by the filmmakers, leading me to believe that the documentary series was simply made to promote return and not present a more nuanced understanding of it.

The authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina also seem to be working hard on promoting the idea of diaspora return. Countless “diaspora business forums,” networking events and roundtables are organized by the BiH authorities in an effort to attract investment from members of the diaspora. Headlines such as “Diaspora – an unexplored gold mine!” (Vijesti.ba, 2017) fill the BiH dailies and online portals. Faced with a dwindling tax base, due to high

unemployment and emigration rates, the BiH authorities keep coming up with elaborate schemes to lure the desperately needed investment for job creation. Members of the BiH diaspora are apparently the most suitable candidates for government authorities to turn to as sources of foreign direct investment. To provide some perspective on the overall economic importance of the diaspora, note that Bosnia and Herzegovina is an economy where remittance inflows from emigrants make up, according to the BiH Central Bank estimates, close to EURO 2 billion per year. This figure is six times greater than the total foreign direct investment in the country (Oruč, 2011) which leads commentators to conclude that the BiH diaspora is in fact “artificially propping up living standards in Bosnia and Herzegovina” (Deutsche Welle, 2013). While remittances, as individual social transfers to family members, are relatively simple to explain, what remains puzzling is the decision of diaspora members to resettle in BiH and invest in its economy to create livelihoods for themselves and the wider community.

The participants in the Al Jazeera Balkans documentary series mostly stated notions such as “feeling at home”, belonging, and emotional fulfillment as the dominant factors in explaining their decision to return to their home countries in the Balkans. Although they repeatedly invoked similar notions, they were neither prompted by the filmmakers nor did they show their own initiative to elaborate on what these notions actually mean to them. Given that “I want to go home” (*Hoću Kući*) is a popular television program made for a general audience with a seemingly overarching objective of promoting diaspora return, it evaded rigorous scholarly investigation. Terms such as “love for country”, “home”, “longing to return”, “longing to belong” and “emotional attachment” were assumed to be part of common parlance and thus universally understandable. What still remains as paradoxical is the situation in which these returnees find themselves. A country with the highest number of emigrants relative to total population size in Europe is also receiving a small number of diaspora returnees! Beyond the sentimentalized visions presented in a popular television program and beyond the economic

interest of the BiH authorities to actively promote diaspora return, what explains this phenomenon? Why are they coming back? What happens to them when they return? How well do they integrate in BiH society? If notions such as “emotional attachment”, “home” and “belonging” are really the answer to our questions, how can they be better understood? This Ph.D. thesis aims to provide well-grounded answers to these questions and it begins by looking at the scholarly writings and debates on: return migration, diaspora/transnationalism, ‘political’ emotions, citizenship and “emotional” citizenship, home and belonging.

The theoretical problem that this Ph.D. study aims to tackle is the foundation of a nexus between citizenship, home, belonging and a set of specific and distinct 'political' emotions. The case of diaspora members/transmigrants returning to the home country presents a unique opportunity to study this problem, particularly when the decision to return is made voluntarily and when the disparity between the host state and the home state is as great as it is in the case of developed Western democracies and a state still recovering from the aftermath of war. Previous researchers (Marcus, 2002; Ho, 2011 and Jackson, 2016) have established that studying emotions is relevant to a better understanding of citizenship; theorized 'emotional/affective/intimate' primarily through the concepts of home and belonging and made connections between some emotions, such as 'patriotic love', fear, security/safety and shame, however, much work remains to be done on creating a deeper understanding of the theoretical problem. What remains largely unexplored within the social sciences generally and political science specifically is the role that emotions play in our conceptualization of political phenomena, namely citizenship. Furthermore, the focus of this Ph.D. study is on the individual citizens, a focus that has been missing from citizenship scholarship (Aker, 2014). Therefore, this Ph.D. project aims to fill the gap in the literature concerning how individual citizens conceptualize citizenship, by paying particular attention to its 'emotional' dimension. Finally, the objective of this Ph.D. study is to contribute to a better understanding of the specific and

distinct emotions that constitute home and belonging, and in turn create the 'emotional' dimension of citizenship.

The research purpose of this qualitative study are both to explain the reasons behind the decision to return to and remain in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to explore the concepts of emotional citizenship, home and belonging in relation to the voluntary return of Bosnian and Herzegovinian diaspora members. To fulfill this purpose, my Ph.D. dissertation attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. Why did they choose to return and remain in the home state? What are the main drivers behind their decision(s)?
2. What understanding do return migrants have of the 'emotional dimension of BiH citizenship'? Which emotions do they associate with citizenship?
3. What do 'home' and 'belonging' mean to the returnees? What do they associate these concepts with? Which specific emotions do they convey?

Answering the question of the motivation for a voluntary return to a post-conflict society and dissecting the emotional reasons from those of economic self-interest allows for a deeper investigation into the returnees conceptualization of emotional citizenship, home, belonging and a set of specific emotions. The descriptive, interpretative and explanatory outcomes of the investigation combine into a conceptual model with potential for further theoretical development.

This Ph.D. project sets out to answer the research questions above, fulfilling the purpose and problem statements. **Chapter 1** reviews the scholarly literature to develop the conceptual framework. The conceptual framework aims to elaborate on how the concepts listed in the problem and purpose statements of this study have been defined, debated and developed. The concepts of return migration, diaspora/transnationalism, 'political' emotions, citizenship,

emotional/affective/intimate citizenship, belonging and home are explored with theoretical connections established between them and research gaps identified. **Chapter 2** systematically explains *how* this Ph.D. dissertation reaches its conclusions, the research methodology used to answer the research questions. The chapter starts by situating the study within the interpretivist research paradigm and continues with explicating the research design, data collection and analytical cycles of the project. The chapter continues by elaborating on the ethical considerations, data verification and the researcher's role and ends with a set of appendices, documents used at various stages of the Ph.D. project. **Chapter 3** answers the question of what motivated the return and argues that, although economic motivations are acknowledged, the primary reason for a return to a post-conflict society, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, is emotional. **Chapter 4** uses the unifying framework of *citizenship*, seen as a "prism through which to address the political" (Nyers, 2007, p. 3), and more specifically its *emotional dimension* and identifies a set of specific emotions constituting the emotional dimension of citizenship in Bosnia and Herzegovina. **Chapter 5** explores the notions of home and belonging in Bosnia and Herzegovina and how these concepts have been constructed by the diaspora returnees. The **Conclusion** attempts to tackle the theoretical problem by proposing a conceptual model connecting emotional citizenship, home and belonging and identifying safety/security as instrumental to the existence of such connections. Stemming from the conceptual model, the Conclusion also looks at possibilities for further research.

Chapter 1: Conceptual framework

This chapter surveys and synthesizes works from political science, human geography, anthropology, sociology and political psychology to give inter-disciplinary meaning and substance to the concepts relevant to this Ph.D. study; to form interlinking relationships between these concepts and to identify gaps where a theoretical contribution could be made. The conceptual framework begins by situating the study within a larger literature on return migration, by examining the definitions and types of return migration, followed by a brief overview of the main theoretical approaches. The decision to return is examined by looking at the complex set of reasons and re-evaluating the “voluntariness” of voluntary return. The specifics of post-conflict return are evaluated in the context of reintegration, reintegration strategies and the sustainability of return. The following section develops a substantive definition of the diaspora concept by examining its history; reviewing the defining criteria; classifying differing types of diaspora; and finally comparing and contrasting diaspora to the closely connected concept of transnationalism. Throughout the Ph.D. study, the returnees are referred to as diaspora members *and* transmigrants, as both terms fit their actual life experience.

The third section of the chapter discusses how emotions have been neglected in the social sciences by a dominance of the rational-choice paradigm, by treating emotions as merely personal reactions and thus leaving them outside of the ‘political’ and by overemphasizing the methodological challenges involved in the study of emotions. Scholarly literature on citizenship is presented in the fourth section of the chapter. Citizenship is discussed from the point of view of liberal theory, in constant relation to the nation-state, followed by a discussion on how citizenship enters the relationship between emigrants and the emigration state and concluded with an examination of the importance of studying how individual citizens conceptualize citizenship. Next, emotional/affective/intimate citizenship is discussed as the theoretical nexus

between citizenship and emotions by looking at how scholars so far have established this connection, primarily through the concepts of home and belonging. An understanding of emotional/affective/intimate citizenship is further developed by contrasting it with flexible/pragmatic/instrumental citizenship; followed by a review of the scholarly literature which sets up links between citizenship and the distinct feelings of “patriotic love”, fear, security/safety and shame.

The concepts of home and belonging are elaborated in the final two sections of the chapter, as they also represent a ‘meeting point’ of the previously discussed theory areas. The scholarly literature points to the centrality of the belonging and home concepts in the theoretical connection between citizenship and emotions, while the two concepts also figure prominently in deepening our understanding of diaspora/transnationalism. Belonging is firstly analyzed through the dimensions of place-belongingness and the politics of belonging. The first dimension is further extended by examining its autobiographical, relational, cultural, economic, and legal aspects. The politics of belonging connects directly to citizenship. The last section of the chapter explores how the concept of home has been theorized within the scholarly literature. Home is investigated as the physical home, a ‘sense of place’, as movement itself, a site of conflicting emotions, a set of social relations, links between the past, present and future, as well as the ‘cornerstone of national identity.’

1.1. Conceptualizing voluntary return migration to a post-conflict society

Although the “simple fact that the migrant goes back to his country of origin” (Bovenkerk, 1974, p. 6) or “the movement of emigrants back to their homelands to resettle” (Gmelch, 1980, p. 136) seem straightforward, defining return migration has been shifting and presenting challenges along various lines. According to King (2000), “return migration may be defined as the process whereby people return to their country or place of origin after a

significant period in another country or region.” (p. 8) The emphasis here is placed on return migration being a *process* and not an event (Olsson & King, 2008), as the return itself does not conclude the migratory experience. However, the “significant period of time” is not further specified (Kuschminder, 2017). Alternatively, the United Nations definition specifies the period spent abroad to be at least 12 months (Kuschminder, 2017). Furthermore, the full United Nations Statistics Division’s definition of return migration includes “persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short or long term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year.” This definition of return migration has been criticized for excluding naturalized citizens (Achenbach, 2017). Viewed broadly, return migration can be seen as “refugee repatriation, deportation, retirement return, temporary return and other scenarios of moving back to one’s country of origin” (Carling et al., 2015), looking at particular types of return migrants helps further clarify the concept.

Scholars have produced various categorizations of return migration according to different variables. One of the most frequently cited typology is Cerase (1974) where the categories of return migrants differ according to the returnees’ “aspirations, expectations and needs” (Cassarino, 2004, p. 257) and comprise: “return of failure”, “return of conservatism”, “return of retirement” and “return of innovation” (Cerase, 1974, p. 254). Gmelch (1980) further developed Cerase’s classification to create connections between the migrants’ intentions and their motivations for return. Bovenkerk (1974) also adds the emigration intention when considering return by asking “was the emigration meant as permanent or only as a temporary step?” King (1978) builds a classification according to the relative standards of living between the sending and receiving countries to encompass a move from lower to higher, higher to lower and roughly equal levels of economic development. An alternative typology is based on the length of time spent in the country of origin to include: occasional, seasonal, temporary and

permanent returns (King, 2000). Adding to this type of categorization, Carlin & Erdal (2014) question the notion of permanent and sedentary return, particularly as it relates to the context of refugee return.

“Return migration is the great unwritten chapter in the history of migration” (p. 7) wrote Russell King in 2000. He continued to say that the knowledge scholars have produced thus far on return migration is often summarized in an occasional footnote regrettably stating that “little is known of those who have returned” (King, 2000, p.7). More recently, the situation seems to have changed substantially with scholarship on return migration flourishing in the interim (see Carling, Mortensen, & Wu, 2011). Initially, scholarly work on return migration has been challenged by attempts to directly apply theoretical approaches developed to explain original migration from the home to host state (Nadler et al, 2016), so the predominant early theorizing of return migratory movements revolved around Ravenstein’s Laws of Migration (1885, 1889), related explanatory generalizations (Bovenkerk, 1974) or push-pull explanations (Lee, 1966). It was in the mid-1970s that work on return migration gained momentum with studies conducted on “guest workers” (Gmelch, 1980; Cassarino, 2004; Van Houte and Davids, 2008). Furthermore, developed countries have started to pay more attention to patterns of return migration following the increases in asylum applications due to post-Cold war events (Kuschminder, 2017). Given the ongoing migration crisis, it could be expected that scholarly attention to this field is likely to continue growing. Although, as pointed out by King (2000), much work remains to be done in both theoretical and empirical studies designed to explain and understand the specific aspects of return migration, at least five distinct theoretical approaches can be identified.

Cassarino (2004) presents a systematic comparison of five theoretical approaches to the study of return migration: neoclassical economics, new economics of labor migration (NELM),

structuralism, transnationalism and social network theory. Analogously to how neoclassical economics explains initial migration as caused by wage differentials between the home and host states, return is viewed as a miscalculation on behalf of the migrant. According to this perspective, the migrant returns to the home state having failed to benefit from the higher earning potential abroad. In contrast, NELM moves the level of analysis from the individual migrant to the household and explains the decision to return as a “calculated strategy” (Cassarino, 2004, p. 255). According to NELM, return is seen as the natural result of achieving one’s goals of higher earnings abroad, accumulated savings and attachment to the home state. Structuralism further moves the focus of analysis from the individual migrant and the household to wider social elements in the home state, the context and “reality” (Cassarino, 2004, p. 257) of return. The structural approach is most concerned with the impact returnees have on the home state, either along the lines of time or space. Implicitly, the structural framework assumes a strict separation between home and host societies with very little informational transfer between the two. Transnationalism arises out of the need to better understand the growing social, economic and cultural connections between the sending and receiving societies. Seen from a transnational perspective, return migration is part of a dynamic exchange between the home and host states comprising back and forth movements, frequent return visits and remittances. Similarly, social network theory gives importance to the links between the sending and receiving countries, but it does not see these linkages as related to existing diasporas. Instead, the establishment of these connections is viewed as a result of personal relations of the returnees and their previous migratory experiences.

Traditionally, return migration has been categorized as either forced or voluntary, however, different forms of constraints (Carling et al., 2015; van Houtte & Davids, 2014) and the often disputed element of “voluntariness” (Cassarino, 2008; Webber 2011) have challenged scholars to find new classifications. Kuschminder (2017) makes the important point that the

distinction between the forced and voluntary categories can be made along two different axes. The original migration differentiates between a refugee and a migrant, while the return involves a difference between a deportee and a returnee. King (1986) considers repatriation to be a type of forced return as “the return is not the initiative of the migrants themselves but is forced on them by political events or authorities, or perhaps by some personal or natural disaster” (p. 5 as cited in Kuschminder, 2017, p. 8). Whether the UNHCR considers repatriation to be a form of forced return or not, begs the question of how many other options are left to the refugees and leads to a somewhat less harsh-sounding category of “compelled” return (Kuschminder, 2017, p. 8). Black et al. (2004) conclude that the agencies involved in refugee return do not have a common definition of voluntary refugee return and, instead identify gradations of “voluntariness,” while van Houte and Davids (2014) base their distinction on the legal status of the migrant in the host country. Accordingly, if the migrant has a legal alternative to stay in the host state and still returns, then this type of return can be classified as voluntary. Conversely, the return is defined as involuntary. In criticizing assisted voluntary return and reintegration programs, Cassarino (2008) calls for a new term: “decided or chosen return”. Decided or chosen return is “mainly based on the migrants’ own decision to return to their country of origin, on a temporary or permanent basis, without the assistance of a public body” (p. 12). Similarly, Webber (2011) questions the “voluntariness” of assisted voluntary return programs, which also seek for a more sophisticated understanding of the distinctions between forced and voluntary return migration. In case of truly voluntary return migration, the returnees’ decision making process deserves particular scholarly attention.

The decision to return is highly complex involving a combination of factors related to agency and structure. Halfacree (2004) cites Fielding’s writing on the relationship between migration and culture found in the first volume of *Migration Processes and Patterns* to vividly illustrate the complexity of decision-making involved in return migration.

There is something strange about the way we study migration. We know, often from personal experience, but also from family talk, that moving from one place to another is nearly always a major event. It is one of those events around which an individual's biography is built. The feelings associated with migration are usually complicated, the decision to migrate is typically difficult to make, and the outcome usually involves mixed emotions. . . . Migration tends to expose one's personality, it expresses one's loyalties and reveals one's values and attachments (often previously hidden). It is a statement of an individual's world-view, and is, therefore, an extremely cultural event. And yet, when we study migration scientifically, we seem to forget all this. Migration is customarily conceptualized as a product of the material forces at work in our society. . . . the migrant is seen either as a "rational economic man" choosing individual advancement by responding to the economic signals of the job and housing markets, or as a virtual prisoner of his or her class position, and thereby subject to powerful structural economic forces set in motion by the logic of capitalist accumulation.' (Fielding, 1992, p. 201 as cited in Halfacree, 2004, p. 240)

Both Fielding (1992) and Halfacree (2004) primarily turn to culture as a complementary explanatory force to the dominant economic paradigm. When conducting a thorough review of the literature in migration decision-making Achenbach (2017) also criticizes the rational choice model and "homo economicus" as an over-simplifying device in decision-making, as well as pointing to inadequate attention paid to the migrants' own agency either at the individual or the household level. In an attempt to better conceptualize the complexity of factors involved in the decision-making process, challenge the limits of rationality and incorporate both agency and structure, Black et al. (2004) build a model involving structural conditions in the home and host states, the particular migrant (individual or family) characteristics and possible public policy incentives to encourage return migration.

To further understand the return decision-making process, differing classifications of return motivations and reasons have emerged. Scholars as early as Bovenkerk (1974) have remarked on how little economic reasons impact return migration, simply because "economic betterment is the main cause of emigration in the first place" (Bovenkerk, 1974, p. 21) and a reversal of relative differences in economic development between sending and receiving countries is highly unlikely. King (2000) summarizes the reasons for return migration to comprise economic, social, family/life-cycle and political reasons, also proposing that non-economic reasons are more dominant than economic ones. In the case of second-generation

return, King et al. (2008) argue that return can be seen as a “personal project of relocation to the ancestral homeland strongly influenced by aspirations and emotions of belonging and identification” (p. 263). Kilinc and King (2017) look at “lifestyle migration” as another type of return migration, primarily motivated by non-economic reasons. Achenbach (2017) creates a classification of return motivations based on three areas of concern or “influential spheres”: career, family and lifestyle, with each area further framed by the individual migrant’s goals and other influential factors. As was discussed previously, with full realization of the importance of economic reasons “whether from a neoclassical or Marxian perspective” (p. 242) Halfacree (2004) champions non-economic reasons as most appropriate in explaining return migration decisions.

Within scholarship on return migration, the specific elements of post-war return have garnered a lively academic debate. What most scholars (Black & Koser, 1999; Pedersen, 2003; van Houte & Davids, 2014; van Houte, 2016) agree upon is that return to a post-conflict society does not imply a restoration of order to the home state and a completion of the refugee cycle. Even in cases where basic physical security is guaranteed, return might not be the most preferred step for the migrants as they have a lot to lose economically, socially, culturally and emotionally by going back (Monzu, 2008; Omata, 2013 as cited in van Houte & Davids, 2014). Scholars do not view return to be a natural outcome and an end to the refugee cycle. Instead, if this type of return does happen, it is seen as the start of an extensive process of re-integration (Pedersen, 2003) as both “home” and the refugees have changed substantially either with the conflict, the time spent abroad or most often both. Differently from the “restoration of order” (van Houte & Davids, 2014, p. 76), the strand of research discussing “return as change” (p. 76) argues for the returnees and the home society to benefit from these differences (King, 1978; Bakewell 2008 as cited in van Houte & Davids, 2014), with the returnees using their position of in-betweenness to promote change and development in the home state. Scholarship on return

migration to post conflict societies gradually came to view it as both a “movement back” (van Houte & Davids, 2014, p. 71) where returnees restore some sense of social fabric that existed prior to the conflict, as well as a “movement forward” (p. 71) in which the return aids economic development and transition to peace (Black & Koser, 1999; Faist, 2008 as cited in van Houte & Davids, 2014). Whether a “movement back” or a “movement forward” post-war return involves a lengthy process of re-integration.

The prolonged process of re-integration has a considerable impact on the returnees themselves and the home society, calling for re-integration strategies and ultimately affecting the sustainability of return. Various scholars (Olsson & King, 2008; Carling et al., 2015; Paasche, 2016) compare the challenges of re-integration to the original difficulties migrants and refugees faced when integrating in the host countries. While the returnees need to re-integrate across different social contexts, including the family, community, society and the state (Carling et al., 2015) or different spheres of life: social, cultural, economic and political (Cassarino, 2008) a number of different studies (Rogge, 1994; Black & Koser, 1999; Hammond, 1999) show that re-integration is in no way a simple process of people returning to a familiar society, culture and home (Kuschminder, 2017). The temporal dimension cannot be underestimated (Pedersen, 2003; Carling et al., 2015), as both the returnees and the home society change in the interim, and particularly so in the case of post-conflict return. Often, the population that stayed behind does not accept the returnees (Bovenkerk, 1974) or even shows direct mistrust, enmity and envy towards them (Black & Koser, 1999; Kibreab, 2002 and Stefansson, 2004 as cited in Sirin, 2008). Although the comparison between strategies of integration and re-integration is not entirely smooth and many differences between the two processes exist, still there are important similarities. Given that the re-integration literature is not theoretically as developed, further theorizing of the adaptation refugees and migrants undergo upon return to their home states can benefit greatly from the more advanced integration theory (Kuschminder, 2017). In

fact, for re-integration to be successful, strategies are needed on part of the returnees (Kuschminder, 2017) and focused public policy efforts (Arowolo, 2000) on the part of the home state authorities. Ultimately, the success of returnees' re-integration determines the sustainability of return. The simplest measure of whether return was successful or not is whether re-emigration follows (Bovenkerk, 1974) with scholars (Black et al, 2004) developing additional criteria for measuring the sustainability of return migration.

1.2. The returnees: Diaspora members and transmigrants

Diaspora as a concept discussed by scholars has gone through a number of different transformations (Faist, 2010). These changes have left much ambiguity (Weinar, 2010) around the three original characteristics of a dispersed group sharing a common ethnic or national background, maintaining organized networks which connect various points of dispersion, emotionally identifying with the homeland and preserving symbolic or actual linkages with it (Sheffer, 1986). Other authors (Cohen 1997, Sheffer 2003) suggest other defining features of diaspora such as “dispersion under pressure, choice of destination, identity awareness, networked space, duration of transnational ties and relative autonomy from host and origin societies (Bruneau, 2010, p. 36-37). The ostensible vagueness of how diaspora has been defined within the scholarly literature has lead Brubaker (2005) to refer to Sartori's ‘concept stretching’ wherein a concept is so widely used that it loses its meaning. “The term that once described Jewish and Armenian dispersion now share meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, ethnic community” (Tololyan, 1991, p.4) To gain a more meaningful definition of the diaspora concept, this section examines the history of diaspora; reviews the defining criteria for diaspora;

looks at different types of diaspora; and finally compares the concept of diaspora to the often overlapping concept of transnationalism.

Faist (2010) presents a succinct historical overview of how the concept of diaspora has evolved. Diaspora is rooted in a distant past, beginning with its application to the historic experience of specific peoples, originally the forced dispersal of the Jews. A more recent understanding of forced dispersal as a key characteristic of diaspora also includes the Palestinians; while most recently any type of dispersal, not necessarily forced, becomes a defining feature of diaspora, so as to include groups such as the Chinese, Turks or Mexicans. An older understanding of the “homeland orientation” characteristic of diaspora implied a “return to the (imagined) homeland” (Safran, 1991), while more recently, an emphasis on return is replaced by “dense and continuous linkages across borders” (Faist, 2010, p.12). Finally, in the more distant past the diasporic characteristic of sharing a common ethnic, religious, linguistic and/or cultural origin also implied that diaspora members were not integrating well into the host country. More recently, this characteristic does not necessarily imply problems with integration, but rather a “cultural distinctiveness of the diaspora vis-à-vis other groups” (Faist, 2010, p. 13). Thus, retaining some degree of “cultural distinctiveness” in the more recent understanding of diaspora does not necessarily imply poor integration in the host society.

The three criteria suggested by Brubaker (2005) of dispersal, “homeland orientation” and boundary-maintenance were intended to introduce greater clarity in how diaspora is defined, but these defining characteristics certainly have not remained unchallenged and thus continue to evolve. Yomashiro (2015) compares Brubaker’s definition of diaspora with Ancien et al.’s definition of “affinity diaspora” and finds that the two conceptualizations differ in their relative focus on co-ethnics. Seen from this perspective, Brubaker’s conceptualization of diaspora is more appropriate for an “overseas co-ethnic group that identifies with the homeland” (Yomashiro, 2015, p. 180). Changes in how diaspora is defined are further supplemented by

authors such as Brah (1996), who adds the highly relevant concepts of “home” and “belonging” (p. 189) to give substance and meaning to the concept of diaspora. According to Brah (1996), there exists a “creative tension” (p. 189) between dispersion as one of the defining features of diaspora and “home.” This tension is expressed by nurturing a “homing desire” as “discourses of fixed origins” are criticized. In other words, dispersal implies that “home” is desired concurrent to a rhetoric praising mobility. The journey implicit in understanding diaspora, paradoxically ends up being about “home”, the fixity of “settling down, about putting roots elsewhere” (Brah, 1996, 179). “Where is home? On the one hand, ‘home is a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of ‘origin’. On the other hand, home is also the lived experience of locality” (Brah, 1996, 188). Thus, the concept of “home” ends up substantiating the dispersion characteristic of the diaspora concept, by placing these two in “creative tension.”

Different authors offer different classifications of diaspora. Bruneau (2010) presents a typology of four different varieties of diaspora. The first type of diaspora is centered on entrepreneurial endeavor, with religion or nation-state of origin playing a subordinate role. Examples of entrepreneurial diaspora are the Chinese, Indian and Lebanese. A second kind of diaspora is organized around a particular religion or language, such as the Jewish, Greek, Armenian and Assyro-Chaldean diaspora. Thirdly, particularly in cases when the home state is occupied by a foreign power, the diaspora organize around a political cause, such as the Palestinian diaspora. A fourth type of diaspora is focused on racial and cultural issues. The black diaspora and the European Roma diaspora are often included in this category. Brubaker (2005) classifies all types of diaspora in reference to the “paradigmatic case” (p.2) of the Jewish diaspora. The “classical” diaspora added to the Jewish one are also the Greeks, and Armenians. When the African diaspora was introduced, it too was modeled on the Jewish experience. The

category of “catastrophic diaspora” (p.2) or the “victim diaspora” (Cohen, 1997), again deriving from the Jewish case, was later used to encompass the Palestinian diaspora. Even the concept of the “trading diaspora” such as the Chinese, Indians, Lebanese or Baltic Germans, was developed keeping in mind some elements of the Jewish, as well as the Greek and the Armenian diaspora.

Closely related to the concept of diaspora is transnationalism and the two overlap in certain points, while differing in others. Baubock (2010) looks at how various classical definitions of diaspora equally apply to transnational groups and analyzes each one of the criteria used to define diaspora to see how it also applies to transnationalism. He concludes that the key difference between the two terms lies in their differing spheres of usage. “Diaspora is an evocative political term, whereas transnationalism is primarily an academic concept that refers to a set of empirical phenomena and a perspective that groups them together and suggests a framework for studying them“ (Baubock, 2010, p. 317). Faist (2010) also agrees with this distinction and adds that while both diaspora and transnationalism refer to “cross-border processes”(p. 9) diaspora has been widely used in literary studies and history. In the language of social sciences transnationalism is used more extensively to describe an abstract set of processes. Faist (2010) also proposes that, while diaspora refers to groups that share a common religious or national background living outside of an (imagined) homeland, transnationalism denotes “migrants’ durable ties across countries....and all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active network groups and organizations” (p. 9). In other words, according to Faist (2010) whilst a member of diaspora is located outside the (imagined) homeland, the transmigrant is at times inside and at other times outside of it. Bruneau (2010) also shares the view that “this relationship to place and territories enables us to distinguish between diasporism and transnationalism” (p.49).

Baubock (2010) maintains that transnationalism has developed as a concept in the diverse fields of international relations, social movement studies and migration studies, while most relevant to this study is how transnationalism explains international migration. Transnationalism as a theoretical approach within migration studies looks at the development of links between sending and receiving societies and the emergence of “transnational communities.” Migration is seen as a vehicle for the emergence of ‘deterritorialized nation-states.’ One of the first (Mazzucato, 2010) to theorize the concept of transnationalism were Glick Schiler, Basch and Szanton Blanc (1995) by focusing on migration in a globalizing context and questioning the role of the nation-state. They define transnationalism as “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi- stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (Schiller et al., 1995, p. 7). Unlike previous theoretical approaches to the study of migration, transnationalism realized that the realities of lives of migrants could be best understood by considering the connections between home and host states (Mazzucato, 2010).

As Schiller et al. (1995) argue, immigrants of modern times cannot be depicted as “uprooted” in the same sense as the word was used to describe traditional immigrants. The difference between a “traditional immigrant” and a “transmigrant” is that, while the former leaves the outbound country to become fully integrated in the new country and is more or less forced to sever ties to the old country, the later becomes rooted in the new country, but maintains active political, economic, social, cultural and other links to the old country. The transmigrant is in a position to influence and shape both the society of emigration and that of immigration. Portes et al. (1999) define transmigrants as people who “live dual lives: speak two languages, have homes in two countries, and make a living through continuous regular contact across national borders” (p. 217). In other words, transmigrants could have a sense of belonging in two different societies and find their home in both of them.

In addition, Schiller et al. (1995) argue that transmigrants are not only in a state of flux, but they also make this state of flux to be their primary identity, source of income and cultural reference point. Their day-to-day lives are dependent on the interconnections between the two societies and their public identities are constructed in reference to both societies. Although a number of authors admit that it is not entirely clear whether the phenomenon of transnationalism could really be described as something completely new or whether it is really as old as labor migration itself. As an answer to this question, Portes et al (1999) point to the “high intensity of exchanges, new modes of transacting and the multiplication of activities that require cross border travel and contacts on a sustained basis” (219) that really make this phenomenon different from what was experienced previously and thus justifiable as a new way of thinking about migratory processes.

Both Schiller et al and Portes et al. (1999) point to the overwhelming importance of technology, particularly communications technology that has made transnational activities more feasible and accessible on a much wider scale than ever before. Vertovec (1999) calls for a need to “reconstruct locality or ‘place’” (p. 455). This author argues that communications technology coupled with higher social mobility contributes to “translocal understanding.” Fueled by technological innovation and a growing number of people that fit the “transmigrant” category new relations between spatial and virtual localities emerge building the space for what some authors call “translocalities.” (p. 456). The emergence of “translocalities” has led some authors to argue for the development of “deterritorialized nation-states” (Schiller et al., 1995). However, at the same time states, mainly capital-rich states, are enforcing stringent controls on migration and tightening their borders. In line with these two conflicting tendencies is the rise of globalizing forces that is accompanied by increasing nationalism (Schiller et al., 1995). Although these insightful observations were made towards the beginning of the 21st century, they ring even more true today, close to the end of its second decade.

1.3. Political emotions: Moving beyond the reason/emotion dichotomy

Emotions play an important role in world politics, but, until recently have been understudied in the social sciences. Bleiker & Hutchinson (2008), as well as a number of surveyed scholars (Mercer (1996), Mercer (2005), Crawford (2000), Balzacq & Jervis (2004), Lebow (2005), Hill (2003), Linklater (2004)) point to the problematic lack of study of emotions and the effect that this deficit in research has had on the development of the social sciences. To explain the ‘strange absence’ of investigation into how emotions influence world politics, Bleiker & Hutchinson (2008) firstly point to the dominance of the ‘rational-choice’ paradigm, which works within the emotions-reason dichotomy; champions cognition and treats emotion merely as deviation from rationality. Secondly, Bleiker & Hutchinson (2008) survey empirical studies to find that they do not address the historical evolution of feelings. In cases where feelings are included, investigation is conducted assuming that emotions are only personal reaction without considering wider societal dynamics. Thirdly, to find possible explanations for a dearth of research in this area, Bleiker & Hutchinson (2008) highlight the methodological challenges that arise when studying emotions in the social sciences.

The dichotomy which positions emotions in an opposing and adversarial relationship with rationality is the first and most systemic reason for why serious inquiry into emotions has been missing thus far from the social sciences. Maiz (2011) surveys a large body of political theory to argue firstly that the reason/emotion dichotomy or dualism, resulting from a radical interpretation of the Enlightenment, is the foundation of other binary codes, which act as impediments to democratic and political development. The table (Maiz, 2011, p. 36) below summarizes the binary codes resulting from the reason/emotion dichotomy and explains its semiotic structure:

Table 1.1
The Reason/Emotion Dichotomy

Reason	Emotion	Reason	Emotion	Reason	Emotion
Mind	Body	Science	Art	Conscious	Unconscious
Res cogitans	Res extensa	Civilization	Nature	Literal	Metaphoric
Thought	Feeling	Universal	Particular	Civility	Nationalism
Cognitive	Affective	Modern	Primitive	Liberalism	Populism
Head	Heart	Interests	Passions	Active	Passive
Objective	Subjective	Calculus	Impulse	Consensus	Conflict
Rational	Irrational	Negotiable	Unnegotiable	Control	Automatism
Calvinism	Pietism	Individual	Mass	Liberty	Tyranny
Judgement	Prejudice	Order	Disorder	Autonomy	Dependency
Coherence	Incoherence	Lucidity	Obfuscation	Stability	Instability
Sanity	Insanity	Work	Sensuality	Constructive	Destructive
Apollonian	Dionysian	Impartiality	Partisanship	Power	Weakness
Justice	Arbitrariness	Public	Private	Enlightenment	Romanticism

Maiz (2011) also shows how the reason-emotion dichotomy has had a profound impact on the major paradigms of contemporary political theory: utilitarianism, Marxism, post-Kantian liberalism found in the work of John Rawls, as well as in Alasdair MacIntyre's communitarianism.

Working within the reason-emotion dichotomy is the founding theory of emotions, independently formulated by James (1884) and Lange (1885). The James – Lange theory of emotions posits that emotions are the consequence of bodily responses to outside stimuli. James (1884) argues that bodily changes follow the perception of an 'exciting fact' and our feeling of these bodily changes is the emotion. The physiological changes, e.g. constricting eyes and brows or throat clearing and coughing, actually precede the associated emotions, e.g. worry and

embarrassment. Cannon (1927) criticizes the James-Lange theory of emotions, by pointing out a number of apparent inconsistencies in the viscera (gut, internal body) - emotion connection. As an alternative, a theory of emotions based on thalamic processes is proposed. Dalgleish (2004) provides a historical overview of developments in affective neuroscience, starting with the work of William James and Charles Darwin, followed by a discussion of the work of Walter Cannon and Phillip Bard, James Papez and Paul MacLean, collectively referred to as early functional neuroanatomical models.

The dominant James-Lange theory of emotions or the “bodily/somatic approach” to emotions has been challenged by a number of different authors, proposing an alternative “cognitive/appraisal approach” to emotions. Hutchison & Bleiker (2008) look at how various authors reject the standard dichotomy between emotions and reason and dismiss categorizing emotions as purely irrational. The two most prominent scholars representing the cognitive approach to emotions, Robert Solomon and Martha Nussbaum, do not subscribe to the James-Lange theory of emotions as bodily reactions, but rather consider emotions to have an appraisal quality and to be “important forms of knowledge and evaluative thought.” Hutchinson and Bleiker (2008) identify a number of scholars who have successfully summarized the debate between the cognitive/appraisal vs. the bodily/somatic basis for emotions: Crawford (2000), Marcus (2000), Mercer (2005), Ross (2002) and Connolly (2002). In addition, Elster (1998) Prinz (2004) and Mercer (2010) shed further light on the aforementioned debate.

Elster (1998) observes a lack of an overlap between economic and emotions’ theory and explains it to be a product of economic theorists explaining behavior and emotion theorists explaining emotion. The attempt of Elster’s work is to start creating this overlap and introducing emotions in economic theory. The main broad question Elster (1998) attempts to answer is: “How can emotions help us explain behavior for which good explanations are lacking?” More specifically, he tries to investigate explanations for behavior in the form of a combination of

emotions and self-interest. After providing preliminary psychological definitions and classifications of emotions, Elster (1998) argues that emotions can help us make decisions and, in some cases, help us make the best decisions. To support this argument, he draws on the findings of Damasio (1994). When contrasting emotions to rational self-interest, the author presents, but also criticizes the standard tools of economic theory, namely cost-benefit calculations, encapsulated in a utility function and preference curves. Within the economic theory paradigm, emotions would simply enter the utility function with either a negative or a positive sign, just as any material reward. He carries out this analysis on the examples of guilt, shame, envy and indignation. Temporary preference curves are applied to the study of love, hate, contempt and revenge with a similar outcome.

Prinz (2004) argues that the James-Lange theory of emotions needs to be amended by placing the emphasis on emotions as either conscious or unconscious perceptions of patterned changes in the body. The amendment to the James-Lange theory, termed ‘embodied appraisal theory,’ treats emotions as perceptions of changes in our somatic condition and appraisals. Prinz (2004) builds the case for an amendment to the James-Lange theory by firstly looking at arguments in its favor (e.g. Darwin’s list of fear symptoms such as: widely opened eyes and mouth, raised eyebrows, dilated nostrils, a stiff posture etc.; Levensen, Ekman and Friesen (1991) systematic study of unique bodily patterns associated with six basic emotions: anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness and surprise; Damasio et al. (1991) observe that the primary brain structures supporting our emotional states have been independently associated with bodily responses.

Mercer (2010) uses the appraisal/cognitive approach to emotions, which presupposes that beliefs precede emotions and that rational decision-making depends on emotions. He defines ‘emotion’ to be “a subjective experience of some diffuse physiological change” (p.3) and distinguishes it from ‘feeling’ as “a conscious awareness that one is experiencing an

emotion” (p.3) Since, he acknowledges the extreme difficulty of measuring the difference between ‘emotion’ and ‘feeling’ due to the speed of the physiological change, he uses the two terms interchangeably. A ‘belief’ is defined as “a proposition, or collection of propositions, that one thinks is probably” (p.3), presupposing uncertainty and risk. In contrast, ‘knowledge’ is “risk-free, impersonal and constant” (p.3). A belief is a meeting point of cognition/rationality and emotion, while the composite term ‘emotional belief’ is a belief constituted and strengthened by emotion. Justice, trust, nationalism, as well as credibility, are taken as examples of emotional beliefs.

Maiz (2011) also explores the new theoretical approaches in political philosophy, starting with Remo Bodei and Martha Nussbaum, who reject the old reason-emotion dichotomy and set the stage for a new, non-dichotomic paradigm, crucial for further growth in political theory. Maiz (2011) reviews developments in diverse disciplines such as neuroscience, philosophy and the social sciences, which reject the mind vs. body/rationality vs. emotions dichotomy, to conclude the following:

1. There is a cognitive element in emotions.
2. Both emotions and reason find their origin to be in the body.
3. Regarding learning processes, reason depends on emotions.
4. Reason also depends on emotions to perform certain actions.
5. Reason is dependent on emotions to make decisions on the most important actions.
6. Emotions are affected by judgments – values and beliefs.
7. Emotions are in part constructed by “cultural and socio-structural factors” (p. 46)

Considering the more recent developments in various disciplines, leads the way for scholarly investigation into the role emotions play in social and political phenomena and as Nussbaum (2013) concludes: although reason or ‘rationality’ has dominated the social sciences, emotions are gaining an increasingly important role.

Emotions have been marginalized from the social sciences not only because of the reason-emotions dichotomy, but also because they used to be considered as purely personal and thus not worthy of political analysis. Perhaps the feminist battle cry of the “personal is political” can be credited for moving emotions closer to the center stage of political theorizing. Emotions are not just personal reactions, instead, they have broader social and political significance. Hutchinson & Bleiker (2007) survey the literature (Nussbaum (2001), Shilling (1997), Burkitt (1991), Hochschild (1998), Marcus (2000), Ahmed (2004) and Scheff (1994)) on emotions and security/terrorism to show how emotions are not only personal reactions and how they in fact have an important place in politics and society, particularly “in the process of constituting identity and community attachments” (p. 63).

Finally, studying emotions in the social sciences has been sidelined because it is confronted with certain specific methodological challenges. Bleiker & Hutchinson (2008) find that international relations scholarship, including constructivist approaches, relies on social science methods, which, even in their qualitative form are not entirely appropriate for the study of emotions. Acknowledging important feminist contributions to the study of emotions, the authors suggest three points of change in ‘intellectual attitude’ that may solve the problem of the identified gap and include the study of emotions in the social sciences: 1) accepting ambivalence in the study of emotions and politics, 2) looking at emotions through representations (pictures) and communication and 3) expanding the intellectual toolset for the study of emotions and politics by borrowing from the humanities. According to Neuman et al. (2007), emotions are studied using a wide spectrum of methodologies, ranging from aggregate studies (Leege and Wald; Nardulli and Kuklinski), survey sampling studies (Huddy, Feldman and Cassese; MacKuen, Marcus, Neuman and Keele; Just, Crigler and Belt), content analysis (Graber) as well as experiments (Brader and Valentino). However, regardless of which methodology is used, some of the major challenges in studying emotions are: establishing

reliability and validity with measurement; relying on the subjects' introspective abilities to properly identify their emotions and accurately describe their emotional responses to various stimuli presented by the researcher; developing theoretical concepts that connect concepts of thinking, feeling and acting at the individual and aggregate levels (Neuman et al., 2007).

1.4. Citizenship as membership status of a community or a state?

The classical liberal theory of citizenship can be grasped in the work of T.H. Marshall (1950), who proposes that citizenship is based on civil, political and social rights and focuses on how these rights have developed in Britain. "Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community" (Marshall, 1950, p. 28). Citing Stuart Hall and David Held, Yuval-Davis (2006) underlines that Marshall's definition of citizenship makes no mention of the state, thus implicitly assuming coincidentally between the 'community' and the 'state.' However, as Guzina (2007) argues the assumed 'community' and 'state' overlap is primarily a result of historical circumstance and not inherent. Ingrained within this conceptualization of citizenship is the liberal 'neutrality of the state,' which states that cultural or any other particularities do not need to be considered because they can be satisfied by a 'neutral state' as they translate directly into a language of civil, social or political rights (Guzina, 2007). This assumption is more easily implemented in culturally and nationally homogenous societies (Guzina, 2007). However, Yuval-Davis (2006) further questions the supposed universalistic character of liberal citizenship as it has also proven to be exclusionary and representing "hegemonic, majoritarian and 'westocentric' positions" (p. 207) as in fact, a complete overlap between national community and a state is illusory.

Further theorizing of citizenship as rights can be found in the work of other prominent citizenship scholars with differing views on the proper role ascribed to the nation-state. Soysal (1994) refers to her model of citizenship as "postnational" since its first basis is found in the

personhood of each individual bestowed upon with “entitlements” (p. 3), which were previously associated with “national rights.” According to Soysal (1994), transnationalism and human rights structures give a normative framework for “postnational citizenship,” which grants rights to any individual to participate and be a member of any political community regardless of whether she or he has any cultural or historical bonds to this community. Joppke (1999) views citizenship through the lens of rights as well, but emphasizes that the nation-state is still relevant for international human rights and norms. In the author’s own words, his book “sets a counterpoint to current diagnoses of nation-states diminished by the external forces of globalization and international human regimes and discourses” (p.vii). For Joppke (1999) the nation-state remains highly relevant for our understanding of citizenship as rights and national citizenship continue to be the main conduit for immigrant integration, albeit with some nationally-specific patterns of multiculturalism. The multiculturalist theory of citizenship, constructed by Will Kymlicka, also includes rights as a dimension. However, the focus within multiculturalism is on group and not on the universal rights seen in previous theories. The three types of group rights in Kymlicka’s thought are: self-government, polyethnic and special-representation rights (Aker, 2004).

Various scholars examine the different dimensions of citizenship. Bloemraad (2000) views citizenship as a relationship between the individual and a socio-political community with at least four dimensions: legal status, rights, identity and participation. At the center of the debate presented by Bloemraad (2000) lies the naturalization of immigrants which questions the degree to which rights need to be attributed to personhood rather than membership in a nation-state and challenges a state’s identity and cohesion by producing multiculturalist outcomes. Baubock (1999) defines citizenship as “a status of equal and full membership in a polity” (p. 5); distinguishes between thin and thick conceptions of citizenship and proposes the three main dimensions of citizenship to be: rights, membership and practices. Offering an

alternative typology of the literature on citizenship, Kymlicka and Norman (1994) suggest legal, identity and civic virtue to be the three main dimensions of citizenship at the individual level. For Brubaker (1994) the key aspect of citizenship is membership and closely connected to membership is territoriality, as membership in a defined territory of a nation-state. In further inquiry into the connections between citizenship and the nation-state, Bosniak (2000) identifies the four dimensions of citizenship to be: legal status, rights, political activity and “a form of collective identity and sentiment” (p. 455).

Closely related to the concept of citizenship are the concepts of emigrant and emigration state. Various scholars (Collyer, 2013; Gamlen, 2008; Barry, 2006; Baubock, 2009) address the issue that citizenship and migration literature has much more to say about immigrants and immigration than it does about emigrants and emigration. However, as was first stressed by Abdelmalek Sayed (as cited in Collyer, 2013, p. 1) forty years ago, every immigrant is also an emigrant. “Emigrant citizens are legal nationals and citizens of emigration states who voluntarily live physically outside those states. The term does not include refugees or asylum-seekers” (Barry, 2005, p. 13). An “emigration state” is one where the number of people leaving the country in search of better opportunities abroad is greater than the number of people arriving. Mexico is taken to be a classic example of an emigration state (Barry, 2005). Within the well-developed scholarly literature on citizenship and immigration, the immigrant’s pre-existing citizenship, citizenship of the emigration state, is significantly undertheorized and instead mainly used as a marker of the immigrant’s “otherness” (Barry, 2006). However, emigration brings a particular perspective on citizenship and thus deserves specific attention. To clarify this discussion it is useful to think of citizenship as either a legal status or as membership of a community (Gamlen, 2008). Citizenship, when assumed to be “membership of a community in which one lives one’s life” (Held, 1991, p. 20 as cited in Barry, 2006, p. 24) implies a certain level of cohesion between citizens, yet this cohesion is significantly damaged

in the case of emigration states. In that sense emigration by itself can become an integral part of the citizenship experience (Barry, 2006).

The significance of emigration's impact on citizenship, together with a set of citizenship rights that emigrants retain (Collyer, 2013) warrant a separate concept within citizenship scholarship, labeled as "emigrant" or "external" citizenship. Baubock (2009) uses the term external citizenship when referring to the "status, rights and duties of all those who are temporarily or permanently outside the territory of a polity that recognizes them as members" (p. 478). Barry (2006) looks at external citizenship as the "ongoing relations between emigration states and their citizens who have moved temporarily or permanently to immigration states" (p. 26). There exist differing perspectives on the bundle of rights associated with external citizenship, but there seems to be consensus on the "right of return" as central to external citizenship. In addition to the right of return, Baubock (2008) attaches the rights to diplomatic protection to external citizenship and proposes the normatively justified "stakeholder principle" to determine who is actually able to claim citizenship. Gamlen (2008) assigns the "right of abode in the origin country, unimpeded travel, the right to do business, the right to pass on citizenship to children, and the right to vote" (p. 847) to external citizenship, but recognizes that actual practice on how emigration states relate to their citizens differs from case to case. Barry (2006) also gives priority to the "right to return" underlines the notion that this "guarantee, a promise of indefinite permission to return and remain in a defined territorial space" (p. 25) gives a highly important sense of security to the emigrants.

The relationship between emigration states and emigrants can be complicated and in some cases conflicting (Barry, 2005). Given the economic reality of emigrants primarily originating from the global South and migrating to the global North, the emigration state's main perspective on its emigrants is one of economic interest. Emigrants are a stable source of remittances and capital inflows for the emigration state (Barry, 2006). Collyer (2013)

recognizes the importance of the economic dimension in the state-emigrants relationship and illustrates it by the state's efforts to "mobilize" (p. 5) its emigrants. In addition, Collyer (2013) goes beyond the economic rationale when surveying the transnationalism literature to show how the state becomes a "transnational actor just like any other" (p. 6) in interaction with its diaspora/transnational migrants. Emigration also transforms the "territorial understanding of state sovereignty" (Collyer, 2013, p. 11) by challenging the inside-out dichotomy in international relations theory. In the language of transnationalism, the state becomes "de-territorialized" (Schiller et al., 1994). Gamlen (2008) builds an analytical framework to explore the emigration state – diaspora relationship and delineate "diaspora integration mechanisms," which focus on extending rights and extracting obligations and "diaspora building mechanisms" that center on cultivating existing diaspora communities and creating new ones.

As Aker (2014) points out, very few citizenship studies focus on individual citizens and there is an "overemphasis on structures" (Kymlicka and Norman, 1994, p. 353 as cited in Aker, 2014, p. 42). Consequently, the importance of individual citizens to the understanding of citizenship is underestimated (İçduygu, 2005). Aker (2014) surveys some notable exceptions to this overall assessment: Miller-Idriss (2006), Caymaz (2008), İçduygu (2005) and Balta & Olcay (2014). Miller-Idriss (2006) shows that citizenship in the German case is constituted by territoriality, legal status and identity, an interpretation which moves away from the traditional "ius sanguinis" understanding of German citizenship towards "ius soli," membership, and cultural requirements. "Citizenship is not a static or uniform concept, but rather imagined and re-imagined by ordinary citizens in a variety of ways" (Miller-Idriss, 2006, p. 541). In other words, generalized, structure-driven understandings of citizenship are not sufficient as they quickly become "static and uniform." Instead, conceptualizations of citizenship need to be produced by individual citizens. For example, Caymaz (2008) finds that individual Turkish citizens in Turkey conceptualize citizenship primarily as duties. İçduygu (2005) emphasizes the

relevance of attachment as a dimension of citizenship observed in Turkish and international migrants, with attachment to a particular state offering citizens “a world of predictable relationships” (İçduygu, 2005, p. 202 as cited in Aker, 2014, p.44). Balta & Olcay (2014) argue that transnational citizenship is commodified and illustrate this phenomenon by Turkish elites gaining U.S. citizenship.

In summary, the previous three sections provide the board basis for the conceptual framework. These sections define, debate and explore the concepts of return migration, diaspora and transnationalism; investigate the reasons why emotions have been missing from inquiry in the social science as well as stress the importance of their study; and position citizenship scholarship as a “prism through which to address the political” (Nyers, 2007, p. 3). The following three sections establish theoretical links between citizenship and emotions by diving into an examination of emotional/affective/intimate citizenship, belonging and home.

1.5. Emotional/Affective/Intimate Citizenship: Perceiving citizenship as feeling

“The solution to good citizenship is located in our capacity to feel, ” (p.8) boldly contends George Marcus in his seminal *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*, a work with a “radical assertion” (p.7) that emotion makes rationality possible. Without emotions, argues Marcus, people are not capable of rationality and this relationship holds nowhere more strongly than in the case of citizenship practices. The radical nature of this assertion stands in stark contrast to the conventional view of the previously discussed antagonism between rationality and emotion, reason and passion, as well as the ensuing forced choice between one or the other. If we choose reason, so the conventional understanding goes, a world of “freedom, justice, and rights equitably secured for one and all” (Marcus, 2002, p. 47) will follow, while choosing emotion will lead to creating often unreasonable connections

with people. The radical nature of Marcus's argument places emotion and reason in a cooperative, non-competing, mutually-enabling relationship, with a key reliance on Hume's insight that emotions create action. For democratic citizenship to function, reasonable deliberation, made possible by emotional engagement, needs to result in action, again stimulated by emotion. In Marcus's view, citizens are capable of being "good" because they can feel.

Marcus's argument is radical, not only because it offers a change of perception in the relationship between rationality and emotions, but also because, unlike received knowledge, it pays serious attention to how emotions impact citizenship. Brown (2014) explains the relative lack of inquiry into the role emotions play in citizenship scholarship, by the presence of some uniform and relatively universal emotions such as "patriotic love" (p. 427). Patriotic love, similarly to hatred projected at national enemies, seems to be present in almost all national contexts, and thus not interesting for scholarly investigation. As a notable exception, Johnson (2010) looks at how citizens are encouraged to feel in order to conceptualize a "good" (p. 500) citizen. Wood (2013) recognizes citizenship participation to be "thoroughly social and relational and inseparable from emotions that arise and flow between people" (p. 52). These individual emotions have a social character and form the basis of the "cohesion agenda" (Fortier, 2010, p. 22), which recognizes that individual's feelings are produced by social interaction and the impact of a "community" (p.22). Marcus presented a novel mode of conceptualizing the interplay between emotions and citizenship, which was soon followed by innovative developments in emotional, affective and intimate citizenship.

The concept of emotional citizenship refers to the way in which individuals perceive citizenship as feeling, rather than as citizenship presented by the state and politically received by the citizen. Emotional citizenship relies heavily on citizenship as practice (Wood, 2013), that is on the daily experience of citizenship (Nyers, 2007). The complexity of citizenship is

most pronounced within everyday life, where it is experienced as feeling and not necessarily politically structured (De Graeve, 2010). To provide analytical rigor to the concept of emotional citizenship, Ho (2009) differentiates between emotional representations and emotional subjectivities. Emotional representations are defined as the “lexicon and metaphors that individuals use to give meaning to citizenship, such as “home” and “belonging” (Ho, 2009, p. 789), while emotional subjectivities “emphasize the way individuals experience the social world, especially the manner in which they emotionally negotiate the power relations of citizenship governance” (Ho, 2009, p. 789). These two categories are not mutually-exclusive; they rather constitute each other. Similarly, Jackson (2016) finds that the four main elements of emotional citizenship are: belonging, home, safety and roots, with home being “intrinsic to emotional citizenship” (Jackson, 2016, p. 824). Other authors (Magat, 1999; Wood, 2013; Howes & Hammett, 2016; Ahmed, 2016) place the focus of emotional citizenship on belonging, or a feeling of belonging.

Similarly to emotional citizenship, affective citizenship recognizes citizens’ feelings as instrumental to how citizenship is constructed. The term is used by Jones (2005) to describe the “affection and loyalty” (p. 145 as cited in Johnson, 2010, p. 496) which “citizens are encouraged to feel about their nation” (Johnson, 2010, p. 496). Mookherjee (2005) uses the term affective citizenship as an “alternative approach to recognition” (p. 36), which, contrary to the abstract notions of unitary citizenship, recognizes how emotional relations act to form identities. Furthermore, according to Mookherjee (2005), those identities are strengthened by shared experiences of social disadvantage, marked by “direct or remembered pain, loss, humiliation or even the psychological disorientation which postcolonial writers associate with the effects of colonial domination (Fanon, 1967, p. 78 as cited in Mookherjee, 2005, p. 36). Presented as a response to the postcolonial and feminist criticism of liberal universalism, affective citizenship aims to provide recognition to minority values (Mookherjee, 2005). In a similar manner, Fortier

(2010) defines the “affective citizen” to be a member of a community, where membership relies on personal feelings, which go beyond the “private” realm of family and kin and are instead projected towards the larger community.

Intimate citizenship, as defined by the sociologist Ken Plummer, stands apart from the previously described notions of emotional/affective citizenship and refers to the connection between human intimacy and citizenship rights. In Ken Plummer’s definition, intimate citizenship is concerned with “rights, obligations, recognitions and respect around those most intimate spheres of life – who to live with, how to raise children, how to handle one’s body, how to relate as a gendered being, how to be an erotic person” (Plummer, 2001, p. 238). Intimate citizenship is seen as a “sensitizing concept” (Plummer, 2001, p. 238), primarily interested in rights, as they pertain to a particular area of life - the intimate sphere of each individual. Muchoki (2015) emphasizes the “bridge” (p. 61) characteristic of Plummer’s intimate citizenship, since this concept creates a connection between the public and private arenas. De Graeve (2010) points out that studies in intimate citizenship (as defined by Ken Plummer) concentrate on how “alternative spheres of life” (p. 365) are often discriminated against and excluded when differences between them and general society are negotiated. Another way of understanding the “alternative spheres of life” would be to consider them as people who have different ways of interpreting intimacy, compared to society at large. It is therefore important to underline the key difference between emotional/affective/intimate citizenship (Ho, 2009; Jackson, 2016; Magat, 1999; Wood, 2013; Howes & Hammett, 2016; Ahmed, 2016; Mookherjee, 2005; Fortier, 2010; Johnson, 2010) and Plummer’s intimate citizenship. The former considers emotions as instrumental for construction of citizenship, while the latter focuses on citizenship rights, as they pertain to a particular sphere of life – human intimacy.

A useful contrasting concept to help define emotional/affective/intimate citizenship is the notion of pragmatic/flexible/practical/instrumental citizenship, also closely related to dual

citizenship. Mavroudi (2008) introduces 'pragmatic citizenship' to describe a situation in which a passport is strategically acquired for economic, social or security reasons without a strong emotional dimension expressed towards the citizenship of the host state. The result could be belonging that is exclusively reserved for the original state, but it could also produce dual or multiple belonging with de/re-territorialized attachment. Mavroudi (2008) explains how the concept was previously termed by Ong (1999) as 'flexible citizenship' to signify the acquirement of multiple passports for security purposes and how it was also used by Waters (2003) to discuss Chinese migrants obtaining Canadian citizenship and their strategic "spreading out" (Waters, 2003 as cited in Mouvradi, 2008, p. 310) of families. Magat (1999) refers to the same concept as "passport identity" (p. 137), or the "formal membership that enables one to benefit from certain privileges bestowed by the state alone." In other words, the formal membership is only a matter of practical convenience without any effect on identity. Mavroudi (2008) also cites Aguilar (1999) as using the concept of 'instrumental citizenship' where home states accept that their citizens also have formal citizenship of another host state, but recognize that their primary emotional attachment is directed towards the home state. Thus, these emigrés are also considered to be part of the nation by the home state, where the nation is "spread out and de-territorialized" (Mavroudi, 310). Closely related is the concept of dual citizenship, where the home-state citizenship is kept for reasons of identity, belonging and emotional attachment, while the second one is obtained for purposes of security (Skulte-Ouais, 2013). The result could be 'hyphenated identities' (Mavroudi, 2008) – assuming multiple or dual attachments; 'cheapening citizenship' (Labelle and Midy, 1999 as cited in Lam & Yeoh, 2004, p. 144) – devaluing nationhood and reducing it to passport ownership; 'cosmopolitan indifference' – a lack of attachment to any nation and the perception of citizenship as devoid of meaning (Lam & Yeoh, 2004); or perhaps a source of 'democratic influence' (Kastrovano, 2000) – with the potential for dual citizens to apply values of Western democracy in the home

state. In either respect, it is safe to conclude that, as pointed out by Lam & Yeoh (2004), one of the defining features of transnationals is their ambivalence in allegiances and commitments. Thus, while a strict binary between emotional/affective/intimate citizenship vs. pragmatic/flexible/practical/instrumental citizenship might not be possible, the juxtaposition is still beneficial in an attempt to understand both.

So far, the discussion on the conceptualization of emotional/affective/intimate citizenship has mainly hovered around notions of emotional representations, such as *belonging* and *home*, and emotional subjectivities such as the emotional experience of power relations between the citizens and the state. However, as is pointed out by other scholars, such as MasGiralt (2015), a sorely missing element is an exploration of the distinct emotions which make up the emotional dimension of citizenship. Once a theoretical connection between emotions and citizenship is established, the question to be answered becomes: which particular, specific and distinct emotions constitute citizenship? Within an overall scarcity of research into this subject, some theoretical connections between specific emotions and citizenship have already been recognized within the literature. As was previously discussed, the most common emotion connected to citizenship is one of “patriotic love” and its opposite- hatred towards the enemy of the country, nation or the state. In addition to “patriotic love,” scholars have also examined the nexus between the feelings of fear, security/safety and shame.

According to Brown (2014), “patriotic love” (p. 427) is so similar across different national contexts that this universality explains why there has been relatively little attention paid to individual emotions within citizenship studies. Universally, citizens are encouraged to love the nation, so that this “national love” creates a “collective affective alignment towards the nation as an object of love” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 129 cited in Franz, 2015, p. 188). Ahmed sees national love to consist both of identification and idealization, where the subject/citizen longs to be more similar to the object of love/nation; as well as where the citizen sees his or her idealized form

in the nation (Franz, 2015). Citizens are encouraged to ‘love their country’ with daily reminders as part of citizenship practice (Pantti & van Zoonen, 2006). Furthermore, the “fantasy of romantic love between citizen and nation-state” (Franz, 2015, p. 188) functions to create national cohesion, where the national body is held together by the love of its citizens. National love also serves to draw boundaries between ‘real’ and ‘alien’ citizens, such that the former engages in selfless love towards the nation and the latter is seen as incapable of loving and thus only able to produce national pain (Franz, 2015). The ‘real’ citizen loves the nation and is loved by the nation, while simultaneously fearing the Other/’alien’.

Delimiting the ‘real’ citizen from the ‘alien’ is one of many uses of fear in constructing citizenship. Within this specific form of “governing through affect, which places the affective subjective at its center”, (Fortier, 2010), the alien Other is perceived as a threat to the national body and fear is used to protect and to defend it from outsiders. Not surprisingly, the described dynamic forms the foundation of anti-immigration rhetoric (Franz, 2015). Ho (2009) finds fear and aversion to be fundamental to the “maintaining and challenging” (p. 792) of the social contract and the basis of the nation-state. In a similar vein, Isin (2004) explores how a nation-state’s border intact involves a process referred to as the ‘neuroticization of the border’ (Isin, 2004, p. 231) whereby citizens are encouraged to have fears and anxieties about the Other, most commonly the migrant. Although, mobilizing affect for governance has a history going back to Aristotle (Charteris-Black, 2005 p. 11 as cited in Johnson, 2010, p. 500), fear has had a particularly long history of being used for these purpose (Robin, 2004; Bourke, 2005 as cited in Johnson, 2010). Within the emotional regimes of this century, fear of the migrant ‘other’ is the most widely spread (Johnson, 2010). It is not surprising that fear as a mobilizing device has gained importance with a worldwide increase in the terrorism threat and a rise in general violence.

Feeling safe and secure is one of the main components of “citizenship as feeling” (Jackson, 2016, p. 826). Connecting citizenship to home, belonging and rootedness, participants in the Jackson (2016) study consistently reiterated the importance of feeling safe in order to maintain the emotional attachment to place. In an analysis of dual citizenship, Skulte-Ouaiss (2013) concludes that the main reason why participants in her study pursued a second passport is security. The desire for security is multi-dimensional – “physical, economic, religious, social and, above all, practical (Skulte-Ouaiss, 2013, p. 137). Interestingly, Yuval-Davis (2006) points out that the emotional constituents of people’ identities become more important proportional to how threatened and insecure they feel. In other words, an increase in the level of insecurity and threat will bring more attention to emotional attachments.

In addition to patriotic love, fear and safety/security, shame is a potent emotion in constituting citizenship. Two studies with very different contexts theorize how shame participates in the emotional dimension of citizenship. Brown (2014) examines how the German national feeling is a broken one, with shame dominating the civic emotional landscape as a legacy of the Holocaust and the Nazi-era. Practices of citizenship in modern Germany include an active rejection of patriotism (Fulbrook, 1999; Jarausch, 2006 as cited in Brown, 2014) with even low-key expressions of national pride and national symbols considered to be inappropriate and taboo. Instead, public displays of civic emotion in modern Germany regularly contain elements of “ritual shame” (Fulbrook, 1999 as cited in Brown, 2014) and “ritualized regret” (Olick, 2007 as cited in Brown, 2014). Aguilar (1996) looks at transnational shame felt by Filipino professionals working in Singapore due to the deeply-ingrained ‘Filipino as maid’ image. Since acquiring Singaporean citizenship is surrounded by legal obstacles, Filipino professionals combat the mainstream stereotypes by establishing between themselves and the maids, accentuating higher socioeconomic status and professional skills. An additional source of shame in this context is exaggerated attention that the mainstream society pays to the

“potential inferiority of co-nationals, on the ‘weaknesses’ of the ‘race’ that, by implication, one carries ‘in the blood’” (Aguilar, 1996, p. 123). As a result, Filipino professionals continue to distance themselves not only from the domestic workers, but also from their own citizenship, which is perceived as a source of shame. The two very different cultural and historical contexts both show how the emotion of shame acts to constitute citizenship in substantial ways.

1.6. Home: Place, time and a set of social relations

Understanding the concept of home involves a series of interlinking connections with the concepts of belonging and emotional citizenship, both in relation to the host country and country of emigration (Howes & Hammett, 2016). According to Magat (1999), there is the “Little Home”, a place for daily activities and the “Big Home- where one belongs, the place of ultimate return” (p. 120). Home, in that sense is not just one place, but perhaps many different places that encompass different elements of home: a house, a sense of place, familiar people and bonds of kinship, rootedness, connections between the past, present and a projected future, nostalgic yearning for the innocence of childhood, homeland, “an affective core” (Rapoport, 1995 cited in Lam & Yeoh, 2004, p. 142) or “a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination” (Brah, 1996 cited in Pechurina, 2010, p. 35). Home is a complex and multi-dimensional concept.

The brick and mortar of the house, the geographical landscape, the smells and senses of the air and water all form part of the physical or the “material home” (Taylor, 2009). While some researchers (Lam & Yeoh, 2004), find that only a small minority of study participants consider economic concerns of homeownership to be important to their understanding of home, others (Taylor, 2009) consider the “material home” to be of fundamental importance. In the study of Cypriot refugees in London, Taylor (2009) finds that the material home “is not just seen as the house, but also the fields, orchards, farmland and cemetery where ancestors are

buried” (p. 16). Particularly for people from rural areas, the value of the physical land goes beyond its economic worth. The land provides sustenance, meaning and a place of labor. According to Taylor (2009), other elements of the natural environment such as plants, animals, trees, crops and flowers figure prominently into the “material home”, as well as the tastes and smells of the local cuisine.

Home can also be seen as a ‘sense of place.’ Geographers have long established the difference between space and place, as basic concepts. According to Tuan (2001), an abstract space becomes a place, as it gains “definition and meaning” (p. 136). A space gains meaning through “daily practices, burial rites, festivals and religious and political discourses’ (Taylor, 2009, p.12). As space is transformed into place, it gains meaning and definition and represents security, while space remains a bastion of freedom. Humans are attached to place and security and yearn for space and freedom (Tuan, 2001). Home, in Tuan’s view is “an intimate place” (p. 144). Blunt & Dowling (2006) show home to be a place, but also an “imaginary that is imbued with feelings.” (p. 2) These feelings can range from belonging, desire and intimacy to fear, violence and alienation (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). The emotional substance created by lived experience forms individual and collective memories; ties a community of people to a physical location – a space, and thus creates home as a ‘sense of place.’

In contrast to the understanding of home as a specific place is the notion that home can be found in multiple locations, as well as in movement itself. In a study of transnational professionals, Erkman (2015) concludes that home, for these individuals, is two-fold: an emotional anchor to their homeland, as well as the “key element of cosmopolitan identity construction” (p. 38), the belief that home can be found anywhere, including mobility itself. Similarly, Rapport (1997) views movement as crucial to our understanding of home. “In place of the conventional conception of home as the stable physical centre of the universe—a safe place to leave and return to—a far more mobile notion comes to be used: a home which can be

taken along whenever one decamps.” (Rapport, 1997, p. 73) This perspective of home underplays the importance of fixity and connection to a physical place. In this respect, Lam & Yeoh (2004) compare home to the ‘body’, where both “function as portable repositories for desires, anxieties and personal memory attached to the self. “ (p. 143). These authors extend the home-body analogy to a gendered perspective, where the mobile home is more akin to male endeavors, while female ones are more suited for a fixed understanding of home.

Viewing home as essentially gendered sheds light on the possibility for home to be a site of multiple different emotions, both positive and negative. Blunt & Dowling (2006) assert that home is essentially a gendered concept and point to feminist scholar who view home to be a site of oppression and violence against women. Henderson (2012) uses a parallel between Simone de Beauvoir’s immanence vs. transcendence and Hannah Arendt’s labor vs. work to show how women have been traditionally Othered by being assigned to home-based activities of immanence and labor. In Beauvoir’s view, the home represents an anchorage for the man so that he is free to pursue transcendent activities, while the woman is left to the drudgery of unending immanent tasks related to home keeping. Henderson (2011) further explores how Lucy Irigaray expands on Beauvoir’s analysis by using a psychoanalytic framework to show that an additional limitation to women’s self-realization is the notion that “woman *is* home to man” (Henderson, 2011, p. 18). In this regard, while man gets to fulfil his dream of return to the maternal womb by using the woman as place, his home, the woman becomes objectified and her abilities for self-expression curtailed and suffocated. The feminist view of home introduces the possibility that the concept of home, in its emotional makeup, could go beyond the “Home sweet home” dutifully embroidered ornaments of warm and comforting feelings to include others such as fear, oppression, shame, humiliation and resentment.

Home is also constructed through connections created between the past, present and the future. Howes & Hammett (2016) point out the “temporariness and precariousness and

attachments to multiple, transnational locations” (p. 22) Home, in this sense, is constructed symbolically through the migrants’ memories and through their life stories. An idealized past often becomes a peaceful harbor to which the migrant escapes from the discomfort of the present. An inevitable consequence of this escape is longing and nostalgia, often expressed towards childhood to which there is no return. (Lam & Yeoh, 2004). The ‘temporal home’, as described to by Taylor (2009), refers to the refugees’ place in time as much as space. For people who have lost their physical homes, the present is marked by exile, the past characterized by their lost home and the future shaped by an uncertainty of return or continued exile.

Home is often thought of as a set of social relations, friends, family and roots. Jackson (2016) finds that home is described as ‘roots, a sense of rootedness’, also found in Blunt and Dowling (2006). For the Chinese-Malaysian participants in Lam & Yeoh (2004), their strong family and friendship bonds locate ‘home’ in Malaysia, despite their daily life in Singapore. In the same vein, the destruction or deterioration of these social relations is the most important reason why participants in the same study cease to refer to Malaysia as home. Taylor (2009) demonstrates how the destruction of social relations, as a result of forced migration and expulsions, presents the greatest source of loss to refugees. Also, when trying to reconstruct their homes in exile, members of a diaspora rely on ‘community organizations, shops, cafes and social venues.’ (Taylor, 2009, p. 19) Reviving social relations gives those who have been uprooted, a chance to reestablish their homes.

The concept of home is closely related to the nation. In fact, it is often perceived as the “cornerstone of national identity.” (Macpherson, 2004, p. 92) Barrington et al. (2003) emphasize the importance of territoriality, which in their interpretation is understood as home and homeland, for national identity. In addition, emotional attachment to the homeland is developed in parallel to the development of national self-consciousness (Barrington et al., 2003). An alternative contrast between the concepts of ‘home’ and ‘nation’ is provided by Isin

(2004). For this author, home becomes the place where the neurotic citizen is produced. The 'home security' industry of surveillance mechanisms and gated communities in fact exploits the anxieties of the neurotic citizen and becomes a parallel to 'homeland security'. "Thus, the home and nation become both the same and different – the same because they provide models for each other and different because each provides an evasion or sanctuary from the other." (Isin, 2004, p. 231) The result is not a rational, self-interested citizen, but instead a neurotic citizen whose stable home is placed in service of the homeland.

It can be claimed that the broad notion of 'Home' evokes similar images for people around the world; however there is some research to suggest that the concept might not be universal. In other words, different peoples interpret it differently. For example, Magat (1999) points out that different people attach different meanings to the concept of home and that these meanings also differ for the same person at different periods of their life. Differences in how home is conceptualized are particularly pronounced when contrasted with national identity. By comparing Japanese and Israeli immigrants in Canada, Magat (1999) demonstrates how the two groups have different interpretations of home depending on the relative strength of their national identity and on how strongly the concept of 'home' is conflated with that of the 'nation.' While the strong national identity of Israeli immigrants prevents them from establishing homes elsewhere, it is possible for Japanese immigrants to have multiple homes and still keep a strong Japanese national identity. For the Israelis, 'home' and 'nation' are synonymous and the only true home is in Israel. For the Japanese, these two concepts are separated from each other, which makes it possible for these immigrants to establish multiple homes and senses of belonging. In a similar vein, Lam & Yeoh (2004) discover that the defining features of home specific to the Chinese-Malaysian transmigrants are: social relations, nostalgic memories, national identity and practical lifestyle needs. Keeping these findings in mind, it

might be necessary to provide some context-specific features of the concept 'home', while framing the discussion within universalizing elements.

1.7. Belonging: Place-belongingness and the politics of belonging

For some social theorists, the concept of belonging is “self-explanatory” (Antonsich, 2010) and therefore without any need for definition. However, as it appears in a range of fields: human geography, political science, sociology, cultural theory, even without clear definitions, some general characteristics of the concept can be identified. The classical examples of how the concept of belonging has been used include Tonnies’s distinguishing between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, Emile Durkheim’s mechanical and organic solidarity and Karl Marx’s conception of alienation (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Mee & Wright (2009) view belonging as primarily a geographical concept, because belonging “connects matter to place” (p. 772). Similarly, Ignatieff (1994) proposes belonging to be “a dynamic emotional attachment that relates individuals to the material and social worlds that they inhabit and experience” (as cited in Jackson, 2016, p. 822). Furthering the emotional attachment focus, for a number of authors (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Jackson, 2016), the concept of belonging is closely related to feeling at home, feeling safe and secure. Antonsich (2010) provides an analytical framework to help us think through the concept of belonging, by identifying its two distinct dimensions: place-belongingness and the politics of belonging. Mas Giral (2015) presents a succinct clarifying distinction between these two dimensions, in which place-belongingness refers to “personal emotions of feeling in place” (p.4), while the politics of belonging relates to the question of whether society, formally or informally, recognizes the person as “being in place” (p.4).

Antonsich (2010) defines place-belongingness to be characterized by feeling safe, feeling at home. In other words, the “place is felt as home” (p. 646). For a multi-pronged investigation of the concept of “home”: how this concept has been viewed by various scholars

in a variety of fields and the uses that this concept is proposed to have in this study, please refer to the relevant section. However, Antonsich (2010) is clear when stating the term ‘home’ is used in this context as a “symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security, and emotional attachment” (p. 646). The five aspects identified as key to understanding place-belongingness, as feeling at home are: “auto-biographical, relational, cultural, economic and legal” (p. 647). The auto-biographical aspect is most directly expressed as childhood memories, with the premise that the place of birth and growing up retains a dominant and formative position for adult life. The relational element includes social ties to a given place, whether these are strong bonds to family and friends or less emotionally intense relations with fellow-countrymen. Among the cultural aspects, Antonsich (2010) view language to be the most important, as it “resonates with one’s auto-biographical sphere, and, as such, contributes to generate a sense of feeling at home” (p. 648). A sense of “economic embeddedness” (p. 648) is shown to have an important effect on place-belongingness and is achieved by an individual managing to build a professional career in a specific place. Finally, the legal aspect, such as gaining citizenship or a residence permit, is crucial for an individual to feel safe. “Where you belong is where you are safe; and where you are safe is where you belong.” (Ignatieff, 1994, p. 25 as cited in Antonsich, 2010, p. 648). Antonsich (2010) sums up the discussion of the various elements of place-belonging by re-emphasizing the importance of “feeling safe”.

The politics of belonging involves a boundary-making process designed to separate humanity into an “us” and a “them,” referred to by some authors as the “dirty work of boundary maintenance” (Crowley as cited in Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 204). These boundaries define the political community, set up with guardians, administrators who make decisions on who gets to be “inside” and who is left “outside” of that political community. On this boundary, there is lively interaction between two contrary sides, the claimant and the grantor of belonging, and it includes a constant interplay of rejecting, violating and transgressing. The grantor sets up

requirements of belonging, which might range from the most restrictive categories, often with assimilatory objectives, such as common: race, origin, place of birth, a “myth of common descent”, language, culture and religion to the more open categories of shared values based on “human rights” and “democracy” (Yuval-Davis, 2006. p. 209). The claim to belonging is often accompanied by a residence and work permit, which is why political belonging is instrumental to citizenship. The personal feeling of belonging is negotiated with social practices of inclusion/exclusion. (Antonsich, 2010) In the words of Yuval-Davis et al. (2005, p. 528), the “sociology of emotions” is negotiated with the “sociology of power” (as cited in Antonsich, 2010, p. 649). The boundary between “us” and “them” is constructed by both the personal dynamic of the individual seeking to belong and the political project of those in power of defining what constitutes belonging.

Citizenship and belonging are closely related and intertwined. While conducting a literature review on the relationship between citizenship and belonging, Antonsich (2010) finds that the two terms are often used synonymously in geography, political science, sociology, anthropology and history. In contrast, Yuval-Davis (2010), argues that the two concepts are not identical, since most of the current discussions on the politics of belonging center on the issue of “who belongs and who does not” (p. 207), regardless of citizenship status. The subject of these debates is the lowest common denominator in terms of descent, as well as cultural and other norms thought of as necessary prerequisites for belonging. Also, the political struggle for full participation in citizenship has been the focus of many socially excluded and marginalized groups, seeking to gain “full and legitimate belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 206). Other authors, such as Bloemraad et al. (2008) defines a “sense of belonging” to be a dimension of citizenship, together with “ legal status, rights, political and other forms of participation in society” (as cited in Ahmed, 2016, p. 113). According to Ho (2009), emotions act as an

intermediary between the belonging aspect of what citizenship represents and what citizens subjectively perceive to be their rights for meaningful participation in society.

Belonging should not be only seen through a cognitive perspective, but rather as having a strong emotional component. Constructions of belonging “reflect emotional investments and desire for attachment” (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 202) People are constantly in the process of wanting, yearning and *longing* to become. People “long” (Probyn, 1996 as cited in Mee & Wright 2009, p. 772), to create attachments to places and social collectivities. As Antonshich (2010), the longing is always expressed toward some place ‘there’, a place of perceived belonging, while the ‘here’ is seemingly devoid of belonging. A frequent outcome of this *neither here, nor there* phenomenon is the immigrants’ “myth of return” (Antonsich, 2010, p. 651) to the lost place of intense yearning. On the other side, developing belonging to the newly arrived at place, the ‘here’ involves emotional attachments through “everyday practices of belonging” (Fenster, 2005, p. 243 as cited in Mas Giralt, 2015, p. 6) as well as “collective practices of belonging” (Fortier, 2000, p. 6 as cited in Mas Giralt, 2015, p. 8). The performances and practices of belonging, learning about the places of settlement as well as establishing oneself in social networks, serve as vehicles for the immigrant to develop emotional attachments, which produce a sense of belonging.

Belonging can be viewed as an element of emotional citizenship. Jackson (2016) finds that the four common dimensions used by participants in her study to discuss emotional citizenship are: “belonging and connection, home, safety and the laying down of one’s roots (p. 822). On one hand, these four dimensions are closely related and have significant areas of overlap; however, there are also points of difference. For example, Ho (2009) asserts that the “figurative use of emotional metaphors, such as roots, home, family and friends” (p. 794) serves as an instrument to generate meaning for citizenship. In other words, the “emotional metaphors” are not identical in substance, but are in fact instrumentally used to give meaning to a broader

concept, citizenship. Belonging is often referred to as “thicker” (Crowley, 1999, 22 as cited in Antonsich, 2010, p. 650) than citizenship because belonging goes beyond the formal acquisition of equal rights and political entitlements. In that sense, belonging can be conceived as an “emotionally constructed category” (Ho, 2009, p. 791) producing meaning for citizenship or, in other words, it can be conceived as an element/dimension of emotional citizenship.

To further clarify the role of belonging in the construction of the emotional dimension of citizenship it is useful to contrast it to citizenship without exclusive belonging. Skulte-Ouaiss (2013) elucidates this distinction when examining the case of Lebanese citizens also holding European citizenships. On one hand, there is citizenship based on “residency and a contract between the individual and the state” (p. 145). This understanding of citizenship may or may not include belonging, but it is certainly not premised on national belonging. Opposite to this conceptualization of citizenship is one based on “national belonging being the bedrock” (Bloemraad, 2014 cited in Skulte-Ouaiss, 2013, p. 145). Depending on the developing notions of citizenship in Europe, the Lebanese dual-citizens might be forced to choose between holding onto their Lebanese citizenship with full national belonging, or renouncing it in favor of a more secure, but alien European passport. Similarly, Mavroudi (2008) theorizes the concept of pragmatic citizenship and demonstrates its application in the case of the Palestinian diaspora. Brown (2014) explains “performances of emotional labor” (p. 428), which seem to be necessary for immigrants to invest in order to gain national belonging. The specific type of emotional labor refers to the “uniquely German form of negative civic emotion”, but the analysis could be foreseeably extended to other cases. The problem of the absence of belonging from the individual perspective of the immigrant is described by some authors (Antonsich, 2010 and Howes & Hammett, 2016) as a “sense of loneliness, isolation, alienation and displacement (Antonsich, p. 649). Antonsich (2010) is also careful to point out that this situation is the

outcome of the absence of place-belongingness and not necessarily exclusionary politics of belonging.

Numerous empirical studies (as cited in Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2006) have also pointed to the existence of multiple belonging in contemporary migration. Multiple belonging refers to migrants being embedded, identifying with and taking part in multiple communities, while not even being anchored in one. Connections created through “complex webs of mobilities and belongings” (Howes & Hammett, 2016) also act as challenge to state-bound understanding of citizenship. Multiple allegiances and loyalties “question the very concept of citizenship,” (Kastroyano, 2000, p. 308) as they blur the lines between rights and identity. In fact, “engaging in transnational practices may result in an institutional expression of multiple belonging, where the country of origin becomes a source of identity, the country of residence a source of rights, and the emerging transnational space, a space of political action combining the two or more countries” (Kastroyano, 2000, p. 309). According to this interpretation of belonging, the immigrant is not faced with an either/or situation, as with Skulte-Ouais (2013) or, to some extent with Mavroudi (2008). In other words, the newly-created transnational space allows for multiple belongings to flourish, as opposed to the immigrant being faced with the dilemma of mutually exclusive choices of citizenship or belonging. Also, it is important to note how the previous quote uses the terms “belonging” and “identity” as synonymous. This usage of the terms is not an isolated occurrence, for a detailed survey of literature that uses these two concepts interchangeably, see Antonsich (2010).

The frequent challenge of developing belonging is the resulting uniformity, since any dominant ethnic or national group tends to define what it means to belong according to its own characteristics, without respect for differences (Antonshich, 2010). Therefore, a potential consequence of developing belonging is for the person to assimilate to the linguistic, religious and cultural traits of the dominant group (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Even if the immigrant wants to

change in order to conform to the dominant group, there may be features, such as skin color or place of birth, which would prevent full uniformity (Antonsich, 2010). Closely related to this process are the social relations of power, since belonging to a particular race, class, nation or gender translated to belonging to “social and economic locations” (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 1999). In contrast to assimilation, lies the multiculturalist project of developing belonging through an appreciation of diversity.

To sum up, this chapter presented a survey of how the concepts of return migration, diaspora/transnationalism, ‘political’ emotions, citizenship, emotional/affective/intimate citizenship, belonging and home have been developed within an interdisciplinary literature. The conceptual framework is built on the broad foundation of defining and debating the concepts of return migration and diaspora/transnationalism; followed by an investigation into how emotions have (not) been studied in the social sciences and ending with a brief review of citizenship scholarship. The second part of the conceptual framework delves into greater detail of the nexus between citizenship, emotions and diaspora/transnationalism, starting with Marcus’s premise that emotions are relevant for the study of citizenship and on the findings of Ho (2009) and Jackson (2016) that the way individual citizens conceptualize the emotional dimension of citizenship is through the concepts of home and belonging. The final two sections of the chapter explore the nature of home and belonging, by examining how these concepts have been defined, debated and developed along various dimensions and disciplinary perspectives.

The review has revealed substantial gaps in the literature. Firstly, voluntary, or using more specific terminology “chosen or decided” (Cassarino, 2008), return migration to post-conflict societies has been understudied, particularly when discussing its non-economic motivations (Halfacree, 2004). Secondly, although highly significant for our understanding of political phenomena emotions have been significantly understudied. The systemic reasons for this historical neglect of emotions from the social sciences and political theory have been

surveyed. Thirdly, emotions are relevant for the study of citizenship, yet scholarly inquiry into the ‘emotional dimension’ of citizenship is in its infancy. Fourthly, studies within citizenship scholarship which place the primary focus on how individual citizens conceptualize citizenship are gravely missing, with only a few such examples. Similarly, return migration scholarship severely suffers from an over-emphasis on structure and insufficient attention given to the migrants’ own agency, whether at the individual or household level (Achenbach, 2017). Finally, previous researchers have established a firm connection between emotional citizenship and the concepts of home and belonging. Further inquiry into these areas revealed that, although work on connecting the distinct emotions of “patriotic love”, fear, safety/security and shame has been completed, still much research needs to be done on the specific and distinct emotions constituting citizenship.

To create a starting point for identifying and dissecting the individual emotions that constitute citizenship, the main question begging an answer becomes: what is the nature of the “citizenship as feeling” experience? Is citizenship experienced through the notions of a refuge, safe haven, place of rejuvenation and growth, thus evoking images of safety, security, love, support and respect? *Or* does it represent violence, alienation and oppression, conjuring up imagery of fear, persecution, humiliation and shame? This Ph.D. thesis proposes that the answer depends on the particular historical context and nature of experience. The following chapters present the specific context of the citizenship being discussed: the citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In order to provide the necessary context against which specific emotions constituting citizenship are explored, the following chapters examine BiH’s recent history, its constitutional structure, citizenship regime, economic environment, the BiH diaspora and scholarly research on return migration.

Chapter 2: Research methodology

2.1. Qualitative research cycle

The research design of this Ph.D. study is firmly situated within the interpretivist scientific paradigm, according to which, social reality cannot simply be observed; it needs to be understood (the Weberian notion of *Verstehen*) and interpreted. A paradigm, as defined by Thomas Kuhn, in his *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), is a scientific guide, accepted by the research community, founded on previous knowledge within the discipline and used to direct further research. The paradigm or “guiding vision” (Corbetta, 2003, p. 27) shapes theorizing and empirical study by giving specific answers to the questions of ontology, epistemology and methodology: ‘What to study?’, ‘How to hypothesize?’ and ‘Which techniques to use?’. Ontologically, the interpretivist paradigm of this Ph.D. study is both constructed and relativist, in the sense that the constructed realities vary among people, groups and cultures. In epistemological terms, the paradigm within which this Ph.D. study is set is non-dualist and non-objective, as I, as the researcher, and my object of study are not independent from each other, but rather interdependent. Methodologically, this Ph.D. study follows the guidelines of interpretivism, according to which interaction between scholar and object of study is empathetic and qualitative research methods are used. (Corbetta, 2003). Thus, the knowledge produced by this Ph.D. has inductively ‘emerged’ from the reality studied (Creswell, 2007).

The methodology of this Ph.D. study is inductive and cyclical, with elements of deductive reasoning. Overall, the methodology of this Ph.D. study focuses on understanding experiences and behavior and on hearing the voices of the study participants themselves – on the emic perspective, however, it does include some positivist elements of deduction. In contrast to interpretivism, the positivist approach to research follows a deductive and linear process which starts by formulating a hypothesis from theoretical concepts and models, continues with

an operationalization and testing of the hypothesis and ends with an evaluation of whether the evidence supports the hypothesis (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2010). Simply put, induction involves developing theoretical generalizations from specific observations, while deduction is the reverse process of deriving hypotheses from theory and testing those against social reality (Babbie, 2014). If one rigorously adheres to induction as the guiding principle for qualitative research, the issue that appears is whether a theoretically-rooted research question should guide inquiry or should the research participants, themselves, define the research problem? In other words, a debate exists as to whether data collection and its subsequent analysis should be inductively conducted or should there be a conceptual framework, summarized within a research question (set of research questions), to drive the research process?

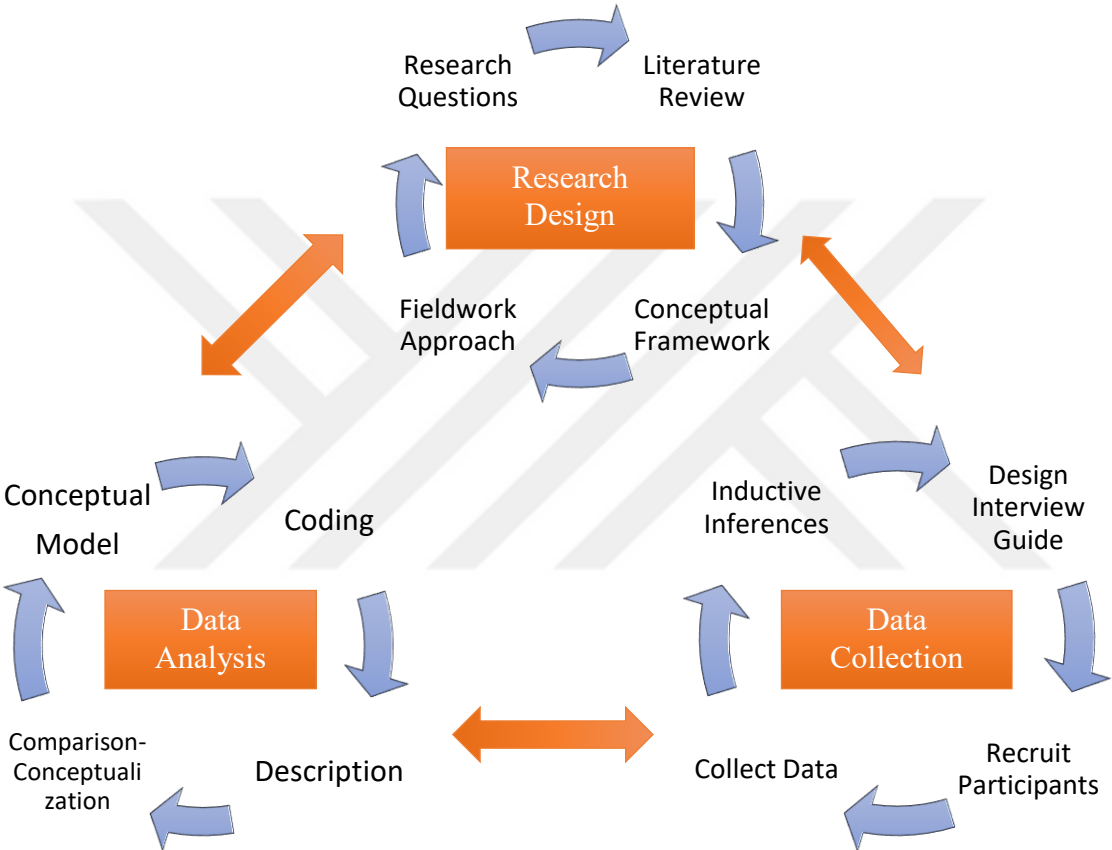
The debate on the role of deductive reasoning within the interpretivist paradigm had some opponents advocating for “ethnomethodological indifference” where all previous knowledge of social reality needs to be ignored. Some authors, such as Bogdan & Biklen (2007), argue against a predetermined research design and instead allow for a research design “in which the questions to be asked and the data to be collected emerge in the process of doing research (p. 79). Also, early versions of grounded theory, as developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) were strictly against the hypothetico-deductive view and proposed a completely inductive, “tabula rasa” approach to data collection, analysis and theory development (Kelle, 2005). On the other hand, many authors (Tesch, 1990; Maxwell, 2013; Bazeley 2013; Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2010) advocate for a mixture of deduction and induction in qualitative research.

This Ph.D. study relies on the approach of mixing deductive reasoning within an overall inductive structure. The deductive conceptual framework produced in the research design cycle incorporates the existing literature and theory and provides the basis for a set of expectations, representing the etic or external perspective. The etic perspective summarized within a

conceptual framework and a resulting set of research questions. The theoretically-rooted research questions drove all further inquiry, including the choice of fieldwork approach and the design of the interview guide. As the Ph.D. project progressed, inductive and deductive reasoning actively interacted. For example, although the interview guide was created in reference to the conceptual framework, as the interviews progressed, I kept making inductive inferences (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2010) allowing for deeper investigation into the most pertinent issues. So, each subsequent interview was informed by the content of the previous one and my fieldnotes. In the data analysis cycle, an inductive conceptual framework emerged after the collected data was coded, described, compared, and categorized. The final goal of the inductive conceptual framework is to contribute to the existing theory and literature by representing the emic or internal perspective, the perspective originating directly from the study participants. Thus, although the research design stage was characterized by deductive reasoning, the inductive nature of the data analysis cycle places this Ph.D. study decisively within the interpretivist paradigm.

This Ph.D. project included three interlinking cycles: research design, data collection and data analysis, summarized in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1
 Qualitative Research Cycle
 Adapted from Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2010



The following sections of the chapter provide detailed explanations of each cycle of the research process together with descriptions of obstacles encountered and strategies employed for their overcoming.

2.2. Research design

As was mentioned previously, the research questions of this Ph.D. thesis stem from the literature review summarized in the conceptual framework and presented in Chapter 1. The set

of research questions guided all other research tasks. The fieldwork approach of in-depth interviews was chosen as best to operationalize the conceptual framework and provide the most adequate tool for answering the set of research questions.

2.2.1. Research questions

Blakie (2010) posits that the three main types of research questions are ‘what’, ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions. The three types of questions are ordered so that answering the ‘what’ question is followed by an answer to the ‘why’ question with a subsequent answer provided for the ‘how’ question. Creswell (2007) makes a similar point regarding the phrasing of research questions, also connecting them to questions asked of participants and to the open, axial and selective coding scheme envisioned by a grounded theory methodology. The initial objective of this Ph.D. study was to use a grounded theory methodology, as proposed by Strauss & Corbin (1998) to build theory and answer the “how” question of: “Under which conditions does voluntary return migration to a post-conflict society happen?” However, when the open coding, i.e. thematic inductive coding, was completed, it became clear that an exploratory outcome, combining description, interpretation and explanation, would contribute to the existing scholarly literature. The final “how” research question was dropped from the current Ph.D. study and reserved for a follow-up project, which could delve into further analytical depths, employing axial and selective coding for theory building. The Conclusion chapter outlines the further methodological steps (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) needed for theory development.

Following the sequencing of research questions laid out above and keeping in mind the alterations made after the first phase of coding, the resulting research questions for this Ph.D. dissertation are:

1. Why did the study participants choose to return and remain in the home state? What are the main drivers behind their decision(s)?

2. What understanding do return migrants have of the 'emotional dimension' of citizenship'?

Which specific emotions do they convey?

3. What do 'home' and 'belonging' mean to the returnees? What do they associate these concepts with? Which specific emotions do they convey?

The answer to the first question sets the background for an exploration of the second and third questions. Following this logical order, the result chapters are sequenced accordingly. The interconnected nature of the research questions particularly becomes clear when looking at the research purposes for this Ph.D. project.

2.2.2. Purpose statement

The simplifying classification of research questions establishes direct correspondence with the three types of research purposes: description, explanation and change/prediction, with analogous sequencing. In other words, predicting and building a theory on how a phenomenon might change and under which conditions (*how* it is happening) implies a prior explanation of the reasons for the phenomenon's occurrence (*why* is it happening), which is in return preceded by describing the phenomenon itself (*what* is happening). Blaikie (2010) cites Popper (1961) to make the important distinction between prediction and "prophecy" (p. 128), such as making claims about the future. Prediction in the case of an inductive research strategy (identifying established patterns) is taken to mean the presence of one part of a relationship in case another part of the relationship is also present.

Although this Ph.D. project started with the ambitious research purpose of theory building: predicting the conditions under which voluntary return migration to a post-conflict society occurs, it was modified during data analysis to focus on description, interpretation and explanation, ending in the production of a conceptual model. The conceptual model linking voluntary return migration, emotional citizenship, home, belonging and specific emotions is

built upon a solid foundation of explanation and description. Thus, the final research purposes of this qualitative Ph.D. study are both to explore the concepts of emotional citizenship, home and belonging in relation to the voluntary return of Bosnian and Herzegovinian diaspora members; and to explain the reasons why these diaspora members have returned to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The ultimate goal of the descriptive, interpretative and explanatory findings of this Ph.D. is to provide fertile ground for future theory development.

2.3. Data collection

Completing the tasks in the design cycle set the foundation for the creation of a research instrument, i.e. the interview guide, which was initially deductively derived and modified throughout data collection by inductive inferences. Data were primarily collected through in-depth interviews and participants were recruited according to set criteria. In addition to conducting the interviews, I kept writing fieldnotes and a reflective journal, both of which were used for verification purposes in later stages of the project.

2.3.1. Interview guide

The interview guide, as the research instrument for conducting the in-depth interview, needs to present a coherent and valid operationalization of the research question. However, while the research question is stated in theoretical language of the conceptual framework, the interview guide questions need to be expressed in everyday understandable language, easily accessible to the study participants. The interview guide questions for this Ph.D. study were formulated in relation to the sensitizing concepts discussed in the conceptual framework, thus allowing for deductive codes to be applied during data analysis. The anticipated deductive codes to be applied to the data during analysis were listed next to each question on the interview guide.

The interview guide (Appendix II) was developed in congruence with both the research questions and grounded theory as the preferred methodology for data analysis. Although data were collected in full view of the method used for subsequent analysis, the respondents were in no way constricted in their answers and discussions. To generate richness of data and to invite the study participants to tell their own stories, interview questions were phrased as open questions, each followed by topic probes as suggested by Bogdan and Biklen (2007). The goal of the topic probes was to provide substance to the more abstract concepts such as emotions and citizenship, belonging and home. The topic probes were used only as examples/prompts to stimulate discussion and not limit it in any way- The interview guide can roughly be divided into two parts: questions about the respondents' understanding of the concepts of emotional citizenship, belonging and home and questions about the participants' personal history of leaving Bosnia and Herzegovina, their life abroad, followed by their return to and life in BiH.

2.3.2. In-depth interviews

Data collection for this Ph.D. project was carried out primarily with in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews are used to reveal a narrative about the participant's life, a story which is shared, recorded and transcribed for analysis. The interview also shows the interviewee's subjectivity, which would affect the story as well as the interviewee's context. The main objective of the in-depth interview is to gain a thorough understanding of the perspectives of the participants themselves and to allow these perspectives to be expressed in their own voices. To achieve both an in-depth and an emic characteristic of the interview, Hennink & Hutter (2010) advise: making use of an interview guide; forming a trusting relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee; asking questions in an emphatic manner and stimulating the participants to share their stories by inserting probing questions. Although the interview guide includes probing questions so that various relevant issues are appropriately addressed and rich

data is generated, the richness of data generation depends on the interviewer's ability to elicit the interviewee's story, so the rapport established within the interview context is of ultimate importance.

Thirty five in-depth interviews were conducted during Summer and Fall of 2017 in cities and towns throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. Throughout fieldwork I was based in Sarajevo and made trips to the various places where the study participants live and work. From Sarajevo, I travelled to Prijedor, Banja Luka, Kozarac, Sanski Most, Velika Kladuša, Trebinje, Ljubuški, Mostar, Nevesinje, Derventa, Gračanica, Maglaj, Počitelj, Jajce and Srebrenica. The majority of the interviews were held either at the participant's home or office. In some cases, due to complicating family circumstances, such as a small child, some interviews were held in a neighboring café. Each interview was set up by e-mailing the Recruitment Letter (Appendix III) and a follow up telephone call, both of which allowed for the formation of the initial positive rapport. Trust between myself and each individual study participant was further strengthened once I explained the ethical dimensions of the Ph.D. project and the purpose of the Informed Consent Form (Appendix IV). Prior to the beginning of the interview I explained the interview structure (Appendix I), which consisted of collecting demographic information (Appendix I with the full demographic dataset summarized in Appendix VI) involving short questions and answers, followed by the in-depth, second part of the interview, lasting approximately one hour to ninety minutes. During the in-depth part of the interview I used the Interview Guide (Appendix II) to learn about the participant's views on citizenship and emotions, belonging and home, as well as his or her personal story of emigration, life abroad and return to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

2.3.3. Field notes and reflective journal

In addition to in-depth interviews, data was collected by keeping a log of field notes and

a reflective journal. As suggested by Bogdan and Biklen (2007), I used field notes to provide accurate descriptions of “people, objects, places, events, activities and conversations” (p. 118) which were part of the fieldwork experience. Since the interviews were generally held at the participant’s home or office, I asked for permission to photograph the surroundings so as to keep a more vivid and precise recording of the interview site and the participant’s natural environment. Thus, whenever possible, the field notes were accompanied by a visual record of the interview setting (see Appendix XI). To increase rigor of the qualitative study and reveal any potential biases, I also kept a daily reflective journal, also referred to as “reflective field notes” by Bogdan and Biklen (2007) in which I tried as much as possible “to reflect on analysis, method and ethical dilemmas of the study” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 122), but ended up mostly writing about my own feelings about data collection, reactions, assumptions and expectations (see Appendix XI). Being so close to the research subject certainly is advantageous because it provides greater insight, access and ultimately potential for scholarly contribution, but it also invites a number of unwanted byproducts such as the possibilities for bias and a general lack of analytical rigor. Although the field notes and reflective journal were not used as formal data sources during the analytical cycle of the project, both data sources contributed to the analysis by giving an objective context to the interview (the descriptive field note) and a subjective one (the reflective field note – reflective journal entry), thus helping to resolve the aforementioned potential problems resulting from my proximity and familiarity with the case.

Following the qualitative research guidelines set in Hennink, Hutter & Bailey (2010), the process of recruiting study participants had three main elements: defining the study population, setting the number of participants to recruit and determining the strategy of recruitment. The constant interplay between deductive and inductive reasoning that is characteristic of the entire Ph.D. project was also present when recruiting study participants. During the research design cycle the study population was defined deductively and was based

on the conceptual framework, i.e. the study participants were those people whose life experience enabled them to give the fullest answers to the research questions. As data collection progressed, the characteristics of the study population were refined inductively, meaning that each subsequent participant was chosen using inductive inferences and the “theoretical saturation” principle, both of which are described in sections below.

2.3.4. Study participants

This Ph.D. study focuses on voluntary return of diaspora members to a post-conflict society. What is meant by “voluntary return” is that the element of actual *free choice* is present in the decision of the migrant to come back to the home country. In other words, the migrant was not under any pressure to make this decision. The ideal participant in the study could have easily continued to live and work in the host country from a legal, political, social, economic or even cultural perspective. The study participant could be described as a dual citizen, active voter in the host country, socially and culturally well-integrated with a developed career and economic wellbeing created in the host country. The study participants decided to return to the home country, not because of any outside constraint but because they *voluntarily decided* to take this step. They were often educated abroad, built their careers there and successfully integrated overall. Each one of these markers was carefully considered when evaluating whether they in fact *voluntarily* decided to return or whether extraneous circumstance or some type of outside force made this decision for them. The element of “choosing to return” is key in defining the study population, because it allows for a meaningful answer to the question of motivation. How do we explain their return? Was it caused by emotional or economic reasons, or was there a combination of both? Of course, the reverse is also true. If the return was not in fact voluntary, the question of motivation becomes meaningless. The post-conflict society

discussed in this Ph.D. thesis is Bosnia and Herzegovina, 22 years after the signing of the Dayton Agreement, the peace treaty that ended the horrific three and a half year long war.

The study participants are members of the BiH diaspora/transmigrants, who have lived abroad for a considerable period of time and voluntarily decided to return to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most of them left the home country as refugees during the 1990s wars and some are descendants of labor migrants from the 1960s and 1970s. Although most people interviewed for this Ph.D. study were refugees in the 1990s, they were successful in gaining residency in the host countries, and in most cases have also obtained a second, or even third citizenship. The interviewees have returned to Bosnia and Herzegovina from a variety of host countries such as Germany, US, Switzerland, Turkey, Australia or Italy, and are now fully-contributing members of BiH society, actively employed, self-employed or creating jobs for others. They currently reside in both the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Republika Srpska, large city centers such as Sarajevo as well as small towns such as Nevesinje or Gračanica. Both majority and minority return is represented, with all nationalities, religions and levels of religiosity present in the sample. A total of 35 people were interviewed and detailed demographic information is presented in Appendix VI.

2.3.5. Sampling and sample size/theoretical saturation

As the chosen methodology for this Ph.D. study is qualitative, the theoretical principle of saturation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) guided the number of participants to be recruited. The principle of saturation posits that once new data does not add to the previously collected information, the point of saturation is reached and thus any new data becomes redundant. Strauss and Corbin (1998) provide a formal definition of theoretical saturation to be “the point in category development at which no new properties, dimensions or relationships emerge during analysis” (p. 143). Thus, whenever data is collected through

theoretical sampling this means that the researcher will “go to places, people or events that will maximize opportunities to discover variation among concepts and to densify categories in terms of their properties and dimension” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 201).

Research for this Ph.D. study was conducted to allow for maximal possible variation along the broad demographic categories: citizenship status, host country, ethnicity and current residence in BiH. For example, to provide for greatest diversity according to citizenship status, 34 participants are BiH citizens and one participant is in the process of obtaining BH citizenship; 14 participants are single citizenship holders, 19 participants have dual citizenship, while two participants have triple citizenship. According to host country, Germany – 8, US – 7, Switzerland – 4, Turkey – 3, Australia – 2, Italy – 2, Norway – 2, Multiple (Croatia and Montenegro; Serbia and Argentina) – 2, Argentina – 1, Austria – 1, Holland – 1, Serbia – 1, Slovenia – 1. Looking at the ethnic composition of the sample: 15 participants are Bosniak, two are Croat, five are Serb and 13 participants declared themselves to belong to the Others/BiH citizens category. In relation to the participant’s current residence in B&H, Sarajevo (FBH) – 12, East Sarajevo (RS) – 1, Prijedor (RS) – 4, Banja Luka (RS) – 1, Sanski Most (FBH) – 1, Kozarac (RS) – 2, Velika Kladuša (FBH) – 1, Trebinje (RS) – 2, Ljubuški (FBH) -1, Počitelj (FBH) -1, Mostar (FBH) – 1, Nevesinje (RS) -1, Derвента (RS) -2, Gračanica (FBH) – 1, Maglaj (FBH) -1, Jajce (FBH) -1, Srebrenica (RS) -2. The choice of residence is relevant both for analyzing minority vs. majority return and rural vs. urban return. Also, the current residence criteria allowed for examining variation within the same ethnicity, including regional variation and intra-ethnic conflict¹. For example, enlightening insights could be reached by comparing perspectives of a Croat from Bosnia with a Croat from Herzegovina or a Bosniak from Sanski Most with a Bosniak from Velika Kladuša.

¹ In reference to the Bosniak intra-ethnic conflict between the BiH Army and military units loyal to Fikret Abdić and his “Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia”, centered in Velika Kladuša.

Other relevant demographic criteria driving the selection of study participants were age, gender, religion, level of religiosity, majority vs. minority return, educational level, marital status and income level. All the study participants are of working age, between 30 and 55 years. This criteria is important for a deeper examination of motivation for return. The decision to return involved a considerable amount of financial risk for each study participant, because they are neither still in school, nor have they attained retirement abroad. Variation in the time spent abroad included those who have only been abroad for five years, all the way to 30+ years. Also, their time of return varied from one to 21 years. 24 of the participants are men and nine are women. Variation in marital and family status is also present in the sample, with 23 participants being married with children, four divorced either with or without children and eight participants who are single. Looking at citizenship from the perspective of either majority or minority return is highly relevant for this Ph.D. project, so 14 participants are minority returnees, while 21 are majority returnees. While 22 interviewees are Muslim, four Orthodox Christian, two Catholic, one Buddhist and five agnostic, all levels of religiosity are present in the sample within each religious tradition, particularly for the three major denominations (Islam, Orthodox Christianity and Catholicism). All levels of education are present in the sample from participants who have completed no more than four years of elementary schooling to two participants who have earned Ph.D. titles. Diverse professions are present ranging from a yoga instructor, B&B owner, IT manager, painters, advertising executive, politician, educational specialist, farmer, manager, academic to ex-football player and current restaurant owner. The majority of participants are self-employed either as small business owners or freelancers.

Although the principle of “theoretical saturation” is useful on a conceptual level, practical guidelines on how many participants need to be included in the sample are not entirely clear and the most frequent advice is “it depends” (Baker & Edwards, 2012, p. 43). Guest et al. (2006), also show how sample sizes in qualitative research are highly variable with theoretical

saturation reached at much smaller sample sizes than initially projected. A notable exception from the general lack of methodological guidelines on adequate sample size for qualitative research is Creswell (2007), who advises conducting 20 to 40 in-depth interviews in the case of a typical grounded theory study. This Ph.D. study heeded both the principle of theoretical saturation and a generic “rule of thumb” set by Creswell (2007) and a sample size of 35 participants was finally set.

2.3.6. Participant recruitment

An initial list of potential interviewees was based on the list of participants in the Al Jazeera Balkans “I want to go home” (*Hoću Kući*) documentary (13 interviewees), a list of “successful examples” of returnees jointly prepared by the UNDP and the BiH Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees – Diaspora Division (5 interviewees) and examples of returnees associated with the Sarajevo-based RESTART business enterprise (3 interviewees) and Naša Perspektiva, an NGO devoted to diaspora - home country cooperation (3 interviewees). I also contacted TUMED (*Türkiye Mezunları Derneği*), a Turkish Alumni Association to obtain access to two participants who returned from Turkey to BiH. In addition to the aforementioned formal diaspora networks, I collected news stories broadcast on BiH TV stations and published in local newspapers and magazines, featuring the life stories of returnees. Six participants were recruited by following stories broadcast/published by: Radio Television of Republika Srpska, Derventa TV, N1- a CNN affiliate and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Two interviewees were recruited by “snowballing” from one interview to the next. Finally, I interviewed one returnee, who is also a personal acquaintance. Approximately 42 people were contacted and 35 accepted to participate in the study. Within the seven people who declined participation were three people who stated politely that they could not devote the necessary time and energy to the

project; one person was annoyed that they were contacted and rejected quite impolitely and three people neither replied to the recruitment letter nor responded to the follow-up phone calls.

2.3.7. Inductive inferences

Up until this point of the research cycle the data collection process was deductively driven, primarily by the theoretically-rooted research question, which represents a summarized version of the conceptual framework. However, as the in-depth interviews were conducted, inductive inferences started gaining importance. Hennink, Hutter & Bailey (2010) refer to the inductive inferences as a “crucial point in the qualitative research cycle” because it is at this point that inductive reasoning, where insights are drawn from the collected data and not from existing theory, began to dominate the research process. It is also important to note the cyclical nature of qualitative research that particularly gains prominence during this phase. Although during the design cycle the interview guide was set as a direct product of the research questions and conceptual framework, the questions on the interview guide were refined as data collection proceeded. As one interview was completed, key insights from that interview were used to modify the questions on the interview guide to be then used in the following interview. Following the advice of Bogdan & Biklen (2007), field notes from one interview were used to make inductive inferences and shape the subsequent interview. According to Hennink, Hutter & Bailey (2010) this process allows me to dive deeper into the issues with each successive interview while data collection proceeded as a spiral into more profound levels of understanding. Initially, deductive reasoning guided the research project, but subsequently, the dominance of inductive reasoning through the making of inductive inferences during the ethnographic cycle began to set the stage for the analytic phase of qualitative research.

2.4. Data analysis

The dictionary defines ‘analysis’ as “a detailed examination of anything complex in order to understand its nature or determine its essential features” (Analysis, n.d.) and according to Tesch (1990), “no methodologist could say it better” (p. 113). The generic definition of analysis gives us a clue as to the two most general elements of the analytic cycle: “detailed examination,” which can be seen as “identification of themes” when translated to the language of qualitative data analysis (QDA) and “determination of essential features” or “understanding” viewed as “construction of propositional statements” or hypotheses that place the themes in relationship with each other (Tesch, 1990, p. 113). Bogdan and Taylor (1975) provide a succinct definition of QDA analogous to the generic definition of ‘analysis’. “‘Data analysis’ refers to the process which entails an effort to formally identify themes and to construct hypotheses (ideas) as they are suggested by the data and an attempt to demonstrate support for those themes and hypotheses. By hypotheses we mean nothing more than propositional statements” (p. 79 as cited in Tesch, 1990, p. 113-114). Defining qualitative data analysis as two intertwining processes of data organization (identifying themes) and data interpretations (discovering relationships between themes) is also characteristic of a number of other scholars, such as Miles and Huberman (1994), Glaser and Strauss (1999) and Boyatzis (2008). An alternative phrasing of a QDA definition is also offered by Marshall and Rosman (2006), as “a search for general statements about relationships and underlying themes” (p. 154 as cited in Gibson & Brown, 2009, p. 3). The Marshall and Rosman view of QDA also more or less reiterates the generic definition of analysis as comprising “detailed examination” and “understanding.” Prior to proceeding with steps of data analysis, including coding, memoing and the associated tasks of description, comparison, conceptualization and explanation, two stages of data preparation were conducted: transcribing and anonymizing the data sources.

2.4.1 Transcription and Translation

Since the in-depth interviews are the main source of data for this Ph.D. study, particular care was given to the accuracy and technical precision of the transcribing process. The verbatim transcript of an in-depth interview is an exact written record of the participants' own words as well as all particular expressions, phrases and colloquialisms to reflect cultural and linguistic nuances and thus provide greatest richness of data. A trusted transcriber was hired and trained according to guidelines set by Bogdan and Biklen (2007), Atkinson (1992) in Seale (2004), as well as elaborated in reference to validity and reliability by Perakyla (2004). The transcriber is a native speaker of Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian and as such was in a position to register each colloquialism, half-mumbling or difficult to understand construction. Transcriptions were conducted parallel to data collection to insure maximum efficiency and to allow me to start anonymizing, coding and pursuing the subsequent steps of data analysis, almost as soon as the field work had been completed. A shared Dropbox folder made it possible for me to upload audio material recorded during fieldwork and for the transcriber to post the completed interview transcripts. In order to ensure quality of transcriptions, I checked each transcript against the audio material and made the minimal, but necessary corrections. After completion of data analysis and selection of quotes to be used in the results chapters of the thesis, I translated the selected quotes from B-C-S to English. I also included footnotes explaining any lexical or semantic particularities found to be relevant for accurate presentation of data analysis results.

2.4.2. Anonymization

While a detailed elaboration of the overall role of ethics in the research process is provided in the section of this Ph.D. dissertation entitled *Ethical Considerations*, the most important ethical concern at this stage of the research process was protecting the privacy of study participants by eliminating any personal identifiers from the transcripts. When discussing

the importance of anonymizing data as a step prior to actual analysis, Miles et al. (2014) cite Sieber (1992) who distinguishes between privacy, confidentiality and anonymity, defining the latter as a “lack of identifiers, information that would indicate which individuals or organization provided which data” (p. 70-71). In explaining the *Ethics of Descriptive Reporting* Bazeley (2013) also warns that in studies where anonymity and confidentiality have been promised to participants it might not be enough to simply substitute pseudonyms for the actual names and adjust participant ages, since the participant could still remain identifiable in cases of small and distinct groups under investigation. Practically, the anonymization process involved using pseudonyms instead of the study participants’ actual names as well as changing the names of particular locations, workplaces or any other specific information that could uncover the actual identity of the study participants. Appendix VI summarizes the demographic data of the studied sample with names of study participants replaced by pseudonyms and any personal information removed.

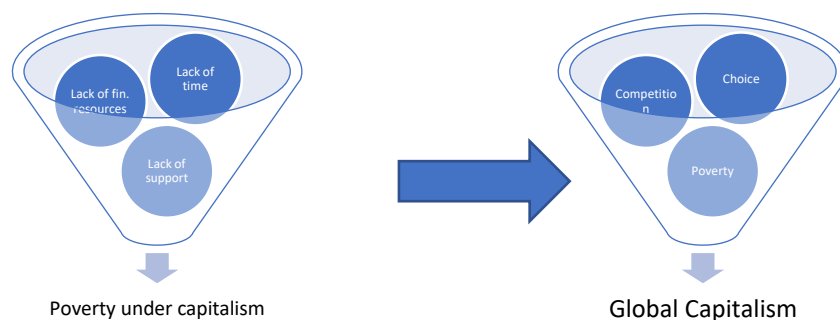
2.4.3. Coding

Following how qualitative data analysis was defined previously, coding can be thought of as the first step in analysis: organizing and managing the data by reducing and segmenting it to meaningful coding units, labeling these units with codes and categorizing them into a coding scheme. Hennink, Hutter & Bailey (2010) define a code as “an issue, idea, concept, process that is evident in the data” (p. 216). In addition to viewing coding as segmenting and reducing the data, Coffey and Atkinson (1992) stress that coding cannot act as a replacement for analysis. However, seen more broadly, coding can be understood as both data organization and data interpretation. Strauss (1987) defines coding as “the general term for conceptualizing data; thus coding includes raising questions and giving provisional answers (hypotheses) about categories and about their relations. A code is the term for any product of this analysis (whether category

or a relation among two or more categories)” (p. 20-21). In other words, Strauss (1987) goes beyond the perspective on coding as the first step in analysis to include further measures so that coding also encompasses data interpretation. This Ph.D. project firstly employed line-by-line coding. Secondly, I used constant comparison to group similar codes into progressively more abstract units: categories and concepts. The constant comparison method is described in greater detail in the section entitled “Comparison, Conceptualization and Categorization”, but here is an illustration of how the process worked in practice. For example, in the first iteration of coding three different codes were developed: “Lack of financial resources”, “lack of time”, “lack of support” to discuss the broader subject of “poverty in capitalism.” In the second iteration of coding, the resulting code was merged with other codes discussing the merits and demerits of global capitalism, to form the category: “Global Capitalism.”

Figure 2.2

Developing codes



In addition to the inductively-driven generation of codes from the data, this Ph.D. project followed the Hennink, Hutter & Bailey (2010) guidelines for code development and used deductive codes, originating from the conceptual framework, which was developed during the design cycle and operationalized throughout the data collection cycle. As suggested by the literature, extra care was taken not to impose the deductive codes onto the data. Instead, the data were expected to validate the deductive codes. Following the use of “sensitizing concepts”

in the interview guide, there were certain in-built expectations for the future use of deductive coding. For example, the question: “What does the idea of ‘belonging’ mean to you? Why is the idea of belonging to BiH important to you?”, was asked with the following probes: Childhood memories/Friends and family/Neighborhood, municipality, city/Bank accounts/”Buy domestic” campaign/Investment decisions/Language. The expectation from the literature review and the resulting conceptual framework was that the following deductive codes would be confirmed by the data: Belonging, Place-belongingness, autobiographical belonging, relational belonging, economic belonging and linguistic belonging. As can be seen from the final coding scheme (Appendix VII), some of the deductive codes were confirmed by the data, while others were not. Also, inductively derived codes were added to the “Belonging” parent node. Due to limitations of space, two node families were almost entirely left out of data display: “Leaving BiH” and “Life abroad.” Although these data were coded, I made a conscious decision to leave them outside of analysis, in order to focus on data, which answer the research questions directly.

Tesch (1990) warns that concepts can only rarely be directly observed in the data and, thus, the creation of a firm structure, a codebook, that fits the data well is a slow and iterative process. As was illustrated above, the coding scheme evolved slowly over a period of close to nine months of data analysis, with the final coding scheme presented in Appendix VII. Once coding was completed, a full list of codes – a codebook, with each code given a label and a clear definition emerged. As Boyatzis (1998) proposes, some rules of formulating a good code include the following:

1. Label (clear, concise and unambiguous name given to code);
2. Definition (description about what the code means);
3. Description (indication about where the code is likely to appear in the data);
4. Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria (when to include or exclude the code);

5. Examples (examples of actual coding units)

A list of codes with their names, definitions and other features comprises the codebook, a document that was permanently developing throughout the research project. Although the codebook was developed as new codes were added; existing codes divided or combined as well as code definitions refined, as suggested by Bogdan and Biklen (2007) the complete list of inductive codes were sent after all data sources were read and coded. Initially, only a small portion of the data was used to develop the codes. Coding of the entire dataset was a separate process during which all available data were labeled. Analysis of the full dataset was enabled as it became searchable for any specific code. The full codebook for this Ph.D. dissertation is provided in Appendix VIII.

2.4.4. Analytic memos

Parallel to coding the dataset, I developed a habit of systematic and regular writing of analytic memos with the basic idea being similar to keeping a reflective journal during data collection. With the use of both the reflective journal and analytic memos, I got the chance to reflect on data collection and analysis by recording my evolving understanding of the researched issues. A number of different methodology scholars (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Saldana, 2009 and Yin, 2011) emphasize the importance of keeping a clear and transparent audit trail of qualitative data analysis. Yin (2011) advises preserving any and all ideas regarding data analysis in the form of memos, even when they at first appear to be “half-baked” (p. 186). By doing this, I got to decide which analytical observations to include in the final analysis and which ones to exclude, based on a wide range of collected memos. Saldana (2009) presents a list of issues which the researcher needs to address in memo writing, such as reflections on the following: code choices and their operational definitions, emergent patterns, categories, themes and concepts, potential connections between codes, themes, categories and concepts, as well as

emergent or related existing theory. Throughout the research process memos progressively became more and more abstract, from the initial ones that are most descriptive to “metamemos” (p. 39) writing in later stages, which were more theoretical in nature.

Strauss & Corbin (1998) stress the importance of memos throughout data analysis and present detailed guidelines on how to write them. I generally used my memos to “talk to myself about the data” (Clarke, 2005 as cited in Saldana, 2009, p. 32) and in that sense my memos were quite free-flowing in form. I paid particular attention to how visual representation of relationships between concepts, such as mini-frameworks and diagrams, are used. Dey (1993) sums up the point of using diagrams in memos: “Diagrammatic displays are not just a way of decorating our conclusions, they also provide a way of reaching them” (p. 192 as cited in Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 140-141). In other words, coming up with a clear visual representation of relationships between concepts made it possible for me to establish those relationships in the first place. Finally, the ultimate objective of writing memos is integration by keeping an audit trail of the complete analytic cycle (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), including description, comparisons and explanation.

Following the guidelines established by the literature, analytic memos were a crucial component of this Ph.D. project. They were used to define concepts, such as defining “Emotional citizenship” as the intersection of the “1st (BiH) citizenship” and specific emotions or “Pragmatic citizenship” as the intersection of the “2nd (foreign) citizenship” and emotional indifference. These definitions came as a result of extensive memo writing throughout data analysis, finally resulting in a visual display (Figure 4.1). Another example is building the conceptual model, as a series of steps in pattern identification. The visual display of the conceptual model is presented in the Conclusion (Figure 7.1), while a set of Analytical Memos leading up to conceptual mapping is in Appendix X. In addition to producing memos which connect overall concepts, throughout data analysis I wrote interpretative notes to be used later

in building a “theorized storyline” (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007) in the Results sections of the thesis.

2.4.5. Description

In writing thick-descriptions, I tried to follow the suggestions of Bazeley (2013) on how to describe concepts, as well as on what descriptive elements to include in the Methodology Chapter and which ones to leave for the Results Chapters. Creating thick-descriptions is the founding block of qualitative data analysis, by providing answers to the question of “what” is the phenomenon. Referring to description as the most important initial step in data analysis, Bazeley (2013) provides a list of the important roles description plays in: situating the study; refining understanding of the data; explaining the significance of categories, concepts and themes as well as their properties and dimensions; and allowing for further comparative analysis and generalizations of the studied phenomenon to other contexts. Description is viewed as necessary to any sort of theorizing (Patton, 2002 as cited in Bazeley, 2013), and “though description is clearly not theory, description is basic to theorizing (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 54 as cited in Bazeley, 2013, p. 228). Strauss & Corbin (1998) look at description as “telling a story, sometimes a very graphic and detailed one, without stepping back to interpret events or explain why certain events occurred and not others” (p. 25). The results chapters (Chapters 3-5) of this Ph.D. attempt to tell the story, but also provide interpretation. Although there are purely descriptive studies that seek to explore a phenomenon in great detail, if the goal is explanation, analysis cannot stop at a descriptive level. In such cases, the detailed picture resulting from a highly descriptive account of the data is a necessary and founding first step in analysis, however, it cannot replace the interpretative steps that seek to compare and explain. I certainly tried my best to avoid the trap of simply listing “themes and quotes” (Bazeley, 2009) without any attempt to link these themes into a more comprehensive model. Context of behavior

is described, thus producing social and cultural meaning, but thick description was soon followed by comparison in order to move data analysis into higher levels of abstraction with greater explanatory power.

2.4.6. Comparison, conceptualization and explanation

When analyzing data qualitatively, this Ph.D. study employed constant comparison as one of the essential components in cyclical reiterations of four interconnected tasks: developing codes, describing and comparing these codes, conceptualizing and categorizing the data and finally developing inductive explanation. The main reason for using constant comparison is that it enables deeper exploration of the data, when associations and patterns are noticed within the dataset. Glaser (1978) as cited in Bogdan & Bilken (2007) explains the steps of the constant comparative method towards developing explanations as: data collection; exploring the collected data for main themes, repeating issues or activities which become categories of focus; collecting more data to provide greater diversity, dimensions of the identified categories; describing the emerging categories accounting for the diversity of incidents while constantly searching for new incidents; engaging with the data and the emerging model to discover basic social relationships; continuing to focus analysis on the core categories.

Comparison was followed by conceptualizing, categorizing and developing explanations, with each set of tasks presenting a movement towards higher and higher levels of abstraction as patterns and associations in the data were recognized. Although it should be noted that various researchers ascribe differing meanings to the terms concept, category and theme and some use these terms synonymously (Bazeley, 2009), the important point to keep in mind is the process referred to as the “analytical hierarchy” – “the process through which qualitative ‘findings’ are built from the original raw data” (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 217). Higher and higher levels of abstraction are achieved as analysis proceeds. According to Strauss & Corbin

(1998) conceptualization is a process of grouping codes with similar characteristics into broader concepts, categorization means grouping the concepts into larger categories, which subsequently provide the foundation for theory development. Strauss & Corbin (1998), similarly to Hennink, Hutter & Bailey (2010), also agree with concepts being derived from the literature, thus allowing for the existence of deductive codes. Acknowledging the “interplay between induction and deduction” (p. 137), Strauss & Corbin (1998) warn against forcing interpretations of the data and thus ensuring for “interpretations to emerge.” They conclude that constantly comparing various pieces of data to each other gives the research the opportunity to anchor her interpretations firmly in the data and escape the trap of forcing pre-conceived concepts from the existing literature onto the dataset.

In order to come up with explanations that are a good fit to the data, I conducted a series of tasks including: finding and studying patterns in the data; developing initial explanatory “hunches”; going back and forth between the initial explanation and the data to check for closeness of fit; trying out rival explanations and finally producing a conceptual model. Matrix query results, revealing patterns in the data, are presented in Appendix IX. Explaining a phenomenon involves discovering why certain observed behavior occurs when existing theory fails to provide adequate answers. In that sense, “explanations eliminate puzzles and provide intellectual satisfaction” (Blakie, 2010, p. 71). Ritchie & Lewis (2003) provide both a comprehensive understanding of explanatory research and practical advice on how to conduct it. Study participants often provided their own explanations for phenomena and in some cases, I chose to explicitly report these explanations and in some cases infer my own explanations from the responses. When trying to explain patterns occurring in the data, I followed assumptions of common sense, but also checked them against the entire data set to make sure that the data support them. I also used the advice of Ritchie & Lewis (2003) on developing initial “hunches” or beginnings of explanations by comparison with other studies from existing

literature and the guidance of Bazeley (2009) with a variety of practical steps and strategies for coming up with explanations for phenomena.

2.4.7. Computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) – NVIVO 11 for Mac

As suggested by Spencer et al (2003) NVIVO was used for both data management and for the interpretive process throughout data analysis of this Ph.D. study. Actually, there has been some scholarly debate (Spencer et al, 2003) on the relative merits of using CAQDAS. While many argue that CAQDAS saves time by eliminating manual and clerical work, improves the researcher's capabilities in dealing with large volumes of data and increases the validity of qualitative research; others are concerned with the rigidity in the research process when CAQDAS is used, reification of data, focus on breadth of data rather than on the depth in interpretation and the necessary time and energy expended to learn how to effectively use the software packages (John & Johnson, 2000). What most scholars seem to agree on is that using software should not preclude the researcher from playing a central role in the process of data analysis. The software package is there as a tool for the researcher to use, similarly to how an author uses a word processor to help her write a text (Flick, 2009 as cited in Spencer et al, 2003). However, neither can the word processor write the text, nor does the CAQDAS perform the analytic tasks instead of the researcher. As noted by Coffey and Atkinson (1996) "none of the computer programs will perform automatic data analysis. They all depend on researchers defining for themselves what analytic issues are to be explored, what ideas are important and what modes of representation are most appropriate. (p. 187 as cited in Spencer et al, 2014, p. 290). In view of the scholarly debate on the use of CAQDAS, this Ph.D. study employed NVIVO (version 11 for Mac) as an effective tool in conducting qualitative research.

All data (interview transcripts, field notes, reflective journal as well as analytical memos, written during data analysis) for the entire Ph.D. study were stored in one NVIVO project with all demographic information about the interviewees attached so that matrix queries could be performed to identify patterns in the data. As I discovered during data analysis, NVIVO 11 for Mac is quite deficient compared to NVIVO for Windows. For example, NVIVO for Mac could only perform matrix coding queries based on overlap, and not on proximity, sequence, nesting, exclusion or any other relationship. In hindsight, this process would have been facilitated had I used the more advanced version of NVIVO for Windows. Due to the limitation of using NVIVO 11 for Mac, after completing all coding, I ended up having to re-code selected sections of the dataset to create overlaps within coding units. In no way, were the overlaps “forced upon the data”, but rather each coding unit was extended just sufficiently so that other types of relationships between the codes, such as proximity or sequence, could be included. Seeking patterns based on co-occurrence of codes within coding units still remained as the main tool to: identify associations; put forward propositions and formulate explanations. Matrix query results are presented in Appendix IX and together with the analytic memos, they form the main structure around which a “theorized storyline” (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007) is built in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

In order to gain the necessary proficiency in using NVIVO I benefited from auditing a Ph.D. seminar (ARY 619 – Nitel Veri Analizi) in Qualitative Data Analysis at Anadolu University in Eskisehir, Turkey during Spring 2017 and attending a European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR) Summer School in Methods and Techniques taught at the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary (SD101A Qualitative Data Analysis – Concepts and Approaches) during Summer 2017. In addition to the above mentioned coursework, I also took advantage of the QSR International online tutorials and published manual on NVIVO for Mac as well as the excellent textbook on NVIVO written by Pat Bazeley and Kristi Jackson, which

mainly refers to NVIVO for Windows, but could still be applied for a general understanding of NVIVO functionality. Above all, the direct experience of developing an NVIVO project from the initial steps of importing data to the final stages of data visualization and reporting provided the greatest learning opportunities in mastering the use of the software package.

2.5. Ethical considerations

Simultaneously to defending the research design of my Ph.D. study and prior to beginning data collection, my application to the Ethics Committee of Istanbul Bilgi University was approved (Appendix V). This Ph.D. dissertation observes the general ethical guidelines of the Belmont Report with specific guidance provided by Hennink, Hutter & Bailey (2010). In 1978, the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Behavioral Research prepared the Belmont Report as the main document to govern any research involving human subjects. The three main principles of the report are as follows:

1. **Respect of persons:** Each individual participating in the research study needs to be treated as an agent with full autonomy and those persons with decreased autonomy need to be protected.
2. **Beneficence:** The research study needs to maximize benefits to society while taking the necessary steps to avoid any harm to the study's participants.
3. **Justice:** The researcher needs to make sure that the project is carried out in a fair and non-exploitative fashion.

Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2010) suggest informed consent, self-determination, minimization of harm, anonymity and confidentiality to be the mechanisms giving practical application of the above core principles.

1. **Informed consent:** To ensure informed consent from each participant in the study, the researcher sent a written copy of the Recruitment Letter; presented a short introduction

summarizing the Ph.D. project before the interview and obtained a signed copy of the Informed Consent Form.

2. **Self-determination:** Each participant was asked whether they want to participate in the Ph.D. study or not, without any negative consequences of their choice.
3. **Minimization of harm:** Extra precautions were made so that no harm is made to the study participants and that they were not exposed to any type of risk.
4. **Anonymity:** Once interviews were transcribed they were anonymized and all identifying information removed, such as the participant's names address and any other personal information. Each participant's privacy is completely protected.
5. **Confidentiality:** To ensure confidentiality, all audio recordings of the interviews as well as transcripts are kept safely on a designated work computer and a secure external hard drive.

The ethical considerations listed above were the guiding principles of this Ph.D. study in all three phases of the research cycle, but particularly during data collection and data analysis. The interviewees are members of a very small and distinct group in a relatively small society. Some of them have also given interviews to the general press and have made other public appearances, therefore, they could be recognizable if adequate measures to protect their identities are not taken. In answering the interview guide questions, the returnees generously revealed their most sensitive experiences, attitudes and emotions. As a result, they have provided me with an incredibly rich dataset from which substantial conclusions could be drawn. However, their candid and elaborate responses were given under conditions of anonymity and confidentiality, therefore, upholding these ethical principles is of utmost importance. During the analytical cycle, I was presenting the initial findings of my Ph.D. study at three different conferences: in the U.S., Sweden and Croatia. The idea was to gain multiple perspectives on my Ph.D. project from diverse audiences of international, European and regional scholars and

policy-makers. The greatest lesson on the importance of upholding ethical standards of research came from the *Western Balkans Migration Conference*, held in Zagreb, Croatia, when a journalist in the audience directly asked me about the identity of one of my study participants. Based on just a few demographic characteristics, the journalist could guess the identity of the person I was discussing and she wanted my confirmation of her guess. In response, I read her the Ethical Considerations section of my Ph.D. thesis, but also learnt that even the scant demographic data needs to be used wisely, in order to avoid any possibility for ethical violations.

2.6. The researcher's role

The issues surrounding the ways in which emotions enter into the discussion of citizenship, diasporic belonging and a sense of home have always had a deeply personal significance for me. The country of my original citizenship, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was dismembered during my teenage years in a devastating war which had its deadliest consequences in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the country of my current citizenship. I first became a member of the then Yugoslav diaspora at the age of seven, when my family moved from Sarajevo to Tripoli, Libya, which is where I spent my late childhood. With minor interruptions, I have been a transmigrant for the larger part of my adult life, spending significant periods of time in the U.S., Hungary and Turkey. I was 17, attending the third grade of the First Sarajevo High School, when the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina started. After 18 months of life under siege in Sarajevo, completing my high school education under sniper fire and burning books for heating fuel, I left my home country to go to college. Experiences of return, re-emigration and transnational living followed with the issues that this Ph.D. thesis attempts to tackle being a part of my life, for most of my life. Therefore, the interest in this subject area is certainly personal. However, this Ph.D. study is first and foremost a scientific inquiry and not

a personal narrative/memoir. I am stating the details of my background to gain awareness of any potential biases and work earnestly at eliminating them from my analysis.

My own life experience during the three years of producing this Ph.D. study to a large extent mirrored the experience of my study participants. Although I have been thinking about the concepts and ideas elaborated within this Ph.D. study; discussing them with friends and colleagues and collecting relevant literature throughout my Ph.D. program, I made a full-time commitment to working on the Ph.D. dissertation during three academic years, starting in Fall 2016 and ending in Spring 2019. During the first year, I developed the research design for the Ph.D. living in Eskisehir, Turkey as an active member of the BiH diaspora. After defending my research design in June 2017, I left Turkey and came back to Bosnia and Herzegovina to collect my data in Summer and Fall of 2017. The second year was devoted to data analysis and conference presentations. During the 2017-2018 academic year, I was a transmigrant, living a transnational life between BiH and Turkey, as well as making other trips abroad. The third year of the Ph.D. study was entirely dedicated to writing my thesis. During a.y. 2018-2019 I was living the life of a returnee to Sarajevo, BiH and fully replicating the experience of my study participants.

2.7. Overcoming limitations and verification

Although closeness and familiarity with the case are beneficial and offer potential for valuable insight they also comes with their own set of limitations that need to be overcome so that the Ph.D. study adheres to high standards of verification. Throughout data analysis and subsequent thesis writing, I used triangulation, researcher reflexivity, peer review and confirmation with study participants to verify that the study is conducted in a rigorous and credible manner. The data collected for analysis comes from in-depth interviews, field notes and a reflective journal. The collected data was triangulated between these various sources. As

was discussed in *The Researcher's Role* section, I am a citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina myself with life experience that parallels the experiences of my study participants, so it is only natural that I approach the study, as any scholar working within the interpretivist paradigm, with my own set of underlying biases and prejudices. However, being aware of one's own subjectivity is the first step towards limiting its potential influence on data analysis and interpretation of the study's results.

Throughout the Ph.D. study, I took active measures at overcoming limitations inherent in being in such close proximity to the case. As was mentioned previously, during data collection, I kept a systematic record of my own reflections on fieldwork (see Appendix XI) in the form of a daily reflective journal. I also accompanied each in-depth interview with the writing of a field note, including visual representation of the interview setting. Analogously, during the data analysis cycle I kept a daily record of analytic memos, which show a clear progression of my thinking about the themes and patterns emerging from the data, creating the bases for running matrix queries and ultimately ending with the production of the conceptual model. In addition to employing tactics encouraging self-reflectivity, throughout data collection, data analysis and thesis writing, I worked closely with three peer reviewers as part of a writing group. Two of the reviewers are faculty members (Ozyegin University, Turkey and Uppsala University, Sweden) in the social sciences and have used a qualitative methodology in their Ph.D. dissertations, while the third reviewer is in the process of completing her Ph.D. thesis (Bogazici University, Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History), also using a qualitative methodology. These three colleagues assisted me in improving the study's rigor and credibility by identifying possible biases and removing their influence on data analysis. Finally, in order to validate the explanation, the final product of analysis, was compared and contrasted to the raw data as well as presented to the study participants to gain their reactions. A coherent explanation that is grounded in data should be recognizable to the study participants, perhaps

not in each one of its details, but certainly in its general operating principles (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). To satisfy this requirement of verification, I contacted a small group of the study participants and presented to them the results of my analysis. To a large extent, they agreed with my proposed explanations.



Chapter 3: Voluntarily returning to a post-conflict society

3.1. Introduction

This Ph.D. thesis examines what could be considered somewhat of an anomaly - voluntary return migration to a post-conflict society. The people this study attempts to understand are part of a small cohort in absolute terms, and particularly small relative to the staggering numbers of people either leaving or trying to leave the same home state. Their return is “voluntary” because each one of the participants in the study had the option of staying in the host state, as most of them have also attained full citizenship status. There was also neither any direct political, economic or social pressure for them to return nor were they a part of any assisted repatriation program. They are of full working age, still in the process of building a retirement nest egg and thus, the decision to return to Bosnia and Herzegovina entailed a considerable amount of financial risk for each returnee. The circumstances of their departure from BiH were in most cases violent and traumatic, while their years of life as a refugee in the host state were filled with other kinds of struggle. After managing to re-build their shattered lives abroad, they decide to come back. This chapter attempts to understand why? Specifically, it provides an answer to the following research question: Why did they choose to return and remain in the home state? What are the main drivers behind their decision(s)? While the question of what initially motivated their decision is important for explaining the movement from host to home state, looking at the returnees’ reintegration process allows for an understanding of their continued stay.

To better understand the context in which return migration takes place, this chapter begins by reviewing the historical background of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and continues by surveying the history of emigration from BiH before the war, forced migration during the war and the continuous outflow after the war ended. The chapter next turns to an

examination of different elements of postwar return migration including forced and assisted repatriation, the UNHCR's efforts at promoting minority return and the subsequent acceptance of majority return being the actual reality, as well as the focus on sustainable return and the need of reconceptualizing return and turning to transnational return as potentially most viable. Given the importance of economic conditions for return to be sustainable, the chapter provides a snapshot of the BiH economy, identifying its structural weaknesses and challenges ahead. Results of qualitative data analysis are presented against the BiH contextual background. I firstly discuss the full complexity of the decision to return, with the simplifying distinction made between economic and emotional reasons. What follows is an in-depth look at each set of reasons with interpretive answers provided on the relative importance of each for the motivation to return. I end the presentation of the study's findings by investigating the obstacles, strategies for overcoming these obstacles and the evaluation of the success of return. The final section of the chapter discusses this Ph.D. study's results in the light of the wider literature on diaspora, transnationalism and return migration.

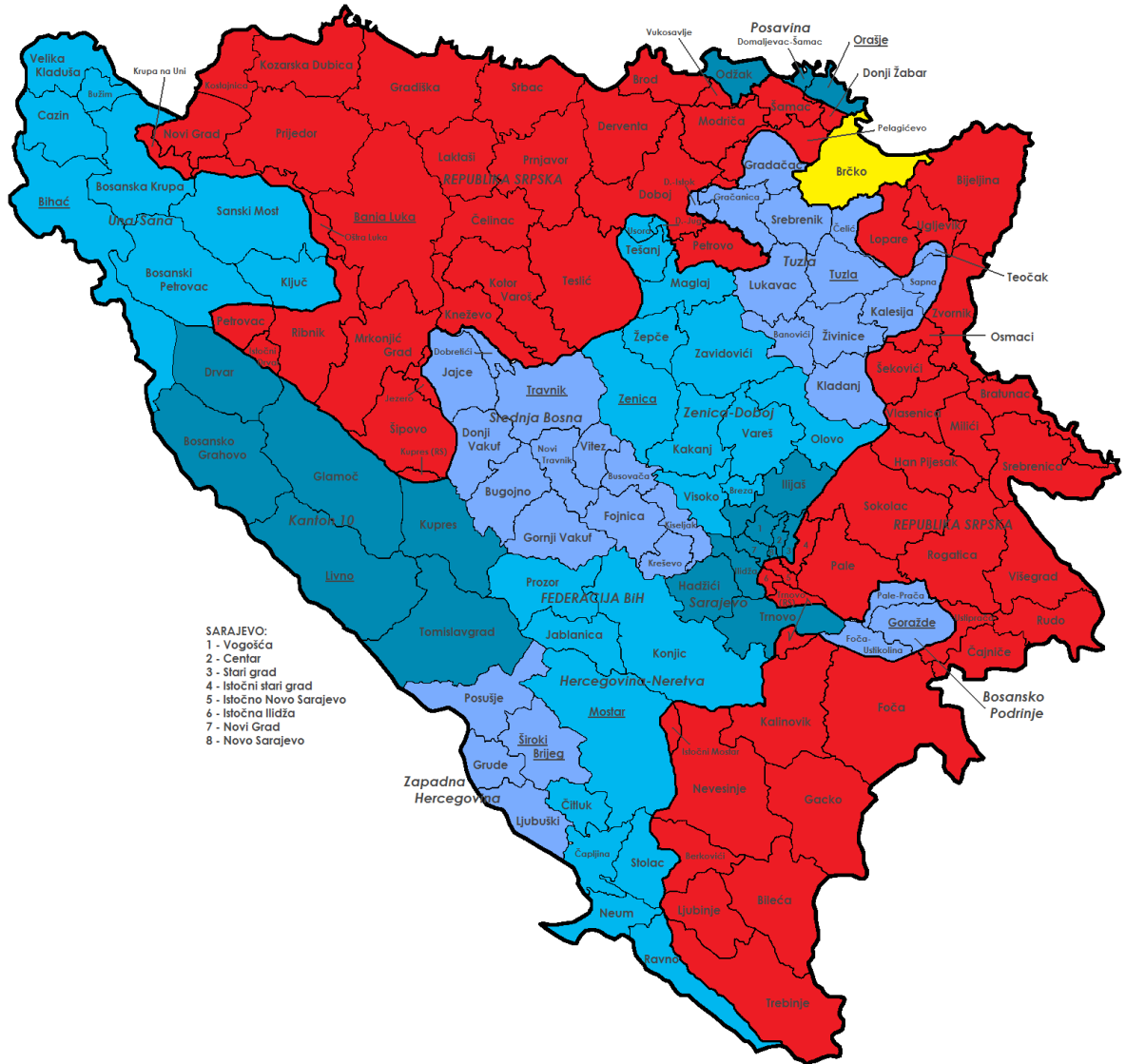
3.1.1. Bosnia and Herzegovina – A post-conflict society

On March 1, 1992, following a referendum, Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence from a collapsing Yugoslavia. The referendum was largely boycotted by the Bosnian Serbs, which, according to the 1991 census, comprised close to 31% of the population. The majority of the Bosnian Serbs neither accepted the legitimacy of the BiH government nor the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent state, thus BiH authorities declared independence with the support of 64% of its citizens. The Bosnian Serb leadership started an insurgency with the support of the Yugoslav National Army and Serbia making substantial territorial gains and occupying up to 60% of the country. Serb territorial advancement was accompanied by a systematic campaign of “ethnically-cleansing” all non-Serbs elements,

including people, cultural, historical and religious heritage. Two years into the war, the Bosnian Croats, supported by Croatia, replicated the Serb example; rejected the BiH government and set up their own territory within the BiH state. The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina lasted for three and a half years and resulted in a thorough and complete devastation of the country, its economy and people, its infrastructure and the very fabric of society. According to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) more than 100,000 people were killed and two million people, which was more than 50% of the B&H prewar population, were forcefully expelled from their homes. The armed conflict ended with the signing of the General Framework Agreement, commonly referred to as the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA), initially agreed upon at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio in November 1995 and officially confirmed in Paris on 14 December 1995.

Figure 3.1

Bosnia and Herzegovina: Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republika Srpska and the District of Brčko



Source: Delegation of the European Union to Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) in its Annex IV delivers the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which sets up an ethnically-based power-sharing state structure comprising two separate entities and a district: the Bosniak-Croat controlled Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH), the Serb dominated Republika Srpska (RS) and Brčko district as a self-governing unit, under jurisdiction of the sovereign BiH. The territorial breakdown agreed upon in Dayton is 51% for the FBiH and 49% for the RS. The Dayton Constitution envisions four

vertical levels of authority in the FBiH: Federation, 10 cantons, cities and 79 municipalities and two authority levels for the RS: 61 municipalities and Republika Srpska. Both the FBiH and the RS, as well as each canton in the FBiH have their own constitution, presidency, government, parliament and judiciary. As Bieber (2006) sums it up, power-sharing in BiH operates on three levels: entities, cantons and the state. When analyzing the definition of consociational power-sharing put forward by Arend Lijphart, Bieber (2006) points to four characteristics of a power-sharing system: grand coalitions, mutual veto rights, proportionality, segmental autonomy (Lijphart, 1977, p. 25–44). For example, when looking at the formation of grand coalitions, both the RS and the FBiH require them to include members from all three ethnic groups or constituent peoples. Eight Bosniak, five Croat and three Serb ministers are required in the FBiH, while each one of these ministers needs to have two deputies from the other two ethnic groups. By the same token, there need to be five Bosniak and three Croat ministers in the RS. Power-sharing at the state level is based on entity representation, so that one third of the ministers need to come from the RS and two thirds from the FBiH (Bieber, 2006). Overall, the entire constitutional structure is overwhelmingly characterized by the ethnicity element: Serb, Croat and Bosniak, while the highly-decentralized state structure of the Dayton Constitution grants the two entities unprecedented levels of autonomy.

In addition to setting up a power-sharing state structure, which makes effective rule virtually impossible, the DPA instituted the Office of the High Representative (OHR), responsible for monitoring the peace plan' implementation and in fact placing the BiH state in the position of an international semi-protectorate. Officially, the "High Representative is working with the people and institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the international community to ensure that Bosnia and Herzegovina evolves into a peaceful and viable

democracy on course for integration in Euro-Atlantic institutions²,” however, in reality the OHR was and still is just one part of the overall international presence in BiH. As Elissa Helms aptly summarizes:

While peacekeepers, humanitarian aid organizations, journalists, and diplomats had been operating in Bosnia during the war, the peace agreement ushered in much bigger swarms of development and aid workers, international administrators, advisors, consultants, trauma experts, mine-clearing specialists, doctors, youth workers, specialists in nonviolent conflict resolution, feminists, human rights activists, and many others. Bosnia was incorporated as another project site in the networks of humanitarian crisis response, democracy aid to post-socialist countries (i.e., Central and Eastern Europe [CEE]), as well as development agencies whose traditional targets had been Third World countries. Though these foreigners mainly came from Western Europe and North America, a number of Islamic organizations from Arab and other predominantly Muslim countries also took up projects in the Bosniak areas of Bosnia (as they later did in other parts of Southeast Europe with indigenous Muslim populations). (Helms, 2013, p. 28)

Thus, BiH’s effective status as an international semi-protectorate was sealed by three compounding factors: an institutionally weak, decentralized and fragmented state structure, the official position of the OHR and an overwhelming presence of “international community” representatives. As is pointed out by Helms (2013), the “international community” cannot be conceived of as a monolithic entity, but instead comprises diverse and often competing interests and policy-agendas, however, Western representatives consistently reassert their stated goals of building BiH into a democratic state with full respect for human rights and a functioning market economy, with prospects for future NATO and EU membership.

The DPA successfully brought an end to the tragedies of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but it did not create the necessary foundation for functional governance and prosperity in peacetime. For a country of 3.8 million people, the BiH Constitution envisages fourteen parliaments (state, two entities – FBiH and RS, ten cantons and Brčko district) with fourteen governments and close to two hundred government ministries. While the consociational model of power-sharing (Lijphart, 1977) assumes that ethnic elites will

² OHR. (2015). *General Information*. Retrieved from http://www.ohr.int/?page_id=1139

cooperate so that conflicts are managed, the BiH case attests to a reversed outcome of bitter rivalry and deepening divisions, partly aided by the constant involvement of international community representatives. Merdžanović (2015) makes a compelling case for understanding the post-war BiH political system as “imposed consociational democracy” in which the promised benefits of power-sharing, including preventing the “tyranny of majority,” are reversed due to constant foreign intervention creating perverse incentives for ethnic elites. Thus, the reality of the BiH case of consociational democracy with the added element of a semi-protectorate status, results in ethnic elites moving away from accommodation as predicted by Lijphart (1977) and towards further acrimony and extremism (Merdžanović, 2015). Analysts and commentators (see Keil & Perry, 2015) agree that Bosnia and Herzegovina is paralyzed and stuck, unable to find its way out of an ethnonationalist stranglehold. Perhaps their collective view is best summarized here: “None of us would deny that the *obscenely ineffective* (my emphasis) Dayton set-up of the country is a serious obstacle for any overall improvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina” (Jansen, 2014, p. 88). Twenty two years after its signing, the country still struggles with the “straightjacket” (Bieber, 2015) imposed by the Dayton Constitution.

In economic terms, ever since wartime hostilities ended, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been undergoing a three-fold transition. In terms of the transformation of its economy from socialist self-management of the former Yugoslavia to the neoliberal prescriptions of the Washington consensus, BiH is comparable to other similar post-socialist countries, particularly those of Central and East Europe. In addition, unlike other post-socialist economies, BiH is making its transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy as well as from “donor-dependency³” (Papić, 2001) to a sustainable economy. Directly after signing the DPA, 80% of BiH’s GDP per capita was lost due to wartime devastation (Pugh, 2002). Also, the majority of

³ Also see Bieber (2002) for further elaboration on the “dependency trap,” as it relates to international initiatives funding civil society organizations in BiH.

prewar GDP was generated by some twelve large, self-managed enterprises in heavy industry, whose operations were impossible to restart after the war both because of physical assets destruction and direct conditionality imposed by the OHR to break up these large conglomerates and privatize them (Stojanov, 2001). Some scholars, such as Donais (2005) argue that the continuing economic stagnation in BiH can be explained by the failure of neoliberal economic prescriptions, including a criminalized privatization process, and the criminal networks (Andreas, 2004; Festić & Rausche, 2004) of the three main ethnic political parties with their extensive systems of political patronage.

A brief macroeconomic snapshot of the BiH economy is characterized by consistently high unemployment rates, a currency board-induced deflationary monetary environment and a disproportionately high percentage of GDP funneled to public sector spending. The incredibly complicated, dysfunctional and inefficient public administration created by the Dayton Peace Agreement straddles, burdens and suffocates a miniscule economy of only USD 4, 771 per capita GDP (World Bank, 2017). According to the IMF, the size of the BiH public sector ranks it at the top of countries in the region, with most of its public sector spending spent on current items, such as wages and social transfers to its members. Years of economic stagnation and widespread corruption have led to a 45% unemployment rate and to the staggering 67.6% youth unemployment rate, the highest in the world according to World Bank estimates. Poverty looms large, with 27% of the BiH population living “at risk of poverty” (World Bank, 2011, p.8). While the currency board arrangement of the Central Bank of BiH fixing the national currency Konvertibilna Marka (KM) to the Euro in an approximately 1:2 ratio is certainly not without its demerits and critics (for example, see Silajdžić, 2005), overall, it has provided much needed price stability and increased confidence in the BiH financial sector.

From a microeconomic perspective, BiH remains to be one of the least business friendly climates, characterized by cumbersome bureaucracy enabling rampant corruption, tax evasion

and a general lack of transparency in business practices. According to the World Bank “Doing Business” reports, Bosnia and Herzegovina is consistently ranked at the bottom of European lists of favorable business climates and amongst the lowest performing business climates in the world. For example, due to multiple layers of government bureaucracy and long waiting periods, it takes slightly longer than 65 days to start a business in BiH, ranking the country 175th in a list of 190 countries surveyed worldwide. The burden of bureaucratic procedures in the conduct of business operations also give rise to systemic corruption, which according to Divjak & Pugh (2008), is a direct product of the DPA and its constitutional arrangement. In assessing the BiH corruption context, Divjak & Pugh (2008) are careful to define political corruption as a narrow field of “the abuse of public position for personal or financial gain” (p. 373) distinguishing it from a broad understanding of business corruption “at which accumulators and investors of capital in the core locations of global capitalism have been observed to excel” (p. 373). As Divjak & Pugh (2008) argue, corruption is a direct product of the DPA Constitution and an “absence of a liberal social contract” (p. 374). Governing BiH through a combination of ethnically-based power sharing and an international protectorate has created a power vacuum whereby local communities are weakened as international administration shirk responsibility in a supposed state-building effort. Instead of creating a social contract between citizen and state, the depoliticized space of a semi-protectorate is colored by clientelism and ethno-nationalist loyalties, leading scholars to report on BiH as “one of the most corrupt and criminalized spaces in Europe” (Hozic, 2006, p. 818).

3.1.2. The BiH diaspora and post-war return migration

Bosnia and Herzegovina has had a long history of emigration going back to the 19th century (Oruč et al, 2019), temporary labor migration during the 1960s and 1970s with the war causing the largest wave of forced migration from the country in the 1990s. Even two decades

after the war, BiH continues to be a net emigration country with the trend of emigration changing to encompass both unskilled and highly skilled labor, causing both a demographic problem and a significant “brain drain” problem. According to BiH authorities during the 1948-1991, an estimated 729,424 people from Bosnia and Herzegovina have emigrated to countries of Western Europe, Canada, the U.S. and Australia, mainly as labor migrants. Germany was a preferred destination for Yugoslav labor migrants, close to half a million of them (Gastarbeiter), with tens of thousands originating from Bosnia and Herzegovina (Valenta & Ramet, 2011). Most of the labor migrants from the prewar period have since changed their temporary residence statuses and permanently settled in the various host countries.

Undoubtedly, the years 1992-1995 have seen the largest outflows of population from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Valenta & Ramet (2011) divide the war caused exodus into two waves: the beginning of the war in 1992 and the period following the Srebrenica genocide in July 1995. Table 3.1 presents a summary of the numbers of refugees and their destination countries.

Table 3.1
Refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina during 1992 – 1995

Recipient country of refugees from BiH - 1992 – 1995	Recorded number of refugees from BiH - 1992-1995	Changed country of reception	Repatriation to BiH 1996 – 2005	Number of BiH refugees in host country in 2005
Australia	15000	-	800	14200
Austria	86500	5500	10100	70900
Belgium	5500	-	500	5000
Czech Republic	5000	1000	1000	3000
Denmark	17000	-	1600	15400
France	6000	100	900	5000
Greece	4000	400	600	3000
The Netherlands	22000	2000	4000	16000
Croatia	170000	52000	56000	62000
Italy	12100	2000	2000	8100
Canada	20000	1000	600	18400
Hungary	7000	1000	2500	3500
FYR Macedonia	9000	4800	3750	450
Norway	12000	1300	2500	8200
Germany	320000	52000	246000	22000
USA*	20000	1000	1500	17500
Slovenia	43100	23200	15000	4900
Serbia	297000	50000	110000	137000
Spain and Portugal	4500	1000	1000	2500
Sweden	58700	-	1900	56000
Switzerland	24500	2600	11000	10900
Turkey	23500	17800	4650	1050
G.Britain and Ireland	4100	100	1000	3000
Other countries	13500	1200	1100	11200
Total	1200000	220000	480000	499200

Source: Valenta & Ramet (2011), p.4

*As noted by Valenta & Ramet (2011), the U.S. Census Bureau reports much higher figures than the ones presented in Table 1. According to the former source, 37,000 refugees and asylum seekers from BiH received legal permanent resident status and another 80,000 attained this status during 2001-2008.

As was noted previously, the process of emigration from Bosnia and Herzegovina continued after the war with family reunification migration and persistent labor migration. Particularly shocking are the numbers of young and educated people leaving the country. According to UNDP estimates, in the 1996-2001 period alone, close to 92,000 young people have left the country in search of employment opportunities elsewhere. The continued emigration process is further aided by treaties on employment established between BiH and Slovenia as well as BiH and Germany. These treaties significantly facilitate the employment of particular professionals such as medical doctors and staff, engineers and technicians, computer programmers and IT personnel originating from Bosnia and Herzegovina and emigrating to the aforementioned countries.

It is difficult to provide exact numbers of emigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina, because currently, state statistics only keep track of people whose place of birth was in Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus not accounting for the second and third generation of emigrants. Valenta & Ramet (2011) provide an estimated breakdown of the distribution of the BiH diaspora by host country (Table 3.2). According to BiH authorities, the total number of BiH emigrants, including the second and third generations is close to 2 million people.

Table 3.2
Global distribution of the BiH diaspora

Host country	Estimated number of migrants of BiH origin
Australia	50000
Austria	132300
Belgium	8000
Croatia	60000
Canada	60000
Denmark	21000
France	5000
Great Britain	10000
Germany	157200
Italy	40000
Luxembourg	6000
Netherlands	24700
Norway	15500
Slovenia	100000
Serbia (and Montenegro)	137000
Sweden	75000
Switzerland	50600
USA	390000
Other (28) countries	14300
Total	1,356,600

Source: Valenta & Ramet (2011), p.5

Valenta & Ramet (2011) also point to the discrepancies in how BiH emigrants are registered in the receiving countries as a source of inadequate data. Some host countries exclude naturalized migrants from their statistics, others record immigrants based on their citizenship, while some keep track of immigrants' origins based on their place of birth.

According to the Overview of the situation of Bosnian emigration, published in 2014 by the Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of the BiH government, the legal status of most members of the BiH diaspora has been resolved either by gaining citizenship of the host country or permanent residence permits. Gaining a second citizenship as a solution to their legal status is particularly pronounced in Australia (95%) and Norway (89%). A very small number of BiH emigrants still retain refugee status, around 27,419 people (UNHCR estimate), out of which 15,296 of them reside in the neighboring Serbia. An important legal change affecting BiH

emigrants occurring in 2013, when the Law on Citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina was changed to allow BiH citizens to retain their own citizenship when acquiring the citizenship of the host country. Bilateral agreements on dual citizenship have been signed with Sweden, Croatia and Serbia. Thus, BiH citizens are required to relinquish their BiH citizenship only if the state of second citizenship imposes such a requirement. Until 2013, close to 62, 000 people have given up their BiH citizenship, mainly for the purpose of acquiring the citizenships of either Austria or Germany.

When considering postwar return migration to Bosnia and Herzegovina, as Dahlman & Tuathail (2005) rightly assert, it is important to emphasize the “contradiction in the DPA between the partition of Bosnia into de facto monoethnic spaces and the peace plan’s guarantee that the displaced could return to their prewar homes” (p. 582). On the one hand, the two entities have been formed as a result of ethnic cleansing and genocide and the peace treaty itself more or less legalized the status quo established by war, while at the same time the peace treaty seemingly provided for the tenuous possibility of reversing the effects of war. The right of return is provided in Annex 7, Chapter 1, Article 1 of the Dayton Peace Agreement: “All refugees and displaced persons have the right freely to return to their homes of origin. They shall have the right to have restored to them property of which they were deprived in the course of hostilities since 1991 and to be compensated for any property that cannot be restored to them.” The glaring contradiction inherent in the Dayton Peace Agreement was additional compounded by the fact that the security of return of minorities was entrusted to the same authorities responsible for their expulsions in wartime (Alvarez, 2015). Despite the obvious contradictions, the return of refugees and displaced persons to their prewar homes was viewed by the international community as essential to the viability of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multiethnic state (Stefansson, 2006).

Key to rebuilding BiH's prewar multiethnic composition was the concept of "minority returns," - the return of DPs and refugees to areas where they would now be in a numerical minority, according to their ethnicity. However, the actual dynamic of return was such that favored "majority return" from abroad, most intensely during the first two years after the war (Pašić, 2015). The initial intensity of return in the first couple of years after the cessation of armed conflict was also aided by Germany's policy on forced repatriation. Germany, according to Black (2002), had no choice but to force the return of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, due to the disproportionate burden of hosting refugees (see Table 3.1). The refugees that came back, particularly during this initial period of involuntary return, confronted the reality of "monoethnic areas of control in the form of entities and cantons" (Bieber, 2006, p. 31). Due to a stagnant economy and generally resentful attitudes expressed towards returnees by the stayees, return was difficult for all refugees and displaced persons, however, minority returnees had the additional challenge of direct discrimination and physical attacks. In addition, although the DPA formally enshrined the "right to return" in its Annex 7, minority return was actively discouraged and prevented by nationalist leaders in order to preserve ethnic homogenization of territories.

According to figures provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the main organization in charge of refugee return, the refugee return process could be divided into three phases. The first phase involved the return of more than 500,000 people to their places of origin during the first five postwar years (1996-2000). During this time, it was recognized that most of the returnees were majority returnees and in response, international efforts were gathered around the specific policies and funding support for minority return. Close to 470,000 people were repatriated as part of the second phase of return, with their property restituted and restored under the Property Law Implementation Plan (PLIP). In places where minority returnees were left to themselves, life became increasingly difficult (Mayne, 2015;

Eastmond 2006; Tuathail & O’Loughlin, 2009, Dahlman & Tuathail, 2005). They had to face a combination of ethnically-based violence, intimidation and discrimination as well as economic hardship. As a result, many were unable to stay. The third and final phase of return more or less accepted the defacto realities of ethnic divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, many of the most vulnerable displaced persons were assisted in their current places of displacement, with the implicit understanding that they would never be able to actually return to their prewar homes (Mayne, 2015).

Although the Dayton Peace Agreement in its Annex 7 provided the legal and institutional framework for postwar return of refugees and displaced persons, its actual implementation did not have long-term success. The low numbers of people who actually returned, compared to the initial projections of the UNHCR are a very clear indicator of failed policies (Black, 2002). Some of the displaced chose not to return due to traumas incurred during the war and a prolonged sense of insecurity, while others because of financial limitations and lack of job opportunities in BiH (Pašić, 2015). Many of the minority returnees simply returned to restore their property, sell it and move back, either to their residence abroad or the area of the country where they are part of an ethnic majority. Tuathail & O’Loughlin (2009) cite the pessimistic conclusions of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights which state that “BiH is today divided into almost ethnically pure territories, while consequences of war migrations have only deepened through long standing obstructions and administrative barriers of authorities at all levels” (p. 1049). The failure of return policies to reverse ethnic cleansing and allow the displaced to settle back to their prewar can also be illustrated by the protracted internal displacement of around 8500 people, housed in some 100 collective centers throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, even two decades after the end of the war (Meyerhoefer, 2015).

To fully understand the failures to implement the Annex 7 provisions of the Dayton Peace Agreement, it is important to compare and contrast minority/majority return with

sustainable return. As Eastmond (2006) points out, the success of return was to a great extent determined by economic opportunities, even in the case of majority return. In other words, even if the returnee faces no direct obstacles for social integration due to his/her ethnicity, still the economic reality of nearly every other person of working age being unemployed looms large. According to UNHCR estimates, 93% of property lost in the war was restituted by May 2005. However, the number of formally registered returnees is much higher than the number of actual physical returns (Eastmond, 2006). Therefore, people merely returning to reclaim or reconstruct their property, whether they belong to ethnic majorities or minorities cannot be considered as sustainable. Sustainable return implies the possibility of returnees to generate an income; provide a livelihood for their families and “build communities in conditions of geographic or social marginalization” (Dahlman & Tuathail, 2005, p. 582). Despite success in property restitution, sustainable return in Bosnia and Herzegovina, whether it be majority or minority, remains to be an overall failure.

Eastmond (2006) aims to shed further light on the minority/majority vs. sustainable return, by emphasizing the need for a “(re)conceptualization of return” (p. 144), in which scholars would develop alternative understandings of return that would not be necessarily “permanent and place-bound” (p. 144). As an alternative, Eastmond (2006) offers a look at return as an “open-ended process, one which often takes place over a longer period of time and may involve periods of dual residence and considerable movement back and forth” (p. 144). Transnational return thus presents new challenges to the understanding of “reintegration” or “home” with transnational lifestyles distributing different values of home to different places. Eastmond (2006) also identifies two different strategies of return: open-ended and seasonal returns. In the first case, the returnees become “transnationals at home” (p.147), seeking to establish a more permanent base in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while maintaining an active connection with the host country. In the case of seasonal returns, the returnees come back to

BiH temporarily, through vacations or longer visits, but keep their base in the country of asylum. In addition, the novelty of Eastmond (2006) in comparison to many other studies that examine macro-structural processes and policies to understand international return is that it offers a “transnationalism from below” (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998 as cited in Eastmond, 2006, p. 145). In other words, the study examines the refugees’ own voices and viewpoints to gain a better understanding of the concepts used to set return policies from above.

3.2. The decision to return

The decision to return is complex and it involves many different variables, which in many ways escape neat categorization. Often the decision is highly personal (Janis & Mann 1997 as cited in Black et al, 2004) and can sometimes even be characterized as “irrational” (Black et al., 2004, p. 12). While recognizing that the factors contributing to the decision-making process are “hard to disentangle even for the person making the decision” (Black et al, 2004, p. 12), these authors build upon previous literature (Koser, 1998; Faist, 1999; Muus and Muller, 1999; King, 2000 as cited in Black et al., 2004) on comparisons made between conditions in the host state to those of the home state and suggest a model of decision-making factors. The model Black et al. (2004), present reduces these factors to three broad categories: social, economic and social conditions in the home and host states, the individual characteristics of the migrant, or the migrant family, and any public policy programs designed to either encourage or discourage return. Similarly, to Black et al. (2004), while recognizing the inherent complexities of the decision to return, I suggest the simplifying distinction between economic and emotional reasons contributing to the returnee’s decision.

Distinguishing between economic and emotional reasons for return migration builds upon the cognitive-appraisal approach to the study of emotions and greater attention paid to non-economic factors in the decision-making process. The “cognitive/appraisal” approach,

championed by scholars such as Martha Nussbaum and Robert Solomon, treats emotions as “important forms of knowledge and evaluative thought” (Nussbaum, 1995 as cited in Bleiker and Hutchinson, 2008, p. 124). Unlike the reason-emotion dichotomy, the “cognitive/appraisal” perspective does not place emotions in stark opposition to rationality, nor does it dismiss them as purely irrational. Instead, emotions are given their rightful place in the analysis and are not marginalized simply because they do not fit into the rational-choice paradigm. The dominance of rational-choice within neoclassical economics and new economics of labor migration to explain return migration has been questioned by a number of different scholars (see Cassarino, 2004), leading them on a search for alternative explanations. Various authors have come up with different ways of classifying all other reasons which do not neatly fit under the principle of a cost-benefit calculation primarily concerned with economic self-interest. For example, when shedding light on the “non-economic” reasons for return migration, Halfacree (2004) turns to culture and more of a biographical approach, Kilinc & King (2017) refer to “lifestyle,” King et al. (2008) discuss a “personal project” or Achenbach (2017), who looks at life spheres of “family and lifestyle.” While implicitly rejecting the reason/emotion dichotomy by espousing the “cognitive/appraisal” approach to the study of emotions, I do not intend to create a new dichotomy. My simplifying device does not have grand ambitions. Instead, what is meant by “emotional reasons for return” are all those factors which cannot be classified as directly maximizing economic self-interest, while the remainder is categorized as “economic.” A possible interpretation of this categorization is a challenge to the inherent notion of “rationality” when considering decision-making based on economic factors alone as well as the “irrationality” of decisions based on non-economic/emotional ones.

My argument is that the decision to return voluntarily to a post-conflict society, when there exists a viable alternative of remaining abroad is overwhelmingly emotional in nature, meaning that the emotional reasons outweigh the economic ones. Overall, the returnees

discussed their responsibility and duty to “give back” to their country of origin, expressing their “mission” or “higher purpose,” which were often stated during the interviews using the English-language variants of the terms. Their mission is related to Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a sight of their own suffering and tragedy, for which they have compassion as one would have, in the words of the returnees, towards a “special-needs child” and the “perpetual underdog-turned hero of the story.” In the initial stages of return, participants expressed their enthusiasm both to be back home and to pursue their stated mission of societal contribution and betterment. The returnees are keenly aware of the economic opportunity cost of return and express their conscious preference towards non-materialistic pursuits. They expressly value closeness to family members, daily encounters with friends and neighbors or the sense of community over wealth accumulation. However, the danger with this line of reductivism is an essentialized and over-sentimentalized idealization of “home sweet home”, more appropriate for an embroidered needle-pad than a serious scholarly investigation treating emotions with the respect they deserve. In order to avoid this trap, my presentation of results firstly elaborates on the economic motivations followed by discussions of emotional factors. Because, although return *is* emotionally motivated, it would be naïve to assume that economic reasons play a completely marginal role.

When considering the economic reasons influencing the decision to return, my argument is that the returnee needs and requires a minimum level of economic security in order to make this choice. As was stated in the introduction, the returnees have been purposively selected to incorporate a notion of financial risk when deciding to return. These are not retirees, who have attained a certain level of economic security abroad and therefore minimized risk of financial failure once they return to the home state. In terms of a life-cycle perspective, the returnees are people who have perhaps accumulated some capital while working abroad, but are still looking at their work life in BiH to provide for their retirement. They are of working

age and thus their decision to return carries the full risk of any financial investment in a post-conflict environment. In order to make this investment, the returnee needs to have a minimum level of economic security, which in no way should be confused with maximizing economic self-interest. Returning to a post-conflict society does *not* maximize economic self-interest. Ceteris paribus, the returnees would have been better off financially had they stayed in their host societies, however, without the *minimum* level of economic security in the home state, return is not possible. The economic minimum is often provided through self-employment in the home state and without it the returnee is simply not in a position to consider the decision to return. Once the minimum level of economic security is attained, the returnee gains the freedom of considering emotional reasons. Without the minimum economic requirement being satisfied, emotional reasons simply do not enter the decision-making equation.

The arguments advanced in this chapter are supported by qualitative data analysis of 35 in-depth interviews consisting of inductive and deductive thematic coding and iterative procedures of pattern seeking, assisted by the technical functionality of NVIVO 11. A full coding scheme is provided in Coding Scheme – Appendix VII and a complete list of codes, together with each code’s label, definition, description, inclusion/exclusion criteria and textual example, is given in the Codebook - Appendix VIII. Seeking patterns based on co-occurrence of codes within coding units was the main tool to: identify associations; put forward propositions and formulate explanations. Matrix query results are presented in Appendix IX and together with the analytic memos, they form the main structure around which a “theorized storyline” (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007) is built⁴ and presented in this chapter. After a presentation of the data analysis results and their interpretation, the chapter ends by a discussion of these results within the wider literature on return migration, diaspora and transnationalism.

⁴ See Chapter 2 – Research Methodology and the accompanying Appendices for all further details.

3.2.1. Considering economic self-interest as motivation for return

The pull-push framework is useful in organizing the reasons of economic self-interest together with the key insight that relations between labor and capital under global capitalism actually have very little variation from home to host state. Although previously criticized for its relative reductivism and failure to conceptualize the full complexity of the reasons driving the decision to return, the paradigm of neoclassical economics with its emphasis on utility maximization, rational choice, the existence of differentials in capital/labor prices (wages, interest and return) between various regions and the accompanying mobility of the factors of productions (King, 2012), seems appropriate for explaining the reasons strictly related to economic self-interest. Push-pull models at both the macroeconomic and microeconomic levels (Massey et al, 1998) work within the paradigm of neoclassical economics to explain migratory movements. On a macroeconomic level, labor will move from areas of lower to higher wages, driven by an uneven distribution of capital. In capital-intensive areas, labor will be scarce and wages high. The opposite is true of areas where capital is scarce. Migration will continue until general equilibrium is reached and an equalization of prices of labor and capital in both sending and receiving areas. On a level of microeconomics, the individual “rational agent” decides to migrate based on price signals (wage differentials), perfectly available information and a cost-benefit calculation (Sjaastad, 1962; Borjas, 1989 as cited in King, 2012). Explanations for economically self-interested reasons are found within the heavily criticized (see Arango 2004 as cited in King 2012) paradigm of neoclassical economics, push-pull models (see King, 1978 for an early list of push and pull factors), or its variations adapted for return migration in the form of a repulsion-retention matrix (Carling et al., 2015).

Within the economic reasons for return, having a business opportunity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the pull factor, is the most dominant. For example, Siniša left his dental practice in Argentina to grow fruit crops in the vicinity of Trebinje.

Siniša⁵: When we came here for the first time we travelled everywhere, even going to Belgrade. We searched everywhere and this opportunity turned up, which we saw as giving us the possibility to live and work here. Orchardng and fruit growing was attractive to us and we saw it as a chance to develop our own business in a place where there was so much work to be done, on land that was practically untillable. I felt that this was the right moment for somebody with the proper knowledge and experience.

Ema left a marketing career in Austria to start an organic herb farm in Northern Bosnia.

Although her corporate career offered Ema the opportunity to continue advancing and increasing her material comfort, the prospect of a new business venture was exciting.

Ema: Well the other thing is that I had this business idea and that I recognized the potential that Bosnia and Herzegovina has, as regards its nature and the long-term, cooperative, sustainable use of its natural resources. This idea simply would not leave me alone. I continued with my job in my comfortable, safe environment, earning lots of money and consuming whatever I wanted, but long-term, this lifestyle was simply not fulfilling. My business idea would simply not let me go and the only thing I needed to do is start.

Marija returned from Germany with her husband to start a renewable energy company in Jajce.

Marija: I believe that we had a good business opportunity in BiH, where we are somewhat more free than we would have been in Germany, which has very clearly defined rules. So, I think that we had more space to develop here, to gain a capital base before getting bogged down with all the rules. Over there, everything is much better regulated and more expensive, so the success of our business enterprise in Germany is quite questionable to me.

Husein left a successful career in Switzerland and came back with his family to manufacture dress shirts in his native Maglaj.

Husein: After the war ended, I was aware that everything has been destroyed in this country so that it would be a long time before we would see any international companies, valuable companies coming here. At that time, I was in a dilemma of what I could do? What could be the first step I could take to help the local population, my friends, my local community and to find my own happiness in doing so? My conclusion was that, unfortunately, the least profitable, cheapest branch of the textile industry, in prior existence in the area of Dobož, Maglaj, Tešanj and Žepče, would still be the best field for me to start my own business.

The stories of Siniša, Ema, Marija or Husein fit well within the general tendency of returnees towards self-employment and setting up small-businesses upon return, which has been extensively researched and more recently surveyed by Black & Castaldo (2009). Case studies examining this phenomenon range from different contexts and regions, including Italy (King, 1986), Turkey (Gitmez, 1988), Portugal (Mendoza, 1982), Colombia (Murillo Castaño, 1988),

⁵ All returnees' names are pseudonyms, see the „Anonymization“ section in Chapter 2 (Research Methodology) and Appendix VI for further details.

Mexico (Massey et al., 1987; Cornelius, 1990; Escobar & Martinez, 1990), Somaliland (Ahmed, 2000) and China (Murphy, 2000).

Although most returnees started their own businesses directly upon return, for some, a job offer, facilitated through multiple return visits, was the strongest pull factor. Such is the case of Admir, a jazz musician and music instructor.

Admir: Sooo, at one point I had employment offers from some people here and I simply wanted to give it a try. I had no other obligations over there in the sense that I had a signed a contract. I was working as a freelancer and I used to come here regularly for visits. Each year the visit was about a month and I always had the feeling that it was too short, as I loved spending time here. I used to leave with a certain sadness thinking to myself – how I’d love to stay longer. Then, in 2011, I finished a project in the U.S. and I decided to visit for three months and test the waters. The job offer came during my three month stay. I gained a professional foothold pretty quickly, as I had many friends here who are in the same line of work. They helped me find my first gigs and projects. Then, I got married, my wife came and so on....

When discussing “work-related influences” on the decision to return, Carling et al. (2015) point to strictly economic factors, such as a job offer and the promise of a livable salary, but also a number of non-economic factors such as the general work culture and opportunities for career advancement. When Admir received a job offer that fulfilled both the economic and non-economic factors, he decided to return. His return was facilitated by multiple return visits, a “particular transnational practice” (Carling & Erdal, 2014, p. 4) or “diasporic performativity” (Axel, 2004, p. 4 as cited in King et al., 2008, p. 267) which is a point extensively covered in the literature (King et al., 2008; Carling et al., 2015; Asiedu, 2005; Duval, 2004; King et al., 2013; Lulle, 2014; Mason, 2004; Oeppen, 2013; Oxfeld, 2004 as cited in Carling & Erdal, 2014, p. 4).

The recession caused by the global financial crisis of 2008-2009 has acted as a push factor particularly in the case of returnees from the U.S. Both based in New York City, Mirela was in advertising and Lejla was teaching yoga at the start of the financial crisis.

Lejla: Then in this period of my own dilemmas, America was hit by a massive economic recession. Wall Street crashed in 2008 and this was horrendous. I mean it was horrible. I stayed over there for another year after the crash of Wall Street, but I could see some changes within myself. From a yoga perspective, all these external events were only reflections of my inner state. For me, this horrific financial crash brought back memories of war. Over there I saw the brutality of people, who lack any sort of humanity. These thoughts kept bringing me back to Bosnia, because I was

here during the war as a child. I told stories of war to my American friends and I told them how, unfortunately, the most beautiful part of my life was spent in wartime. The war was terrifying, but it also brought us closer to our family and neighbors. People had to share everything they had because this was the only way for them to survive. Witnessing the behavior of people around me in New York [during the height of the financial crisis], I would think to myself: “these people would not stand a chance in war. They could not survive, because the only way towards survival is to connect to others around you and not only to look out for yourself.”

The advertising sector in the U.S. was particularly struck by the global financial crisis and

Mirela lost her job as a result.

Mirela: I came back here when I lost my job in the U.S., during the crisis. This was in 2009. I was laid off and I, I was always planning to come back and was continuously very connected. My mom insisted that I return so that I could start a family, so that we could all be together. When I lost my job, the situation was such that finding new work in America would be very difficult, so I decided to start my own business in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Well, this situation [global financial crisis of 2008] certainly gave me a push, although return was something I was planning all along. You know it was an event that just pushed me towards achieving this long-term goal faster.

Although both Lejla and Mirela could have found other employment in the U.S. and their return to BiH was not compelled, still the financial crisis acted as a push factor. This finding regarding return migration was recognized as early as Bovenkerk (1974) who writes that “by far the most important cause of mass return is undoubtedly the economic recession in the country of immigration” (p. 20).

The respondents who were most aware of the relationship between labor and capital in global capitalism, seemed to have had the greatest success both with integration in the host state and with their return to the home state. Draško discusses the role of competition, branding and credit in a developed capitalist economy, such as Switzerland.

Draško: Well, when you see that in some country in the West, let’s say Switzerland or some other country, you have 10 professionals and you are the 11th professional there...mmmm...well the competition there is much higher. Here, this competition is much lower, if it even exists at all. There it is more difficult because of higher competition. Also, it depends on what one considers to be success. For some, success means going to Switzerland, earning [a monthly salary of] CHF 4,000 then buying a car worth EURO 30,000 and coming back here [to BiH] to show off as somebody who’s “made it.” Me, I’m not interested in that. I want to create a product and a brand, so that I can say. “This is my own creation.”

Author: How do you view this type of behavior [buying a luxury car]?

Draško: This is a bit to do with our mentality and let’s say the individual’s vision on what they want to do in life. In a financial sense, I consider this person to be putting a huge rock in his path. He’ll have a very hard time getting rid of this rock.

Author: You mean the EURO 30,000 car is the rock?

Draško: Yes, because it [the car] comes with a loan to be repaid. He could have put that money to much more better use. He could have invested it much better. That is how I see it. Some parts of Draško's story are consistent with the literature and some are radically different.

For example, mentioning limited competition and taking advantage of this aspect of a post-conflict market can be seen in studies of voluntary return migration to Afghanistan (van Houte & Davids, 2014; van Houte, 2016). However, Draško's pragmatic attitude towards investment radically departs from findings (Pedersen, 2003; Sirin, 2008; Cassarino, 2004) emphasizing the returnees' tendency towards conspicuous consumption and particularly the "building of big houses and the *purchase of luxury cars*" (emphasis mine, Cassarino, 2004, p. 260).

3.2.2. Emotional reasons as the primary motivation of return

The motivation for voluntary return migration to a post-conflict society primarily consists of a variety of emotional reasons. The participants did not identify particular emotions motivating their return, but instead discussed emotionally charged factors which could not be directly linked with the pursuit of economic self-interest. The dominant emotional reason the returnees expressed is having a higher purpose, a mission or simply a strong sense of responsibility to give back to the country of their birth. Depending on their profession and field, this sense of responsibility is expressed in different ways, such as: cross-cultural cooperation and peace activism, job creation and economic development, participation in the local academic community and the educational sector; or helping family members. The returnees are highly enthusiastic, at least in the initial phases of their return and before encountering a diverse set of obstacles. Their responsibility to give back and their sense of altruistic contribution is specific to Bosnia and Herzegovina as their "own and personal tragedy" from which they are still recovering. In addition, the returnees discuss the relatively lower value they assign to consumption and the accumulation of financial wealth and instead talk about the value they

place on the opportunity to raise their children close to extended family members and their own religious traditions.

Within the emotional reasons, the most dominant one is having a higher purpose and a responsibility to give back. This type of motivation has been recognized in the literature, particularly in post-conflict settings (Carling et al., 2015; Paasche, 2016), however, knowledge of the specific BiH context is useful for informed interpretation. Anastasija saw an opportunity for making her contribution in the field of cultural development, the civic sector and peace activism and returned from Serbia to her native Mostar.

Anastasija: Anyway, I thought that it was my responsibility, in the end, to make sure that I contribute to my local community, my, my city, my country. So, I chose culture as a channel, since culture is a universal mechanism to connect people, to regenerate torn ties, to create some new connections...well...damn, we don't all have to be politicians! I thought that, if I prove how serious I am in all of that, you know it would all fall into place and it would be feasible. However, as I became more and more effective and as the results improved, doors kept closing and funding sources dried up. The last straw was this club "Aleksa", with which I really suffered, because you know Aleksa is a Serb, we are also Serbs...so fuck what was I thinking??? My dad told me, "don't call it Aleksa, they will all say that this is because they are Serb....you know what people will say" And I told him: "Listen, why don't you google this a little bit...you have your phone. Aleksa is not *just* a Serb! Aleksa Šantić is the true paradigm of life in Mostar, representing the civic option. This is the path I have chosen, and it does not need to go through a political party. It can just be a healthy civic option.

Anastasija's story is set against a historical background in which the "collapse of Yugoslavia was particularly destructive in Mostar" (Hromadžić, 2012, p. 33). At the beginning of the war the mainly Serb JNA (Yugoslav National Army) launched attacks at the city from the East, encouraging Serbs to leave the city and forcing the city's other inhabitants to search for protection in the Western parts of the city. At the start of the war, Bosniak and Croat forces fought the JNA together, but clashes between them finally led to the complete separation of Mostar between its eastern side dominated by Bosniaks and the western side held by Bosnian Croats (Vetters, 2007). The majority of Mostarian Serbs left the city at the beginning of the conflict, leaving the Serb community in Mostar "marginal" (Vetters, 2007, p. 188) and the city is effectively divided between the Bosniaks and Croats.

By returning to Mostar Anastasija was hoping to make a difference and contribute to the city's reunification and revival of its pre-war multiethnic and multicultural social composition. Her work in peace activism was recognized by multiple international awards, but she does not feel that this type of engagement has the potential of reversing entrenched divisions. The failure of her "Aleksa" club, named after the famed Mostarian poet, Aleksa Šantić, seems to be proving this point. Interestingly, Aleksa Šantić is the author of "Stay Here", a poem devoted entirely to discouraging emigration from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Stay Here⁶

Stay here!... The sun that shines in a foreign place,
Will never warm you like the sun in your own;
The bread has a bitter taste there
Where one has no one, not even a brother.

Do not let tears run down her face,
Return to it in the world's embrace;
Live in order to be able to die
On its battlefield where glory comes to greet you!

Who would find a better mother than one's own,
And your mother is this country;
Take a look upon the limestones and the field,
Everywhere are the graveyards of your great-grandfathers.

Everybody knows and loves you here,
And nobody will recognize you there;
Even the barren limestones are better here
Than the flowers in the fields of a foreign place.

For this country they were noble giants,
Lights who knew how to defend it,
You, too, should stay in this country,
And give the fund of your blood for it.

Everybody shakes your fraternal hand here –
In the foreign land, wormwood blooms for you;
For us, amongst the limestones, everything connects:
name, language, brotherhood, and holy blood.

As a deserted bough, when the autumn winds
Tear its leaves and slash it with ice;
Your motherland would be without you,
Like a mother crying for her child.

Stay here!... The sun that shines in a foreign place
Will never warm you like the sun in your own –
The bread has a bitter taste there
Where one has no one, not even a brother...

The poem⁷ "Stay Here" was written in 1896 and addressed to Bosniak citizens of Mostar who were leaving *en masse* for Ottoman lands after Bosnia and Herzegovina was annexed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878 (Mihailovich, 1988).

⁶ The original title is „Ostajte ovdje,“ translated to English by Amila Ćelebić and found on the website of the „Spirit of Bosnia“ online journal, retrieved from: <http://www.spiritofbosnia.org/volume-1-no-4-2006-october/stay-here/>

⁷ The poem belongs to the larger opus of Šantić's work associated with his home town and the suffering of his compatriots under imperial oppression (Javarek, 1958).

Other study participants saw their role in improving the home state's economy, by creating jobs and spurring economic growth. Damir, who now employs over 100 workers in the metal-producing sector, saw his role in rebuilding the war-torn BiH economy.

Damir: And...I told myself "Germany is a developed country and this country [BiH] needs people to build it." At that age, I could have been in the army and it was just a matter of chance that I did not end up in the army. Simply, circumstances were such. I was only 18 years old when the war started and I hadn't even served in the military. But, I said to myself: 'When the war ends..I will make a difference.' This country needs people to build it and I decided to contribute to making things better in BiH with my own work. This is my work and I hope that what I have done so far is good. Of course, it can always be better, but my mission is one of building and making things better. I could not stop the war and I could not do anything about it at that time. Thank God that it [the war] has ended.

Damir left Sanski Most at an age when he could have been conscripted to the BH Army. Instead, his parents sent him first to Serbia and later to Germany. A number of times throughout the interview he mentioned his feelings of regret at not being able to help with armed resistance in BiH and his need to compensate for this omission once the war ended. The desire to assist in economic development particularly in post-conflict setting has been recognized within the literature, such as Paasche (2016).

Many of the returnees have gained an education abroad and view their contribution to be most meaningful in academia and the educational sector. After completing an M.A. and Ph.D. degree in Belgium, Mahir decided to continue his academic career in BiH.

Mahir: I felt more that my role is one of an educator, under quotation marks, in Bosnianherzegovian society. As a person who has been abroad and who has learnt much, seen much and experienced a lot in a certain period of my life...as such I have a lot to give in a professional sense. I believe that it is better to make use of my educational role here, in this society and that this would have a much greater impact on my life and on the meaningfulness of what I am doing. The alternative would have been for me to have stayed in the West, in the competition of Western mainstream academia. I believe that what I am doing here is much more meaningful. I feel a calling, I feel that God has given me this life and I ask from it that it⁸ has meaning. I found myself in doing this. Simply put, in the analysis of whether I should or should not return, there was really no dilemma, because I never actually left emotionally. My return here represented just my physical relocation and never an emotional one. I always lived two lives – one on Skype with my mom and family and another, physical and bureaucratic life, somewhere over there.

Mahir's experience fits within migration studies debates in which returnees are increasingly seen as "brokers of knowledge transfer and capacity building" (Kuschminder, 2017, p.2). Also,

⁸ In this sentence, "it" could be taken to mean „life“ or „God“.

they are believed to have acquired skills and education abroad, all of which situate them “in between” the home and host countries and thus enable them to act as mediators between cultures and as negotiators of change (King, 1978; Sørensen, Van Hear and Engberg-Pedersen, 2002 as cited in van Houte & Davids, 2014).

In addition to the rather abstract notion of “the higher good” or “making an altruistic contribution,” which could be applied to other contexts of collective tragedy and disadvantage, the returnees are specific in making Bosnia and Herzegovina as their sole focus of attention. Alma returned from Germany to start a Waldorf kindergarten in BiH and views the education of children to be the area of her contribution.

Alma: Well, this is because I saw how much, how horribly this, this misfortune disfigured me and that one simply could not pretend that you did not go through all of that. You have to confront it all. In some way, this was a confrontation for me and I wanted to try and see what could be done. I was never part of politics and I did not want to be. Also, I was not some big businessman or something like that. Within my own limitations, I wanted to contribute for something positive to happen here. This is what I wanted.

Author: Where do you get the desire to contribute?

Alma: Well, everybody kept asking me the same question. The only thing I can say in response is that such questions are more telling of the person asking them. It is not my problem to explain myself to anybody, because I was never one of those totally self -interested types⁹. I was always interested in the world around me -an altruist, a humanitarian?

Author: Well, why could you not go somewhere else to continue with your altruistic work?

Alma: Ok, that could have also been good. That is true. But, for me, *this* particular misfortune is what was closest to me. It is also my personal tragedy and I don't want to place myself at a distance from it.

Alma views her contribution to BiH society as a form of “giving back” and fulfilling a “higher purpose,” but like many other participants, she is specific in her contribution due to her own experience of the BiH tragedy. Similarly to returnees who discussed their individual processes of confronting traumatization, Alma's fulfillment of a “higher purpose” is bundled with a deeply personal quest for healing of wartime trauma.

⁹ To illustrate what she means by “one of those types” Alma used a very common proverb „U se, na se i poda se“, which refers to a strictly self-interested satisfaction of human primary needs for food, clothing and sex. When translated literally, the proverb goes something like this: „Take care of what you put *in* (food), what you put *on* (clothing) and what you put *underneath* (sexual partner).

Connections with family members and a desire to be close to them was also reported as an important reason. Being close to aging parents and extended family members is of great significance to Adnan, who returned to BiH from Turkey.

Adnan: A don't have a single regret about returning. In fact, I am very happy about it. I believe I have done the best thing that I could have done. I even wish I had taken this step earlier, because my family, my children and my parents are here, together. I now see my parents and friends much more. Also, the work that I do reaches people in ways that I have provided jobs to many. All of this gives me a sort of energy that I am really very happy that I have returned.

I considered the question of whether the returnee's parents require special care and whether or not they are able to live independently to be of such importance that I included it in the demographic section of the interview (Appendix VI). This question was so important to me because it would possibly present a constraint which would interfere with one of the most important sampling criteria, i.e. "voluntariness" of return. Given the close-knit structure of the typical Bosnian family, parents in need of assisted living could present a constraint which would deem the return to be somewhat "compelled" and thus not entirely voluntary. An overwhelming majority of the returnees replied that their parents are capable of independent living, however, that their proximity has great significance for their lives. Adnan's story is typical and to a large extent recognized in the return migration literature as "life stages and transitions not only of the migrants, but of their family members" (p.20) where ageing parents in the home country can "incentivize return" (Carling et al., 2015, p.20).

Having the opportunity to raise their children in smaller towns and close to the family's religious traditions is an important factor in deciding to return. Siniša, who grew up in Argentina within a dominant Catholic societal religious tradition, is happy to be able to provide his seven children with an Orthodox Christian upbringing in BiH.

Siniša: Actually, as I said, this huge assimilation down there, in Argentina never really happened to us. So that, although I was born there, my parents have always, let's say left a certain feeling that we belong to a different, let's say, a different nation. They always spoke Serbian in the house and we always celebrated the "Slava¹⁰" and we celebrated Christmas according to our own, Orthodox traditions, although we lived in a

¹⁰ Celebrating the 'slava' is an Orthodox Christian tradition of observing a family's patron saint.

Catholic country. What does this mean? They could not give up any of that and they just transferred it to us, so at one point I asked myself, ok 'Who am I?' Also, there is the issue of my wife, whose background is also from these parts and the question of educating our children. We have lots of children!

Author: You have seven children?

Siniša: Yes! And then we said that we would try to secure different living conditions. As our current living conditions [in Argentina] had become...how should I say. You know, that was a big city, too big with a certain level of insecurity, so that we could not really follow our children around. Where do they go? What do they do? This and that. And then we [Siniša and his wife] thought to ourselves, let's go over there [to BiH] to see how things are over there.

Siniša's story resonates with the finding of Carling et al. (2015), who note that the decision to return is often not just a personal issue, but one concerning primarily the re-integration of children, particularly if they are of school age. Also, since Siniša's return¹¹ is technically "ancestral," (Sardihna, 2008), making him a "root migrant" (Wessendorf, 2007 as cited in Sardihna, 2008, p. 317) or a "counter-diasporic returnee" (King & Christou, 2009), what also corresponds to the literature is a "return ideology" (Sardihna, 2008, p. 322), which seems to have been present in Siniša's family while they were growing up in Argentina. Sardihna (2008) cites Chamberlain (1995), whose study of Barbadian families living in the U.K outlines the major family characteristics necessary for the development of a "return ideology." Sardihna (2008) points to the importance of regular instilling of a "sense of ethnonationalist feeling" (p. 322) in the second-generation by their parents.

Similarly to Siniša, Gavriilo discusses the importance of being close to his family members in connection with a religious mission to help his community. Gavriilo is also Orthodox Christian, but similar views combining religiosity and familial bonds are present in participants of other religious traditions.

Gavriilo: There are another ten people employed in our dairy farm, so our entire family is together. Also, I have given a chance to a number of people around me. If they want to work, they could also be financially sustainable. In my opinion, this is some kind of contribution, a kind of God's mission that have managed to do something for myself and for others.

¹¹ See King & Christou (2009) for a thorough explanation of why second-generation „return“ is still classified as return migration, although the „returnee“ is actually returning to the parents' homeland. Also, see Carling et al. (2015), who conclude that „memories and attachment to country of origin may matter more than birthplace“ (p. 19), when classifying this type of migration as in fact return.

Author: Religion is important to you?

Gavrilo: Very important! We are all God's souls and we all have our missions to fulfill. We all need to be good and to help people.

To some extent Gavrilo's story could be placed within the "return as fulfillment of a higher purpose" category, except that the spiritual dimension is more directly articulated through the profession of a particular religious tradition.

Respondents were, at least initially, highly enthusiastic about their decision to return.

Admir, a jazz musician, talks about a gradual decrease in enthusiasm about his return.

Admir: When I first came here everything was interesting to me and I was full of enthusiasm. I had been away for a long time and it took me almost two years to experience life here in a more realistic sense. Well, because I lived in a different system for ten years, a completely different country. Many things here changed and you hadn't seen your friends in such a long time. That sort of beginner's enthusiasm does exist in the sense 'I am having a good time. I missed so many things...It's all so wonderful.' And then, after a while, this period passes as you mature. Then, you begin to live real life as a citizen of this country and then you begin to take life a little more seriously. You start to worry about things, your family...you know...You start to worry about economic survival. In a business sense, you start to understand how it is that things work.

Ervin, an IT expert, discusses the difficulties inherent in return, but is also cautiously optimistic about the future.

Ervin: We [Ervin and his wife] have lots of small victories, which together are big victories for me...So we are pushing an agenda on an infinite number of different levels, in government. We are creating a type of ripple effect¹² So, our initial focus is the IT industry, for this critical mass to be created, for these companies to get serious and turn Bosnia and Herzegovina into a serious destination for IT services, which are extremely well-paid and which could be a strategic industry for Bosnia...And then, also to stop these kids from running away, going abroad, because, you know they [IT experts] can all find jobs in Berlin and London, for twice the money. So, we have to create the conditions for them to stay here, for things to be comfortable for them here, making a kind of Disneyland for them here. I like to say, an IT Disneyland. Perhaps in the beginning we had more enthusiasm in the sense that we had more.... Actually, no..not really. We still have the same level of enthusiasm or it might have even increased when we decided this to be the priority. Because in the beginning, we weren't exactly sure 100% that we need to stay here until retirement. Actually, we are still not completely certain that we want to stay here all the way, 'til death. But, we are trying. We are working on it. That is the thing.

Initial enthusiasm at seeing friends and family and a return "home," followed by subsequent disappointment and disillusionment is widely reported in the return migration literature.

Bovenkerk (1974) ascribes the loss of enthusiasm and onset of disappointment to the

¹² Although the translation cannot reflect this phenomenon, it is important to observe its existence. Many of the returnees use English words, without translating them to Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian in their daily speech. „Ripple effect“ is an example in this type of response.

idealization of the home country during emigration. He cites examples ranging from Italians returning from the U.S. (Nelli, 1970), Greek returnees (Saloutos, 1956) or the Pakistanis returning from Britain (Dahaya, 1973). More recently, King et al. (2008) discuss the disillusionment felt by second-generation Greek Cypriots returnees and Paasche (2016) elaborates feelings of disappointment particularly related to post-conflict return to Iraqi Kurdistan. Although most participants in my study did talk about feeling enthusiastic about their return, they seemed to have quickly developed a rather mature attitude to BiH, re-adjusting their expectations and thus avoiding major disillusionment.

Attaching little value to materialism and material goods was an important factor in their decision to return. In deciding to return, Ema did not prioritize the comfort of her corporate job in Austria. Instead, she sees her return as a form of meaning-making from the collective tragedy of war.

Ema: Hmm...this thing constantly kept reappearing in my mind and this emotional reason was mixing with the one rational reason why I decided to do this. If we look at this emotional reason only, ahm, so many young people died in this war and I kept thinking about what is that they died for exactly? For thorns¹³! They fought for a piece of land, because in the end, that is what it comes down to. It is as if ‘I protected my home. I was defending it from whomever...¹⁴’ All these young people, they are no longer with us and I thought to myself...wait a second. Now, these fields lie empty, overgrown and untilled, used by nobody. The village is empty. Everybody is gone. Let’s try and give all of this [the victims’ deaths] some sort of meaning. Somebody died for some ideals, we don’t need to get philosophical about whether these ideals were good or bad. They gave their life for that small piece of land and now we don’t have the ability to recognize that and make use of it. The apple trees are unpicked. The fruit lie scattered on the ground. Nobody collects them. Nobody cares anymore. Somebody, somebody gave their life for that and this needs to be respected.

Arif contrasts human relations in BiH and the West to conclude that they are more developed in the home state. These strong social bonds are what he values most.

Arif: And then if we focus again on the meaning of life...Does this include having coffee with our friend today, chatting about all our troubles for an hour, waving hello from across the street...If something were to happen, God forbid, there would be thousands of people around you, ready to help you. Does this mean that, for me as a Bosnian-

¹³ The metaphor „thorns“ is often used to refer to anything of little or no value. „Thorns“ is a descriptive term meaning nothingness and worthlessness.

¹⁴ Ema's voice changes here from the impersonal „they“ to the first person singular „I“. In later parts of the interview she reveals that her uncle was killed during the war in the prime of his youth, while defending their family home.

Herzegovinian, people here, regardless of their ethnicity, are more important to me than somebody from the West? I don't know, but I guess each person needs to answer this question for themselves. I think that we here still have a much greater sense of ethics and that the friendships are much stronger. We get back to the meaning of life, and again those small moments of happiness is what makes a man happy.

Life in New York, according to Lejla, was devoted to the acquisition of greater material wealth and she simply did not see herself as part of that lifestyle.

Lejla: Honestly, I believe that I just started getting really depressed over there [in New York City]. This is actually completely normal for New York, as everybody is depressed. They all take some sort of anti-depressant. I started to feel that it was only yoga that kept me away from this general mood around me. I was spending so much time by myself and for everybody around me the meaning of life was contained in being ambitious and expressing these ambitions. Simply, when I faced this crossroad in my life to ask myself the question whether I would continue living this way or whether I would return...when I projected my life 10-15 years into the future in New York, this was not fulfilling to me. I could see the direction in which my life was going – making money, spending money, the life of money and materialism. My spirit was being killed in the process.

The decision to return could be conceived as premised on assigning relatively lower value to materialist concerns such as “economic and physical security” and higher value to *postmaterialist* values such as “freedom, self-expression and the quality of life” (Inglehart, 1971; Inglehart & Abramson, 1994). It is important to note that although the consequences of their decision are evident in a post-conflict society, the returnees originally made their decision in societies (in the case of Ema, Arif and Lejla, it was Austria, Norway and the U.S. respectively) which qualify as “advanced industrial” (Inglehart, 1971; Inglehart & Abramson, 1994) and therefore, the value change argument originally advanced by Ronald Inglehart could apply to their decision-making process.

In addition, although Ema's reasoning which assigns lower value to material comfort is directly related to wartime events, Arif's and Lejla's views, at least in this instance, seem quite typical of “lifestyle migration” (Kilinc & King, 2017). Particularly in Arif's case, as Kozarac is a rural community, the “rural idyll” as a type of “lifestyle migration” seem to provide a good fit. Benson and O'Reilly (2009) discuss rural areas as offering lifestyle migrants an “image of the ‘simple’ or ‘good life,’ stepping back in time, getting back to the land, and experiencing the ‘traditional’ and ‘authentic’ values of rural community cohesion which have been lost in urban-

industrial modernity (p. 611 as cited by Kilinc & King, 2017, p. 1495). Olsson & King (2008) make a similar observation in commenting Sardihna (2008) and “specifically the tradeoff between economic downsizing (“The only thing for me to do here was to milk cows”) and the feelings of belonging and spiritual proximity to a landscape, society and lifestyle” (p. 258). It is worth re-emphasizing that the particular nature of post-conflict return precludes direct and one-to-one comparisons with “lifestyle migration,” however, there are some shared characteristics and those are also important to note. The crucial and defining aspect of post-conflict return, however, is the incurrence of wartime trauma and subsequent recovery.

A number of respondents view return as part of their recovery from traumatization incurred either during the war, forced migration and life abroad. Senad felt that he would recover the loss of control over his life with his return to BiH.

Senad: Well, emotions supported the rational calculation. There was a dominant feeling that I left Sarajevo against my own will. I left under extreme conditions and my question is as follows: ‘if peace has returned to Sarajevo and that has been the case for a long time, why wouldn’t I live in my city, with my group of friends, with my family? With more frequent visits the desire intensified to spend time with my family, with my sister, with my friends. Why would I not try to move there when I left against my own will. I want to see what would happen in Bosnia and Herzegovina.’ I wanted to live there and if I decided to leave again, I wanted this decision to be my own. I wanted to be in the position to say ‘I am leaving now, not because of a three year military siege, but because I want to leave.’ I wanted to reprogram history and to decide for myself.

Arif, who survived three concentration camps¹⁵, now has an office overlooking a road sign for the notorious Trnopolje. He explains the de-traumatizing effect constant exposure to places of unimaginable pain has on his psyche.

Arif: The “Trnopolje Camp,” my third concentration camp is located three kilometers from here. People ask me ‘why did you return to live in the neighborhood of a concentration camp?’ and I tell them: ‘well, it would be similar to a Jewish person returning to start a business next to Auschwitz.’ I pass by Keraterm each and every day and I see images of past events: the killings of people and everything, but I keep in touch with all that. You keep seeing these images wherever you are. You can leave, but you cannot escape these things. Within the human psyche, it is impossible to escape your own experience. You could even go to Tasmania, but these images stay alive in front of your eyes. When you close your eyes and start talking to the dead, you wake up in the morning, exhausted from the long conversations you had with them in your sleep. You feel no fear. When you return here, you retain physical contact and you can see everything directly.

¹⁵ The three concentration camps are: Trnopolje, Omarska and Keraterm. For historical background on the camps see Sivac-Bryant (2016).

Diagnosed with PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder) and later becoming a certified trauma release therapist, Lejla discusses the impact of return on her ability to recover from traumatization.

Lejla: And then, all of a sudden what came back to me is everything we went through and how deprived we were. Somehow, this caused me so much pain that I just wanted to give love to all people in Bosnia. I felt so much pain, which we all carry inside and as I became aware of the pain, I simply wanted to come and hug everybody (laughter). I just wanted to share my feelings with people here and mainly this is how I decided to return and start a yoga studio.

The finding that wartime experience is featured in a prominent place in the returnees' motivation for return confirms previous studies of voluntary return to BiH, such as Porobić (2012) and Porobić (2017). In her more recent study, Porobić finds “clear interlinkages between trauma, remembrance, and return motivations and experiences” (p. 120) and creates connections to her previous work with Bosnian refugees in Sweden, where she found that resilience was directed towards a state of “in-betweenness” and that attitudes toward return varied from viewing it as a form of healing the trauma of displacement to seeing it as a possible source of new traumatization. The stories of Senad, Lejla and Aric are consistent with the former interpretation where return to the place of originally induced trauma brings about recovery.

The simple distinction between “forced” and “voluntary” return does not seem to be adequate, because further distinguishing lines are necessary (Carling et al., 2015). The returnees discussed in this Ph.D. are “voluntary,” according to the definition presented in van Houte & Davids (2014) as each one of them had a legal alternative of staying in the host country when they made the decision to return. Furthermore, the returnees discussed within this Ph.D. study truly fit the “decided” or “chosen” return as defined by Cassarino (2008), as they have decided to go back without any “assistance from a public body” (p.12). Thus, not only is there an “absence of force” (Black et al, 2004) required when considering voluntary return in the widest sense possible, but their return is voluntary in the narrowest sense as well, as it was also not assisted in any way. In that sense, “voluntariness” of return within this Ph.D. study is

understood in terms of Cassarino (2008) as “decidedness” or simply “free choice.” In addition, from a life-cycle perspective, the fact that they are all of working age and still in the process of earning their retirement, allows for a clear comparison between economic and emotional reasons for return. Their economic wellbeing depends highly on the success of their return and thus any decision-making based on non-economic factors comes at a substantial opportunity cost.

The decision to return voluntarily to a post-conflict society, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, is primarily driven by emotional factors, however, this decision is made possible only once a minimum of economic well-being is secured. Of course, a debatable point would be what that economic “minimum” would comprise, however, a well-justified answer to this question lies outside of the scope of this Ph.D. study. For this level of analysis, suffice it to say that, although the overall motivation to return is emotional, the returnee’s first priority is securing a source of income necessary to cover his or her basic economic needs in the home state. For many of the returnees the possibility of attaining the minimum level of economic security came either in the form of a business opportunity in the home state or a job offer. Once this opportunity materialized, each participant was faced with a choice of either pursuing the higher risk option of return or the safer road of continuing their life abroad. “Chosen” or “decided” (Cassarino, 2008) to a post-conflict society is dominantly emotionally motivated, but the pursuit of emotional motivations comes to the returnee at an economic opportunity cost of remaining in the host state.

The purposive sampling criteria described in Chapter 2 – Research Methods set one the first criteria for the study participants to be of working age. The dataset does not include non-employed students or retirees who have earned their pensions in a capital-intensive area. The reason for excluding such candidates from the sample is that their decision to return does not include the same level of risk. The person of working age who voluntarily decides to return to

a post-conflict society bears the full amount of financial risk this decision entails as he or she is left with the prospect of not only providing for current living expenses, but also earning for retirement in the home state. Having a viable pull factor from the home state mitigates the level of risk and makes return possible. A push factor from the host state, such as loss of employment due to an economic recession facilitates the decision to return as it makes it appear as carrying a lower level of risk relative to the situation of unemployment in the host state. Overall, awareness of relations between owners of capital and labor under conditions of global capitalism creates the conditions for the returnees to compare directly their situation in the home and host states.

Returning to live and work in a post-conflict society is fraught with obstacles, which the returnees keep overcoming with diverse strategies. The obstacles range from widespread corruption and a business culture based on racketeering and bribery, which affect all ethnicities including minority and majority returns, to direct ethnicity-based discrimination. Low living standards, high unemployment rates, overly complicated bureaucratic procedures and a lack of basic services, such as water supply in the capital, Sarajevo, are further difficulties associated with living in BiH. In addition, a general mentality of victimization coupled with ever present political uncertainty make it difficult for the returnees to build their businesses, careers, families and lives. However, the returnees are courageous, determined and dedicated to the accomplishment of their projects. In order to make their return a success they use various strategies to overcome the obstacles set on their path. Their dominant strategy is self-reliance and resilience most directly demonstrated in their strong tendency towards self-employment. Their attitude towards the political reality of life in BiH ranges from being politically active, proactive and organized in their local communities all the way to tuning out from news and media reports of current events to preserve their sanity. They actively use strategies of patience, persistence and politeness, while also turning to humor as a coping mechanism. Always keeping

a reserve option open abroad while re-building their lives in Bosnia and Herzegovina in many ways improves their chances of a successful return, so thinking of alternatives and the potential re-emigration can also be considered as a strategy for overcoming obstacles.

3.3. Encountering obstacles upon return

The greatest obstacle faced by returnees is the overwhelming presence of corruption and other types of unethical behavior, such as nepotism in employment practices. Scholarship on return migration, particularly to post-conflict societies with inherent weaknesses in the rule of law, agrees with this assertion, claiming corruption to be even more of an obstacle to return than insecurity (Oeppen, 2009). In the case of returnees to BiH, this obstacle most often co-occurs with the general difficulties in conducting business. Alija, who works on promoting and facilitating investment made in BiH from diaspora members discusses the debilitating effects corruption has on general economic growth.

Alija: Corruption is more of a problem when making investment decisions. People want to start a business and then they get pushed around from one government office to the next. They lose patience and go back abroad in three weeks. Then, they become frustrated and disappointed and they talk about their experience to others in the diaspora. I tell them please don't do that. That is the worst thing that could happen. Corruption has been discussed as the greatest obstacle for the returnees with effects of discouraging those in the diaspora, who might be contemplating their return to BiH. This finding is consistent with Carling et al. (2015) who discuss its presence across various contexts and transnational fields, where "the realities of return for some individuals are connected to the possibility of return for others" (p. 1). This is simply due to the fact that transnational communication is lively and by sharing their experiences with other diaspora members, the returnees participate in "shaping imaginations and decisions about return in diaspora" (p. 1) Alija's work is devoted to attracting investment from diaspora members and as a result he is fully aware of the importance of such information transfers. In support of his concerns, Carling et al. (2015) consider the role of rumors to be so important that analyzing their substance

“provides insights into the information gaps, hypotheses, collective sense-making and conflicting truth claims that affect migration processes” (p. 18). Of course, the spread of rumors about different aspects of return can either encourage or discourage it, but this is particularly true for levels of corruption, mainly because of their pervasive and decisive effect on the return decision.

Faced with racketeering and constant bribe requests, the returnees turn to the law and attempt to fight for their rights using the available legal means, thus rejecting the corruptive business culture. While aware of the realities of doing business in BiH, Ema has no desire to participate in widespread bribery, and instead chooses to follow the law, fully realizing how difficult it is actually to put legal principles in practice.

Ema: This is just horrible! So many things function through bribes, but I don't want to have any part in that type of thing. No chance! Somebody needs to start changing how things work. I have my principles and I simply don't want to be a part of it. This means that I am not prepared to pay bribes and this is the reason why everything I do takes suuuuch a long time. As far as the legal system is concerned, the laws here change so frequently that it is simply impossible to follow all of that and honestly, sometimes common sense blocks my efforts to follow each and every law and regulation 100%. This does not mean that I am cheating the state and finally I do follow through, but in the beginning I do feel blocked when I read about all the necessary requirements, all the criteria, which need to be met. When I compare all that with the experience in Europe, just for a company to get started, to get a VAT number, this is incredible. It's literally a madhouse what we have here. A total madhouse.

As reported by Carling et al. (2015) corruption in the home state is one of the leading reasons discouraging return migration, and it “cuts across social and economic spheres” (p. 22). Throughout the interview, Ema has made multiple references to EU standards and “the way things are run in Austria,” however, unlike the findings of Carling et al. (2015), the comparisons she makes between the low levels of corruption in the host state in absolute terms, but particularly relative to the home state, do not “produce a feeling of social alienation” (p.22). Pedersen (2003) finds that in the case of return to Lebanon the “Northern European state came to symbolize a political system devoid of the corruption and clientelism that is so widespread in Lebanon” (p. 37) Instead of feeling “socially alienated” or idealizing Austria as a corruption-

free state, Ema takes a more pragmatic and conciliatory attitude¹⁶, where she rejects the locally prevalent culture of bribery and corruption, but also somewhat adapts to BiH legal complexities and the lack of effective rule of law.

The returnees experience the effects of bribery and corruption regardless of their ethnicity or their ethnic minority/majority status. Gavriilo is a Serb doing business in Nevesinje, which has almost entirely been “ethnically cleansed” of its prewar non-Serb residents. As he is not a part of the local oligarchy, he suffers the effects of unethical business practices and crony-capitalism. He also finds some creative solutions to these obstacles by turning to media attention.

Gavriilo: Let me tell you how this happened in Nevesinje, who, what and how politics looks upon all of this. I will tell you about a case. I don't care. I will tell this to anybody. For example, we, I, organized production...in my house. This is where we started our small crafts shop. My sister is the one who started doing this first and then we started expanding. Soon, we started running into the problem of lack of space. I looked around for land in the industrial zone to buy, so that we could move our factory. Believe me that, at the time, I could not buy anything from the municipality, because they distributed the entire industrial zone to some quasi business people, without any idea of what they could do on this empty lot. How were they allotted the land? I have no idea. They [the municipality officials] didn't give me any land, so I asked for former military barracks, where I could move my storage refrigerators, because I keep increasing my production. They wouldn't allot me land, so I asked for the barracks.

So, listen to this. I called a person from the media, a friend of ours, and asked if he could send a TV crew, because I wanted to tell people about what is happening to the economy of Nevesinje. He nicely said that he would send a TV crew, but that I need to call the municipality mayor to inform him that we would be paying a visit. After that call, two hours later, he [the municipality mayor] called my sister and said 'you have the barracks, go over there and move your storage refrigerators.' The media are incredibly powerful. They can play a very important role in everything. So, what happened next? I could not buy land from the municipality, but still everything was settled.

Gavriilo's approach to solving the problems caused by crony-capitalisms shares Ema's adaptability and pragmatism and counters the “feeling of social alienation” (Carling et al., 2015, p. 22) found elsewhere in the literature connecting corruption and return migration. However, although turning to the media can sometimes, as in the story Gavriilo narrated, have positive

¹⁶ To some extent, it is to be expected that some adaptation to prevailing legal values and practices will inevitably happen over time. Indeed, there have been studies, such as Kubal (2014), illustrating the course of such adaptation.

effects, media attention can in no way substitute for a functioning judicial system¹⁷, whether the issue is related to business, criminal or any other legal field.

Not only do the effects of corruption transcend ethnic boundaries, they are also counter-intuitive in terms of ethnic belonging. Arif, a Bosniak, returned to Kozarac in the RS, as a minority returnee. However, he experienced the worst cases of racketeering when he expanded his business operations to the Bosniak-dominated town of Bosanski Petrovac, located in the FBiH.

Arif: No, my Bosniaks in Petrovac allotted me the land. Two years later, when I started a project and moved my cows there they then told me that they would visit me so that we could ‘talk’ or that I should “visit” them. Since I don’t want to go anywhere, talk to criminals or pay any racket to anybody, they then took away all the allotted land. So, they put me in a situation where I have the cows and no way to feed them!

Author: Would you say that this is racketeering?

Arif: That is exactly what this is! The local SDA representative is responsible for this. Then you understand that in the whole chain you have a couple of people, five to six people operating in the background and controlling the entire canton. You also understand that they have ties to the Ministry of Agriculture and then to the head of the SDA party, all the way to Bakir¹⁸. You simply understand that this is a chain. Perhaps there are 10% honest people, 10% of party members who are honest and who want what is best for their people and everybody else, but they are not given any space for action, because if they speak up they are simply eliminated, for example Šepić. So, you have a corrupt system, which, you finally understand, has enabled the systems of Milorad Dodik and Čović.

Although a number of authors (Carling et al, 2015; Pedersen, 2003) point to the importance of studying the specific effect corruption has on return migration, particularly to post-conflict societies, it is surprising that this field is in its “embryonic” stages (Carling et al., 2015, p. 33). A notable exception is Paasche (2016), whose study looks at the impact of corruption on return and reintegration in Iraqi Kurdistan.

¹⁷ Unfortunately, this point is poignantly illustrated by the parallel nature in treatment of the still unresolved murders of Dženan Memić in Sarajevo and David Dragičević in Banja Luka. For more on the international press coverage of these two cases, see among others Surk, B. (2019, January 9). In Bosnia, a Father’s Grief Swells Into an Antigovernment Movement. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/08/world/europe/bosnia-davor-dragicevic-milorad-dodik.html>

¹⁸ Bakir Izetbegović is the current head of the SDA party and the son of the late Alija Izetbegović, the first BiH President.

A couple of points from Paasche (2016) resonate and connect very strongly to Arif's experience. Firstly, as Paasche (2016) argues, returnees might be more likely to be subjected to bribery requests because of their relative and perceived wealth accumulated abroad. Secondly, their wealth could also represent a type of "social capital" (p. 1077), which would give the returnees a certain amount of independence from local power structure. Finally, Paasche (2016) points to the necessity for returnee entrepreneurs to "cultivate personal ties with party officials" (p. 1087) and narrates the story of a returnee to Iraqi Kurdistan.

We had a business idea, but they wanted 75 per cent of the profit to themselves. So I didn't bother. Then I got a good idea for an import business in Kurdistan, but a potential business partner told me 'Someone from the Barzani family runs this business there, don't even think about it. Others have tried before you.' I had gone through all the hassle, planning my business, but when I heard this, I dropped it. All the big business there is run by the Talabani and Barzani families.

The similarities between Arif's story and experiences of returnees to Iraqi Kurdistan are strikingly parallel, which points to the importance of considering social structure and context, in this case return to a post-conflict society combined with state weakness. Differently from returnees in the Paasche (2016) study, Arif still continues to battle the local racketeers, determined to continue living and working in Kozarac¹⁹, together with his family members.

In addition to the cross-cutting effects of corruption, the returnees of different ethnicities in different parts of the country are faced with ethnic divisions and discrimination based on their ethnicity. Vlado, a Serb returnee to Trebinje, speaks of the general state of social polarization along ethnic lines.

Vlado: When I travel, for example, from Trebinje to Stolac, and as I drive through I begin to feel the schizophrenia, although I have not been here during the war. I mean, there, somewhere along the lines of demarcation between the Bosniaks on one side and the Croats on the other side, this is where I begin to feel that unease and madness. I try

¹⁹ Paasche (2016) also makes important commentary on how returnees might be prone to criticize corruption in the home state in order to retain a positive self-image. He compares this tendency to researchers „exploiting the paternalistic tool to moralize over 'less-developed“ Others (Blundo and deSerdan, 2006; Lindberg and Orjuela, 2014 as cited in Paasche, 2016, p. 1078), returnees may engage in the same discourse to position themselves as morally impeccable and ideologically superior 'torchbearers of progress' whose return brought them from modernity to backwardness (Parry, 2003, p. 244 as cited in Paasche, 2016, p. 1078).” Factors such as continuing to live in the home state, making consistent public and media appearances discussing the easily verifiable corruption activities, as well as continuing to generate employment for local residents, could arguably be used to counter the possibility that returnees' claims of systemic and debilitating corruption could be categorized as described above.

meditating. I try emptying my mind, but nothing seems to work. The amount of human stupidity simply paralyzes me. Still, there is one flag on the Bosniak side and another one on the Croat side. When you add the Serbs as you start entering Republika Srpska that creates a total schizophrenia in my mind. A totally schizophrenic situation.

Elvis, a Bosniak minority returnee to Prijedor in Republika Srpska discusses direct and personal experiences of ethnic discrimination.

Elvis: Well, this is about provocations on religious and ethnic grounds. This means that you cannot pass through the streets waving a BiH flag without somebody making insulting comments. All kinds of attacks happened too, it wasn't just words. Blood was spilled and all kinds of other things. So, you feel powerless in all of this. You have no rights and nobody guarantees you any safety. You live here, but you feel entirely disenfranchised. Of course, this is not something that makes me happy. Also, there is the issue of legal discrimination, although the law should treat everybody equally. This is not the case!

Author: Do you feel discriminated against under the law?

Elvis: Of course, all of the time. For example, on the road, when you get stopped by the police, you can feel it. When they see your papers, you can see that you get discriminated against. You can also feel it in restaurants, although this type of thing can be avoided because you simply don't go where you are 'not supposed to go'. Let me tell you simply, your biggest obstacle is your ethnicity, your identity!

Hrvoje, a Croat returnee who divides his time between his native Sarajevo and the Herzegovinian town Ljubuški, is pessimistic about the future of ethnic demarcation.

Hrvoje: Regardless of how much we focus on solving the problems, some people want it differently and I am afraid that we have already lost the battle. All of this is going in a completely wrong direction, towards greater and greater separation. People are separating from each other territorially, more and more. The territories of segregation are becoming smaller and smaller and people are becoming more and more closed off. Looking at the situation from a geopolitical standpoint, people like me don't have a bright future here. These are people who are used to living together in the brotherhood and unity of the past. I absolutely do not care *who* you are. I only care about *what* you are like²⁰.

The problems of ethnic discrimination inherent to minority return have been widely discussed in the literature on post-war BiH (among many examples, see Bougarel et al., 2007; Keil, 2013; Bieber, 2016), so obviously this is a major obstacle for returnees. As Hromadžić (2012) points out, institutionalizing ethnicity in Bosnia and Herzegovina has long historical roots. Historically, BiH society has been multiethnic with ethnoreligious background always playing an important role (Bougarel, 1996; Kasapović, 2005 as cited in Hromadžić, 2012, p. 32), however the new addition of the DPA setup is in the *territorializing* of ethnic groups, created

²⁰ Another way of translating the second part of this phrase would be „...I only care about the kind of person you are.“

by brutal campaigns of ethnic cleansing conducted during the 1992-95 war. The DPA brought an end to the physical fighting, but in effect legitimized and strengthened ethnic divisions, ultimately creating a “spatial governmentality” - an ideological, political, and social mechanism of territorial segregation and disciplining of ethnically conceived peoples (Hromadžić, 2012, p. 32).

The stories of Vlado, a Serb returnee to the predominately Serb-populated Trebinje in Republika Srpska, who often travels to the Bosniak and Croat dominated areas of Stolac; Elvis, a Bosniak minority returnee to Prijedor, which has been almost entirely “cleansed” of all its non-Serb citizens and Hrvoje, an ethnic Croat and born Sarajevan, who now is considered a minority returnee in his native, now Bosniak-majority Sarajevo and a majority returnee to the Croat-dominated town of Ljubuški all speak to the same phenomenon of “spatial governmentality” with the resulting ethnic discrimination. In addition, as Hromadžić (2012) summarizes, “This marriage between consociational democracy, spatial governmentality, and cultural fundamentalism in BiH has led to the ethnicization of political and social life, generating “total exclusion of ‘others’ or ‘citizens’ from the power-sharing arrangement” (Bieber, 2006, p. 56)” (p. 32) Therefore, ethnic discrimination is not just directed towards members of an ethnic group in territories where they do not comprise the majority. It leads to the actual exclusion of all those who do not identify with a particular ethnic group and instead claim to be primarily citizens of BiH. The ethnocentric focus on the understanding of territory in BiH, obviates the creation of shared public spaces, which are instrumental for a functioning democracy (Barry, 1990; Young, 1990 as cited in Hromadžić, 2012, p.32).

A rather intangible, but very important, obstacle is the general mentality and a sense of victimization. Badema, an inspirational young woman, who returned together with her family from Germany to live in their native Srebrenica discusses the detrimental impact of the general sense of postwar apathy.

Badema: Disinterested people are the biggest obstacle. When I, or anybody else, gets an idea on how to solve a problem the tired, jaded, lethargic people become the biggest obstacle. These are people without goals, living each day as it comes. This is the greatest obstacle in our country. The youth, people my age, are apathetic, they simply don't want anything to change. Let me give you an example! I get an idea on something we could do together and I talk about this in school. I get butterflies fluttering inside thinking about and talking about all the positive benefits of my idea. And what is the reaction? What do they say? They say: 'You fool! What, for God's sake, are you talking about?' They literally brand you a fool and then you get so disappointed. You feel disappointed for even trying and inside you know, you know that the potential for making things better does exist. But, nothing can be done because of people like that.

Vedad was wounded during the war and now only has five percent eye sight on one eye.

Although he was an excellent student of electrical engineering, he had to change professions and become a physical therapist. Now, he has a successful practice, employing an assistant and feeding a family of six. When I asked him about his reaction to lethargy among the youth in BiH, instead of judgement, he showed compassion.

Vedad: That person in question is perhaps physically healthy, but he is not fully mentally healthy. That is the main issue. To learn more, we need to investigate his psychological background, the issues concerning his mental health. We need to see what else is going on in his life. To move such a person, you need to know why is it that he is in such a state. Is it his family? Is it his girlfriend? Perhaps he has some emotional problems. I mean these are simple things, but these are just some examples. The native Americans are a telling example of how to destroy an entire people. You don't need to physically kill them off, just give them welfare and they will kill themselves through alcohol, gambling and other vices. They will do the killing by themselves – by placing themselves on the margins of society.

The questions of victimization, victimhood and the subsequent moral claims in a post-conflict setting are undoubtedly complex (see Helms, 2013) and I do not intend to dwell on the multitude of layers they imply. Although the sentiment of a general "victim mentality" was echoed by many of the returnees and viewed as a serious impediment for progress, I chose to highlight the views of two individuals, a young Bosniak woman from Srebrenica and a middle-aged Bosniak man from Sarajevo, physically disabled during the siege. Their stories present counter-examples to the analysis espoused by Helms (2013)²¹, where victimhood and innocence in BiH

²¹ To be fair to the thoroughly researched analysis, Helms (2013) makes a point that these constructions are mostly imposed from outside and not self-created: "There is no denying that Bosniak women were the most numerous among those who survived ethnic cleansing and rape, but through a variety of dominant representations they have become the only victims, and, more worryingly, *only victims*. These representations have been constructed largely without the voices of Bosnian women themselves, or in ways that downplay their agency, leaving intact an Orientalized image of silenced, shamed, and powerless victims of patriarchal, Muslim culture." (p. 27)

are both gendered as female and ethnicized as Bosniak. Without any traces of denial of wartime atrocities, their own tragedy or the crimes committed against their own people, Badema and Vedad actively reject the “victim role” and recoup their own agency in the process. Moreover, they are highly critical of this general tendency and search for compassionate venues to counter the destructive effects of the “victim philosophy” (Helms, 2013).

Two obstacles which often co-occur are complicated bureaucratic procedures and difficulties in conducting business. Hrvoje gives an illustrative example of the destructive effects of prolonged waiting periods on the overall economy.

Hrvoje: Ok, I will give you a concrete example of obtaining an import permit. For example, you import some goods, which have been vetted under European standards. The imported products can be traded anywhere in Europe for the past couple of years. As far as this country is concerned, in addition to making all permit payments in advance, your application won't even be considered in the next six or seven months. During this time, you are in complete standby. Everything is frozen and you are at the mercy of the authorities. You wait and wait. They took your money in advance and then they let you wait for six months for you to find out whether you can do this job or not. During these six months, everybody loses. The state loses tax revenue, even the person living off of taxpayers' money, he also loses, because his salary is paid from your taxes. Something needs to get taxed and with these waiting periods nobody gains. Why? As I can't sell anything, the state has nothing to tax [VAT tax] and everybody loses. This is absurd.

Alma expresses her frustration with the lack of understanding government employees show towards the returnees' efforts, which sometimes seem to be adding inordinate changes in established practices.

Alma: I mean, you go, for example, to the Cantonal Ministry of Education and you experience a trip in a time machine, going back 60 years in history. You have some people sitting there, who do not care about anything. Even just visiting that place is frustrating, not to mention trying to explain that we are a Waldorf kindergarten and that we do things slightly differently. They [the Ministry staff] just look at you with distrust. Then they say something like... 'so, you bring something new...since that is the case, even longer and more complicated procedures apply to you.' And what do you do? You just continue running around from one place to another, as they concoct new rules that you must obey.

In a study of small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) in BiH, Delalić & Oruč (2014) conclude that institutional factors, namely government bureaucracy, severely impede the growth of individual businesses and hamper the country's general business climate. The authors point to the World Bank's “Doing Business” reports, which consistently rank BiH at the bottom of European lists of favorable business climate and amongst the lowest performing

business climates in the erfgworld. To illustrate this point, Delalić & Oruč (2014) as well as other analysts frequently cite the average number of 65 days²² to start a business to be among the highest in the world.²³

The high unemployment rate coupled with low living standards and general stagnation are an obstacle the returnees confront. According to Elvis, widespread poverty contributes to deepening ethnic divisions.

Elvis: This is because our economic situation, the poverty, has affected Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks equally. You would expect that poverty would be a motivator for people to start cooperating. In case of normal people, that is something to be expected, but here...poverty just keeps people stuck deeper and deeper in those unhealthy thought patterns.

Hrvoje finds the continued economic stagnation to be a source of great disappointment. He feels strongly about the seeming inability of the BiH economy to rebound fully from the devastation of war.

Hrvoje: What this means is that, if you do not have a strong material base, the spiritual side, simply cannot develop, regardless of how much we would like yoga to help us. Without an economic base you cannot be emotionally and spiritually relaxed. There needs to be a material base, not just for you as an individual, but for all of society. I mean, we cannot lie to ourselves. The material base is foundational for everything. On the economic front, I am very disappointed. Why? Because I know that this country could have developed ten times faster and better, but we again turn to this ugly thing called politics and our political environment, which simply does not let you breathe.

Elvis's, Hrvoje's and other returnees' perceptions of economic realities in BiH are not far from officially reported economic indicators. Wartime devastation had reduced the BiH GDP per capita to only 20% of its prewar level (Pugh, 2002) and subsequent economic growth was mainly fueled by donor programs. The unemployment rate, depending on the methods of measurement (see Efendić, 2016) ranges from 28% at the lower end of estimates to 45% at the higher end. Whatever unemployment rate estimate is considered, the problem of persistently high unemployment and particularly high youth unemployment, remains as one of the greatest economic challenges in BiH.

²² The 65 day figure is taken from the most recently available World Bank's „Doing Business“ report, World Bank (2017b)

²³ According to World Bank (2017b), BiH ranks 175. among 190 surveyed countries.

Finally, a major obstacle the returnees experience is a constant sense of political uncertainty in the country. Mehmed returned from Australia to live and work in BiH, but like so many others, he is doubtful of a peaceful future.

Mehmed: Uncertainty. Uncertainty caused by a u number of things, such as what we talked about before: threats of a new independence referendum and the general political situation....the uncertainty of not knowing where all of this could be going. Nobody knows whether we might have a new war, as the secession threats keep coming all of the time. On our side, our politics...we see the incompetence of our politicians to manage their own affairs and to deal with the international scene, this entire complicated set of events in the region and that point to the possibility of new war, conflict...What exactly will happen...nobody seems to know.

Political uncertainty is a matter of daily life in BiH, most of which is rooted in the reality of institutionalized ethnic divisions, but also aided by consistent national and international media efforts²⁴ to keep alive an overall sense of political unpredictability characteristic of the general “Balkan powder keg” and the specificity of the fragile peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In a study on emigration intentions in BiH, Efendić (2016) finds that, contrary to conventional expectations, high unemployment and low economic growth, although important are not the most significant drivers of emigration from BiH. According to this study, the differences in emigration intentions between returnee and domicile population are not statistically significant, however, specifically post-conflict factors such as “perceptions of the country’s political prospects” (Efendić, 2016, p. 349) rank highest.

3.4. Strategies for overcoming the challenges of return

The returnees use a wide range of strategies to overcome obstacles and make their return a success. The primary strategy for overcoming obstacles is self-reliance and resilience, the

²⁴ Some of the more recent examples of this trend include alarmist headlines, from both Western and other media sources, such as Dudik & Kuzmanović (2018, September 12). Is Europe sleepwalking into a new Balkan war. *Bloomberg*. Retrieved from <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2018-09-12/playing-with-fire-in-europe-s-powder-keg> or Joksimović, N. (2018, June 7). Foreigners giving up on Bosnia: country close to collapse. *Sputnik Srbija*. Retrieved from <https://rs-lat.sputniknews.com/analize/201806071115894984-bih-izmene-izbornog-zakona/>

same qualities and skills which made it possible for them to succeed in the host societies. Damir was only 18 years old when the war started in Sanski Most and he found refuge in Germany.

Damir: And when I arrived there [Germany] and when I slept that night on a park bench, I told myself one thing – ‘just give me the right to work!’

Author: How did you feel on that bench?

Damir: At that time, I did not think about feelings at all. Nothing. Emotions were completely irrelevant to me. I had no emotions. Survival was the only important thing for me. I felt happy that I was out of Bosnia at that moment, because even the park bench was better than a concentration camp or something even worse.

Author: You always have a positive attitude?

Damir: Yes, always! This is clear, because had I stayed, I would have ended up like any one of my classmates - in a concentration camp or killed. Unfortunately, that was our situation. We didn't have organized resistance in Sanski Most.

While in Germany, Damir worked for a metal manufacturing company for four years. He returned to his native Sanski Most in 1996 and started a similar company at the age of 22. Now, his company employs close to one hundred employees.

Damir: First of all, I believe us to be very successful. Of course, we could always be doing better, but, God forbid, it could also be a lot worse. Now, the fact that we have been successful throughout our 20 years of business is cause for celebration. Last year we celebrated 20 years of our company's existence and we took a four day road trip with two buses with all our workers. We had an excursion through all of BiH, starting from Sanski Most, getting to Jajce, where we had a coffee break. Next, we drove to Travnik where we had lunch on the Lašva. After Travnik we went to the source of the river Bosna close to Sarajevo, where we had coffee and cake and finally we went to Konjic for rafting on the river Neretva. We also visited Tito's bunker close to Konjic and the Buna river source. This was a four day trip. In the last 20 years we have been growing consistently, both in number of employees and our overall sales. I believe that is a wonderful success, with our goal in the past two years being an increase in worker salaries.

Author: What is the average worker's salary?

Damir: It is now close to KM 1100 (EURO 550), net plus their daily warm meal addition. So, this brings the average worker monthly salary to be close to KM 1200 (EURO 600)²⁵.

Damir's story seems consistent to findings of other studies of voluntary return to post-conflict settings, such as van Houte & Davids (2014), who also emphasize the “voluntary returnees’ creativity, resilience and innovativeness, along with their entrepreneurial mentality” (p. 80), but are much more skeptical of the returnees’ capacities to impact actual social change. To some extent, Damir seems to be contradicting the second part of this conclusion. While it cannot be

²⁵ This number is close to double the national average for this type of position.

said that he has single-handedly “innovated” (Cerase, 1974) his native Sanski Most, and although there have been considerable local push-back to any of his initiatives, the fact that he has continuously lived, worked and generated employment in BiH seems to attest to the possibility of personal resilience to have some positive societal effect.

Similarly to Damir, Gavriilo left Nevesinje during the war and went to Italy. Although educated and trained with a degree in mechanical engineering, at times he found himself homeless in Italy, where he spent seven years. Turning to resourcefulness he learnt Italian and worked his way up in the dairy industry all the way up to managerial positions utilizing his engineering background. Upon return to BiH, he came back with the expertise and the same self-reliance which led to his success abroad. He is disappointed at people leaving BiH and advocates for turning to creative problem-solving instead.

Gavriilo: Why do people say ‘there is no life here’, in general, in this entire country? Do you know why? Do you know what the problem is? This country is perfect for anybody with even a tiny bit of creativity. Here, you need to make something, create something out of thin air. We have nothing and we need to make something. What I see as one of our biggest burdens is what happened to us during communism. This system dragged us into a situation where everybody was given a job in some factory, placed there to fill some machine with something, given an apartment and taken care of. All this person needed to do was get married, have two, three kids and wait for his retirement. With all the resources we have – the sun, the water, the lumber and everything else, all we need is creativity. Creativity and what we have been given by God, who said: ‘you need to live, suffer and work. Outside of that, there is nothing.’ If you understand that this suffering and strife will be a source of great satisfaction, then you have solved your problems (laughter). Labor is not actually suffering. It is enjoyment. It brings happiness. Resilience and creativity are the defining features of many strategies for overcoming obstacles employed by the returnees. In reviewing Cerase’s (1974) typology of return, Cassarino (2004) also underlines the difficulties faced by the returnees when they assign themselves the role of “carriers of change” (p.258). In a later part of the interview, Gavriilo revealed his attitude succinctly: “The challenge here is creating *something* when there is *nothing!*” Although his optimistic outlook is certainly heartening, its second part is not entirely accurate. What is there is not *nothing*, but in fact, a web of “vested interests which prevent innovators from undertaking any initiatives that could jeopardize the established situation and the traditional power

structure” (Cassarino, 2004, p. 258). Similarly to Damir and most others returnees, equipped with resilience, creativity and self-reliance, Gavriilo continues to confront that power structure.

Political activism, being proactive and organized are strategies to combat the negative effects of the post-war apathy, sense of victimization, as well as low living standards and stagnation. For example, Senad joined an opposition party and is now serving in the Sarajevo Canton Parliament as a representative.

Senad: The strategy I use to overcome obstacles is to...hmm..is to help improve living standards in my microenvironment. This is the reason why I entered politics. I started a political career because of water shortages. I simply could not believe that we have water shortages in the center of the city, the capital city of a European country. When I met the people, who are in charge of these companies [water supply companies] I saw the extent of their incompetence. I saw that there is a vacuous space, which I need to enter. That is when I joined the party²⁶.

Author: So, your way of overcoming obstacles is..

Senad: Political activism. A person needs to be active and not simply a passive observer of event occurring to him or her. It’s much better this way. For example, I don’t spend my time with friends, criticizing this or that. If they start doing that sort of thing I tell them ‘I entered politics and you can activate yourselves too. I don’t want to sit around with you talking about how horrible everything is. Let’s talk about other subjects.’ I am optimistic and I still believe that I have the capacity of making a positive difference, of having an impact in this society.

Senad found that entering party politics is the way for him to affect positive change, however there are other routes besides formal political engagement. Vedad is active in his local municipality.

Vedad: For example, while the water shortages were going on, I frequently attended all our local municipal meetings on how we could solve this problem. I was active in all our local chapters dealing with this issue. I met with the head of our city water supply company to see what could be done and how I could contribute towards a better situation. This is how I see it. One needs to contribute and be active towards finding a solution.

The paradoxical nature of frequent water shortages occurring in a country known for its abundance of clean water supplies present an excellent illustration of the severity of mismanagement of public utilities in BiH. The water shortages were certainly not caused by a shortage of water supply, but by the inability of the corrupt, party-affiliated management to

²⁶ Senad joined a liberal, social-democrat party, one of the leading opposition parties in BiH.

properly service the crumbling distribution infrastructure. As opposed to feeling despondent, victimized, or expecting somebody else to do the job instead of them²⁷, Senad and Vedad took an active role in bringing about a solution.

Self-employment is the response to the high unemployment rate in the country. Most of the returnees firstly created their own jobs and then started hiring others. Aware of the abysmal economic situation Bosnia and Herzegovina found itself right after the war ended, Damir had no expectations of “finding a job.” Instead, he came back from Germany with very little initial capital and the intention of employing himself.

Damir: My first motivation when considering how I could return was not building a company that now employs 100 workers. This was not my primary motivation. When I first returned, my motivation was to create a job for myself and earn a monthly salary. My only concern was that I could have a source of monthly income, so that I could live from my own labor. What happened later, how the company developed those are things that I could not anticipate 20 years ago. In the beginning, I just wanted to create my own job and nothing else.

Likewise, Alija returned from Holland to start a diaspora investment promotion agency. Instead of despairing about how high the unemployment rate is in BiH, he decided to create his own job and help other returnees do the same.

Alija: As far as the unemployment problem is concerned, my answer to that is job creation! I created my own job and now we help others find jobs. This is something that we can do. When discussing the political situation, we [Alija’s investment promotion agency] simply don’t want any part in all of that. It’s a jungle! That is just how it is.

As was explained in the previous section, the tendency of returnees towards self-employment has been well-documented in the literature. Also, as was pointed out during the discussion on motivations driving the decision to return, all other forms of reintegration are “conditioned upon economic reintegration” (Paasche, 2016). Therefore, faced with close to a 40% unemployment rate, nepotistic employment practices based on party-affiliation and not qualifications, and losing many of the social contacts that could lead to job offers, self-employment seems to be the only viable option for the returnees. Therefore, self-employment does not seem to be a

²⁷ For a recent example directly dealing with water shortages in Sarajevo and donor involvement, see Zeyrek, D. (2017, May 17). 12 Hours in Bosnia. *Hurriyet Daily News*. Retrieved from: <http://www.hurriyetcailynews.com/opinion/deniz-zeyrek/12-hours-in-bosnia--113175>.

choice they make, but rather a necessity that enables return. In other words, *in order* to return, they *need* to provide employment for themselves. The returnees' attitude towards self-employment, characterized by the same level of self-initiative, resilience and creativity noticed in other aspects of their reintegration.

Cultivating patience, persistence and politeness are seen as useful in overcoming general apathy, bureaucratic hurdles, as well as managing problems in day-to-day business practices. When discussing her frustration with apathetic reactions to her proposals for progressive change in Srebrenica, Badema believes that being patient is her best strategy.

Badema: I really love philosophy and I don't know exactly who had this teaching, but the idea is that virtues can be taught. Virtues can be acquired. I believe this to be true. Whatever the problem might be, patience will lead the way towards a solution, step by step, one small step at a time. Have patience and time will tell, all the pieces will fall into place one day. The important thing is to continue building.

When being forced to wait for six months for being issued an import permit, Hrvoje has no other choice but to be patient with the customs and tax authorities.

Hrvoje: Patience. Yes, you wait. There is nothing else that could be done. As a single individual I have no other way, except for being patient. In my opinion, this problem has a simple solution. All the tax payers, registered within the tax system could say 'dear ladies and gentlemen of the tax authorities, we reject paying any taxes for the next two months until you do the following. When you complete your tasks, we will pay our taxes to you retroactively.'

Being respectful of the opinions of others and an emphasis on conflict-resolution is Siniša's best strategy for overcoming adversity.

Siniša: I always, always use dialogue to solve any dispute. There are so many conflicts between people here and the way I see it, many people feel that they are not being respected. Sometimes I need to talk and take extra care about how I talk. I believe this to be an issue of normal humanity and I sometimes see that it needs to be emphasized even more here – respecting the other. In the past ten years that I have lived here, I believe I lost my temper only once or perhaps twice.

Faced with the daily challenges of life in BiH and decided to make their return a success, the returnees are not likely to give up easily²⁸. Instead, they patiently and politely persist.

²⁸ „No, I don't give up easily!“ was Admir's response when I asked him whether he had moved back to Chicago, one year after I conducted the interview with him in Sarajevo. I kept in touch with all the study participants after completing my data collection by e-mail, telephone and social media. One morning, I received a notification that Admir's phone number had changed from a Sarajevo area code to one based in Chicago. I contacted him to ask about his whereabouts for my study records and he explained that his number had indeed (temporarily) changed as he was on a two-month tour in the U.S. with his jazz band.

When it comes to ethnic divisions, discrimination and political uncertainty, some of the returnees are most likely to tune out, by actively staying outside of the daily news cycle, as they largely feel powerless to affect fundamental change. Vlado is an artist and feels that the environment around him is destructive.

Vlado I created my own fairy tale and my parallel world. The only people I allow to enter this world are those whom I find agreeable. The others, I see all of it as a catastrophe. I cannot allow this catastrophe to penetrate my world and dictate how things will be run in my life.

Emir has consciously secluded himself in his bed and breakfast located in a forested area outside of Sarajevo.

Emir: One of the main reasons why I live in my own bubble - in this space where I do not consume the news and do not follow any daily politics - is that I am not interested. Of course, I am not completely isolated, although I should be. Even within the bubble, I do know what is going on, but within it all, I feel as a hostage to a project.

By being highly selective about members of her social network, Mirela attempts to limit her exposure to the reality of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mirela: But I do live in a parallel universe. That is exactly the point! For example, this is Bosnia and Herzegovina and this is me. I am here physically, but in reality I am not here. I simply do not want to live the local lifestyle. I do not want to listen to all these stories of moaning and groaning and complaining all of the time! I have my story and that story is a literal copy-paste of the New York City lifestyle: you work, you create your life and your fun and nothing else enters my world. Also, I am starting to discover others in BiH, through the RESTART network, others who share my worldview. They too are here physically, but not here in reality.

“Tuning out” as a coping mechanism in many ways counters its opposite of “proactive engagement,” which speaks to the diversity of reintegration strategies employed. For some returnees, direct engagement with BiH political reality through party politics or civil society organizations is the preferred response, while others choose to ignore BiH complexities with the goal of focusing on outcomes, which are more directly within their control, such as their businesses, families or close circle of friends.

Political uncertainty is also the leading factor in returnees contemplating other alternatives for themselves and their families. Thinking of other alternatives is practiced by returnees, like Hrvoje, who consider their return to be a success.

Hrvoje: There is always a Plan B. Let's say my right foot is in BiH and my other foot is somewhere in between, waiting to see what will happen next, how will things develop. Unfortunately, this is how, I believe, most of the returnees think. They always keep another reserve option in the back because of the uncertainty of life in BiH. Similarly to Hrvoje, Mensura is happy to be back in BiH and believes that her return is successful, but still keeps open the reserve option of re-emigrating to the host state.

Mensura: Again, nobody knows exactly how life will evolve and how our country will develop. So that my Plan A is, normally, to stay in Bosnia, to raise my children here and to create my future in this country. However, if I see that there are no opportunities and that it is simply too difficult, I always have the option of going back to Norway. That is in case, this move because really, really necessary.

Nervan is one of the rare study participants who claim to be dissatisfied with his decision to return to BiH two years ago. For him, re-emigration is not just a reserve option while he continues to live in BiH. In fact, he is actively attempting to re-emigrate.

Nervan: Well, I am generally and constantly frustrated in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This frustration slowly turns into real anger and rage and finally, when it lasts too, too long it turns into indifference. At that point, the only thing that I truly want, since there is nothing that I can do to change the situation here, the only thing that I want is simply to leave this place and go somewhere else.

Most of the returnees in this Ph.D. study consider their return project to be successful, nevertheless, constantly considering other alternatives is a frequently encountered coping mechanism, observed by other researchers and indicating an "open-ended return" (Porobić, 2017, p. 118), particularly of those with dual citizenship and access to the host state's employment opportunities and social services (Stefansson, 2006).

Many of the returnees mentioned that they often use humor as a coping mechanism. Emir discusses the origin of what is often referred to as "specifically Bosnian humor"²⁹

Emir: I channel my anger towards humor. This is what I do most! Humor comes from, I don't know...it comes from desperation. It probably comes from despair. Dark humor, is always the best, in my opinion. The healthy kind of dark humor that we used to have during the war. I had a Slovene friend who could never understand how we could laugh about the misery we were surrounded by during the war. But, for us in Bosnia, during the war, especially, humor was a way to escape from our horrid circumstance.

²⁹ "We are the only region to have a good sense of humor, Bosnians. I think it's a way of surviving. Humor gives you a distance. So we laughed a lot during the war. It was our secret weapon. So I thought why not treat a subject that was serious with a good sense of humor. It eases up certain things." (Danis Tanović, discussing his film *No Man's Land* in an interview given to Paul Fischer, 2002 as cited in Sheftel, 2011, p. 145.

In an excellent analysis of the role dark humor plays in how memory is constructed in post-conflict BiH, Sheftel (2011) argues for the importance of treating dark or gallows humor as “an especially subversive form of counter-memory, that allows Bosnians to express dissent from dominant narratives of the Bosnian War that they perceive as unproductive or divisive” (p. 145). To illustrate the argument she draws on many examples from films such as Danis Tanović’s “*No Man’s Land*”, monuments, such as the ironic “Monument to the International Community, from the Grateful Citizens of Sarajevo” or other examples of cultural production, such as the Sarajevo Survival Guide³⁰ (FAMA, 1993), a mock guidebook for tourists visiting a besieged city, covering in Monty Pythonesque style the main topics of interest such as: “running from sniper fire,” “dining with UN rations” or “shrapnel pieces as souvenirs.” Most significantly, the argument presented in Sheftel (2011) focuses on the role dark humor plays in escaping narratives of victimhood and victimization, mainly by contradicting an image of “downtrodden masses without agency” (Sheftel, 2011, p. 152) and thus restoring dignity to the people who are so willing to participate in self-mockery, making fun of their naivete and foolishness as opposed to wallowing in self-pity³¹.

In other instances, humor is discussed in the context of affecting positive change. Vedad even had an idea of creating a comedy program that would problematize the nearly infinite set of absurd situation of daily life in post-Dayton BiH.

Vedad: We were just talking, among friends, you know, about all the absurd situations we face each day in this country. For example, I went to our municipal health center and I was supposed to see a doctor. I was patiently waiting across from the counter and each time I would try to ask my question to the receptionist, her telephone would ring. I mean I would start talking; the phone would ring and she picked it up. I tried asking my question for four or five times, but was interrupted each time by the phone ringing. There I was, standing in complete disbelief. I couldn’t believe that the receptionist could be so rude that she would not let me finish my sentence even after my fifth attempt! I was starting to think that this could be a case of a candid camera filming, I mean it was that bizarre. Finally, I asked her: ‘Do you think that your behavior is polite. I mean you

³⁰ See Stephenson (1994) for a review.

³¹ On the hilarious aspects of pity, Sheftel (2011) presents an excellent analysis of a scene from Danis Tanović’s „*No Man's Land*“ where a Bosnian front-line soldier pities the genocidal violence in Rwanda.

interrupted me with picking up the phone at least five times, while I patiently keep standing here, waiting to ask my question and get my doctor's appointment?' What she told me is that she has orders from her boss that she has to pick up the phone after it rings three times and that this is not her choice. I responded by asking her, whether it is better for me to go home now, call her and try to set up my appointment over the phone! (laughter) Actually, that is exactly what the woman standing in line behind me did. She walked across the ambulance office and hid behind the wall; used her mobile phone and got her appointment set way before me! Isn't this absurd?!

Author: Yes, it is...absurd, but it is also pretty hilarious.

Vedad: (Laughter). Of course, this is the humor of absurdity that I was telling you about.

Emir also sees potential for humor, such as political satire to function as effective social criticism and thus affect positive change.

Emir: Humor can also function as social criticism, when you look at something like the case of Lejla Čolak³², for example. I mean perhaps that was not exactly funny, but instead it was said for the purposes of criticizing society. As far as I am concerned, this Lejla thing was totally humorous, whether it did or did not have taste...well, that is a separate issue. However, the reaction to that statement – horror, pure horror.

As Sheftel (2011) points out, much of scholarly debate around humor affecting political discourse has been centered on political satire. For example, she looks at how scholars have treated *The Daily Show* in the U.S. to conclude that views on its potential to affect actual political change are divided. They range from those criticizing *The Daily Show* for creating “cynicism that alienates its audience from political debate and participation” (Baumgartner and Morris, 2006 as cited in Sheftel, 2011, p.146); to praising it for transforming political journalism and increasing its functionality (Baym, 2005; McKain, 2005 as cited in Sheftel, 2011, p. 146); to portraying it as resisting and subverting dominant U.S. discourses (Warner, 2007 as cited in Sheftel, 2011, p. 146). Obviously, similar arguments could be made for post-conflict settings and the question still remains whether humor can affect actual political change?

Perhaps the answer to this question lies in one's vantage point. Sheftel (2011) suggests “taking humor seriously” and viewing it in certain cases *as* political action itself. As a BiH citizen I do not share her optimism, because, if humor is overused it can also have an undesired

³² Lejla Čolak is a journalist who in August 2016 compared wearing a hijab to using a dildo in a facebook status update. Some of the most extreme reactions to her statement included threats of murder and rape sent to Lejla's facebook account.

effect of simply protecting the status quo and maintaining existing power relations. When I asked Emir about the positive and negative effects of turning to humor as a coping strategy, he was adamant about the possibility for a humorous response to prevent an actual resolution to an obviously problematic situation.

Emir: Well, it [humor] is positive only in the sense that it keeps people afloat and sometimes outside the septic tank. It keeps them breathing, you know. But, it can be negative because it doesn't solve anything. We keep making jokes and sinking deeper and deeper. Do you understand? There comes a point when it all stops being funny. The joke becomes cruel!

Alma laughed when she narrated the story of the different treatment her husband and one of their sons, who are dual Bosnian and Slovene citizens, would get each time when they crossed the Slovene border together as a family. Alma and their second son are solely BiH citizens and the two of them would often be made to wait, strip searched with their luggage checked and re-checked. As she told the story, her laughter quickly turned to a painful expression of mistreatment.

Alma: We always used to make jokes about it, you know we [Alma and the elder son] are Bosnians and you [Alma's husband and their younger son] are Slovenes (laughter). Yes, yes we used to make jokes about it, but it was clear to all of us that the main issue is one of direct discrimination.

Perhaps the most satisfactory answer to the role of humor as a coping strategy or its role in affecting actual political change comes from Payne (2005) and her work on memory in post-authoritarian regimes³³.

[Humor] tells truths about political affairs in a way that renders them funny. These truths percolate from below ... Humor speaks a truth silenced by official channels. It raises a mirror on society that reflects an image very different from the one promoted by the old authoritarian order and its transitional successor. Humor cannot and should not replace politics; it adds to, enhances, and embellishes politics ... Ultimately, humor gives voice to individuals and ideas excluded from the official political discourse. It is a way of making trouble, doing politics, by other means: an alternative form of truth-telling. (Payne, 2005, p.72 as cited in Sheftel, 2011, p. 146)

³³ For a closely related example discussing the post-Yugoslav context, see Drakulić, S. (1993). *How we survived communism and even laughed*. New York: HarperPerennial.

Although Payne (2005) recognizes the power of humor to be subversive and “make trouble” as well as give a voice to the individual, she views its actual potential to affect political change much more modestly. Humor, in this sense, can complement political action, but it should not substitute it.

3.5. So, what do *you* think?: Evaluating the success of return

Overall and so far, the returnees consider their return to Bosnia and Herzegovina to be successful. In fact, only three participants in the study expressed their dissatisfaction with having returned. From the outset, it is important to note that the evaluation of the success of each participant’s return is entirely subjective, meaning that it is based on his or her individual perception and not on some objectively set criteria. This distinction is important and has been recognized within the return migration literature. Actually, the “perceptions of the individual returnees themselves” (Black et al., 2004, p.26) are often used as the most reliable measure of the sustainability of return, because this measure includes the greatest degree of respect toward the individual returnee’s agency. Ultimately, he or she *decides* whether return has been successful or not and acts accordingly: remains in the home state or re-emigrates to the host state. This is particularly true in cases of truly “decided return” (Cassarino, 2004), e.g. return of dual citizens, who have retained the legal facility of re-emigration.

Although perceptions of the return’s success, failure or a combination of both, are highly subjective, data analysis revealed some consistent patterns linking the success of each individual returnee and their strategies for overcoming obstacles inherent in return migration to a post-conflict society. The dominant strategy for overcoming obstacles and achieving success with return seems to be resilience and self-reliance. After Ema told me about the difficulties she experiences on a daily basis, including threats of physical violence, insults and fear of

retribution, she discussed how happy she is to be back in BiH, summarizing her evaluation in one word: “Fantastic.” I found the contrast puzzling and wanted to know more.

Author: Are you being serious?

Ema: Yes [I am serious]! I am not being ironic. Yes, fantastic. Yes, because the realization of my idea has come so far and this is all because of my own endurance, suffering and tears. Yes, there were lots of tears too, but I still think that there was nothing better I could have done for myself, nothing that would be better for my life. But, you see Aida, this medal has two sides. I am now telling you the entire story. This has been fantastic for me as a person, for me to grow, to develop with new experiences. My company and I grow together with different kinds of people, those which treat me nicely, as well as those, who are horrible.

The key characteristic I found to be in common with returnees who view their return to be successful is an in-built expectation of obstacles and a preparedness to resolve them, primarily relying on personal resilience. This finding is consistent with Cassarino (2004), who argues that the success of return ultimately depends on the returnees’ “preparedness”, which “refers to a voluntary act that must be supported by the gathering of sufficient resources and information about post-return conditions at home” (p. 271). In other words, “decidedness” of return is a necessary condition for success, but “preparedness” is what makes return successful and sustainable.

On the other hand, those participants who perceive their return to be unsuccessful also have expectations of others and general society. When these expectations remain unfulfilled, they are likely to characterize their return as unsuccessful. Nervan, who returned to Gračanica from Turkey is a young architect with a degree from one of Turkey’s most prestigious architecture schools. He expects to find a job in BiH that would satisfy his skill-level and income-earning potential. When confronted with the reality that this expectation will not be automatically met within the BiH context, he becomes disappointed, viewing his return as unsuccessful and contemplating the option of re-emigration.

Nervan: My return has definitely lacked success, at least until now. This does not mean that the situation could not change, but still...I developed some scenarios for finding a well-paid job. A good salary is important, but this is only one element. There are other requirements too. My general quality of life was better abroad. Here...it will be difficult.

As was elaborated many times previously, all forms of reintegration are dependent on economic reintegration and without it return simply is not possible, regardless of any other emotional factors. Disappointment that follows unmet expectations in returnees has been documented in previous studies: Bovenkerk, 1974; King & Christou, 2008 or Paasche (2016), just to name a few. There could be many reasons why returnees' expectations remain unmet, thus jeopardizing the sustainability of return, and certainly "limited job opportunities with lower standards of living" (Bovenkerk, 1974, p. 26) in the home state occupies a prominent place. However, when placing the focus on the returnee's individual agency, it again seems that "preparedness" (Cassarino, 2004) or lack thereof still plays a key role.

When stepping outside of the realm of returnees' agency and instead turning to structure, it seems that the most important economic reasons co-occurring with success of return is an acute awareness of the characteristics of global capitalism, regardless of the actual country of residence, as well as the success of the business enterprise in the home state. When looking at the co-occurrence of economic reasons for return and the returnees' evaluation of return as successful, Damir discusses both economic reasons and connects them to his successful return. When I asked him whether he thinks his business enterprise could have been more profitable in Germany, he compared and contrasted the potential business outcome in Germany to the actual outcome in BiH.

Damir: I am not sure that it would be easier. I am not sure. Actually, I think it could have been much more difficult, regardless of the fact that Germany is a much better organized state. Let's not discuss my own capabilities now, because we could assume that they are identical here and there. However, Germany has a completely different set of business conditions. First of all, the competition. The competition is very high. Secondly, costs of operation are very high.

Author: Are you referring to taxes?

Damir: Yes, taxes and labor costs and everything else. Of course, the market is also much more developed, so, if successful, your earning potential is much greater. But the way I started – without any capital and with lots of improvisation, that would not have been had much chance for success in Germany.

As was noted previously, a key characteristic of returnees who deem their return to be successful is their resilience, self-reliance and a highly pragmatic attitude. Unlike previous

studies (Pedersen, 2003; Sirin, 2008; Cassarino, 2004), positioning return migrants mainly as the relatively passive conspicuous consumers, my findings indicate much greater awareness, decidedness and pragmatism to characterize them both as producers and investors. These qualities seem to be determining their success under conditions of global capitalism, regardless of the obvious gap in the level of economic development between a country like Germany and BiH.

When evaluating return, the most important emotional reason co-occurring with success of return is the development and strengthening of family ties. Vedad was single while he lived in Germany. When he came back to BiH, he also got married. Within the first couple of years of his marriage, he and his wife welcomed a baby girl and a set of triplets to their family. He evaluates his return as successful mainly because of getting married and raising a family of four children.

Vedad: First and foremost, I am happy because of my family. I married and now we have four children. I now have that which I dreamed of having. I have a family life, which is what I wanted. My brother has children her [pointing to his five year old daughter riding her bike] age and they all love each other as cousins. They do everything together and are simply best friends.

Arif considers being close to his daughter, son-in-law and newborn grandson to be the biggest factor in the success of his return.

Arif: I am overjoyed because my daughter also returned. I now have a grandson. He is growing up and getting bigger each day. I am not the one to determine his destiny, because this child has the chance to choose where is it that he wants to live. He can live in Norway or the UK, his mother has the necessary citizenships and they can choose their place of residence. But, I think that my daughter has also realized that this is a country [BiH] where production can be organized successfully. We can be a link between local production and foreign placement. We can secure foreign markets for our products, as this is actually a very difficult task for most people from BiH. She can live anywhere she wants in all of Europe and what I teach all my children is to be citizens of the world. My son-in-law is also here. He is a young attorney, who was valedictorian of his class in Banja Luka. He now acts as my deputy in our family business.

These findings are consistent with other studies of return to Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as Porobić (2017), who reports almost identical results. Porobić (2017) also surveys a number of other studies (Haldos et al., 2015; Eastmond, 2000; Ahearn, 2000) with strikingly similar results. To sum up, return migration to BiH is overwhelmingly characterized by “Bosnian

values that involve a richer family-centered social life, in which the core family has quality time together every day, a situation not achieved in the settlement country” (Porobić, 2017, p. 114).

The contribution this Ph.D. study makes to this overall characterization, already well documented, is that the *success of return* is also measured against the centrality of family ties.

Prioritizing the improvement of family ties over their business enterprise is a pattern noticed in many of the returnees who evaluate their return to be successful. Although Sanela came back to BiH to establish a scholarship foundation, she also got married and built her own family in the meantime. When I asked her about the success of her foundation, she was not entirely satisfied with its development, but her overall evaluation of return was mainly influenced by the progress of her family.

Sanela: Well, when I came back I had a plan to get my foundation of the ground in the next year or so, but this has not been successful so far. My foundation is still not entirely self-sustaining. I am still funding it from personal sources.

Author: Do you mean to say that your foundation is still not self-funded?

Sanela: Yes, yes, that is what I mean to say. We still do not generate an adequate income so that we could pay salaries or afford office space. That was my vision when I first came here. This has not been entirely successful, but I got something which I could not anticipate. I met somebody who changed my life, gave me a life here and a child. I mean, over time, I understood that these parts of life are much more important. While I was in the US, my career was my top priority and I was very successful. The environment over there [the US] dictates a certain understanding of success where your earning potential defines your level of overall quality of life. These values slowly became my own values. Now, my values here [BiH] are completely different, because I understood how wrong that previous lifestyle really was, at least for me. Looking at that other life from this perspective, I see it is wrong. I am not sure what my perspective will be five years from now, but my highest priorities right now are my family, my daughter, the time I spend with my husband and our friends. Each day I can spend an hour or two taking a walk or reading a book. In the States, this was simply unthinkable! If I honestly look at my own happiness I can say that 100% I am happier now than I was before. In that sense, my return is a success.

As was explained previously, giving priority to the family over other aspects of social life, including the business enterprise has been well documented in the case of return to BiH. However, this tendency is certainly not exclusive to BiH, as it has been noticed in many other studies of return migration. For example, King & Kilinc (2017) find that a search for better work-life balance is a major factor motivating “lifestyle migration” of Turkish citizens from Germany to coastal areas, such as Antalya. King et al. (2008) note that return from the US is

often motivated by the “wish to immerse oneself in the Greek (Cypriot) way of life, perceived as characterized by human warmth, family values, generosity and hospitality, a relaxed and slower pace of life” (p.269). King et al. (2008) are critical of the “romanticized, essentialized reading of the attractions of life in the homeland” (p. 269), but also report on the actual sense of wellbeing the returnees gain from a better worklife balance, as well as stronger family bonds and a more active social life.

Although the returnees face different kinds of obstacles to their reintegration in BiH society, for the most part, they are satisfied with their decision to return, qualifying their return project as successful. However, political uncertainty and general economic conditions of life in BiH keep alive “open-ended return” (Porobić, 2017), characterized by a constant re-examination of alternatives as well as actual re-emigration. Ultimately, the success of this type of return migration will need to be evaluated primarily on the criteria of sustainability. The return migration literature offers a number of different ways to measure sustainability (see Black et al., 2004), however, most of these measurement methods use the one-year benchmark. Keeping this point in mind, the purposive sampling did not include any returnees which have spent less than one year in BiH post return, but a conscious effort was made to recruit participants who have returned as early as twenty years ago, directly after the signing of the DPA, or as recently as two years ago. Referring to the sustainability measurement of the “perceptions of the individual returnees themselves” (Black et al., 2004, p.26), as was stated before, out of the 35 returnees only three participants regret their decision to return and are actively considering re-emigration. As most returnees are also dual citizens and thus have a higher level of mobility, their commitment to living and working in BiH will continue to be tested with the passage of time.

3.6. The diasporic “homeland orientation” actualized: an emotionally motivated decision to return and a complex reintegration process

This chapter deals with the physical actualization of the third criteria of Brubaker’s diaspora definition, i.e. return migration to the home state, which still remains to be relatively understudied (Olsson & King, 2008). In an effort to clarify the diaspora concept Brubaker (2005) points to its three defining criteria: dispersal, boundary-maintenance and “homeland orientation”. Actually, although “homeland orientation” with an implied “return to the (imagined) homeland” has been a defining characteristic of diaspora since Safran (1991) there were some modifications in which the “homeland orientation” did not necessarily imply physical return, but rather “dense and continuous linkages across borders” (Faist, 2008). The “homing desire” characterizing diasporas is often in “creative tension” with “dispersal” (Brah, 1996) resulting in a form of mythical return. Actually, as Carling et al. (2015) points out myths of return can be thought of in at least two different ways. On one hand, the term “myth of return” can refer to the “psychological, cultural and political processes through which migrants sustain the idea of future return even as it becomes increasingly unlikely” (p.3). In other words, migrants while living abroad often continue to nurture their “homeland orientation” even as their actual connections with the host state grow stronger and those with the home state weaker, making physical return less and less possible or even attractive. A second way of thinking about the “myth of return” is to view it as the idea of “return migration as a clear-cut concept” (Carling et al., 2015, p.3). The “mythical” element here is that the actual and physical return of diaspora members to the state of origin is simple and straightforward. This chapter confirms many previous studies of return migration, particularly to post-conflict societies, and further illustrates that actualizing the diasporic “homeland orientation” is in fact highly complex and deserving of focused scholarly attention.

To avoid a confusion of terms between diaspora and transnationalism, as well as to place the focus of study on return migration, participants in this Ph.D. dissertation are mostly referred

to as returning diaspora members or simply as returnees, although they also could be considered as transmigrants. The majority of the returnees have been forced to leave the home state through campaigns of ethnic cleansing and have indeed been “uprooted” (Schiller et al., 1995, p.48) in the process, however, their frequent and active economic, social, political and cultural connections with the home state (Schiller et al., 1995) as well as their “dual lives” (Portes et al., 1999) make it possible to qualify them as transmigrants. Indeed, as can be seen from the discussion on the success of return, maintaining transnational ties is vital. As pointed out by Carlin & Erdal (2014), the lines conceptually distinguishing between return migration and transnationalism are not entirely clear as the two affect each other from return intentions to actualization of return as well as from reintegration in the home state to the potential decision to re-emigrate. For example, there is a long-established link in the literature (Brown, 1997; Fokkema et al., 2013; Gubert, 2002 as cited in Carlin & Erdal, 2014, p. 4) between the transnational practice of remittance sending, as a form of facilitating reintegration, and return migration. For all the listed reasons, participants in this Ph.D. study could be qualified as transmigrants, yet the “state of flux” (Schiller et al., 1995) is *not* their primary identity and it is also not the focus of this Ph.D. study. The focus here is on their return to the home state and in further chapters, particularly on their status as citizens of that state. Therefore, having acknowledged the importance of transnationalism for return migration, preference is given to the participants’ positioning as returnees.

This chapter adds to the literature discussing the non-economic reasons for migration by conceptualizing them as emotional. The main proposition is that return migration from higher to lower levels of economic development (King, 1978) and particularly to post-conflict societies, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, is primarily motivated by emotional reasons. The economic-emotional set of motivations was positioned against a background criticizing the

reason-emotion dichotomy³⁴, leading to the possible questioning of the “rationality” of strictly economic decision-making and conversely, the “irrationality” of decisions based on non-economic/emotional factors alone. Although economic explanations form the dominant discourse on migration decision, there is a growing literature “challenging economism” (Halfacree, 2004, p. 242), for example research on counter-urbanization, and making use of the “cultural turn” in human geography to search for alternatives. The challenge to economic thinking comes under the following broad banner: “Thinking a market economy through to the end, people would not have any family ties.” (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995, p.35 as cited in Halfacree, 2004, p. 246). As a possible analogy, the alternative to strictly economic explanations proposed in this chapter refers to the more general “affective turn” within the social sciences.

As was demonstrated throughout this chapter, return migration to a post-conflict society, even when it is entirely voluntary, as well as deemed overall successful from the returnees’ viewpoint and thus presumably sustainable from a social perspective, still involves a complex process of reintegration (Olsson & King, 2008). Carling et al. (2015) attempt to summarize a frequent characterization of return as representing a “tension between the ‘good state’ abroad – with its transparent, democratic institutions – and the ‘good society’ back in the country of origin – with its strong social relations” (p. 21). While parts of this claim have certainly been confirmed by the findings of this Ph.D. study, other parts have been challenged. Social relations at ‘home’ have been scrutinized with the conclusion that they may not be as strong as envisaged by this simplifying dichotomy. In fact, as was amply demonstrated, in addition to comforting feelings associated with closeness to family and friends, the returnees’ social relations are

³⁴ Halfacree (2004) presents an interesting analysis on simplifying dichotomies: „The danger of dualistic forms of thinking is unlikely ever to go away because, for example, in any piece of work we are almost certainly going to have to use some form of categorization (Bourdieu, 1990) and we almost always end up „hitting (our) head against the ceiling of language” (Olsson, 1980, p.3)” (p. 246). In that sense, while criticizing the reason-emotion dichotomy, espousing the appraisal theory of emotions and viewing emotions as essentially rational, I propose an alternative dichotomy of the emotional vs. the economic, which I argue, has greater explanatory power.

strained with other phenomena characteristic of a post-conflict society, such as differing social perspectives on the acceptability of corruption or a dominant social narrative of victimization. The part of the claim on the comparison between the ‘good state’ – whether home or host – is the subject of the following chapter, which positions the returnees as *citizens*, in most cases *dual citizens* of BiH and a state from which they have returned. **Chapter 4** takes citizenship, particularly its emotional dimension as its primary focus. The “deeper existential issues” (Carling et al, 2015, p. 1) associated with any and every migrants’ contemplation of possible return, evoking feelings of “belonging” (Carling et al, 2015, p. 1) are explored in **Chapter 5**.



Chapter 4: The Emotional dimension of BiH citizenship

4.1. Introduction

The argument presented thus far in my study is that the motivation to return to a post-conflict society, like Bosnia and Herzegovina, given a viable alternative of livelihood and a well-integrated social presence abroad is primarily emotional in nature. This premise makes the returnees particularly sensitive to the emotional experience of citizenship and therefore, their understanding of “citizenship as feeling” is expected to be particularly pronounced, nuanced and diversified. In addition, most of the participants are dual citizens, and as such, they are in a position to compare their emotional experiences or lack thereof, of both home and host state citizenships. For analytical purposes, the concept of “emotional citizenship” is defined as the area of intersection between the daily experience of citizenship and an emotional response. Furthermore, “emotional citizenship” is juxtaposed with “pragmatic citizenship”, with the latter being defined as the area where the daily experience of citizenship is met with emotional indifference. Specifically, the research question this chapter answers is: What understanding do return migrants have of the 'emotional dimension of BiH citizenship'? Which emotions do they associate with citizenship?

To answer the questions above, this chapter firstly sets the context by investigating how citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina is understood within the Dayton Peace Agreement. A brief historical overview of the BiH citizenship is presented together with the evolution of the BiH two-tiered citizenship regime. The notion of “constituent peoples” within the DPA is discussed in relation to elevating collective while curtailing individual rights and the difficulties implementing the *Sejdić-Finci vs. Bosnia and Herzegovina* verdict of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). The section explicating the particularities of BiH citizenship ends by looking at dual citizenship agreements signed by Bosnia and Herzegovina and by

outlining the challenges of constitutional reform. Finally, providing answers to the research questions is a presentation of qualitative data analysis results, voicing perspectives of the study participants and telling their stories.

4.1.1. Citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Dayton Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina sets up Europe's "most complex state" (Džankić, 2015, p. 526), but within this setup does it still remain as a "normal" state? As Štiks (2011) points out, it is common practice for analysts and commentators of the B&H Constitution to emphasize its curiously inefficient and "abnormal" structure. However, an important premise to this argument is that "a more or less ethnically, culturally or linguistically homogenous and unitary nation-state is "normal" and therefore the norm" (Štiks, 2011, p. 255). However, Bosnia and Herzegovina was never a nation-state, and as Sarajlić (2010b) shows, there exists a severe tension between the idiosyncrasies of the BiH historical development and standards set by the European nation-state. In addition, almost all of the post-communist countries, including the former Yugoslav states, which were declaring independence with the end of the Cold War, are also nation-states composed of a "core ethnic group" (Štiks, 2011, p. 245). So, if we are to assume that a nation-state is the "norm" then Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a "normal" state, however this assumption certainly cannot remain unchallenged. Komel (2008), by referring to Hannah Arendt's criticism of the nation-state questions the "normalcy" of nation-states as such, where ethnic and religious uniformity demands a "stain of violence" (p. 142) with haunting echoes all the way to the Srebrenica genocide and other types of "ethnic cleansing" committed during the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s.

Komel (2008) draws an interesting parallel between the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia and the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement, further elucidating the nation-state dilemma as it applies to Bosnia and Herzegovina. He points out that it is perhaps not by accident that the nation-state

system dates back to the Westphalian Peace Treaty, which ended a century of religious warfare in Central Europe. The organizing principle of “*cuius regio, eius religio*” (Whose realm, his religion) adopted by the Westphalian system sets up a direct link between religion and territory at a time in history when religious and national belonging were virtually inseparable. Komel (2008) examines how the current crisis of citizenship in the European nation-state, through the “loss of national identity” due to newly established supranational arrangements such as the European Union, is in fact not a crisis of the state, but one of the nation. To resolve this tension, Komel (2008) calls for a pan-European “secularization”, not only on the level of separating Church and state, but, more importantly for the modern European context, on the level of separation between the nation and the state, citizenship and ethnic belonging. Seen through this lens, it is not appropriate to compare directly the citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina with one of a regular, “normal” European country, such as France, Germany or Komel’s native Slovenia, because the former was never and still is not an ethnically, culturally or religiously homogenous society, in other words, not a nation-state. As Štiks (2011) reminds us that historically, it is through “violence against civilians, expulsions, and ultimately mass killings” (p. 262) that the traditional European nation-state has been created. In contrast, the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been considerably different. A brief historical overview of BiH citizenship will provide the needed context to understand the particular nature of this citizenship.

Sarajlić (2010a) presents a thorough historical overview of BiH citizenship from Ottoman times to Dayton (also see Sarajlić, 2010b and Sarajlić 2012), with two main stages in development identified as particularly relevant for a better understanding of the current Dayton citizenship regime. Firstly, as Bosnia and Herzegovina was consistently incorporated into larger empires and states, such as the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the citizenship of BiH was also situated within a wider context

which effectively prevented an independent development of a citizenship regime. Bosnia and Herzegovina was part of the Ottoman Empire from 1463 to 1878, Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1878 to 1918 and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1918 to 1943. Secondly, although some of the first elements of an independent BiH citizenship began developing during the reign of Austria-Hungary, it was within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) that Bosnia and Herzegovina's first republican citizenship regime was established. As Štikš&Shaw (2012) astutely observe, post-Yugoslav states offer a unique opportunity for the study of citizenship from at least three different perspectives: post-socialist, post-partition and post-conflict.

From a perspective of citizenship, it could be argued that Bosnia & Herzegovina is the most complicated one of the post-Yugoslav states as it is the only one that does not have a core ethnic group. Thus, most relevant to a current study of BiH citizenship in regards to its SFRY legacy is the simultaneous presence of federal and republican citizenships within the SFRY. As the SFRY functioned as a federation of six republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia), an individual citizen of the SFRY was at the same time a citizen of one of its constituent republics. Yugoslav federalism combined with a lack of an overriding nation lead to a "multilevel and bifurcated" (Medvedović, 1998 as cited in Sarajlić, 2012) SFRY citizenship. This feature of the SFRY citizenship regime is to find a clear echo later on in the Dayton "two-tiered" model of citizenship in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Dayton Constitution of BiH sets up a two-tiered citizenship model with a state and entity level, whereby each citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina is also a citizen of either Republika Srpska or the Federation of BiH. The BiH citizenship regime is presented in Article 1, Paragraph 7 of the Constitution and further regulated in the Law on Citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the legal framework, the "entity citizenship" of a B&H citizen is determined by the pre-war place of residence, unless the citizen's current place of residence

is the other entity. Citizens of the Brčko District, an area not under direct jurisdiction of either entity choose which entity (RS or FB&H) citizenship they prefer (Štikš, 2011). Džankić (2015) argues that the two-tiered model of B&H citizenship is derived from BiH being composed as an asymmetrical federation in which the territorial autonomy of the two entities is supplemented by a consociation power-sharing of the three ethnic groups (Croats, Bosniaks and Serbs) or “constituent peoples” as they are referred to in the Constitution.

As was pointed out earlier, but worth underscoring here, the BiH Constitution is part of the Dayton Peace Agreement which was reached to end a devastating war. Therefore, it was necessarily a result of negotiating a compromise. However, this compromise was not attained through internal political bargaining, but as Džankić (2015) rightly points out, imposed from outside and in addition to Bosnia and Herzegovina ratified by Croatia and Serbia. Consequently, as Sarajlić (2012) asserts, neither the BiH Constitution nor the ensuing citizenship regime was created with the objective of granting full-scale civil rights and liberal stipulations of membership. Guzina (2007) views the BiH Constitution as incorporating two opposing forces. On one hand, within the constitution emphasis is placed on integrating elements such as democratization, market reform and human rights, while exclusionary definitions of “national community” (p. 228) serve as disintegrating factors. Central to the debate on the BiH Constitution is the notion of “constituent peoples,” which can have both an exclusionary and disintegrating impact on BiH citizenship.

The BiH citizenship regime derived from the Dayton Peace Agreement prioritizes the notion of “constituent peoples”, i.e. Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs over all other minority groups such as Jews, Roma or citizens who do not wish to align with either of the three constituent peoples. In this regard, territoriality and power-sharing through consociation, the two organizing principles inherent in the DPA, act as elements of stability and of exclusion. The intention of the power-sharing consociation is stability, while its unintended consequence is

exclusion of all those who do not fit into the narrowly defined constituent peoples. Štiks (2011) vividly illustrates this situation by looking at how the three members of the B&H Presidency are elected. The Serb representative is elected from the Republika Srpska, while the Croat and Bosniak representatives come from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This means that a Bosniak citizen living in the RS could not vote for a Bosniak representative. Similarly, a Serb citizen living in the FBiH could not vote for a Serb representative. Guzina (2007) accurately summarizes this problem to a minority-majority discourse, whereby full citizenship rights are granted only to the citizen, fortunate enough to belong to the majority group residing within the territory of any given entity. In addition, although the BiH Constitution does recognize a category of “Others” which lies outside of the constituent peoples, it also stipulate that the “others” are not eligible to be elected to the state Presidency or other ethnically-defined positions of authority.

The obvious discrimination within the B&H Constitution lead to a well-documented Sejdić-Finci vs. Bosnia and Herzegovina case at the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). The plaintiffs in this case were Dervo Sejdić, a Roma citizen of BiH and Jakob Finci, ethnically Jewish, who filed a complaint with the ECHR regarding the discriminatory nature of the BiH Constitution which makes them ineligible for a post at the BiH Presidency or the House Peoples simply because they are not affiliated with any of the BiH constituent peoples. The ECHR’s verdict recognized the discrimination ingrained in the BiH Constitution both as it relates to non-constituent peoples and to members of constituent people who reside in an entity in which they are not part of the majority ethnic group. The court judged that the Dayton constitutional setup of Bosnia and Herzegovina needs to be changed in order to grant equal political rights to all citizens of the state, independent of their ethnic origin or their entity citizenship. Once again, it is important to reiterate that the DPA Constitution was instituted as a way to end a horrific war, with military, political and economic pressure from the international community. Any

changes to the Constitution would need a similar amount of political will within the country in addition to support from the international community. Consequently, the *Sejdić-Finci vs. Bosnia and Herzegovina* case ruling had “virtually no effects” (Džankić, 2015, p. 527) and continues a paralysis in the distribution of political right caused by the notion of “constituent peoples” enshrined in the Constitution.

Elevating collective rights of the three ethnic groups, the constituent peoples, in B&H comes at a severe cost of curtailing individual rights of citizens. What becomes apparent is that the BiH constitution strongly favors a communitarian consociation, championing collective, ethnic belonging over a liberal, individual-based understanding of rights. According to many observers, this dynamic serves to push Bosnia and Herzegovina into a “quicksand of discriminatory, illiberal political and social practices” (Mujkić, 2007, 112). The BiH Constitution does not allow an individual citizen to be non-affiliated with any ethnic group, meaning that the “liberal right to exit” is missing. (Guzina, 2007) In other words, a person can be either a Serb, a Croat, a Bosniak or a member of the “Others” group, with entity citizenship determined by residence, which often coincides with the ethnic group since Serbs overwhelmingly live in the RS and Bosniaks and Croats live in the FBiH. But, she or he cannot *just* be a citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The absolute dominance of the “ethnic principle” in organizing any and every sphere of life in BiH has led some analysts to conclude that living in Bosnia and Herzegovina implies that “Here we do not live as human beings, but as Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks” (Miodrag Živanović as cited in Mujkić, 2007, p. 118).

To complicate further the issue of citizenship in Bosnia and Herzegovina is dual citizenship with the neighboring states of Croatia and Serbia. As stipulated by the Law on Citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina, B&H citizens can become dual citizens of those states with which B&H has signed bilateral agreements on dual citizenship. At the time of writing, these agreements have been signed with Croatia, Serbia and Sweden. Most of the Serbs in B&H

are also citizens of Serbia, while most of the B&H Croats are simultaneously citizens of Croatia. This is not only an issue in terms of citizenship as legal status, but also one of identity, national belonging and membership. The issue of “national home” is a thorny one for many countries of East and Central Europe, as there are so many examples of core ethnic groups residing in neighboring countries, such as the Hungarians in Romania or the Russians in Belarus. Similarly, many if not most Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina consider Croatia to be their “national home”, with the BiH Serbs affiliating the meaning of “national home” with Serbia (Štiks, 2011). However, differently from other examples of cross border national affiliation in other European countries, both Serbs and Croats are also “constituent peoples” of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Twenty two years have passed since the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement, which gave Bosnia Herzegovina its Constitution and the current citizenship regime. Given the unduly complex, inefficient, illiberal and discriminatory features of this constitution a legitimate question to ask would be whether there is a possibility of constitutional reform? Would it be possible to use the peacetime to instigate constitutional change that would make Bosnia and Herzegovina a more functional state and its citizenship regime more democratic, liberal and inclusive? It is difficult to speculate, since, on the one hand the Dayton Peace Agreement is there to preserve Bosnia and Herzegovina’s fragile peace and however challenging state-building efforts, yet it does not provide the institutional setup for a truly prosperous society. According to some scholars (Džankić, 2015; Mujkić, 2007), it is the problem of collective rights enshrined in the BiH Constitution together with ethnic oligarchies who derive all their power from such constitutional arrangements that lie as the greatest obstacle to any substantial constitutional reform and a consequent change in the BiH citizenship regime.

Unlike the systemic lack of possibilities for substantial constitutional reform in BiH and the resulting citizenship regime, the symbolic dimension of BiH citizenship expressed through

such elements as the flag, coat of arms and national anthem has gone through a number of changes. Kolsto (2006) presents a thorough historical overview of developments related to the BiH flag and coat of arms, while the evolution of the BiH national anthem is covered in detail by Džankić (2016). The 1992 flag and coat of arms with the *fleur de lis* upon white background motif was chosen by the BiH leadership because it had historical roots in the Bosnian Kotromanić dynasty from pre-Ottoman times. Stefan Kotromanić, declared himself King of the Serbs, Bosnia and the Coastland in 1376, later augmenting his title with the “King of Dalmatia and Croatia.” Therefore, a symbolic association with the Kotromanićs was supposed to appeal equally to all three ethnic groups (Kolsto, 2006). However, this intent was not materialized. Instead, during the 1992-1995 war, both Croats and Serbs engaged in conflict under their own ethnic symbols. The Serbs used a Serbian red, white and blue flag with a cross and four Cyrillic S letters, spelling the acronym “Samo sloga Srbe spašava - Only unity saves the Serbs,” while the Croats resorted to the Croatian checkerboard flag. The originally proposed *fleur de lis* flag, which was intended to have supraethnic characteristics was thus ethnicized as only the Bosniak identified with it. Instead of becoming a symbol of a unified state identity, it also became symbolic of division (Kolsto, 2006).

After the DPA was signed it became necessary to abandon the *fleur de lis* motified flag as the official BiH flag and choose another one with which all three ethnic groups could identify. In 1997, the BiH state parliament began working on selecting a new flag, however, after consistently failing to reach agreement mainly because of Serb opposition, the Peace Implementation Council held in Bonn, Germany authorized the High Representative, Carlos Westendorp, to manage a compromise and essentially impose a state flag for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The intent was similar to the original *fleur de lis* motif – find a symbol that would be unifying for all three ethnic groups, but this time turning to the future instead of the past. The adopted design for the flag and coat of arms was a futuristic, highly stylized image of a

yellow triangle, representing the geographic shape of the country, rimmed by stars representing the European Union (Kolsto, 2006). Although this flag was and still is meant as unifying for the country, the issue of its artificiality bothered even Sarajevo-based intellectuals led by the philosopher Muhamed Filipović, who deemed the flag “the final way to kill the nation” (Kolsto, 2006; Filipović, 2008). The current BiH state flag can be seen widely displayed only in Bosniak-dominated parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Croat and Serb ethnic flags continue to be used in other areas (see Bougarel et al., 2007; Jansen, 2015 or Palmberger, 2016).³⁵

The BiH national anthem underwent a similar set of changes all designed to act in a unifying, nation-building direction. Džankić (2016) presents a brief historical overview of the evolution of the BiH national anthem and developments that led to the present situation where this anthem is one of four national anthems, together with those of Spain, San Marino and Kosovo, with only a melodic sequence and without an accompanying text. As the wartime BiH national anthem *Jedna si jedina* (You are the one and only) was criticized for excluding the Serbs and Croats, analogously to the flag, in 1999, the High Representative, Carlos Westendorp imposed a national anthem that was supposed to be unifying. Since then, numerous attempts were made to reach a political consensus on possible lyrics to the national anthem. Although each proposal included a references to a shared future, deliberately excluding any ethnic elements, until now, attempts at finding common ground for lyrics of the anthem have been consistently failing. As Džankić (2016) concludes “failure to adopt the lyrics of the national anthem is reflective of the ethnic divisions that have fractured the citizenship of this country,

³⁵ A recent official „flag incident“ involved the current Serb member of the BiH Presidency, Milorad Dodik, leaving a meeting of the Peace Implementation Council because the entity flag of Republika Srpska was not hoisted in the room. For more on this see: N1. (2018, December 5). *Dodik leaves meeting with PIC over absence of RS flag in the room*. Retrieved from <http://ba.n1info.com/English/NEWS/a301605/Dodik-leaves-meeting-with-PIC-over-absence-of-RS-flag-in-the-room.html>

both as an identity of the state and as a community of membership” (p. 10). Džankić (2016) goes on to cite the results of the Ipsos (2011) survey which illustrates this conclusion, whereby only 5% of Serbs, 35% of Croats and 68% of Bosniaks favor the national anthem.

After setting the particular historical and institutional context, I turn to the perspectives and stories told by the study participants. These perspectives and stories are firstly described and subsequently interpreted in light of the relevant scholarly literature. The results section begins by relating citizenship, emotions and emotional indifference in order to develop and define the contrasting notions of “emotional” and “pragmatic” citizenship. The second part of the results section investigates a set of specific emotions constituting the emotional dimension of BiH citizenship. Arguments advanced in the results section are supported by qualitative data analysis of 35 in-depth interviews consisting of inductive and deductive thematic coding and iterative procedures of pattern seeking, assisted by the technical functionality of NVIVO 11. A full coding scheme is provided in Coding Scheme – Appendix VII and a complete list of codes, together with each code’s label, definition, description, inclusion/exclusion criteria and textual example, is given in the Codebook - Appendix VIII. Seeking patterns based on co-occurrence of codes within coding units was the main tool to: identify associations; put forward propositions and formulate explanations. Matrix query results are presented in Appendix IX and together with the analytic memos, they form the main structure around which a “theorized storyline” (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007) is built³⁶ and presented in this chapter. The chapter ends with a discussion which relates the study’s findings with the wider scholarly literature on political emotions, citizenship and specifically, emotional citizenship.

³⁶ See Chapter 2 – Research Methodology and the accompanying Appendices for all further details.

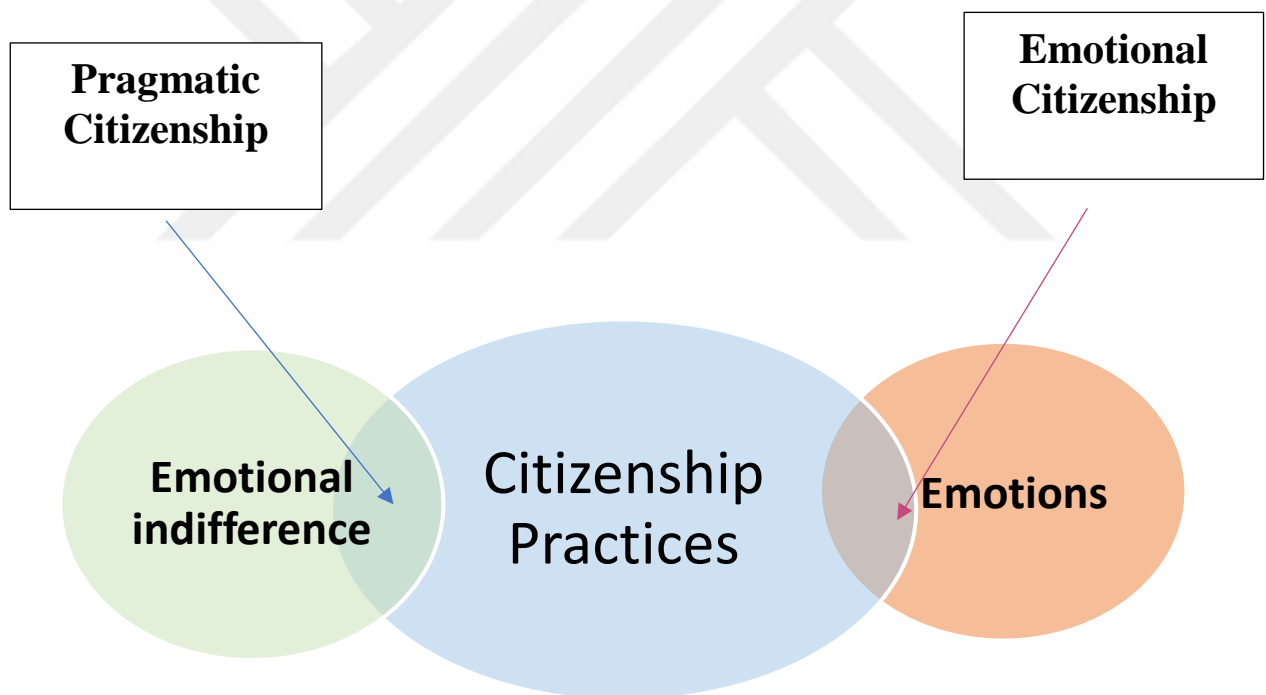
4.2. Citizenship, Emotions and Emotional Indifference

Although the opposition is not stark and directly binary, there exists an illuminating contrast between emotional and pragmatic citizenship. As discussed by Mavroudi (2008), the second or ‘pragmatic’ citizenship is obtained in order to benefit economically and socially or to increase security. Other scholars (Ong, 1999; Waters, 2003; Magat, 1999; Aguilar, 1999) interchangeably use the terms instrumental, flexible or practical citizenship to refer to the acquisition of the host state’s citizenship in order to gain certain benefits, *security* being the most important one. The pragmatic citizenship allows “formal membership that enables one to benefit from certain privileges bestowed by the state alone,” producing what Magat (1999) refers to as “passport identity” (p. 137). The strategically acquired, second passport has pragmatic value, but not a strong emotional dimension (Mavroudi, 2008). In other words, the home state citizenship is the primary source of identity, belonging and emotional attachment, while the second citizenship is obtained for purposes of security (Skulte-Ouais, 2013). However, emotional and pragmatic citizenships are not in direct opposition to each other, because the dual citizenship situation could also result in dual or multiple belonging with de-territorialized attachment (Mavroudi, 2008).

For the purposes of this Ph.D. study, emotional citizenship, as a concept, is defined as occurring at the intersection of discussions of the daily experience of citizenship and expressions of emotional responses. Conversely, pragmatic citizenship is defined as the intersecting area between everyday citizenship experience and emotional indifference. What this means practically is that results of matrix queries (presented in Appendix IX) revealed all coding units which were coded with both citizenship practices and an emotional response or emotional indifference. Usually, discussions of either emotional or pragmatic citizenship happened in response to the question of “What does being a BiH/foreign citizen make you feel? Which emotions do you feel?” and the corresponding probes either referring to emotionally

charged events or phenomena of life in BiH, national symbols, such as the flag, coat of arms and national anthem or everyday citizenship practices, for example border crossings and tax payments. While most of the emotional responses are reserved for the BiH citizenship and the foreign citizenship is experienced with emotional indifference, alternative combinations are also possible. In other words, BiH citizenship is in some cases experienced with emotional indifference, while security, gratitude and freedom of movement are associated with the foreign citizenship. Figure 4.1 summarizes the relationship between emotions, emotional indifference and the differing understanding of citizenship: emotional and pragmatic.

Figure 4.1
4.2.1. Pragmatic and Emotional Citizenship



Since most of the study participants are also dual, and in some cases, triple citizens the differences in emotional versus emotionally indifferent experiences of citizenship could be

usefully compared and contrasted. As the surveyed literature suggests, respondents view the second citizenship as primarily pragmatic. Ervin is a dual BiH and U.S. citizen and he provides the standard view of the second citizenship as pragmatic. He is respectful of the host state's citizenship, but also states his emotional indifference towards it.

Ervin: Now, do I have any national pride [towards the US citizenship] or not? The answer to this question is absolutely not. There is no national pride. This is purely pragmatic. I mean, I deeply respect this American component; the way they think and how their system is set up. I mean this in a sort of progressive, human sense. I mean that they [the US/Americans] are infinitely ahead of everybody else, particularly when it comes to being accepting of others.

Arif, a dual BiH and Norwegian citizen, in addition to being emotionally indifferent towards the host state's citizenship, also expresses his emotional preference for the BiH citizenship, if forced to choose between the two.

Arif: Realistically looking at it, this is a citizenship that one obtained. It was offered and the offer was accepted. However, if I had to choose between one citizenship or the other. I would certainly give up the Norwegian one and retain my Bosnian citizenship.

Confirming scholarly discussions of pragmatic citizenship, Mehmed, a dual BiH and Australian citizen³⁷, strongly associates security with the second citizenship.

Mehmed: Well, I don't have any special feelings towards the Australian citizenship, except for security. It's there as an alternative if, God forbid, we would need it in case of an illness or just to have that option. Also, when travelling, I have the option of using it.

Although not a typical response (see Štikš, 2011; Džankić, 2016), Hrvoje, a dual BiH and Croatia citizen, and ethnically Croat illustrates the pragmatic nature of the second citizenship, even in the case of kin-states.

Hrvoje: As far as the Croatian one is concerned, this is strictly professional. I mean there are no emotional attachments towards it or any kind of tax system connection. Nothing connects me to Croatia. This is purely professional, because the Croatian passport allows for easier, more relaxed travel and looking at it practically and pragmatically, you simply have no problems. That's where the story ends.

When asked about their experience of the second citizenship, most respondents view it with emotional indifference, confirming expectations from previous scholarly discussions.

³⁷ Bosnia and Herzegovina has officially signed bilateral agreements on dual citizenship only with Croatia, Serbia and Sweden, however, as can be seen throughout the study, there are numerous examples of dual and triple citizenship holders. Although, official agreements are not in place, dual citizenship is a political reality, relying on the tacit approval of the involved states.

4.2.1.1. Pragmatic citizenship offers a feeling of security/safety

Although most of the respondents are emotionally indifferent towards the second citizenship, the feeling returnees overwhelmingly associate with the host state's citizenship is **security**. The security returnees derive from their second citizenship is in reference to the continued possibility of life in the host country, as illustrated by Elvis, a dual BiH and U.S. citizen.

Elvis: America is a country where I found refuge; completed my education and where I gained my first professional experience, together with my family. This is the country where we, let's say, regained some sort of a normal life. There, we continued living and started standing on our own two feet again. I am thankful to that country for having their citizenship. My child is also a US citizen, so this is another reason for my gratitude. The U.S. citizenship gives me security. Yes, that is what it gives me. It gives me security...it gives me the option to go back there and continue living a normal life. Those are some of the positive sides of being a US citizen. Again, this security also needs to be re-examined, as even the US is not as safe as it used to be. You know this yourself. New York is different from Vermont, but still, overall, and particularly when considering economic security, there you feel insured, normal and protected.

It is important to recognize that security is associated *only* with the second citizenship and *not* with the BiH citizenship. Typically, the returnees do not associate any sort of security with the BiH citizenship. When I asked Elvis about whether he gets any feeling of security/safety from his BiH citizenship, he answered without any doubt and with full clarity: "Nothing. Nothing at all."

Added to the security of always keeping open the option of return to the host state and a continuation of "normal life", the second citizenship provides greater security to the returnees even while living in BiH. In case of an emergency, without exception, the returnees would turn to the authorities of their second citizenship for protection and not those of BiH. This is particularly true of Bosniak minority returnees to Republika Srpska, but also true in some cases of majority returnees to the Federation of BiH.

Admir: Well, I feel that somebody would take care of me in some way if I were in some sort of danger. I don't know. I feel that I could turn to the US Embassy in case I needed to. And it's not just that. You have greater privileges as a US citizen. You can travel

without any problems and so many ways more doors open. I feel secure and privileged. I have greater security and privilege than with just BiH citizenship. Security associated with the second, pragmatic citizenship has been extensively studied in the literature (for example see Ong, 1999; Waters, 2003; Magat, 1999; Aguilar, 1999; Mavroudi, 2008; Skulte-Ouais, 2013) and has been confirmed by this Ph.D. study.

In addition to feeling greater security as dual citizens, the returnees also feel increased freedom of movement and a sense of gratitude. Marija, a dual citizen of BiH and Croatia, speaks of the freedom of movement provided to her by her Croatian passport.

Marija: Well, actually I am Bosnian, because I was born here. The Croatian citizenship just makes my life easier, since I never have to apply for any entry visas. My travel is more relaxed and my daily life is relieved.

Alija, a dual BiH and Dutch citizen, expresses his gratitude towards the host state for providing a place of refuge for him and his family.

Alija: And about the Dutch citizenship and Holland as a country, I feel a great sense of gratitude. I feel grateful for being given the opportunity to go there in 1992, that my family and I were allowed to settle in this country and that we were provided with everything we needed to live a normal life and to succeed. I feel grateful for the opportunity to get an education. So, I do have some emotions towards it. They are different, but I believe that gratitude is the most important one. What I mean is that I have a sense of gratitude for everything that this country gave to me and my family. This citizenship allowed me to develop as a human being.

Security as a key component of the second citizenship has been observed by previous scholars, with the closely related freedom of movement provided by the foreign passport. Gratitude is the result of the particular circumstances of acquiring the citizenship. The participants were expelled from their homes and found refuge in the host country. Thus, the gratitude for finding a place of safety in the host state.

In addition to the general emotional indifference towards the second citizenship and the feelings of security, freedom and gratitude, the respondents have no negative feelings towards the second citizenship. A notable exception to this general observation is the case of Alija, who expresses anger, frustration and rage towards his Dutch citizenship in regards to the Srebrenica genocide. Alija's situation was such that his feelings were torn between two states in conflict over the Srebrenica genocide.

Alija: Absolute rage. This was anger, rage, absolute rage. I could not understand why or how this could happen. I mean these people [the Dutch batallion stationed in Srebrenica in 1995] came to help, but they too were guilty. Holland was guilty together with the entire international community! I felt anger and rage!

Author: How did you feel as a Dutch citizen in this case?

Alija: Well, I don't know how to explain this exactly. I was search more for some answers, some answers as to "why did this happen"? I, as a Dutch citizen, was angry at my country for what it did to my country Bosnia. I was looking for answers, I was trying to understand why did this happen? So, I was lost and angry, full of rage, but also shame because of being a Dutch citizen.

To properly understand Alija's feelings towards his Dutch citizenship, a brief historical review is necessary (for further depth of historical context see Honig&Both, 1997; Nuhanović, 2007, Delpla, Xavier & Fourrel, 2012; Nettelfield&Wagner, 2014). The Srebrenica genocide occurred in July 1995 when more than 8,000 Bosniak men and boys from Srebrenica and the surrounding villages were massacred by units of the Bosnian Serb Army the VRS (Army of Republika Srpska) under the command of General Ratko Mladić and the Scorpions, a paramilitary unit from Serbia. The besieged enclave of Srebrenica was declared a "safe area" under UN protection in April 1993, but UNPROFOR's Dutchbat soldiers failed to prevent Srebrenica's capture by the VRS and the ensuing slaughter of Bosniak civilians³⁸. The Netherlands was found responsible for failing to prevent more than 300 of the deaths, by verdict of the Dutch Supreme Court and the Hague District Court in 2013 and 2014³⁹. Alija is the only returnee to express any negative emotion towards the second, host-state citizenship and only regarding this very specific circumstance of the Dutch government's involvement in the 1992-95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Overall, the first citizenship is experienced emotionally while the second, or in some cases third, citizenship is primarily pragmatic. In all but two cases, the returnees' first

³⁸ The brief historical background is based on the ICTY's Case No. IT-98-33, The Prosecutor vs. Radislav Krstić, section entitled „Finding of Facts“, paragraphs 18 and 26. Retrieved from: <http://www.icty.org/x/cases/krstic/tjug/en/krs-tj010802e.pdf>

³⁹ For media coverage of these verdicts see: Holligan, A. (2014, July 16). BBC News. *Dutch state liable over 300 Srebrenica deaths*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-28313285>

citizenship is BiH and the relationship described above holds in each case. This relationship holds even in the case of the respondent whose first citizenship is Argentinian. Siniša explains that he obtained BiH citizenship solely for the purposes of “simplifying his life in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” while his emotional attachment lies with the Argentinian citizenship.

Siniša: Well, the emotions I have connected with Argentina have to do with my growing up there. I have beautiful memories...and they are relived any time I visit Buenos Aires.

Author: How do you feel as an Argentinian citizen?

Siniša: Yes, yes...hmmm...it's as if something starts to move inside of me, because I grew up there. I have friends there, memories of childhood appear. All kinds of emotions show up. I believe this to be normal, natural. And then, when I realistically examine this document [BiH passport], I needed to acquire this document so that I could live and work here, to live here with my family and to develop our business. I believe that the more we develop our economic ties to more people will cooperate with each other, naturally respecting one another. This mutual respect is necessary for any kind of progress, I believe. If I were to sum up my feelings towards this passport [BiH passport], I don't view it in the same way that I look at my Argentine passport, because I was born there [Argentina] and then there is Argentine football and I am a huge fan of our [Argentinian] national team!

Siniša reserves emotional attachment for his first citizenship, while the second citizenship is viewed as a contractual relation with the state, including rights and obligations.

Author: BiH citizenship is your second citizenship, not your home state citizenship?

Siniša: Yes, exactly. I see it as a formality, as necessary for life in this country. It also implies paying taxes and obeying the laws. Of course, these are things I respect. This is what I mean by calling it [BiH citizenship] a formality, I don't have some strong connection leading back 1000 years. I mean, you know how it is?! This is a new country and so many things here are very new.

Author: How do you feel when you see the BiH flag or hear the national anthem?

Siniša: Honestly, I have no feelings about any of that. No emotions.

Author: Do you ever use the BiH passport when travelling?

Siniša: Always. I don't have it with me now, but you should see it. It's full of stamps and I need to get a new one issued.

Author: How do you feel when you use the BiH passport at the border control?

Siniša: OK, but I have no particular emotion. Nothing whatsoever.

Siniša's case illustrates the premise of first citizenship as emotional, yet his case also sheds light on the case of dual, BiH and kin-state citizenship.

To complicate his situation even further, Siniša also holds a Serbian passport. In fact, the way he acquired BiH citizenship is through his Serbian citizenship, due to the bilateral agreement between Serbia and BiH.

Siniša: Yes, yes, I got Serbian citizenship at one point because of my roots. Well, since there is an agreement between these two states⁴⁰, you can have dual citizenship. This was voted and we have this law. Well, I obtained BiH citizenship through my Serbian citizenship. It is paradoxical, since we can look at how much Serbia is against BiH and BiH against Serbia, but this Serbian citizenship made it possible for me to get BiH citizenship. Thanks to this law, I was enabled to grow my business in BiH and to develop the BiH territory.

As Siniša's home state is Argentina, the theoretical expectation has been satisfied. The first citizenship has the strong emotional dimension, while the second, in his case, BiH, citizenship is pragmatic. As was explained previously, BiH has bilateral agreements on dual citizenship signed with the neighboring states of Serbia and Croatia and with Sweden. In addition, the case of triple Argentina-Serbia-BiH citizenship, points to a wider observation of ethnic particularity when expressing emotional indifference towards BiH citizenship.

Emotional indifference in the everyday experience of BiH citizenship is noticeably stronger with respondents who have declared themselves as ethnically either Croat or Serb, than it is with those who are expressly Bosniak or Bosnian-Herzegovinian. Vlado is an ethnic Serb from Trebinje, who grew up in Switzerland and identifies with Yugoslavs, mainly because of how this boundary has been established abroad.

Vlado: Well, I don't know Bosnia as Bosnia and me as a Bosnian...I mean, I was born in Yugoslavia, so that, I mean...Bosnia for me, is well...I don't know...It is nothing. I mean this is something I cannot identify with. I have absolutely nothing to do with it. Aaah, all of that sort of comes in one package, so that I didn't even get the passport issued. That is how disgusted I feel with the whole thing. I mean, I know the integration efforts I underwent there [Switzerland]. Over there, whenever you mention that you are from some part of the former Yugoslavia, you are immediately thrown into a package. Here, I cannot identify with any of it. I just live here. I feel as if I am living in a circus, and...I simply can't take anything seriously.

Author: How do you feel when you see the BiH flag or hear the national anthem?

Vlado: I am sorry, but I went for six years without even having a BiH identification card. I only got it issued this year, because I had to go to court because of a neighborly dispute. I needed the ID card for this court thing, otherwise I wouldn't even get it.

⁴⁰ Bilateral agreement on dual citizenship between BiH and Serbia.

Anastasija is an ethnic Serb from Mostar and a dual citizen of Serbia and BiH. She is indifferent towards the BiH citizenship and explains this indifference through a nostalgic sense of belonging to Yugoslavia.

Anastasija: And this, this BiH citizenship thing. It doesn't mean absolutely anything to me, because I always was and will remain a Yugoslav. That has always been my identification and the only country, which I consider to be my own. That is the only flag [the Yugoslav flag] which I consider to be mine and with which I can identify. I mean, this is about love, loyalty and a sense of belonging. This is about one entire life. Simply this is about the meaning of life. That is what the Yugoslav flag is to me.

Marija is an ethnic Croat and a dual citizen of Croatia and BiH. She expresses emotional indifference towards BiH citizenship, with similar pragmatism towards her Croatian citizenship.

Marija: I don't feel anything. I mean, I don't have any kind of attachment or aversion towards this [BiH] citizenship.

Author: What kind of emotions do you have when you see the BiH flag?

Marija: This is the flag of the country in which I live and I completely accept it.

Author: You don't have any special feelings?

Marija: None.

Author: What do you feel when you hear the national anthem?

Marija: Well, it's a pity. It's a pity that it doesn't have any lyrics. But, it seems to me that it became rather recognizable in the meantime.

Author: How do you feel when you use the BiH passport? If you use it?

Marija: I must admit that I don't use it at all. I have a Croatian passport and it's much easier to travel with it.

Based on findings of an IPSOS Survey⁴¹ conducted in 2011, Džankić (2016) makes a similar argument about the relative emotional indifference felt towards the BiH citizenship by Croats and Serbs, concluding that both Serbs and Croats are “more affiliated to their ethnic kin, or the kin-state, than to Bosnia and Herzegovina” (p. 16). However, although BiH citizenship is primarily experienced emotionally, there are exceptions even within the Bosniaks and those

⁴¹ The IPSOS Survey was conducted in 2011 by the University of Oslo and the University of Rijeka under the project “Symbolic Nation-Building in the Western Balkans.” IPSOS carried out the survey simultaneously in all states of the Western Balkans (all former Yugoslav states, excluding Slovenia and including Albania). The sample size was around 1,500 participants per country with the survey containing a total of 89 questions, most of which related to perceptions of citizenship.

who declared themselves as Bosnian-Herzegovinian, particularly towards national symbols, such as the flag and national anthem.

Emotional indifference is expressed towards BiH state symbols across different ethnicities because of the nature of these symbols. Alma declares herself as a Bosnian-Herzegovinian, but expresses her indifference towards state symbols, because these have been imposed by the international community.

Author: What do you feel when you see the BiH flag?

Alma: Nothing. I simply don't feel anything, because I feel that this flag is completely abstract and that it does not represent Bosnia and Herzegovina at all! I mean these stars, the colors blue and yellow on the flag – there is nothing characteristic on this flag. We used to have a flag with which I identified, the golden fleur de lis and we don't have them anymore. The lilies used to be a symbol of all of Bosnia and Herzegovina and over time they too became politicized and symbolizing the Bosniaks only, which really has no connection at all. So, it is really difficult.

Author: How do you feel when you hear the national anthem?

Alma: Well, what can you feel? Very abstract. I don't know really and would like to know what is it that you feel? How can anybody feel anything for that anthem?!? I mean I cannot identify with that anthem because there is nothing Bosnian about it, nor is there any sort of emotion there. It is completely abstract, just like the flag. I often ask myself whether this is a random coincidence that we have such abstract national symbols or is it that the foreigners imposed them on us with a purpose?

As was previously described, the present BiH state flag was essentially imposed by the then High Representative, Carlos Westendorp, with the intention of finding a compromise with BiH state symbols that would be acceptable to all three ethnic groups. Even though there was a conscious effort made at finding unifying symbols, the current BiH state flag can be seen widely displayed only in Bosniak-dominated parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Croat and Serb ethnic flags continue to be used in other areas (see Bougarel et al., 2007; Jansen, 2015 or Palmberger, 2016). Alma has difficulties identifying with the BiH flag not because of an alternative with which to identify, as is often the case with the Serbs and Croats in BiH, but because the current BiH flag has no autochthonous significance. An analogous analysis can be made for the BiH national anthem.

When emotional indifference toward the home citizenship is stated, citizenship is viewed as either a set of benefits or a set of institutions. Lejla says she is Muslim by faith and Bosniak by ethnicity with no very few feelings towards BiH as a state. As a student of yoga, she considers her spiritual home to be in India. For her, citizenship is solely a source of benefits based on residence. I asked her whether she would ever renounce her BiH citizenship if this were required for dual citizenship status.

Lejla: Well, this depends on where I would want to live. That would be my only concern. So, if I want to live here, then I would take that into consideration. My current life is here [BiH], so I don't think I would be giving it [BiH citizenship] up. Because, in my opinion, the only important thing for me regarding citizenship is whether you live in that country or not. We reap the benefits of citizenship if we live in that country.

Senad, who considers himself to be primarily a BiH citizen and an atheist, also views BiH citizenship with emotional indifference as he considers citizenship to be simply an expression of state institutions.

Senad: In our daily life, citizenship of this country or any other country is just the same. This is a state, just as any other state. Well, we have our problems...I mean we are not exactly France, but still... I think we are very similar to Serbia and Croatia. Our constitutional organization is not similar to theirs, but I guess that ordinary people do not concern themselves too much with the Constitution on a daily basis. When you go out to get some administrative matter sorted out, 90% of this work is at the municipal level, a little bit on the cantonal and almost nothing at the state level, except for identification cards and passports, which one does every few years. This procedure is just like any other. That's right. All around the world, there are states with some vices and virtues. I mean Pakistan is also a state. It's great that we look up to Germany and France and that we want to be like them, but Pakistan is also a state and we are like the EU compared to them.

Both Lejla and Senad are single citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina and ethnically they are neither Serb nor Croat. Lejla declares herself as a Bosniak, while Senad rejects ethnic categories and identifies as a Bosnian and Herzegovinian. In both cases, citizenship is viewed in pragmatic terms, however, unlike the pragmatism associated with the second citizenship of dual citizens, neither of them associate security with the BiH citizenship in the way that dual citizens relate a feeling of security/safety to their foreign citizenship.

The findings of this Ph.D. on emotional and pragmatic citizenship are largely consistent with those conducted with Lebanese (Skulte-Ouaiss, 2013) and Palestinian (Mavroudi, 2008) diasporas, where, overwhelmingly, the first citizenship offers national belonging and emotional attachment, while the second, and perhaps more alien, citizenship offers security. My findings are also consistent with Kastroyano (2000), who places the home and host state interaction in a transnational space, where the home state is a source of identity, the host state a source of rights and the resulting transnational space “ a space of political action combining two or more countries” (p. 309). In some ways it could be considered as paradoxical, but holding a second and more secure citizenship promotes return to the less secure home state. As Carling et al. (2015) point out:

A secure status abroad creates the opportunities for return. The uncertainty of return migration makes irrevocable return an intimidating prospect. Having the possibility to reconsider makes return much more appealing. For this reason, the ultimate form of structural integration in the destination – acquiring citizenship – can facilitate return to the country of origin. (p. 18)

Thus, once full legal integration in the host state has taken place and the person has acquired citizenship can the risk-taking of return migration take place. Having the security implied in holding a second citizenship promotes return to the home state. The home state’s citizenship is in turn primarily experienced as emotional with detailed descriptions of these the individual emotional and an interpretation for their presence given in the following section.

4.3. The BiH Citizenship Constituted through the Emotions

This section presents an in-depth investigation of a specific set of emotions comprising the daily experience of BiH citizenship. As was defined previously, “emotional citizenship” or “citizenship as feeling” is represented by the co-occurrence of the daily experience of citizenship and an emotional response. Although the much researched (Brown, 2014) emotion of “patriotic love” is certainly part of the returnees’ emotional landscape, other emotions play an equal, and in most cases more important role. Their emotions are highly complex and range from rage, anger, frustration to fear, guilt, denial, disgust, shame, disappointment, pity and

empathy, to nostalgia and powerlessness. On the opposite side of the emotional spectrum, there are patriotic love, pride, defiance, joy, happiness and hope. The actual reasons for the existence of these emotions are context-specific and therefore understanding the particular context of Bosnia and Herzegovina is necessary, however, emotions also have a universal quality. As humans, we, regardless of our political context, know what it means to feel scared, ashamed, joyful, nostalgic or hopeful. This section presents a descriptive and interpretive answer to the questions of how these universal emotions function to constitute the returnees' understanding of BiH citizenship.

4.3.1. Rage, anger and frustration

Anger, rage and frustration were expressed at events from BiH's recent past, what happened during the 1992-1995 war. The main sources of such emotions are war crimes, such as genocide, ethnic cleansing and mass expulsions, committed in the past, as well as the apparent lack of post-war justice. Badema is a twenty-year old Bosniak woman who returned from Germany to live with her family in Srebrenica. She expresses her anger at symbols of perceived Republika Srpska "statehood", such as entity flags displayed around the Potočari memorial cemetery and the consistent genocide-denial of RS authorities.

Badema: Whenever I pass by the place where those flags are set up, the flags of this so-called republic, the RS, I feel a sense of tremendous anger, because I cannot understand that one person, or a group of people can...I don't understand it and I don't want to understand how something like that could happen. I simply cannot accept that all of this happened. I feel so frustrated when I see that RS flag, because I know that it flies with sheer force. How could it be blowing in the wind with such ease, after everything that happened here? And then you look at BiH politics, at our [Bosniak] politicians and at their [Serb] politicians and you feel incredibly angry and you sometimes feel like giving up and saying: 'I cannot go on like this. I must leave this place!'

The anger felt by Badema is directed at events from the past, but what keeps these events alive for her is the fact that "might makes right" seems to be vindicated. The Potočari commemoration site would not exist if it were not for international pressure on RS authorities (Duijzings, 2007). Also, the main reason it exists to commemorate the Srebrenica genocide and

not other wartime atrocities committed throughout BiH is because of both the massive scale of the Srebrenica massacre and the complicity of the international community (Duijzings, 2007).

Alija, a dual BiH and Dutch citizen from Prijedor expressed his anger at being forced to leave his home in Prijedor in 1992.

Alija: I mean I was definitely angry! Although I was a child at the time, still I felt anger and disappointment. These were emotions of a child, but it was only later that I fully realized them. I mean, I was angry because it was not fully clear to me why is it that I need to leave? Why do my friends from school got to stay in Prijedor and I had to leave? In the end, I was the only non-Serb from my grade to stay in Prijedor. I was confused and angry for having been forced to leave.

The historical circumstances of Alija's expulsion from his family home in Prijedor, according to the Final Report of the Commission of Experts Established Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992), UN Doc. S/1994/674 (May 27, 1994) also included the following:

Over Radio Prijedor, the Serbs also demanded that the Muslims and Croats living in the areas with mixed ethnic populations of Serbs and non-Serbs should mark their housing by hanging out a white flag, and identify themselves by wearing white armbands when they move outdoors as a sign of surrender (Greve et al., 1995).

To properly understand the role of pressure made by the international community in the case of the Srebrenica commemoration and its lack in the case of mass atrocities in Prijedor is the "White Armband Campaign." In 2012, the initiative by a group of activists to commemorate the mass expulsions of non-Serbs from Prijedor was banned by Marko Pavić, the Mayor of Prijedor with commentary that it was "yet another gay parade" (*Nezavisne novine*, 2013 as cited in Mihajlović-Trbovc, 2014), thus qualifying the commemoration as "unfounded political exhibitionism" (Mihajlović-Trbovc, 2014, p. 36).

Rage and anger directed at crimes committed during wartime are obviously not reserved only for the Bosniak, because, although greatest in numbers, the Bosniak were not the *only* victims of war. For Anastasija, a 45-year-old Serb woman, who returned to her native Mostar after years spent in Serbia and Montenegro, a source of anger is the counting of the dead from the past war and the political manipulation with the numbers of victims.

Anastasija: And plus this, there were no Serb victims?!? You know this is another thing...

Author: How does this make you feel?

Anastasija: I don't exactly have any feelings about it. I mean my emotions are not divided in the sense that "Serb victims affect me much more than any other victims" No. This is absolutely not true. I am frustrated, irritated by all the lies, the hypocrisy in order to achieve some pointless objectives. Let me say it that way.

Ema, a 35-year old woman returnee to Derventa feels angry that people in Bosnia and Herzegovina have still not managed to find a way to move on from the past and make amends with the tragedies of the war. In addition to feeling angry, she also feels ashamed of the collective inability to stop living in the past.

Ema: You can see it by yourself. You can see it in my gestures, my body language. I feel anger and rage and I simply cannot believe that we keep celebrating death, that we celebrate the past. I feel angry, but I also feel ashamed. There, that is the emotion. I feel angry and embarrassed.

In 2001, an effort to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Bosnia and Herzegovina (TRC for BiH) was made to complement the work of the ICTY and "to provide an official forum for *all* victims and perpetrators to tell their story and ensure that their experience and that of their relatives and friends is preserved as part of the publicly acknowledged history of Bosnia and Herzegovina" (Kritz&Finci, 2001, p. 53, emphasis added). In a situation of "competing commemorative practices" (Duijzings, 2007) and "competing narratives" (Mihajlović-Trbovc, 2014) and where a large percentage of Serbs in BiH believe to have been targeted disproportionately by both the ICTY and the Bosnian War Crimes Chamber (Fletcher&Weinstein, 2002; Barria&Roper, 2008 as cited in Karabegović, 2019, p. 2), the goal of the TRC in BiH would be "producing an authoritative historical narrative that would support nation-building in the fragile and divided country" (Dragovic-Soso, 2016, p. 297). In addition to complementing the work of the ICTY in documenting all acts of violence and human rights abuses committed against citizens of *all* ethnicities during the 1992-95 war, the TRC was envisioned to assemble a collection of "acts of humanity" (Kritz&Finci, 2001, p. 53).

As part of its mandate to document the abuses suffered by all victims in the recent conflict, the Commission will attempt to document the stories of the real war heroes, i.e., those individuals of all ethnic groups who, despite grave risks, resisted ethnic cleansing and acted to protect victims of other ethnic groups. If Bosnian society is to

really reconstruct itself, its citizens need to be informed not only of the crimes committed, but also, against that backdrop, of the potential for goodness and brotherhood which remained even in the midst of barbarity and insanity. (Kritz&Finci, 2001, p. 53)

As Dragovic-Soso (2016) explains, due to a number of different reasons, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Bosnia and Herzegovina, has still not been established.

Anger, rage and frustration are not only reserved for events from the past. These emotions are expressed towards the present state of affairs, an outcome of the Dayton Peace Agreement. Salih, an internationally acclaimed painter, who has returned to BiH from Italy, expresses his anger at the defacto division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as can also be seen by how the BiH state flag is perceived in Serb and Croat dominated areas.

Salih: So, I live within the category of respecting and accepting this flag, but I feel frustrated and angry that members of my people have not accepted it. I am frustrated that they love other flags more and that they still want to secede. This is very frustrating to me! Why do they love other flags more than their own? Why? This is an emotion of revolt. I feel revolted and frustrated. So, as I told you, I accepted this flag fairly and let's say that I even feel happy, but I feel angry and frustrated that others have not accepted it. As was previously discussed, regardless of efforts invested by the OHR essentially to impose a state flag that would symbolically be unifying (Kolsto, 2006), the present-day BiH state flag can be seen widely displayed only in Bosniak-dominated parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Croat and Serb ethnic flags continue to be used in other areas (see Bougarel et al., 2007; Jansen, 2015 or Palmberger, 2016).

Ervin, an IT professional returnee from the United States feels angry at the lack of progress the country has made and at being pitied as a citizen of BiH.

Ervin: This is mainly anger. I feel angry that even twenty five years afterwards, so little has been done for our country to create things of which it should be proud. So much has been done in a negative sense, that this country has become synonymous with disfunction, laziness, self-interested behavior and so on. All in all, there are so many negative connotations, which I also carry inside and try my best to channel them towards some sort of positive re-enforcement.

Author: How do you feel as a citizen of this state [BiH]?

Ervin: Well, I don't know exactly how to describe it, but I feel as a minority (laughter). I still feel as a part of the people here, but I keep asking questions. I feel depressed, frustrated and angry. I feel all the negative emotions without any of the positive ones.

Author: How do you feel when confronted with pity?

Ervin: Horrible! I feel horrible. When somebody tries to pity me because I come from Bosnia, this makes me very angry. It frustrates me. This is pure horror.

When discussing his frustration with the current state of affairs in BiH, caused by irresponsible political elites, Ervin is referring to the “dependency syndrome,” identified as early as 1999 by Wolfgang Petrisch, the High Representative (1999-2002) and still present in BiH society. Unlike his predecessor, Carlos Westendorp, who referred to BiH as an “intensive care patient” (see section of this Chapter on Pity and Empathy), Petrisch discussed the “dependency syndrome,” criticizing the local politicians for their “tribalistic battles.”

This is because, at heart, the leaders of the three ethnic groups – the Bosniacs, the Croats and the Serbs – know what needs to be done to secure a future for their country. But our presence here has inadvertently absolved them of their responsibilities as democratically elected leaders. We enable the local politicians to fight their tribalistic battles, and then to place the blame for potentially unpopular compromises squarely on the shoulders of foreigners. I call this the “dependency syndrome”. (Petrisch, 1999)

International aid dependency, with either economic (Papić, 2001) or political (Bieber, 2002; Fischer, 2006) ramifications, has been recognized as an impediment early on in BiH’s transition from a donor-dependent to a self-sustaining economy and in efforts at sovereign state-building. The disempowering effect (Chandler, 1999; Bieber, 2002) of both types of dependencies are cause for citizens, like Ervin, to experience their BiH citizenship with rage and anger.

Corruption in administrative offices and an overly complicated bureaucracy are major obstacles the returnees experience and important sources of anger and frustration. While they were both covered in detail in Chapter 3, here I just look at the emotional response and identify rage, anger and frustration to be dominant. Marija is frustrated as she feels disrespected as a citizen.

Marija: Anger. Anger. I mean this is pure disrespect. This is about disrespecting citizens, because things that are so simple are made to be so incredibly complicated. People experience problems because of these complications and then you need to use personal connections to get a simple document issued. One needs to really suffer to get what is logical, what belongs to him or her. You need to beg for what is yours. In the end, when you get this paper, you are made to feel that this was done as a personal favor to you. This is not normal! For example, if I request a title deed from the estate office, I have to call some business connections to get this done. This is an immense source of frustration and anger. I sometimes feel like telling this to the bureaucrat across from the counter: ‘You are NOT doing me a favor! This is your JOB!’

Author: How do you feel when paying taxes? Do you feel that your taxes contribute to overall progress?

Marija: I believe that taxes are paid in all states around the world and this is something normal, but I also don't think that the taxes are being used for correct purposes.

Author: So how do you feel about that?

Marija: Well, I feel angry again. I am again angry with the authorities, because the money from taxes, and we are talking about a lot of money, could be invested in building our country. Instead, this money is being spent on administrative officials. This is completely unnecessary, in my opinion.

Alma feels frustrated with government authorities, who have little understanding towards any new initiatives, such as her Waldorf kindergarten, previously unrecognized within the BiH educational system.

Author: How do you feel when trying to solve an administrative issue?

Alma: Angry. Angry. That is just horrible. For example, I can tell you about the time when I was registering my kindergarten. That was simply awful and it made me question my decision to return here. There were times that I said to myself: 'I cannot go on. I have to get out of this country!'

Author: What do these problems make you feel?

Alma: I mean, you go to the, for example, Cantonal Ministry of Education and you experience a trip in a time machine, going back 60 years in history. You have some people sitting there who do not care about anything. It's frustrating to even visit that place, no to talk about trying to explain that we are a Waldorf kindergarten and that we do things slightly differently. They just look at you with distrust. Then they say something like... 'so, you bring something new...since that is the case, even longer and more complicated procedures apply to you.' And what do you? You just continue running around from place to another, as they concoct new rules that you must obey. In this end, this ends up costing you so much and you, you don't get any sort of subsidy from the state. This makes me so, so angry!

When discussing his frustration with both bureaucracy and corruption in BiH Elvis invokes the often cited phrase of "normal life" (Jansen, 2015).

Author: How do you feel when trying to solve an administrative problem? Could you compare your experience here with your experiences in Vermont?

Elvis: Well, the administration is what it is throughout BiH and in the RS. This means that we are all stuck in the stone age. It is really pointless to even talk about it or to try and make any kinds of comparisons. Any document, I mean even the simplest piece of paper you need to get issued by any government office takes an entire day or even many, many days.

Author: What are your emotions in such situations?

Elvis: Aaaa, very negative. I feel dissatisfied, sad and longing for life in a normal country with respect for the rule of law. When I came back to live here it felt as if I went 200 years back in time. Frustration. Nothing but constant frustration.

The state of corruption and bribery in BiH has been examined in Chapter 3 and the main reason why they are mentioned here is to underline the emotions of rage, anger and frustration they cause with the returnees.

Similarly, frustration caused by a lack of basic services, such as frequent shortages of running water in the capital, Sarajevo, were discussed in Chapter 3 as an obstacle of return. This obstacle causes frustration, not only when examining the current state of affairs, but particularly when comparing the present situation with the pre-war past, i.e. “normal life.”

Admir: Frustration. I feel frustrated, because I think that in the 21. Century you need, simply need to have some basic things for a normal life. I also lived here for a while right after the war ended when everything was destroyed and time needed to pass for some reconstruction and recovery, but I have a feeling that we had more normal living conditions at that time than we do now. I mean, we are talking about 21 years after the war ended.

A longing for “normal life,” which can be either expressed towards life in a country different from present day BiH or towards BiH’s pre-war past has been recognized by a number of scholars (for example Jansen, 2015; Palmberger, 2013a; Palmberger 2016). There are a number of different aspects to “normal life” as is often discussed by citizens of BiH, some of which are “the social security and economic well-being people fondly remembered from Yugoslav times” (Palmberger, 2013a, p. 19). Also, important to note are citizens’ reactions not only to lower levels of economic well-being, but to the breakdown of basic services, such as water distribution, as “the sight of a (threatened) breakdown of basic material conditions for ‘normal lives’ conjures up memories of wartime survival” (Jansen, 2015, p. 223). In that sense, “normal life” is also directly contrasted to life in wartime.

4.3.2. Fear

Although scholarly literature on Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as media reports are saturated with writings on how fear of one ethnicity from another is dominant, I argue that, even though this ethnicity-based fear is present, it is certainly not the only one. My analysis

identifies at least three sources of fear: ethnicity, economic uncertainty and abuse of political power. A fear of renewed violence and ethnic conflict is a part of daily life in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Fascist symbolism and imagery function to keep the ethnicity-based fear alive and show up in many different shapes and forms, of which countless examples range from the appearance of “*Srbe na vrbe*⁴²” graffiti in the Vrace neighborhood of Sarajevo, the burning of an effigy of ICTY President Judge Carmel Agius in Livno,⁴³ the frequent chanting of slogans at football matches such as: “*Gazi balije*”, “*Nož, žica, Srebrenica*⁴⁴” and “*Za dom spremni*⁴⁵”, or even statements made by officials in power, such as the RS President, Milorad Dodik professing that “Ratko Mladić is a true hero and a patriot.”⁴⁶ Participants in my study live and work in the social reality described above and suffer its consequences together with all the other citizens. Alma is a child psychologist, who returned from Germany and established a childcare center in Sarajevo. She identifies as a Bosnian-Herzegovinian citizen and an agnostic,

⁴² The phrase “*Srbe na vrbe*” is an example of hate speech directed against Serbs. Translated, it means (Hang) the Serbs from the willow trees. The graffiti appeared in April 2015, spray-painted on a supporting wall and was quickly re-painted by a group of outraged Sarajevo citizens. For more on this incident, see *Ne primitivizmu: Samir Hodović iz benda Velahavle prekrećio uvredljivi grafit na Vracama* at <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/ne-primitivizmu-samir-hodovic-iz-benda-velahavle-prekreccio-uvredljivi-grafit-na-vracama/150423131>.

⁴³ The event occurred at a children's festival in February 2018 in response to the ICTY's (International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia) final verdict in the Prlić et al. Appeals case. The ICTY convicted Prlić, Stojić, Praljak, Petković, Čorić and Pušić of crimes against humanity, violations of the laws of customs of war, and grave breaches of the Geneva Convention.

⁴⁴ “*Balije*” is a derogatory term for Bosniaks and the slogan “*Gazi Balije*” means “Stomp out the *Balije*”. Literally translated, the phrase “*Nož, žica, Srebrenica*” means “Knife, barbed wire, Srebrenica.” Both phrases are examples of hate speech directed against Bosniaks.

⁴⁵ The literal translation of the slogan “*Za dom spremni!*” is “Ready for the (home) land”. It was used during World War II by the Ustaša, as an official salute of the Independent State of Croatia (Croatian: NDH), analogous to the Nazi “*Sieg Heil!*”. “*Za dom spremni*” has recently been a subject of considerable controversy in Croatia. A thorough discussion of this controversy is beyond the scope of this thesis, however, “*Za dom spremni*” was used solely as an Ustaša salute in the context this Ph.D. study addresses.

⁴⁶ The statement was made in response to the ICTY convicting Ratko Mladić, former Commander of the Main Staff of the Bosnian Serb Army (VRS) of genocide, crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war. For background on this statement, see Radio Slobodna Evropa. (2017, November 22). *Dodik: Mladić je istinski heroj i patriota*. Retrieved from <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/28870085.html>. For more on reactions to the Mladić verdict, see Vulliamy, E. (2017, November 22). *Ratko Mladić will die in jail. But go to Bosnia: you'll see that he won*. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/nov/22/ratko-mladic-bosnia-camps-mass-murder-torture-rape-serbian>

making a point of rejecting any ethnic or religious labels in her self-identification. I asked her how she feels as a BiH citizen when she travels through different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in response she turned the discussion to her experiences in Serb-dominated areas of the country.

Alma: Well, since we are divided in two...I cross the hill to go to East Sarajevo, where I have my dear friends and I walk down a street called Serbian Heroes Street (Ulica srpskih heroja), or another one called St. Vitus Day⁴⁷ Street (Vidovdanska ulica).

Author: How do you feel as you walk down these streets?

Alma: Very strange, because after all aren't we in Bosnia and Herzegovina? The names of these streets are more Serb-sounding than the names of streets in Belgrade.

Author: So, how do you feel because of that?

Alma: Angry, disappointed and yes, afraid. And it's not like we haven't tried to do something differently. Both I and my husband decided that we would take the kids skiing to Jahorina, only to show our children that Jahorina is just as much ours as is Bjelašnica⁴⁸. We keep going to Jahorina where Serb flags are displayed everywhere, Serb holidays are celebrated and everything is closed on January 9. There are other parts of the country, like Romanija⁴⁹, where I really don't think I'd dare go, particularly at night. Or, for example, when we go to Dubrovnik and drive through Gacko, where we love to stop at a restaurant for excellent lamb roast. Gacko is located in our country, but at the entrance of town you come across a humongous image of Draža Mihailović⁵⁰ and all of Gacko is decorated with posters of Šešelj⁵¹.

Author: And how does that make you feel?

Alma: Frustrated and, and full of fear.

Alma's experiences produce a fear of some type of exclusion, discrimination or persecution based on ethnicity, in this case directed toward non-Serbs. However, it is important to note that an ethnic Serb, who rejects the lionizing of WWII war criminals and nationalist leaders, could also feel the same type of fear. Also, even though Alma rejects ethnic

⁴⁷ St. Vitus Day is a Serbian religious and national holiday and an important date in Serbian national history.

⁴⁸ Jahorina and Bjelašnica are mountains and skiing resorts outside of Sarajevo. Jahorina is located in Republika Srpska and Bjelašnica is in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁴⁹ Romanija is a mountainous region close to Sarajevo, now located in Republika Srpska.

⁵⁰ Dragoljub Draža Mihailović was a World War II Serb royalist commander and head of the Chetnik movement, sentenced to death by Yugoslav authorities for collaboration with the Nazis. In 2015, he was rehabilitated by a court in Serbia. The controversy surrounding the rehabilitation of Draža Mihailović is beyond the scope of this Ph.D study.

⁵¹ Vojislav Šešelj is the Founder and President of the nationalist Serb Radical Party.

categorization in favor of a civic identity in her self-identification, a well-acquainted outside observer could place her into a certain ethnic category just by the sound of her first or last name and use this categorization as the basis of discrimination, entirely independent of her self-identification. While analogous examples certainly exist in both the Bosniak and Croat areas of the country, the exclusionary nature of street names in the present example suggest that only members of a single ethnic group inhabit them. January 9th⁵² continues to be celebrated in Republika Srpska as a national day, although the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina deemed it unconstitutional. Finally, the public celebration of ultra-nationalist leaders adds weight to the ethnicity-based fear. Alma is a BiH citizen and the areas she described are located in the country of her citizenship. She should feel safe and secure, protected by her home state and instead, yet she feels frustrated and afraid.

A shared fear among citizens of all ethnic background is a fear for their economic survival. In a country with a 25.8% unemployment rate and a 55.4% youth unemployment rate, one of the highest in the world, citizens across the board live in fear of poverty and further economic decline. Ethnic divisions are exploited by local ethnonationalist elites and politicians in power to gloss over the economic deprivation and to use manufactured fear as a governing mechanism. *“Dobro je dok ne puca” – “The situation is fine, as long as the guns are quiet”* is an adage frequently heard in BiH, functioning to keep expectations low and to prevent more serious social unrest. Anastasija, a 45-year old Serb woman, award-winning peace activist, lawyer and community organizer, returned from Serbia to her native Mostar, a city deeply divided between Bosniaks and Croats⁵³. Although she narrated a number of instances of

⁵² January 9 is the much disputed «Day of Republika Srpska» celebrating the establishment of this BiH entity during wartime. It is regarded as unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court of BiH and declared as such by a decision made in 2015, followed by the annulment of referendum results on the right to celebrate this date as an official holiday. Regardless of the position of the Constitutional Court, January 9 continues to be celebrated throughout the RS, while March 1, the official Day of Independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina is entirely ignored.

⁵³ For more on the divisions in Mostar, see Hromadžić (2015).

discrimination she experienced as a Serb living in Mostar, she dismissed the possibility of future ethnic conflict and explained the current situation as caused by warmongering politicians manipulating peoples' fears for votes and personal financial gain.

Instead of focusing on issues of ethnicity, Anastasija placed the greatest emphasis on the dire state of the BiH economy and pointed to economic hardship as her biggest source of fear.

Author: How do the frequent calls for a secession referendum in Republika Srpska or the formation of a third, Croatian entity in BiH make you feel?

Anastasija: There is no chance of that happening. It's all nonsense to me and simply a question of helping each other out win elections.

Author: You are not afraid?

Anastasija: No! Not at all.

Author: If you ever do feel afraid, what would you say causes such feelings?

Anastasija: Economic insecurity.

Author: You don't fear a new war erupting, renewed violence?

Anastasija: No, no such fears. All of that is empty talk. We won't have any wars here anytime soon. I am afraid of not being able to pay my bills and to make ends meet.

Returning to live in Mostar, a deeply divided city, to practice human rights law and promote peace activism has not been an easy task for Anastasija. Although she fits entirely into the “minority return category, she does not view ethnic intolerance, in and of itself, as the biggest problem. She recognizes the ability of self-serving populist leaders to prey on the weaknesses of a traumatized citizenry. As long as the traumas of war remain unhealed nationalist rhetoric continues to win votes, leaving aside the pressing need for higher living standards, economic development and growth. Anastasija's thoughts were echoed throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, during the protests of 2014 and the organizing of civic plenums to address the injustices of corrupt privatization practices resulting in massive asset stripping and further degradation of workers' rights. In the words of Svjetlana Nedimović⁵⁴, a political analyst and

⁵⁴ Interview with Svjetlana Nedimović conducted by FAMA Methodology in 2014 and available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5_LiD7qj0pQ

one of the key plenum organizing figures, the protests were one of the first opportunities for citizens to find expression as part of the “social” and not solely of the “ethnic.” “*Gladni smo na tri jezika*” – “*We are hungry in three languages*⁵⁵” was one of the most popular protest signs and a poignant summary of the state of social justice. For Anastasija and other BiH citizens, the state does not provide any sort of economic certainty and as such, citizenship is experienced through fear.

Abuse of political power, corruption and a general lack of the rule of law are problems of such scale in postwar BiH that they have become a source of fear for its citizens. My interviewees are generally very brave and resilient people, but regardless of their courageous response a realistic basis for this fear does exist. Arif is a 56-year old Bosniak man, a survivor of Omarska, Keraterm and Trnopolje, the three concentration camps set up by Bosnian Serb forces in Northwestern Bosnia during the 1992-95 war. He was expelled from Kozarac by the Army of Republika Srpska in 1992 and came to Norway as a refugee. After spending twenty years in Norway, running two successful businesses there and gaining Norwegian citizenship, he returned to his native Kozarac to start a dairy farm. Although returning to live in Republika Srpska as a Bosniak meant that he had to overcome many obstacles inherent to minority return, the greatest challenges he currently faces are racketeering ambitions of local Bosniak politicians, with death threats attached.

Arif has recently expanded his operations to a small plant in the predominately Bosniak part of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The small town of Arif’s newest business expansion also has a sizeable Serb returnee population, which Arif’s company now employs. Arif has repeatedly rejected extortion requests from the local Bosniak politicians and as a result has gained considerable opposition from the local power elites. In an ironic and truly mind-boggling twist of fate, the racket-hungry Bosniak politicians have labeled Arif, a “Serb-

⁵⁵ The three official languages of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian.

collaborator,” since he brought jobs to a number of the local Serbs. I asked him how he feels when he receives daily death threats from members of the corrupt ethnonationalist elite consumed in racketeering efforts.

Author: Don't you ever feel afraid?

Arif: What am I supposed to fear? When you've managed to load a truck of 350 dead bodies in one day, collecting body parts as you go along, you also understand that a human being, upon losing the ability to reason, becomes more ferocious than any beast. Isn't that true? Who am I supposed to fear anymore?

Author: I am not saying that you should be afraid. I am just asking whether you are afraid?

Arif: Why should I be? What else can they do to me? They say that they will put me two meters under, because that's what happens to the disobedient and that they have their people to take care of business. Whenever I hear such talk, I immediately ask when and where? Would you like to do it in downtown Bihać? Would you like to blow up my car? Would you like to throw me into the river with a rock tied around my neck? What do you want from me? I employ Serb returnees. Well, of course I do. That is only natural, I too am a returnee. They say that I give jobs to chetniks, well the only kind of division I recognize is one where we ask ourselves: are we human? Whenever they threaten me, whenever they say that they will make me disappear, I openly talk of their crime and corruption. Courage. Courage is the answer. You need to be brave in this country, more so now than during the camps.

Arif's life story is truly inspirational from many different perspectives: an ability to overcome difficult to imagine circumstances during wartime, a postwar commitment towards building a multiethnic and peaceful society, an orientation towards progress and development and remarkable courage in the face of postwar threats.

The home state, on the other hand, has failed Arif at least twice – during wartime and in peacetime. The state apparatus was not strong enough to protect Arif from the horror of Bosnian-Serb run concentration camps and it is also not strong enough now to protect Arif from death threats of corrupt Bosniak politicians. In either case, Arif has the basis to constitute his BiH citizenship through fear, however, he chooses to be brave in relation to a state, which is not designed to keep its citizens safe. Arif, similarly to other participants in my study, continues to live and work in the home state, regardless of the obstacles he encounters mainly due to his individual agency, courage and dedication and in spite of a state structure set up to defeat its citizens. Abuse of political power and the fear it creates is an important element of the everyday experience of BiH citizenship. While fear forces some to leave the country and

join the over two million BiH citizens living abroad, others choose to stay and show great courage in facing the challenges of life in Bosnia, perhaps courage greater than what was required during wartime.

Facing fear and the daily threat of violence and choosing to be brave is also Ema's strategy of making her return to her small hometown in Northern Bosnia, a success. She is a 35-year old former marketing executive, who refuses the standard ethnic and religious categories and refers to herself as European regarding her ethnic background and Christian⁵⁶ in terms of her faith. Ema left the comfort of a corporate job in Austria determined to grow an organic herb farm in the BiH entity Republika Srpska. She came back by herself, while most of her family members still reside in Austria. When I asked about her attitude towards fear, she narrated her direct and daily experience with violence and the threat of violence.

Ema: No, I am not afraid. I know this sounds strange, but I just expect that somebody would attack me here, even physically. One of the first arrangements I made with my family is what would happen to the farm if something were to happen to me.
(We both get teary eyed and stop the conversation for a couple of moments, so that we could collect ourselves and continue our interview. I look at her with partial disbelief and shock.)

Ema: Yes, I am serious. I get emotional, because I am tired of the daily struggle. I am tired, but I am not afraid. I told you. I simply knew from the beginning what is it that I am getting myself into and I had a long talk about it with my family. This is all because we found weapons and unexploded shells in our fields. Any day, I could step onto a mine, while we plow the fields. If I were to step onto it, it would all be finished, end of story. I wouldn't need to get shot by anybody. An unexploded mine would be enough to do the job. Although, I also experienced being attacked right in front of the office.

Author: What happened?

Ema: A half-drunk guy walked up to me angrily, yelling and waving a brick in his hand, getting ready to throw it at the front office.
"What is this green color on your door? Is this some kind of a Muslim joint?" – he screamed at me in rage.

I asked whether he was literate and if so, that he could read what our company is all about as it is described on our front door. He kept waving his brick at me and moved back after hurling a few more slurs and insults. He was referring to the green color of our company branding, the color of grass, vegetables, fruit, you know. We produce organic healing herbs and we use the color green for our advertising, a natural choice for us. I just simply could not believe that the war hasn't taught us anything. I

⁵⁶ She rejects categorization within either the Catholic or the Orthodox Church, as well as religious practice and organized religion, however, she considers the teachings and values of Christianity to be guiding her life.

sometimes feel that we would be ready to get back to guns and attack our next door neighbor again.

Author: Did you report the incident to the police?

Emma: Oh no, no. People here have advised me that I should not contact the police. I did that when I noticed that lumber was being stolen from a forest next to our fields. I called the police to report the theft, but I was later told that this is not how life works here. I was warned not to call the police too often, that is unless I wanted my fields burnt to the ground I retaliation.

When I asked her whether she is happy to have returned, Emma responded with a resounding “Yes, of course!” From her tone, I was not sure whether she was being ironic or serious so I rephrased the question and asked whether she would consider her return to BiH to be successful? Re-affirming her initial answer, and leaving me entirely perplexed, she said “Fantastic!”

Emma is a 35-year old woman with an extremely positive attitude towards life and her business. She wants to contribute to her home state and make a positive difference. Yet, we both started crying when she mentioned the discussion she had with her family about what would happen to her company in case something were to happen to her. Emma is very well aware of the dangers of living and working in a state that is not there to protect or support her. In fact, her daily experience of citizenship is one filled with fear, while her response to the presence of fear is one of courage. She says she is not afraid, because she rejects acknowledging the fear. She responds with courage to threats of violence, ethnic slurs and a general sense of insecurity, where calling the police might result in retaliation. She continues to pursue her dream of planting and harvesting healing organic herbs in the face of fear as a key emotion constituting the citizenship of her home country.

A key emotion constituting BiH citizenship is *fear*, as illustrated by voluntary return migration to Bosnia and Herzegovina, a post-conflict society. Each dimension of fear was related to its origin – the two-tiered citizenship regime of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Constitutional setup enshrined in the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA). Although Annex 7 provisions of the DPA were considered, given the reality of failed policies of sustainable return,

it could be concluded that the DPA de facto legalized ethnic cleansing and genocide, entrenching ethnic divisions and thus promulgating the ethnicity-based fear. Furthermore, the bureaucratic structure envisioned by the DPA does not create favorable conditions for economic growth and development and acts to increase economic insecurity as a key dimension of citizens' fear. Finally, the DPA created significant power vacuums within the BiH state structure, thus providing plenty of room for corruption, intimidation and racketeering. Under such circumstances, rule of law becomes the exception, while abuse of political power by oligarchic ethnonationalist elites is the effective norm. Fear of the abuse of political power, thus, becomes a key component of the emotional dimension of BiH citizenship.

4.3.3. Guilt

Guilt, as part of the emotional dimension of citizenship, is present on a collective level expressed by others as well as experienced internally. Lejla, a Bosniak woman who spent the entire war in besieged Sarajevo, experiences both denial and hints of collective guilt when travelling to Serbia.

Lejla: Whenever I go to Serbia, let's say to Belgrade, what I notice is a constant attempt to cover up the truth. Anytime I take a taxi there and the driver asks me where I am from and I answer, they immediately start saying nice things about Sarajevo. They start saying things like 'I just don't know why is it that we needed to go through all that....' I mean, what is the purpose of such comments? I believe it is because they do feel guilty. I don't think that this person feels individually guilty because of something he had done, but there is some collective sense of guilt. So, when learning that I am from Sarajevo and that I was in Sarajevo during the war, maybe, perhaps, or this was at least my sense that they, the Serbs, carry a certain guilt with them.

Anastasija, an ethnic Serb woman living in Mostar, a city divided between Bosniaks and Croats, feels the collective guilt of Serbs regarding the Srebrenica genocide.

Anastasija: So, Srebrenica, Srebrenica is my total agony. This is probably the worst example of hypocrisy in our entire country. I'll tell you what I mean by this. Every year, I watch the funeral for the identified victims. The Bosniak politicians benefit from this collective tragedy throughout the year. So, I as Anastasija, a Serb by birth, I have no right to even mention Srebrenica, because my own are the guilty ones. Who are "my own"? We cannot talk about people, human beings here [in BiH]. We can only talk about Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks and God forbid, the Others. And the only reason for this separation is maintaining power, control and the status quo.

In presenting their vision for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for BiH, Kritz and Finci point to Karl Jaspers' four dimensions of guilt: criminal, political, moral and metaphysical, which needed to be addressed by German society in order to deal effectively with its Nazi past. As was previously discussed, the work of the TRC for BiH was envisioned to complement the work of the ICTY. The court is responsible for prosecuting criminal guilt, thus individualizing it and countering the tendency towards collective guilt that could lead to further revenge, violence and bitterness. Establishing criminal guilt clarifies that specific individuals, and *not* entire ethnic groups, committed atrocities for which they need to be held accountable. However, moral guilt assumes that wartime atrocities are not committed in complete isolation from the rest of society.

Beyond individual criminal accountability, a society which has been sullied by the commission of genocide or other widespread atrocities in its midst must also explore and reckon with the problem of passivity when war crimes are committed in the name of one's people. (Kritz&Finci, 2001, p. 52)

The role of the TRC for BiH would be primarily to deal with the moral guilt, such as experienced by Anastasija. As was mentioned previously (Dragovic-Soso, 2016) the TRC for BiH has not yet been established.

As part of the rare and "lucky" group, having both survived the war and established themselves abroad, the returnees speak of "survivor's guilt". Sanela was expelled from Banja Luka during the war and finally found refuge in the U.S. Her family's story is in many ways the "American dream". Her family own a successful family business in Los Angeles, California, while she decided to return to BiH and run a foundation providing scholarship opportunities to disadvantaged children.

Sanela: The story is that 'others stayed and you, you ran away from Bosnia and left it to destruction.' I am not sure of the moment when is it that I heard this for the first time. Was it from my parents, somebody else or the TV and media? I am not sure, but this became engrained. I simply cannot remember the first instance when is it that I heard this, but obviously, it made me feel guilty. I had a guilty conscience. This story might have been part of our collective storytelling at the refugee camp. Some people were saying 'we are the ones who were saved, while others stayed there to fight.' The story would go on something like this...'perhaps we should have stayed to fight as well?' Some would say things like: 'No, I am happy that I managed to save my life' or 'I have

nothing to fight for. I don't believe in that war.' I mean there were all kinds of stories, as there were all kinds of people in the refugee camp.

Author: How could you feel guilty about leaving Bosnia when you were expelled from Banja Luka?

Sanela: Yes, you are right. But, what I am trying to do now is enter the mind of an 11 or 12 year old girl, so that I can understand why is it that I felt that way. We all worked so hard to understand these issue; underwent therapy after therapy sessions. All my academic work was devoted to post-conflict studies. I volunteered and worked with other refugees and did everything I could to recover. I don't think it is an accident why I chose this profession. All of this was part and parcel of my own recovery, but all I want to say is that from the perspective of a child, I had a guilty conscience, because I was the one who escaped, while others, including so, so many innocent children, just like me, stayed there to get killed. They were just like me. Why was I so special? What was different about me? Why was I so fortunate to leave, while others stayed?.

As Boccagni&Baldassar (2015) discuss how an analysis of guilt is to a large extent absent from the literature connecting migration to emotions, nevertheless “guilt, guilt, guilt is what all migrants face” (Baldassar, 2015, p. 81). Baldassar (2015) provides an extended psychological analysis to illustrate how guilt is inherent to the migration process itself. In an earlier study, Baldassar (2001) shows how post-war Italian migration from the *paese* (home country) was internalized by the migrants as an act of abandonment, one which must be continuously redeemed by demonstrations of economic status and return visits to prove emotional ties to those who stayed behind in the homeland. Although Sanela's story is different in that she was forced to leave her home, it is similar to the findings of Baldassar (2001) and Baldassar (2015), as she also internalized her departure from BiH as an act of abandonment, one to be redeemed in her case with her physical return.

4.3.4. Hatred

A peculiar lack of hatred as an emotion is observed among the study participants. To the contrary, hatred is actively rejected by them. Arif, a Bosniak man, who was held captive by Bosnian Serb forces in three different concentration camps, narrates his experience in the camps, his testimony in front of the ICTY and the imperative for both Bosniaks and Serbs to live together again.

Arif: Perhaps people cannot understand that the torture and crimes one⁵⁷ survived...perhaps people cannot understand that the day I loaded 250 people in Keraterm's room number 3, that was the day from which, even if I had any hatred prior to that and I did not, I simply could not go on hating anybody. There is simply nobody I hate, I mean not even the one facing opposite me in the Hague. I had no hatred toward him even when I testified against him, telling about what he did; how he did it and how we picked up the pieces of human flesh, how we picked up human bodies. This same person ended up crying after hearing my testimony. Whether these tears were honest or not is really not important. I spent my days fighting with their lawyers and proving to them that my children and their children must live together again here, under the Kozara mountain. Otherwise, we will all face mutual extinction.

Arif is not in denial of the horrific atrocities perpetrated during the war. In fact, he participates in memorial ceremonies in his native Kozarac and frequently speaks of his personal experiences in the concentration camps. Despite the past, he believes in the possibility of building a better future for both Serbs and Bosniaks. The future he envisions is based on justice and truth without any place for denial, however, he also sees no place for hatred either. As an ethnic Serb, without any experience of war and emotionally indifferent towards BiH citizenship, Siniša also expressly rejects hatred.

Author: What emotions do you have when you see the BiH flag or hear the national anthem?

Siniša: Honestly, honestly, I have no emotions, none whatsoever. I definitely have no hatred. No, no hatred.

Although the returnees, regardless of their ethnicity or their wartime experience, do not discuss hatred as part of their "citizenship as feeling," they perceive varying expressions of hatred throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

While actively rejecting hatred in themselves, the returnees, however, observe the hatred of others in their environment. Examples of acts motivated by hatred include those directed towards state symbols, such as the BiH state flag or coat of arms in Serb or Croat dominated areas of BiH or towards sites of cultural and religious heritage. Selim is a Bosniak man who returned to the now-predominantly Serb Banja Luka, where symbols of BiH statehood are generally treated destructively. He considers hatred to be counterproductive for him, but observes it in others around him.

Author: I noticed that there are absolutely no BiH flags here [Banja Luka].

⁵⁷ Arif uses the impersonal „one“ when discussing a personal experience and then switches to „I“ in the second part of the sentence.

Selim: Well, there are none. Even if one flag were to be placed somewhere, people from around here would tear it down and set it on fire. They would destroy it, immediately. The only places for this flag are the very few official state institutions and that is it. If it were hung anywhere else, it would be torn right away.

Author: How do you feel because of that?

Selim: Well, you know..they are the ones who should feel bad about that. I have become immune to such behavior. I was brought up to say, as my deceased⁵⁸ father used to say 'my son, hatred does not kill the hated one. It kills the one who hates. Go ahead, hate others, hatred will kill *you*, not them.'

According to the returnees, although incidents of inter-ethnic hatred are observed and discussed, what is also mentioned is that inter-ethnic hatred is intentionally stirred by self-serving politicians for their personal gain.

Damir: In my opinion, these events⁵⁹ need to be commemorated, we cannot deny everything that has happened. We need to mark these events and we need to keep remembering. However, the problem is that the politicians in power use victims for their personal gain. They stir up hatred in our people, while only thinking about their personal interests. This is how they preserve power and control. This is true of nationalistic parties in both entities and in the third part, in areas of Herzegovina.

As "segmentation of politics along ethnic lines" (Zdeb, 2019, p. 12) remains to be the defining characteristic of party politics in BiH, inter-ethnic hatred, resentment, bitterness and memories of wartime atrocities continue to be chief devices for electorate mobilization.

4.3.5. Denial

Genocide denial is a source of much disappointment and pain for the returnees, regardless of their ethnicity. For Anastasija, an ethnic Serb, the greatest problem is a general lack of empathy of Serb politicians towards victims of the Srebrenica genocide.

Anastasija: I feel horrible when Serb politicians devalue these things, when they negate and deny what actually happened. But, I am telling you again that I also feel frustrated that there is no empathy, no humanity expressed towards the victims. They should just hold their heads and be quiet. They need to at least show some humanity. Thousands and thousands of people are buried underground. There is nothing to talk about. There is simply nothing that can be said. So, that is how I feel about it.

⁵⁸ Uses the Turkish word „rahmetli“, commonly used among Bosniaks.

⁵⁹ The events Damir is referring to are commemorations of the Srebrenica genocide or the White Armband Campaign in remembrance of the mass expulsions of Bosniaks from Prijedor.

Vedad, an ethnic Bosniak, views genocide denial and historical revisionism as sources of continued tension in the Balkans, most importantly BiH, robbing all of its citizens from a more prosperous future.

Vedad: As far as bigger things are concerned I also feel pain and disappointment, because there is no collective catharsis, particularly in Serbia. You know when the German thing [WWII] was over, they said: 'we are guilty for all of this and we feel sorry' and they keep saying the same thing until today. Of course, there is a fundamental difference between Serbia in the late 1990s and Germany towards the end of WWII, in terms of being militarily defeated. Of course, of course, this is also one of the reasons. You can see what is happening over there for yourself. Recently, historical facts are being corrupted and history revised, so the partisans are being declared as criminals and Draža Mihajlović and the like are being rehabilitated. Similar things are also happening in Croatia. I simply cannot understand that a country like Croatia, a member of the European Union, with all necessary conditions for continued progress, chooses to dwell in fascism. You know, all of this is very disappointing to me, because their [Serbia's and Croatia's] attitudes affect us profoundly. The Serb and Croat peoples live here and all of these tensions are transferred over to them. In the end, we don't have the comfortable, relaxed environment for co-existence. We spend all our lives, our entire lives trapped in tensions, running around within all this insanity.

Anastasija's and Vedad's frustration is with denial and tendencies towards historical revisionism. While a detailed examination of the phenomenon of historical revisionism in countries of the former Yugoslavia and its detrimental effects on peace and reconciliation in the region lies beyond the scope of this Ph.D. project, it is important to note the brave individual voices, such as Sonja Biserko, Founder and President of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia.

Therefore, even though Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic, former top-level Bosnian Serb war leaders, were finally — after the run — arrested in Serbia and transferred to The Hague Tribunal on trial for genocide, genocide is still denied in Serbia. True, some crimes are no longer denied but they continue to be justified or relativized. The establishment in 1995 and the steady entrenchment of the Bosnian entity, Republika Srpska, as a state within the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, reinforces the culture of denial as well as Serbia's elites' belief that fulfilling the dream of a Greater Serbia might still be - in the end - just a matter of time (Biserko, 2012, p. 4)

Denial is part of the daily experience of BiH citizenship, felt strongly by returnees of different ethnicities.

4.3.6. Disgust

The way local politicians use collective tragedy and manipulate victimhood for personal gain is cause for disgust. While being aware that Serb politicians consistently engage

in genocide denial, Anastasija is also disgusted at Bosniak politicians, who view genocide memorials with political opportunism.

Anastasija: I feel disgusted, I'll tell you now...disgusted. I feel disgusted, disgusted by the hypocrisy in everything. In all segments. I feel disgusted that, in the end, there is absolutely no respect towards all the victims of the war. Disgust with SDA politicians' attempts to capitalize, both politically and financially, on the pain of genocide victims is shared by non-Serb returnees. Alma is appalled at how individual Bosniak politicians and the SDA have benefitted from the collective tragedy of the Bosniak people, particularly from the Srebrenica genocide.

Alma: Then, the whole things makes me feel disgusted, the politicization of so much pain makes me feel awful. As I see it, the SDA is manipulating with all of this and I simply do not understand how is it that a person, who I cannot really call a human being, like Bakir Izetbegović stands there and celebrates this genocide in Srebrenica, while missing every chance we had for a court case against Serbia at the Hague. So, on one hand he did not do anything to improve our situation politically, while on the other side collecting personal points for this tragedy. As a citizen of this country, I feel disgusted and repulsed. I simply cannot understand how is it that somebody who has not done anything for the people of Srebrenica, how is it that that person can stand in front of those people expressing his condolences, telling them stories. I cannot understand. Is there no sense of ethics?

To analyze the Srebrenica commemorations Duijzings (2007) uses a framework initially developed by Timothy Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper in their introduction to *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* (Ashplant, Dawson and Roper, 2000, p. 3-85 as cited in Duijzings, 2007, p. 144), in which there are two distinct levels of commemoration: political and psychological. The distinction is made “between commemorating from above (with elites engineering and orchestrating these processes mainly for political reasons) and from below (where the focus is on the subjective and psychological needs of individuals), and between hegemonic (publicly articulated) and sectional (marginalized, subordinated, suppressed and/or oppositional) narratives (Duijzings, 144). Following this framework, disgust felt by Alma and Anastasija is directed at the commemorating from above, representative of the “elite engineering and orchestrating these processes mainly for political reasons.”

4.3.7. Shame

The returnees feel shame from being treated as a victim. Ervin, a high-skilled IT professional with an established career in the U.S. with dual U.S. and BiH citizenship, feels embarrassed when assigned the role of a victim, solely based on his citizenship. He does not want to underplay or hide his BiH identity when in professional settings in the U.S., but also resents being placed in the powerless and denigrating victim role.

Ervin: I also feel shame, but this depends on the circumstances. So, the shame appears here within our circumstance when faced with people from, let's say more developed, more civilized, more modern countries. That is when shame shows up. My anger is directed towards the local authorities, but when placed in contact with foreigners here or when I am abroad, I often feel ashamed, particularly in professional settings. Feeling as a victim and feeling ashamed go together. This is terribly frustrating to me and I keep fighting it. Bosnia has had this image of victimhood, refugees and the pity one feels towards victims. To me, this is shameful and frustrating.

Mirela assists businesses from BiH in finding investors abroad and is often ashamed at the local business owners mistaking a for-profit business incentive with charity or goodwill.

Author: How do you feel when people 'beg' for donations?

Mirela: Well, I feel physically violent towards them (laughter). That is how I feel. I am not saying that I would actually hurt them, but that is how I feel.

Author: How do you feel as a BiH citizen in such a situation?

Mirela: I definitely feel frustrated. I would like to hit this person, but I cannot... well, because you are not supposed to go around hitting people. So there you go, that is the feeling I have. It is a feeling of deep frustration.

Author: In this situation, you are a BiH citizen and the person asking for a donation is also a BiH citizen, while the potential investor is German. How is it that you feel in that situation?

Mirela: Well, I feel that he is embarrassing me. He is embarrassing me, because he is not representing me accurately. He takes away my credibility. He devalues me. Discredits me. I feel ashamed. Yes, shame is what I feel. I am ashamed of his ignorance, his powerlessness and his complete lack of capability and competence. Those are all the things for which feel I feel ashamed.

A certain "learned helplessness" has developed in post-war BiH, given the amount of international humanitarian aid BiH has received in the period 1995-2000, estimated at between 46 and 53 billion USD including military costs (Papić, 2001, p. 18), as well as postwar reconstruction assistance in the proximity of 1.03 billion EUR (725 million EUR in loans and 305 million EUR as grants) according to estimates made by the BiH Ministry of Finance (Maglajlić & Stubbs, 2018). The "dependency syndrome" (Petrisch, 1999) and the "victim

philosophy” (Helms, 2013) cause the returnees to experience BiH citizenship through the emotion of shame.

The overall disfunction and resulting poverty in Bosnia and Herzegovina cause the returnees to feel shame. The shame returnees feel comes both from being citizens of one of Europe’s poorest countries and “Europe’s most complex state” (Džankić, 2015, p. 526). Salih is an internationally recognized painter with contacts from around the world and dual Italian citizenship, however, he associates shame with his experience of BiH citizenship.

Salih: I had a guest from France. I had to hide some things from her. I didn’t want her to see the filth, the lack of hygiene everywhere. I was ashamed of all of it.

Author: Did you feel ashamed?

Salih: Yes. (very quietly)

Author: Where does this shame come from?

Salih: There is shame in all these elements. Shame of how many parliaments we have; of how divided we are; of how complicated and expensive our administration is. When I go to Marijin Dvor and look at that huge building⁶⁰ – it looks as big as the UN palace. For this small country, there are so many offices, secretaries, cars...and then they cannot agree on anything. They can’t even hold regular sessions.

Author: How does this make you feel?

Salih: Shame. Shame is the only emotion I feel.

The shame felt by Salih is similar to the shame Maček (2007) observes with her interlocutors in wartime Sarajevo.

When talking about their situation Sarajevans would not only use the notion of ‘normal life’ but also express the shame they felt: because they could not invite me for a decent (normal) meal, because their homes were not as tidy as they wanted them to be, because they had lost their dignity by losing control over their lives and destinies (p. 43)

Shame noted by Maček (2007) in wartime circumstances and shame discussed by Salih in peacetime have different origins, but they share an important common characteristic – a sense of disempowerment due to citizens “losing control over their lives and destinies” (Maček, 2007, p. 43).

⁶⁰ Salih is referring to the building housing the Council of Ministers, as well as the BiH Parliament, among many other institutions.

The constant reminders of past atrocities on one hand and the denial of these atrocities together with the frequent glorification of their perpetrators produce a shame from what is perceived as a “collective celebration of death.”

Ema: I look at this very subjectively, but it seems to me that we are proud of having killed each other. People around the world would be ashamed of such behavior, but we here....we celebrate killing and celebrate the dead, people who have killed while killing others, it doesn't matter what their ethnicity might be. We are all Bosnians and we share the same culture, regardless of our religions. Now, you can see my gestures and my body language that I get consumed with rage when thinking about it. I feel a deep sense of shame that we celebrate the dead and the past. That is the emotion – shame. That is exactly it. I feel ashamed of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of our people. I am not ashamed of myself, because I know that I am on the right path and that I am trying to change something in this country, with my little project, which I hope will grow, God willing, inshallah (laughter)⁶¹.

Ema is ashamed of what she refers to as the “collective celebration of death,” combining both the political level of commemoration (Duijzings, 2007) and consistent denial accompanied by an active lionization of war criminals all leading to a question of whether constant reminders of wartime atrocities serve to assist or impede inter-ethnic reconciliation and societal recovery (see Karabegović, 2019).

4.3.8. Pity and empathy

Pity and empathy constitute the returnees' emotional citizenship in very different ways. While pity is cause for concern and frustration, empathy is deeply appreciated. Nervan and Amir have both spent considerable periods of their life studying, working and living in Turkey. While Nervan is annoyed and frustrated with being pitied as a Bosniak in Turkey, Amir is appreciative of the empathy his Turkish host family expressed towards him, particularly during wartime.

Nervan: I became quite immune to such behavior in Turkey after a certain while, but in the very beginning I was very annoyed, very frustrated. When I first came to Turkey, I felt so happy, because I was convinced that I came to a friendly and brotherly country, whose people had brotherly affinities towards us. After some time passed, I remember thinking to myself: ‘who do these people think we are? The war had passed such a long time ago. I don't even remember the war, but there [in Turkey] all the Bosniak are

⁶¹ Ema, who stated that Christianity is central to her worldview, uses the Arabic expression „inshallah“ to refer to a hopeful future shared by BiH Muslims and Christians alike.

automatically seen through the war lense.’ I did not come here to be pitied. Actually, I really wanted to study in the West, but I won a scholarship to study architecture at a prestigious school in Istanbul and that is why I went to Turkey. I was so happy, because this was one of the best architecture schools.

Nervan’s frustration with being assigned the “victim role” in Turkey, corresponds to other returnees’ attitudes towards victimization as an impediment to progress. Like many of the other returnees, Nervan is aware that other BiH citizens have, unfortunately, embraced their own sense of victimization.

Nervan: When I came to Turkey, I was viewed as a victim of war, someone to be pitied. I simply did not want that, but I noticed that some of the students from Bosnia did not have any problems with playing the victim role, because this is how they garnered attention. I did not want this type of attention. I wanted to be recognized for my hard work, talent and other qualities.

The difference between being pitied and being empathized is stark. Amir illustrates how the two differ, using mutual identification as the distinguishing characteristic.

Amir: Yes, they pitied us, but it was more like they identified with us. We were children at the time and they look at us in the same way they regarded their own children. I mean my Turkish friend’s mother behaved towards me as she did towards her own son. There was simply no difference. I mean, he and I even looked very much alike. He was also blonde and blue-eyed, just like me. She would give him a hug and hug me right after. Anytime that there were any news from Bosnia on TV, she would start crying and she would hold me tight. I mean, this woman...she was like a second mother to me.

The stories of Nervan and Amir are both related to their experience of being a BiH citizen in Turkey, yet the emphasis in the first story is on a negative impression of pity, while the second one is a positive experience of empathy. The difference between pity and empathy is readily observable when contrasting these two stories, as both experiences relate to the same host state.

Experiencing citizenship through the pity of others is metaphorically compared either to being a “special needs child” or a perpetual “underdog.” In case of “citizenship as feeling” being compared to having a disability, pity is internalized resulting in its active rejection. Mahir explains what he means by internalizing pity, while simultaneously being pitied due to his citizenship status.

Mahir: But, I mean I feel as a special needs kid, as a person who has had some special and weird status all his life. Anytime I try to explain our political system to a foreigner or express my own experience of this country’s citizenship; discuss what my rights are; teach my younger sister or instruct my work colleagues to search for accountability and transparency...I always need to look for associations from history such as ‘you know how it was in your country in the 1960s or in your country in the 18th century...’ So

this is a problem for me. I mean focusing on this complicated and special weirdness, which I do not want to share is the problem. I am healthy, capable, young and prosperous. I want to live in a normal country with a normal passport with all the normal rights, as any other citizen. However, escaping the “special needs” impression doesn’t seem to be possible.

Author: What exactly do you mean by “special needs”?

Mahir: This is because we live in a non-standard country, which is neither a republic nor a federation. It is impossible to classify our country into a typology of states. Our political system is impossible to compare directly with any other. What this implies is that we are hybrid, part of an international protectorate, part of some other processes in which we have no decision-making authority.

Author: You are now discussing our constitutional setup?

Mahir: Well, I am discussing my experience of citizenship, as a person who derives his civic rights from this constitution, a constitution which champions ethnic, collective rights over the civic system. The entire description of our political system implies that it has to do with something extraordinary and strange. Now, I would say that my particular emotions are the result of a deeper inner conflict. I would be very happy to be able to identify a direct cause for having such feelings, such as ‘I feel in such and such a way because I am a citizen of a state in which genocide has been committed. I would like to say that these feelings are the result of crimes committed or victimization, however, the reality is much more complex. Thus, the feeling of “special needs.” To put it in the simplest terms, I would be much happier if I had some other citizenship.

While Mahir is resentful towards being pitied by others as a citizen of a non-standard state,

Mirela externalizes her pity towards the state. She compares Bosnia and Herzegovina to the perpetual underdog going through a journey and ultimately attaining a hero’s status.

Mirela: Aaa what I feel towards BiH, is similar to the feeling one has for an underdog. I feel as if BiH is an underdog, I am not exactly sure how to translate this word⁶². In essence, the underdog status is very emotional for me, because it offers the possibilities for the little underdog to make great results. I particularly feel that BiH is like the underdog because of everything that has happened during the war, from all our tragedies to our current state of complete corruption. But, then I also see those little stars, which create excellent results and make wonderful progress. These types of results could not have been created in a more regulated society. Supporting BiH, for me, is about being on the side of the underdog, the poor, the disadvantaged, the handicapped and the powerless. That is what I feel as a BiH citizen. I had this feeling throughout the war and then when the war finally ended I had an incredible need to make a change. Yes, this is also out of pity, because I know that people here are at the verge of poverty with a 60% unemployment rate. This is a burden that I also bear, but I want to contribute to the betterment of my community. Yes, it is about pity. Because I had the opportunity to be working in google now for an absurd amount of money in New York, but that this is nothing to me in comparison to being side by side with the underdog. However, although the underdog evokes pity at the beginning of the story, the underdog is the ultimate hero of the story. The underdog’s starting point is one of disadvantage and handicap, evoking pity, but ending up victorious.

⁶² Mirela kept using the English word „underdog“ during our Bosnian-medium conversation.

An extract of a speech made to the North Atlantic Council by Carlos Westendorp, the former High Representative in BiH (1997-1999) could serve to contextualize both a rejection of internalizing pity and active externalizing of pity towards BiH,

If I were a doctor, I would be telling you that the Bosnian patient is alive / that he needs the life support machine less and less / but that he is still in intensive care / and that further intensive care is necessary. What I also know is that the patient wants this treatment and, providing that the medication is non-addictive, he will survive; the treatment is prescribed in the Dayton Peace Accords although what I cannot tell you is the duration of that treatment. I am not a doctor of course but I am the High Representative, and, therefore, as the individual charged with implementing those accords, I will give you my prognosis.

Viewing the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a patient in need of intensive care, understandably invites pity, however, there exists a considerable difference in the vantage point between being a citizen and a non-citizen of that state.

4.3.9. Sorrow

The returnees grieve over events from BiH's recent past: being forced to leave the country because of war, finding refuge abroad, the pointlessness of war and mass killings. Ultimately - the deep sorrow of genocide. Damir left his native Sanski Most at the age of eighteen to find refuge in Germany.

Damir: I felt very, very sad. I cried. I cried all the way from Sanski Most to Banja Luka, from Banja Luka to Belgrade. When we landed in Belgrade, I finally stopped crying, because I saw that nothing will come out of all that and that I had to come to my senses. I felt horrible, leaving my parents and my home at eighteen years of age. I felt horrible, particularly because I knew that the war was approaching, difficult times. It was very, very difficult for me. I can easily say that this was crushing. Those were very sad times. As I told you before, the population in Sanski Most was very mixed and the war was fought between the Serbs and Bosniaks. I felt very, very bad that my old friend Goran would not be my friend anymore.

Amir was expelled together with his family from Prijedor. His father was killed by Bosnian Serb forces and Amir was separated from his mother and brother. At the age of 15, he was completely alone, finding safety in Turkey.

Amir: I felt horrible, horrible, how else could I feel? There was shooting everywhere, shooting everywhere. How could I have felt not even being able to talk to my parents or see them or anything. There were eight boys from Bosnia and countless times we would just each lock in our room and cry for hours. What else could we do? We didn't speak the language. We didn't know anything. We didn't know anybody. We felt completely lost and disconnected.

Anastasija, who escaped warfare in Mostar to find safety in Serbia, feels the grief of all ethnicities in Bosnia and Herzegovina caused by the overall tragedy of war.

Anastasija: It is completely pointless, pointless. What did we fight for? For absolutely nothing. Nothing at all. Excuse me, what do those people do protesting in front of the Parliament? What are those tents for? They were set up by former soldiers who fought and bled for the peace we have today. Now, what do they have? They can't even survive. They have nothing to eat.

Badema is a young Bosniak woman living in Srebrenica, for whom the deepest sorrow of genocide constitutes her emotional dimension of BiH citizenship.

Badema: Aaaa, I was born after the war so that whenever this July 11 comes around, when this day dawns, I mean I have not experienced the war, so that I can't speak from my own experience. Each person experiences this collective funeral in his or her own way. For me, when the coffins pass by me I feel chills run through my bones, tears rolling down my cheeks. I don't know, then I look at the valley of white gravestones, listening to the deadening silence... a feeling of overwhelming sadness overpowers me.

In addition to direct losses suffered during the war, the tragedy of lost opportunity is a source of sadness to many of the study participants, whether they were in BiH during the war or not.

Hrvoje spent the entire war in besieged Sarajevo and laments at the loss incurred by his entire generation.

Hrvoje: The first emotion experienced is one of great tragedy. We know about all the tragic events that occurred in our region. All of us, who spent the war here are in one respect tragic figures. This is particularly true for people my age, let's say those who were born between 1965 and 1970. These are people, who were caught in war at a time when they could have given their maximum potential. They got stuck in a ghetto and lost four or five years of their lives, losing the best years of their lives. While we were devastated here, others were developing, putting us in a position of never being able to catch up. We will never be able to attain the EU level of development.

Adnan's family and friends were in Zenica during the war. Due to a set of circumstances directly prior to the beginning of the war, he managed to escape to Turkey. Adnan is well aware of how the wartime years affected his loved ones and discusses his sadness at the lost opportunities of their lives.

Adnan: I felt so sorry for the people I love, sorry for my friends, who did not have an opportunity to leave, those who stayed. I feel sorry because they spent the best years of their lives fighting for something and now they have entered an age when there are no more opportunities. So many doors opened for me and when I talk to my friends, I can see the difference between us. The difference is immense. There is a difference in the way of thinking, attitudes towards life and all these things. I probably would be exactly like them if I had spent the last twenty years of my life here.

In addition to sadness felt towards events from BiH recent history, the returnees express their sorrow at current situation.

The postwar reality, the present state of BiH carries grief and sadness for most of BiH's citizens. The returnees discuss their sadness of a dysfunctional peace, not allowing Bosnia and Herzegovina to have a more prosperous present and future. Reuf talks about the general mood in BiH being "broken."

Reuf: When I look at the situation and the, the outcome of the war, at what happened in the war it all looks negative, negative, negative. You know what I mean? When I first came here I was like wow, why doesn't someone do that? Why doesn't someone do that? Every single person kept saying the same thing to me. Really short answers like it's impossible. You can't do it. It can't be done in Bosnia. That's was when I first came: It was always like these, these guys they are close-minded. They are held back. They are stuck. I feel like that Bosnians generally are broken people. Broken. Coming from Australia that makes me feel really sad, because I see the potential of the people. The corruption works hand in hand with all of that. I mean, the system here, the system does not work. I feel system here in Bosnia, it doesn't work. It just doesn't work.

Senad discusses the sadness of an inefficient and expensive state lacking economic progress, which results in a continuous stream of young and talented people emigrating.

Senad: Aaam, I mainly feel sadness, sadness because people accepted to be much less than their actual potential. Much less than what they used to be before. I feel sad because we accepted to be a third-rate country in the region, that we are practically a colony of neighboring states, a protectorate. I simply feel sad that people do not have a little bit more pride. I am not referring to patriotic pride, but to their own, personal pride. Why is that they do not stand up and say 'I think that we really could do things much better.' Sadness, that is my dominant emotion.

Sorrow and sadness as constituting the emotional dimension of BiH citizenship is discussed regarding both BiH's past and present, leading to a pessimistic outlook for the future.

4.3.10. Disappointment

From the initial enthusiasm characterizing the experience of return, when confronted with the political and economic realities of life in BiH, the emotional response to BiH citizenship often turns to disappointment. Disappointment is present both in cases of majority and minority return. Ervin, ethnically Bosniak, who came back to Sarajevo from the U.S. with great expectations for progress in the IT sector expresses his disappointment in irresponsible politicians, who he sees as one of the greatest obstacles to any progress in the country.

Ervin: Well, I feel disappointed mostly by certain candidates, who had historical chances to transform the country. They did not use these opportunities and instead, they fell into the traps of self-aggrandizement and egocentrism, without any understanding of how to create prosperity for everybody, for all of society. No, they were not thinking about the people, the nation, or the country. They were only thinking about their own, narrow, individual interest.

Nusret, a Bosniak who returned to his native Prijedor, now located in the RS experiences all the challenges of minority return and expresses his disappointment at the lack of support provided to him and others like him by Bosniak politicians, seated in Sarajevo.

Author: You are far from administrative Sarajevo and how does this make you feel?

Nusret: Nothing. Disappointed. Forgotten and neglected. I used to believe that with relatively low investment, so much could be done for returnees. So much more could have been done, but not with these politicians, who only care about themselves and nobody else. I simply don't see anybody in real life, who managed to convince me that they care about the ordinary citizen. They only work for their own, private interests and nothing else.

In addition, and regardless of majority or minority return, returnees are disappointed in the BiH business environment.

Ema: As far as the business side is concerned, anytime I think of my BiH citizenship, I feel frustration and aggressiveness, a sort of disillusionment, partly a loss of hope. I used to have high hopes regarding the business side. I thought it would be much easier, more logical and according to some European standards. That was not the case and it was and still is a daily struggle of disappointment.

Experiencing the home state citizenship through disappointment upon return is not unique to Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, return migration literature has extensively studied how disappointment sets in once the returnees are confronted with realities of life in a variety of different home state. As early as Bovenkerk (1974), disappointment has been studied as a result of idealizing the home state during times of emigration, which turns out not to correspond to the realities of life there. Bovenkerk (1974) also surveys other studies confirming disappointment inherent in return migration, such as Nelli (1970), who looks at Italians returning from the U.S., Saloutos (1956) studies Greeks returnees and Dahaya (1973), who examines disappointment felt by Pakistanis returning from Britain. More recently, King&Christou (2009) explore second-generation Greeks returning from Germany and the U.S., and their disappointment caused by the corruption, chaos, and xenophobia they encounter upon their return to Greece.

4.3.11. Powerlessness

As citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the returnees often feel helpless and powerless to affect change. For Emir, powerlessness is rooted in a deeply unjust peace and a dysfunctional state as its end product.

Emir: I feel much more powerless now than I did during the war. During the war, it was different, there was a sense of common struggle. Now, the powerlessness is ingrained in all pores of society. During the war, I was in Sarajevo in the BH Army, in an army unit which was attached to a number of different army divisions. So, I was in Sarajevo and outside of Sarajevo.

Author: And you feel more powerless today?

Emir: Yes, yes! The powerlessness is now squeezed in all pores of life, pushing people in frames from which they won't revolt even if they are extremely dissatisfied, simply because they fear losing their jobs. I see melancholy everywhere I turn, among my friends or better say acquaintances, because they simply cannot see a solution in sight. During the war, at least there was some sort of solution. The solution was to end it, this way or that. Ending the war *was* the solution.

Author: And now?

Emir: Now, I feel as part of a comedy program and a hostage experiment. As I told you in the beginning, we are hostages of an experiment somebody is conducting on us. It doesn't matter that this type of thinking falls into conspiracy theories... Here you can simply see that everything was created to be dysfunctional, set up to fail. Most things are set up that way, perhaps not all. Most things here were designed to be dysfunctional.

Hrvoje adds pessimism to the possibilities of democratic change and his feeling of powerlessness extends to citizenship practices, such as voting.

Author: How do you feel when voting in elections?

Hrvoje: Completely helpless. Well, I feel this way because I know that my vote cannot change anything.

The phrase “post-Dayton *straightjacket*” is often used to refer to the BiH Constitutional setup, both in scholarly discourse (see for example Donais, 2005; Keil&Perry, 2016; Deiana, 2018; Perry, 2019) and the general media. In fact, “the straightjacket” has become a “popular metaphor” (Kiel & Perry, 2016) for the “frozen conflict” (Perry, 2019), leaving individual BiH citizens, including the returnees, feeling entirely powerless. In *Gender and Citizenship: Promises of Peace in Post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Deiana (2018) summarizes:

The perversity of the post-Dayton aftereffects, however, does not stop at the institutional level...Ethnicity is continuously mobilized in many aspects of political and social life such as housing segregation and voting, as well as culture, written and spoken language and education. Further to this, the post-Dayton straightjacket has worked to preserve ethno-national discourses

within the politics of BiH. It enforces a highly divisive political life. Dominant nationalist parties continue to mobilize the legacy of conflict and the negative constructions of the “Ethnic Other” to ensure support for nationalist politics. (p. 10)

Thus, the overwhelming feeling of powerlessness is experienced by the individual citizen, when the citizen views him or herself as an autonomous individual within a citizenship regime designed for ethnic collectivities of “us” versus “them,” in what seems to be a “frozen, stuck, stalled or just muddling through” (Perry, 2019) state of affairs.

The powerlessness felt by returnees is compounded by a sense of humiliation as part of the emotional dimension of BiH citizenship. Alma describes experiences of mistreatment when travelling with her BiH passport.

Alma: Well, in the first couple of years after the war ended, we were definitely maltreated. We had to go to every embassy to apply for visas; stand in line for two-three hours.

Author: How did this make you feel?

Alma: Extremely humiliated. For example, at the border crossing. My husband would show his Slovenian passport and the border guards wouldn't even give him a second look. I would hand them my Bosnian passport and they would make me open each piece of luggage. Humiliated, definitely humiliated. That is how I felt.

To avoid feeling humiliated at the border crossing, Emir, a dual BiH and Slovenian citizen, prefers using his host state passport.

Author: Could you tell me why you avoid travelling with the BiH passport?

Emir: Because I do not want to be mistreated. For example, when travelling by bus, I don't want to be asked to leave the bus so that they can hold me for “further questioning.” I just want to be that happy guy, smiling and waving a big “hello” at the border patrol, as any other normal citizen.

Author: How does the mistreatment make you feel?

Emir: It makes me feel like a dog, or second-rate, if we want to use more modern terms. I don't know how else to describe it. I get humiliated simply because of my passport. Actually, I don't get to experience those feelings, because I don't travel with the BiH passport at all. Anytime I used it in the past, I felt humiliated and second-rate, as a hostage of the state. I think that we, citizens of BiH, would not have any problems if our state were different, if it were serious. Since our state is not serious, we can even say it's comical, we suffer as a result.

Related to powerlessness are the feelings of mistreatment and humiliation as BiH citizens, particularly pronounced as part of citizenship practices such as border crossings, or previously while standing in visa queues. The experiences described by Emir and Alma confirm and extend the findings of Jansen (2009), who looks at cross-border mobility and “zones of humiliating entrapment through documentary requirements – experienced by citizens of Bosnia

and Herzegovina and Serbia – as the EU’s shrinking ‘immediate outside’ (p. 815). As Jansen (2009) points out, citizenship is what allows or disallows “bodies” (p.815) to have cross-border mobility, producing various forms of affect. Specific to the case of BiH, particularly prior to the visa relaxation, what Jansen (2009) finds is a dominant “atmosphere of entrapment” (p. 820) and a “sense of collective humiliation” (p.827) felt by BiH passport holders, particularly when contrasted to the freedom of movement once granted to holders of the “red,” Yugoslav passport. Similarly to other authors (Maksimović, 2017; Palmberger, 2013), Jansen (2009) refers to this type of Yugonostalgia as more of a yearning for “normal life,” (p. 827) perceived to have been free from the current entrapment and humiliation.

4.3.12. Nostalgia

Nostalgia towards the past and Yugoslavia is expressed as longing for a state and the security it provided. Although Mensura is not old enough to have lived experience of Yugoslavia, when I asked about the stories her parents told her about the former state, her response succinctly echoed similar views communicating a yearning for law and order.

Mensura: Well, everybody says that everything was much better, that the country was much better organized than what we have today. There was more respect for the laws, law enforcement and state institutions, all of what we talked about earlier. We lack all of that today.

It is common parlance to talk about the Yugoslav past as a time when “you could not say whatever you wanted, but you could sleep safely on a park bench, wherever you wanted” – a saying summarizing the lack of freedom of expression in Yugoslavia together with a strong emphasis on security. In addition, the declared values of the Yugoslav Communist regime, such as equality and solidarity are the causes of nostalgia.

Anastasija: And this, this BiH citizenship thing. It doesn’t mean absolutely anything to me, because I always was and will remain a Yugoslav. That has always been my identification and the only country, which I consider to be my own. That is the only flag [the Yugoslav flag] which I consider to be mine and with which I can identify. Whatever people might be saying about communism and Tito today, about what things used to be like in the past....the only thing that matters for me is the solidarity we used

to have. We used to treasure our peace, freedom, brotherhood and unity. These are the values that shaped me and I will never give them up.

The phenomenon of yearning for a return to the stability of the communist past, characterized by “law and order and steady incomes” (Kolsto, 2014, p. 761), can be found in other places of the former Soviet Union and countries of Central and Eastern Europe (see Boym, 2011). In the Yugoslav case, the phenomenon is of a proportion to merit its own term: Yugonostalgia, politically⁶³ defined as a “continued attachment to the SFRY as a state” (Kolsto, 2014, p. 763).

Whether real or imagined ethnic tolerance, present in Yugoslavia is a subject of nostalgic longing among returnees of different ethnicities. Elvis, a Bosniak from Prijedor, who was expelled from his home together with other non-Serbs in 1992, reminisces about how people of different ethnicities related during Yugoslav times.

Elvis: Well, in the past there was so much love for friendship, for people, towards the city, the country. Everybody was concerned with actively contributing towards the betterment of the community. It wasn't important whether your name was Saša⁶⁴ or Mehmed. Those difference⁶⁵ were completely unimportant. I miss all that very much. I miss all of it!

Author: Do you think that this sense of community could be re-created in Prijedor?

Elvis: Some time in the future, perhaps. But, it cannot be done in Prijedor. No, simply because the people are gone. If the former citizens of Prijedor stayed, if what happened hadn't happened, it probably would be possible. 70% of the current inhabitants of Prijedor came from outside the city. These are uneducated people without any sense of how we used to live here. With these people, there is no going back to how things used to be.

Alma, who declares herself primarily as a BiH citizen, rejecting ethnic categories is nostalgic for the values of “brotherhood and unity” among peoples in Yugoslavia and connects these most importantly to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Alma: Well, my generation...we identified with Yugoslavia. When I was growing up, we did not identify with Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was present everywhere really, perhaps most visibly in school. For example, our singing of our national anthem, Tito's portrait in each classroom, using Tito's quotes all of the time, such as ‘protect our brotherhood and unity as the apple of your eye’ and such things. There was also the celebration of Tito's birthday and our traditional relay races. With the dismantling of Yugoslavia, I understood that all these values for me actually meant an identification with Bosnia and Herzegovina. All the Yugoslav values of multiculturalism and living with people

⁶³ Kolsto (2014) makes the important distinction between cultural and political Yugonostalgia, where the latter can and does affect nation-building and citizens' loyalties to states born out of the breakup of Yugoslavia.

⁶⁴ Elvis is using the names „Saša“ and „Mehmed“ to illustrate a Serb and Bosniak identity, respectively.

⁶⁵ Ethnic differences.

who are different from yourself. We in BiH lived these values more than anybody else in the former Yugoslavia, more than the Slovenes, the Serbians or the people in Dalmatia. At one point, I started to understand that what I loved most about the former Yugoslavia was being destroyed.

The “Yugoslav civil religion of brotherhood and unity” (Perica, 2002, p. 100 as cited in Bošković, 2013, p. 59; Flere, 2007) with the stated goal of designing Yugoslavism as a supraethnic and suprareligious identity (Bošković, 2013), was arguably most ardently practiced in Bosnia and Herzegovina out of all other ex-Yugoslav states. Ironically, this is where its failures were most catastrophic⁶⁶. However, it would not be fair to conclude that the returnees, when discussing a longing for Yugoslav ethnic tolerance, are in denial of its ultimate demise. Instead, a more balanced interpretation would be consistent to the findings of Hofman (2008), who concludes that Yugonostalgia in BiH, at least in regards to its “brotherhood and unity” dimension, appears simply in response to the unbearable ethnic tensions of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Returnees are also nostalgic for the economic system of the former Yugoslavia with its main emphasis on social security. Siniša, who recalls the stories told by his parents, discusses the developed social safety net in Yugoslavia and the feeling of security it created.

Siniša: While we were in Argentina, my parents and others, always used to say that we were Yugoslavs. Nobody talked about Serbs or Croats or something else. Everybody [in Argentina] knew about all of us as Yugoslavs and it was the most normal thing for us to say that we are Yugoslavs. I would say that most people, who experienced living in Yugoslavia are nostalgic for those times and socialism. They used to get their apartment from the state, paid leave and a completely fantastic system. I mean, I cannot speak from experience because I did not live in Yugoslavia. My parents were also emigrants from Yugoslavia, but they always had a strong sense of belonging to the Serb people, the Orthodox Church and so on. They always looked upon Yugoslavia as something positive. They were born in this state and its economic system. The country was unified and they could easily travel from one area to the next.

The Yugoslav legal, political and economic systems created an overwhelming sense of security, particularly as compared to the state of these affairs in the current makeup of BiH. However, perhaps most importantly, the overall values of solidarity, ethnic tolerance,

⁶⁶ Drawing upon results of a large-scale quantitative survey conducted by IPSOS and the University of Oslo in 2011, Kolsto (2014) argues that despite its traumatic past, BiH still scores among the highest for Yugonostalgia compared to other ex-Yugoslav states, with affection towards the former state shared by Bosniaks and Serbs alike.

contribution to the common good, are what brought about a feeling of security. Vedad emphasizes taking pride in aiding community development in Yugoslavia.

Vedad: I wouldn't exactly call this Yugonostalgia, but I do remember my childhood and, from the perspective of a child, I remember a different system that took care of everybody, including children and young people. I remember the Youth Labor Action, which promoted completely different values from the ones we seem to have today. In the past, as a young person, you needed to apply to take part in the Youth Labor Action. If you deserved your place, you would be admitted and allowed to dig and build as a volunteer. Nowadays, the idea would be laughable to any young person. They would say something like: 'what are you talking about? I ain't digging or building for nobody! For free? Are you joking???' Many things have changed about our values and mentality. Young people used to take pride in helping their communities and contributing to the public good.

Hrvoje is nostalgic for the quality of friendships in Yugoslavia and sees an ideological explanation for the difference he perceives in current times.

Hrvoje: I would say that the most valuable aspect of Yugoslavia were the human bonds we used to have, our excellent human relations. I mean, we could say that we had a freedom of movement that simply does not exist today. In Yugoslavia you could not talk about whatever you wanted, but you could sleep under any tree or on any bench. At some point during your sleep, somebody might come to wake you up to see how you are doing or to offer you something to eat and drink. This is certainly not the case now. Nowadays, you can say whatever you like, but your freedom of movement is limited. There is no freedom of movement that we used to have. The aspect of human friendships and a safe environment is missing. Perhaps, that was also imposed through the political system, however, I was young at the time and I simply did not think about such things. Yes, I was young at the time. This is also nostalgia for youth. That is also an important point.

As Hofman (2008) introduces and Kolsto (2014) re-asserts, political Yugonostalgia can be viewed as having two distinct strands: ideological and territorial. Territorially, Yugonostalgia is a simple longing for a larger state, where the new states are seen as small or "petty" (Jansen, 2009) with the resulting freedom of movement being restricted, such as pointed out by Hrvoje. Ideologically, Yugonostalgia is a longing for a Titoist version of Marxism as a guiding social philosophy with the accompanying socialist self-management as an economic system. Although, there are certainly elements of both territorial and ideological Yugonostalgia in views expressed by the returnees, I would also have to agree with Maksimović (2017), who terms this type of Yugonostalgia as "normalostalgia" or a longing for a "normal life" (p. 1071), characterized by socioeconomic security, as well as ethnic tolerance (Palmberger, 2013).

A noticeable lack of Yugonostalgia is present with some returnees, due to the former state's relations with religious communities and memories of persecution on religious grounds. Gavriilo, who discussed the importance his Orthodox Christian faith has in his daily life says that he is not nostalgic for Yugoslav times, mainly because of the atheistic or anti-theistic⁶⁷ aspects of communist ideology.

Gavriilo: I am not nostalgic at all. I'll tell you one thing. If that country had been so well organized, it would not have failed. It was very badly setup, relations between people were very poorly developed. There was so much laziness, red tape, and the greatest tragedy of all – communism, a disaster worse than any wildfire. It set us back at least 40 years, perhaps even 50, it devastated all the people living here.

Author: So, you only see problems with communism?

Gavriilo: Only within communism! This system firstly destroyed all the morals of people. People became disbelievers, atheists, not believing in anything, ready to do anything. If people were true believers, the war probably would have never happened. There was nothing good about it. Absolutely nothing. Trust me.

Author: Not even the ideals of brotherhood and unity?

Gavriilo: Oh, please what are you talking about?! If this brotherhood and unity were real and true, would we have slaughtered each other like animals [during the war]?!

Mehmed, a practicing Muslim, expresses similar views towards Yugoslavia, based on his family stories of persecution.

Mehmed: I am definitely not Yugonostalgic. I come from a family with Islamic values, so this is how I was brought up from early childhood. I heard stories about the Yugoslav times, for example when our house was searched by the authorities simply because my grandfather performed the Hajj.

Author: Could you explain how this happened?

Mehmed: Well, my grandfather went on the Hajj and after he returned, his passport was seized and our house was searched. The explanation given to my family at the time, was that the Yugoslav authorities were suspicious that he was involved in some kind of activities. My grandfather was also an active member of the Islamic community and I can honestly say that he was mistreated because of that. He was arrested and spent time in prison for nothing else but his religious beliefs and practice. So, I definitely don't have any Yugonostalgia.

Looking at Yugoslav history, it can be said that the Communist authorities, particularly after Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform, acted vigilantly to suppress religious expression (Malcolm, 1994). The Yugoslav state had a distinctly anti-theist stance and viewed the major religious traditions (Islam, Orthodox Christianity and Roman Catholicism) as divisive and

⁶⁷ See Flare (2007) for details on this distinction in the context of Yugoslav „civil religion.“

undermining “brotherhood and unity,” (Flere, 2007). However, the question of exactly how free were Yugoslav citizens to practice their various religions is a subject of some controversy. The Yugonostalgics are likely to focus on some semblance of religious freedom granted to practicing religious traditions, particularly in private, while the anti-Yugonostalgics⁶⁸ tend to overstate the degree of direct and indirect persecution of religious communities. Albeit important, the historical context cannot overshadow the respondents’ subjective experience. Gavriło’s and Mehmed’s personal stories speak of discrimination on religious grounds, which makes them have no longing for the Yugoslav state.

4.3.13. Patriotic love

At first glance, it can be confusing to examine the notion of “patriotic love” in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a post-conflict and deeply divided society, and the returnees, most of whom are dual and in some cases triple citizens. To clarify the apparent confusion, I have tried to introduce some distinct forms of patriotic love as a result of data analysis: divided or split, unreserved, “hurt,” conditional/tempered, as well as viewing patriotism as the founding block of democratic state-building. In some cases the returnees’ patriotic feelings are divided or split between two or more states. Admir, a dual BiH and U.S. citizen, while considering his primary emotional attachment to lie with the BiH citizenship, also acknowledges some patriotic love for his host state.

Admir: I have spent ten years in the US, which was a really wonderful period of my life. There, I made so many friends and fell in love with the city of Chicago. I lived in Chicago for ten years and I miss so many things. I am a big fan of the Chicago Bulls and I have all kinds of other connections with this city, I would say some patriotic love as well. I mean, my primary feelings are towards the citizenship of my birth [BiH citizenship] and if I had to, it would be very difficult for me to renounce it, to renounce our citizenship.

⁶⁸ See Kolsto (2014) for an explanation of the term “anti-Yugonostalgic”, particularly as it applies to Croatia.

The case of divided or split patriotism becomes more complicated when it is directed towards a kin-state, such as Serbia or Croatia. While being emotionally indifferent to the BiH citizenship, primarily attached to his home state citizenship of Argentina, Siniša also feels patriotically inclined towards his third, Serbian citizenship.

Siniša: Whenever I go to Serbia, I always have the same experience. For example, when driving through Šumadija, I don't know whether you ever had the chance to visit, but the people there are so hospitable, open and just so cheerful. One can sense a connection with the medieval state, the monasteries and all the cultural heritage. These are certainly highly positive emotions, because, I mean, we are talking about the history of our people. As a Serb, I feel that our roots are there in that medieval heritage, before the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian invasions or any other foreign powers occupying these territories. I feel connected through Serbia's sovereignty. I feel connected to Serbia's sovereignty and statehood when visiting all the old monasteries and the cultural heritage which has been preserved.

Within the range of patriotic love, a few of the participants express an unconditional, unreserved patriotism. Gavriilo, an ethnic Serb from Nevesinje, expresses his love for Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly its natural landscape.

Gavriilo: I don't know what to tell you, but I love this country extremely. There are so many things we can't change, but we still need to hope for the best. If we have any intelligence, we will understand that we need to live together. If we are smart we will live like normal people. I have no plans of leaving this country. I don't want any of my family members or anybody else to leave either. This is especially true for anybody who loves hiking and mountaineering. Just walk around our mountains and you will see how beautiful our country really is. The only problem is that we do not appreciate it.

Arif, ethnically Bosniak, expresses his love for the country and readiness to defend it in case of renewed conflict.

Arif: At any mention of Bosnia and Herzegovina disappearing, I am instantaneously prepared to stand in its defense. I am ready to leave all this (gesturing at the office and out the window towards the dairy farm) and, if need be, take to guns in its defense. I left for Norway only after finishing my work here, work which was necessary here. After being released from the camps, I joined the BiH Army and demobilized after the war ended. It is only after serving my duty that I re-unite with my family in Norway. I also served my duty testifying at the Court in the Hague and collecting the necessary documentation on wartime happenings in Kozarac. I spent six or seven years in Norway; started successful companies there and returned to Bosnia again. All this means only one thing – there is no force, other than an act of the Almighty, that could tear the bond between myself and the homeland. I also have an obligation to leave a homeland for my children. Can I wait in Norway for somebody else to do this for my children instead of me? No, I need to make my own contribution right here.

A number of returnees report their patriotic feelings being hurt in postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina. Regardless of the difficulties imposed on BiH citizens by the current Dayton

constitutional setup, Mahir feels it to be his duty to respect and love his home state. He uses a familial analogy to explain his patriotic love for BiH.

Author: How do you feel when you see the BiH flag or hear the national anthem?

Mahir: I think I have a duty to respect and love these things. It's actually more respect that I feel, the way you feel about a grandfather, who wasn't exactly nice towards you. He loved some other grandchildren more than he loved you, but he is still your grandfather and you love and respect him. Still, he is not your favorite person in the world. That would be the best association I could find. It comes as a result of the respect I feel towards my father or my uncle, who died because of the war or were killed. These people used to believe that the survival of this state is important, that resisting assimilation is important. Simply, this was their vision and I feel it to be disrespectful for the next generation to abandon this vision. Their sacrifice is the reason why I can live in a free country now, in my own apartment, in my old neighborhood. We need to make our own contribution.

Vedad uses a similar familial analogy to discuss the necessity of loving one's country.

Similarly to Mahir, he is aware of the difficulties associated with BiH citizenship, but he also focuses on the importance of each BiH citizen taking an active part in improving their situation.

Vedad: The problem is that the struggle of people has been altered into a slide to what is more comfortable. For example, students in the past used to fight for their rights. They were brave and they took part in protest to secure a better future for their country. Nowadays, young people say things like 'look at how worn out the streets are here, I have to leave his country.' To me this is surrender, giving up. I choose to take a different path. I want to contribute so that things improve. I am not going to give up on my mother, just because she slapped me. She is still my mother. Even if she makes me happy or sad, she is still my mother and I love her.

Due to the frequent abuse of patriotic feelings, the participants are quick to point out that true patriotic love is viewed through action. Senad, an opposition politician, criticizes the local power elites whose representatives consistently call on values of patriotism with only their own interests in mind and not their communities'.

Senad: Since we have a severe lack of education in this country, the ruling elites create a sense of baseless national pride. What we need is patriotism expressed towards the local community.

Author: What would you say is the dominant emotion in this case?

Senad: The dominant emotion is taking pride from living in a clean city with high economic standards. Living in a city where people visit and say: 'Wow, you really live in a beautiful place. Everything is so nicely organized. You prove that such a life is possible.' That is what I mean by local patriotism. I would not connect patriotism to the passport, flag or other national symbols. I would connect it to the community in which the person lives and works.

To avoid being labeled either the "naïve patriot" or the "exploitative patriot", the returnees often discuss a conditional or tempered patriotism.

Admir: First of all, I am not too patriotic, as I have a simple goal of living a normal life in this country. I was born here and of course I have some patriotic feelings. I was so happy when we went to the World Soccer Cup. Our success in sports or music events make me very happy, but, above all, I am interested in having the complete conditions for a normal life in my country.

Finally, the returnees consistently bring to fore the importance of an active and engaged citizenry, viewing their contribution as citizens to be the founding block of state and democracy building.

Arif: Let's ask a different question: 'Did Norway as a homeland give to the Norwegian people all of what they have today in 1945 or did the Norwegian people build their country; create an equitable distribution; made laws; destroyed bribery and corruption; developed a society of equal opportunity?' The Norwegian people created all of this through their voting and constant pressure. They created a fantastic political system and a Constitution, which says that all citizens are equal in front of the law, including the king. Nobody is above the law. The question we have now is whether the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina want to create something similar to Norway? We will probably never have a Norway here, but let's say that we want Bosnia and Herzegovina as an average Western European country, where we could afford social welfare, pension funds and migration policy that would provide incentive for people to stay here and improve our demographics. Our situation is such that the Muslims are waiting for Allah to do all this work instead of them, while the Catholics and Orthodox are waiting for the Almighty God. Is God responsible for an assignment given to the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including you writing this Ph.D. thesis? Can we build a better and more prosperous BiH? What do you think? I think that we certainly can!

The final perspective on patriotic love as key to democratic politics echoes the original work connecting citizenship and emotions, George Marcus' *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*. The main premise of the "citizenship as feeling" idea formulated by Marcus is that citizens are capable of being "good" because they can feel. Patriotic love, with all its flaws and imperfections, seems to be the major catalyst in this process.

4.3.14. Pride

The individual successes of fellow compatriots are the sources of pride for many of the returnees. Admir takes pride in the success of individual BiH citizens, such as the soccer player, Edin Džeko.

Admir: Of course, I am really happy when a local band makes it internationally. Dubioza Kolektiv is an international musical success. They are a wonderful group of musicians for such a small country, where there are no investments made in art and culture. Regardless of their difficulties, they found a path to world fame. I feel proud of their success. Of course, there are other examples from sports, such as Edin Džeko, who used to play in our soccer league and went on to international stardom. These people

are the most important promoters and cultural ambassadors for our country. I mean, we have so few positive examples here that their successes need to be talked about. In my opinion, they are very important for all of us.

While taking pride in their success, Senad also laments the fact that these successful people no longer reside in BiH.

Senad: Our social fabric has been destroyed as the best and brightest left this country. We lost our human resources. These people have been replaced with those who I would, without meaning to be a snob, I would describe as second-rate. Professionals from Bosnia and Herzegovina have made it in Europe and all over. One of our people, a talented engineer became the general manager of the Austrian Telecom. This actually happened. Another example is a person who used to work at our Youth radio station. He is now one of the most important marketing experts in North America. We gave all our human resources to foreign corporations. We lost huge numbers of people like that from all parts of our country. Their successes abroad could make all of us proud.

Returnees also find pride in the experience of collective suffering. Lejla, who works on trauma release techniques with victims of post-traumatic stress syndrome views survival and perseverance as a source of great pride.

Lejla: For me, what ties me most to Bosnia is certainly not our cuisine of burek and čevapčići. I don't even eat meat. I am a vegetarian and could not care less about these dishes. My most important connection to citizenship is our common struggle and our shared, tragic experience. We need to be proud of ourselves for going through hell and still surviving, succeeding and continuing to exist. We need to be proud of that.

Nusret, a Bosniak returnee to Prijedor in Republika Srpska, views return to a place from which he was once forcibly expelled as the reason for his pride.

Nusret: Pride. I certainly feel proud. This is what gives me added motivation to carry on, regardless of all the problems we encounter daily. I feel proud to be Bosnian, to have gone through all this and to have survived. In spite of everything, we collected ourselves and we continue to live here, to feel equal with everybody else inhabiting this region.

Perspectives offered by Admir, Lejla and Nusret illustrate how pride constitutes the emotional dimension of BiH citizenship through either the examples of individual successes of BiH citizens or the experience of collective survival.

The returnees, particularly in the case of minority return of Bosniaks to Republika Srpska, find pride in state symbols and the state, as guarantor of national survival. Arif compares the Bosnian diaspora to other "victim diasporas" (Cohen, 1997; Brubaker, 2005) such as the Jewish or Kurdish diasporas.

Arif: It is normal for the BiH flag, particularly if you see it somewhere abroad, to stir positive emotions. These are highly positive emotions. Pride, pride, because in spite of

everything that has happened, Bosnia and Herzegovina survived and it continues to exist. In whatever shape or form, it still exists within its borders. I can say with pride that I am a Bosnianherzegovinian and that I have a homeland. Look around yourself and look at history! You'll see the Roma, who do not have a homeland. We can see what is happening to them. Look at the Kurds – scattered in five different countries. Perhaps we have most to learn from the Jewish people, who have returned to Israel after thousands of years to fight for their country. Without a state, we have no chance of survival. It would just be a matter of time, assimilation, disappearance, extinction of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, if the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina were to disappear.

Living in Srebrenica, with the constant reminder of genocide in the Potočari cemeteries,

Badema takes pride in symbols of the BiH state.

Badema: I stand up when I hear the BiH national anthem. When I hear it, my insides move. They tremble. I get goosebumps all over my body. When I hear our national anthem I think of myself as a winner of an Olympic medal, standing tall on the highest block. I feel proud with my gold medal hanging around my neck. I feel this melody as my own success. Pride, pride is what I feel.

Similarly, many of the returnees take pride in civic belonging and being distinct from the three, clearly defined ethnic or religious groups.

Sanela: I am definitely proud to be a citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I belong to this country, as its citizen. This connection is much more important to me than religion or ethnicity. Although, I feel under pressure to align myself with a religious and ethnic group, still my main identification is with the state of BiH. My parents raised me to be proud of our country. We never felt ashamed of our home country, of our origin. We always proudly spoke of being citizens of BiH.

As Džankić (2016) emphasizes, supported by findings of the IPSOS Survey (2011), loyalty to the state of BiH is most pronounced with ethnic Bosniaks, also the only ethnicity to be 'very proud' with their BiH citizenship. On the other hand, the majority of Serbs and Croats either feel 'somewhat proud' or 'not proud at all' as BiH citizens. Responses of Arif, Badema and Sanela are also consistent with the IPSOS Survey (2011) results, while not even one returnee who self-identified as Serb or Croat directly expressed pride in being a BiH citizen.

4.3.15. Defiance

The famous *bosanski inat* (Bosnian defiance/spite) has deep historical roots, acting as what Amila Buturović refers to as "a cultural catalyst against liminality," when discussing passages from Meša Selimović's *The Death and the Dervish*. Buturović analyzes "spite and

defiance” as “liminality transformed into a metaphorical struggle for collective identity, not acting as complicit in internal divisions.” In other words, it is out of spite and defiance in Bosnia and Herzegovina that seemingly impossible to sustain notions continue to survive. Amir, whose father was murdered by Bosnian Serb forces during the ethnic cleansing campaigns in Prijedor, returned to BiH, to live in the same family home where he was born and raised as he himself says “out of spite!”

Author: How important do you think is Bosnian defiance/spite?

Amir: As you can see, it is always important! It’s kind of like the joke. I don’t know if you’ve heard it?

Somebody asked a Muslim from Bosnia, a Bosniak whether he would want to convert to Christianity in exchange for 10 000 marks?

He said: ‘No!’

‘How about a million?’

‘No’, he repeated. ‘

Not for ten thousand, not for a million?’

‘No.’

‘So, how would you convert to Christianity?’

‘Only out of spite. Out of spite, I would!’ the Bosnian man shouted back.

Author and Amir: Laughter!

Amir: That is how important our Bosnian defiance is for us.

Bosnian defiance or spite is pervasive to the extent that it has its own jokes and humour associated with it. This particular joke refers to a stubborn adherence to a particular religious creed, denied only as an act of defiance, however, it is certainly not limited only to religion, in general, or to a specific religious denomination. As Buturović points out, spite is seen as an antidote to liminality, whatever its source might be.

Returning to BiH was an act of defiance for many of the participants. They have returned, in spite of events from the past. Alija, a minority returnee to Republika Srpska discusses defiance as key in his decision to return and his understanding of citizenship.

Alija: You will see when you visit Kozarac that the people of that area have gone through unimaginable horror, but still you will see them defiant. In spite of these horrific experiences, they love Kozarac even more passionately. They are investing in its reconstruction and development. They are rebuilding their destroyed houses and lives. A similar thing is also happening in Prijedor. In some ways, we can conceive of two possible reactions after tragic events. Either people will say ‘I will never go there. I never want to recall those events,’ or the contrary ‘now, I will visit even more. I will show the people who expelled me that I am still alive and that this is my city too.’ I feel that the second option is what I have chosen to do. I have chosen to say

intentionally: 'you see, even after everything that has happened. I am still here. I am still alive and I will continue to be here!'

In addition, as Arif points out, defiance is completely separate from a desire for revenge.

Instead of the destructiveness of revenge, defiance plays a key crucial role in the pursuit of justice.

Arif: You see, what we have here is the rebuilding of an entire town from the ground up. Kozarac was literally wiped of the face of the Earth during the war and what we have done is to rebuild it with 5000 new houses. We, the people from Kozarac, did this within three to four years. A new town was born – out of our defiance!

People who were expelled during the 1990s, have made their fortunes abroad and are now returning to show their spite. Abroad, regardless of their success, they are and will always remain refugees, people who were thrown out of their homes, defeated men, those who have accepted the law of force, who has accepted that these horrible crimes have largely gone unpunished, regardless of the efforts of the International Crimes Tribunal. It was simply impossible to process each and every crime, due to their sheer immensity. Returnees to the Prijedor and Kozarac areas have also aided international justice here as so many of the war criminals have been processed as a direct result of refugee returns. When we started to return, many of the arrests started to happen.

Are we going to accept that fascism has won in these areas? No, we will not accept this! I am not talking about any kind of revenge. I am not talking about returning so that the killing could go on. This is important to underline. I am only talking about justice and the appropriate punishment for crimes committed.

Arif's perspective on return to Kozarac is consistent with Sebina Sivac-Bryant's *An Ethnography of Contested Return: Re-Making Kozarac*, who writes of the debates between members of the kozarac.ba online community and returnees to Kozarac:

On the emotional level, it had spawned some very interesting and very self-aware debates about victimhood, the struggle to come to terms with the past, and recently (since the International Court of Justice failed to convict Serbia for complicity in genocide) a need to share stories of those who were killed as a way of reclaiming their presence within the community. At the same time, narratives are constructed in such a way as to illustrate, through individual stories, the resilience and strength of communal life despite everything, reaffirming its continuation.

Pursuit of justice and *not* revenge, resilience and strength *as opposed to* victimhood, are the building blocks of defiance as part of the emotional dimension of BiH citizenship.

Loyalty to BiH citizenship and refusal to renounce it, even when required to obtain a second citizenship is an act of defiance. When asked about applying for dual Turkish citizenship, Amir refused, explaining that he would be faced with pressure to renounce his BiH citizenship as there is no bilateral agreement between Turkey and BiH on dual citizenship.

Amir: No, I did not want it out of spite. In order to gain Turkish citizenship I would have to give up my BiH citizenship and I would never do that. I did not want to do this out of defiance. Actually, this is the same reason why I rejected getting any other second citizenship. I wouldn't even hear of it. My wife is Turkish. We have been married for 19 years and I definitely have met all the requirements for citizenship. I don't want it – out of defiance. I feel defiant.

Bilateral agreements on dual citizenship exist only between BiH and Serbia, Croatia and Sweden. However, as was elaborated throughout this Ph.D. project, most of the participants are dual, and in some cases triple citizens, with combinations such Swiss-BiH, US-BiH, Norwegian-BiH or Australian-BiH. The explanation is a tacit recognition by both BiH and the host state that dual citizenship is a reality although bilateral agreements do not exist. Dual citizenship status will not be endangered as long as one of the states does not demand renouncing the second citizenship. In the case of Turkey, the fact that the highly politicized nature of dual citizenship does not allow for the official signing of a bilateral agreement between BiH and Turkey, does not preclude Turkish authorities to require applicants to renounce their BiH citizenship as pre-condition for obtaining Turkish citizenship. This is the reason why Amir feels defiant in retaining his BiH citizenship.

4.3.16. Happiness and joy

The returnees derive happiness and joy from contributing and from witnessing progress and the possibility for change. Alija views his contribution as active participation in economic development.

Alija: So, if I were to sum it all up it would be about my job that I love passionately and for which I see a purpose because I work on involving diaspora members in economic development. I have a satisfactory level of income and I have a sense of contributing to my home country. All these factors make me a happy man.

Ervin derives joy from aiding economic development and being an “agent of change,” rejecting the possibility of taking a sidelines position.

Ervin: I feel more joy than pride. The joyous part of me confirms each day that change is actually possible. Perhaps I look at all the issue through my individual prism, the prism

of an agent of change⁶⁹, one who inspires others to change. I really am not in the position of a passive observer, one who attends a soccer game, cheers for our team and says things like: ‘Look at us now! Now, we have our own state.’

When discussing the happiness and joy they derived from being BiH citizens, the returnees frequently referred to what they were doing to improve the overall state of affairs in BiH, their status as “agents of change.” The return migration literature has devoted considerable attention (Bovenkerk, 1974; Gmelch, 1980; Hope, 1999; Portes, 2010) to the opportunities and limitation for returnees to act as agents of change. Some authors are hopeful about the returnees catalyzing positive social change in the home state, while others are much more skeptical. Particularly relevant to returnees who derive happiness and joy from their sense of contribution to BiH society is the concept of “vernacularization”, introduced by Levitt and Merry (2009) and discussed in Kuschminder (2017). In brief, vernacularization is the process of translating and adapting internationally relevant phenomena to a local context (Kuschminder, 2017) and “vernacularizers take the ideas and practices of one group and present them in terms that another group will understand” (Levitt and Merry, 2009, p. 446 as cited in Kuschminder, 2017, p. 42). Examples of successful vernacularization in Alija’s case is facilitating diaspora investment in BiH and Ervin’s IT startup hub and co-working space in Sarajevo.

In addition to taking an active role in the BiH economy, the returnees see themselves as members of a politically active citizenry, whether their political engagement is conducted through direct party affiliation, work with municipal authorities or voting. Senad joined one of BiH leading opposition parties because he “wanted the water supply problem solved” and says that “finally, I started doing and stopped complaining. This is my source of happiness.” Vedad regularly attends meetings in his municipality and feels that he has a voice in local decision making.

Vedad: But, do you know why is it that I am happy? I am happy because my municipality is finally starting to care for its citizens. In the past, their only accomplishment was selling a piece of land to some Arab guy, while now they are really talking about the interest

⁶⁹ Although the interview was conducted in Bosnian, Ervin often interjected English terms into the conversation, such as „agent of change.“

of all of us – building schools, sports and cultural facilities. It's easy to sell the land to a foreigner, who will setup his own business and make it impossible for our children to even have their playground here. When I see that the municipality authorities are starting to think of the citizens, of us – this is what makes me happy!

Alma, who takes an active role in educating kindergarten children in the values of “love for one's country” also finds happiness in her voting preferences.

Alma: Well, what can I say...I always vote for some parties, which I hope could create change at least at the level of our canton. And I am very happy. I am talking about Our Party. So far, they have held their promises and I have not been disappointed. They are not a very strong party, but they always have my vote. I am happy about it.

Deriving happiness and joy from political participation and performing other citizenship practices, such as voting, counters the view (Pedersen, 2013; Carling et al. 2015) of returnees as often socially alienated upon return. Turning back to the concept of “vernacularization” (Levitt and Marry, 2009), it finds direct application to the returnees' political engagement. In fact, the model was originally applied to international human rights and women's rights movement and checked against their local adaptation. Senad, Vedad and Alma with experiences from the U.S. and Germany seem to be playing their roles in political vernacularization and deriving happiness from their status as BiH citizens.

4.3.17. Hope

“Hope is an act of desperate defiance against monstrous odds.”
- Ivo Andrić, *Bosnian Chronicle*

Elections, with their possibility for positive change, are seen as both a source of hope and hopelessness. Admir is hopeful about the possibility for elections to bring about progress.

Admir: Well, there is always hope. I am an optimist generally in life. I still hope and believe that things will get better here. So, I have this hope every time I vote in elections that something could change.

Marija and Selim, on the other hand, are pessimistic about the prospects brought about by elections.

Marija: Well, yes. I would like the situation to change, but I doubt that it can. The people who win elections work only for their own selfish interests, while hiding behind their nationalities and their religious communities. In reality, they care for nobody except for themselves.

In addition to the abuse of ethnonationalist rhetoric, Selim believes that elections are corrupted by how campaigns are financed and votes bought.

Selim: I mean I have absolutely no hope from elections, particularly not in these areas where votes are regularly bought through beer and pork roasts. Elections are bought and the person spending the most on a campaign is the one who wins. The winners are not the educated or the capable, they are usually criminals and war profiteers. These are people without any vision for how to develop our economy. In such circumstance, my vote literally means nothing.

A major outside factor providing hope is the prospect of BiH joining the EU. Damir is hopeful that BiH joining the EU will make renewed conflict an impossibility.

Damir: I see great hope in BiH joining the EU. I believe that all this talk of secession and referendums will lose their point once become a member. We will live in a big community with borders erased, including our internal borders. This is my hope. Even the current talk of secession is only rhetoric for personal gain and staying in power, nothing else.

For some returnees, the fact that people of different ethnicities still continue to live together is perceived as a source of hope for a better future. Gavriilo finds hope in everyday activities he pursues as a citizen of BiH, together with people who have different ethnic belonging than him.

Gavriilo: Well, other countries had conflicts and they went through similar things as us. Most probably, things will somehow get back to normal and we will all understand that we need to work on building peace and co-existence. Through my mountaineering societies, I am friends with Croats, Serbs and Muslims [Bosniaks] and we don't talk much of our painful past. This is hopeful to me.

For Arif, the mere act of survival against such difficult circumstance and the courage necessary for survival is a source of hope.

Arif: And as I pass by Keraterm, each time I walk by, I get these thoughts running through my mind: 'a generation of those close to me and of my friends has been killed in one day, but still somebody, somebody survived. I survived. I am here and I can testify about everything that has happened, about each murder and each scene of torture. Somebody survived to tell the story.' Having hope is important, but having courage is more important. You need to be brave here, more so now than during the wartime camps.

Although hope is not a dominant emotion in the returnees' understanding of BiH "citizenship as feeling," still the glimmers of hope seem to be offered by some possibility for democratically induced change, BiH joining the EU and continued, albeit problematic, ethnic co-existence. Most importantly, hope seems to come from survival "against monstrous odds" (Andrić, *Bosnian Chronicle*).

My argument is that the emotional dimension of BiH citizenship is constructed as a result of the recently ended war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the nature of state-formation produced by the Dayton Peace Agreement. The Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) ended a horrific war and although envisaged as a consociational power-sharing arrangement, in reality legalized genocide and ethnic cleansing, recognized a de-facto division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, the DPA set up a hugely inefficient administrative structure and public sector, which is not conducive to economic development and growth, thus making economic insecurity prevalent among B&H citizens. For a country of 3.8 million people, the DPA BiH Constitution envisages fourteen parliaments (state, entity and cantonal) with thirteen governments and close to two hundred government ministries. The incredibly complicated and dysfunctional public administration created by the Dayton Peace Agreement straddles, burdens and suffocates a miniscule economy of only USD 4, 771 per capita GDP (World Bank, 2017). Finally, the inefficiencies of the B&H state structure make room for ample corruption, racketeering and intimidation to thrive. Under such circumstances, it is oligarchic political power and not the rule of law that determines the livelihood and wellbeing of each B&H citizen, independent from his or her ethnic, religious and even socio-economic background.

My argument that the discussed emotions constitute BiH citizenship and that this relationship is inherent to the DPA Constitution was supported by an inductive thematic analysis of 35 in-depth interviews with returnees. The returnees are people who have voluntarily decided to leave the relative comfort of the lives they managed to build for themselves in a variety of host countries such as Germany, the U.S., Australia, Austria or Switzerland, so that they could attempt to rebuild their war-torn past and contribute to the rebuilding of their home country. As was demonstrated throughout the study, their response to the various emotions constituting BiH citizenship is to persist in their efforts with determination and courage. While acknowledging the emotions they feel as citizens, they are

not deterred. However, it is important to note that their courage and determination is solely the result of their own agency. The ultimate success of their return is not due to the state structure, but *in spite* of the obstacles it presents. In that sense, citizenship constituted by the presented emotional spectrum is a direct result of the BiH state structure, engrained in the DPA, a peace agreement which stopped a horrific war, while failing to create the conditions for a long-term and prosperous peace.

4.4. What does the individual BiH citizen *feel*?: A set of distinct, historically-rooted and context-specific emotions constituting “emotional citizenship”

To start a meaningful discussion on how individuals conceptualize citizenship it is instructive to create connections to the beginnings of citizenship studies ranging back to classical liberal notions found in the work of T.H. Marshall (1950). Citizenship is conceived as a set of civil, political and social rights and “a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community” (Marshall, 1950, p. 28). Referring to Stuart Hall and David Held, Yuval-Davis (2006) emphasizes that Marshall’s definition of citizenship does not mention the state directly, therefore implying that the “community” and the “state” coincide. As was amply proven in this study, in the case of unconsolidated and post-conflict states, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, this is *not* the case. Also, as Guzina (2007) shows, the assumed “community” and “state” overlap does not hold everywhere and at all times. This overlap is mainly a product of historical circumstances and therefore cannot be assumed. Inherent to the liberal conceptualization of citizenship is the notion of the ‘neutrality of the state,’ which states that cultural or any other particularities do not need to be considered because they can be satisfied by a ‘neutral state’ as they translate directly into a language of civil, social or political rights (Guzina, 2007). Again, this assumption is more easily satisfied in culturally and nationally homogenous societies (Guzina, 2007). Marshall’s work focuses on Britain, which simply cannot be taken as the only benchmark.

Looking at another seminal work in citizenship studies, Brubaker's *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, offers a powerful distinction in how citizenship is conceptualized – civic versus ethnic. In summary, Brubaker (1992) presents an argument rooted in historical institutionalism, wherein the state in France historically had a central role in nation-building. Thus, relations between citizens and state were reflective of territory, leading to the *jus soli* or civic understanding of citizenship, based on membership and submission to common laws. In contrast, the historical context of the German state is such that it was founded by unification of a people of common, e.g. German, ethnic descent. The ethnic, or *jus sanguinis* understanding of citizenship thus reflects the importance of citizens sharing a common ethnicity, language, culture and history. As Džankić (2015) shows, the civic vs. ethnic dichotomy in understanding citizenship is also not entirely applicable to states such as Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the citizenship regime in BiH is formally conceived as a relationship between the individual and the state, as was demonstrated by Mujkić (2007) elevating collective above individual rights leads to an ethnicization of citizenship. Džankić (2015) summarizes the relationship between competing ethnicities and an unconsolidated, post-communist state as:

The group that claims ownership over the state will acquire a strong state-oriented identity based on the ethnic principle. By contrast, the identification of the competing groups is more likely to be with their ethnic kin, or another kinstate, and thus citizenship in terms of such groups' belonging to the state is much weaker. This implies that there is no clear dividing line between 'civic' and 'ethnic' citizenship. (p. 7)

It can be argued that, in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, those BiH citizens who adopt the Bosniak ethnic and certainly the BiH civic identity have a stronger state-orientation, while the majority of Serb and Croat BiH citizens have weaker state-orientation and a stronger identification with their respective ethnic kin and kinstates. To study the particular conceptualization of citizenship in states such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Džankić (2015) introduces the notion of "post-ethnic citizenship" as the "capacity of individuals to be loyal to the state instead of to the ethnic kin in practicing citizenship; to show solidarity with all

members of community and not only to the ethnic kinship group” (p. 43). As was shown, throughout this Ph.D. study and confirming findings in Džankić (2015), “post-ethnic citizenship” remains to be a challenged concept in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

When analyzing the relations between national homelands, national minorities and nationalizing states, Džankić (2015) draws on models presented in Brubaker (1996) and its upgraded version in Smith (2002) to conclude that neither of these two models addresses the “difference between citizenship as an expression of the state’s identity and citizenship as an identity of individuals” (p. 27). Seen from one of three perspectives, Brubaker’s triadic nexus refers to the national minority as “caught between two mutually antagonistic nationalisms – those of the nationalizing states in which they live and those of the external national homeland to which they belong by ethnonational affinity though not by legal citizenship” (Brubaker, 1996, p.6). Smith (2002) adds a fourth perspective to the nexus, by looking at the role of the international community in identity formation in Central and Eastern European states after the fall of communism. Smith (2002) asserts that, essential to a better understanding of nation building in the post-communist world are the processes of Euro-Atlantic integration and how they interact with the three layers of Brubaker’s nexus: nationalizing state, external homeland and national minorities. As Džankić (2015) points out, neither Brubaker (1996) nor Smith (2002) are fully adequate for looking at how individual citizens conceptualize citizenship. The important difference is between “how *the state* constructs its membership and how its *citizens* feel towards it” (Džankić, 2015, p. 27, emphasis mine). This Ph.D. attempts to fill this gap, by answering the question of how it *feels* to be a BiH citizen from an individual perspective.

Understanding the concept of “citizenship as feeling” relies on an in-depth exploration of political emotions. As was noted previously, the history of political thought and the social sciences, to a large extent, has been influenced by the reason-emotion dichotomy, separating rationality and equating emotions with irrationality (see Table 1.1). The reason-emotion

dichotomy has had an influence on contemporary political theory: utilitarianism and rational-choice, Marxism, post-Kantian liberalism and communitarianism (Maiz, 2011). The foundational theory of emotions, formulated by James (1884) and Lange (1885) relies on the reason-emotion dichotomy, also referred to as the mind-body dualism, and proposes that emotions are simply bodily responses to outside stimuli. The “bodily-somatic” approach to emotions has been challenged by the “cognitive-appraisal” approach, which argues that not only are emotions cannot be dismissed as irrational, but that they in fact, enable rationality. Within political philosophy, Martha Nussbaum and Robert Solomon have been the strongest proponents of viewing emotions as “important forms of knowledge and evaluative thought” (Nussbaum, 1995 as cited in Bleiker and Hutchinson, 2008, p. 124). In economics, Jon Elster draws on the findings of Damasio (1994) criticizing rational-choice models of behavior to conclude that emotions help us make decisions, and often help us make the best decisions. In sociology, voices calling for a reconceptualization of emotions as essentially rational, particularly for practical purposes (Barbalet, 2002) and important for social action Jasper & Goodwin, 2003) keep growing stronger. The sociologist, Jack Barbalet summarizes the opposition to the confining nature of the reason-emotion dichotomy:

How could a person deal competently with any practical problem without the emotion of confidence in their actions, without the emotion of trust in the actions of enabling others, without the feeling of dissatisfaction with failure to encourage success, without the envy of competitors to spur the pursuit of interests, and so on. Reason, too requires its background emotions, without which there is no reason; these include feelings of calmness, security, confidence, and so on. This is not an argument against reason, only against the inflation of reason at the expense of emotion. Without the appropriate emotions underpinning and supporting reason, reason turns to its opposite. A well-developed appreciation of emotions is absolutely essential for sociology because no action can occur in a society without emotional involvement. (Barbalet, 2002, p. 1)

In other words, emotions are not to be dismissed as “irrational” and, instead need to be viewed as enabling rationality. In terms of democratic politics, perceiving emotions as stimulating social action, leads to an examination of the role emotions play in “good citizenship” (Marcus, 2002).

The emotional dimension of citizenship refers to a study of how emotions impact citizenship, to the way individual citizens experience “citizenship as feeling”. In *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*, one of the pioneering works in this field, George Marcus relies on David Hume’s insight that emotions create action to assert that they are essential for good citizenship practices. According to George Marcus, democratic citizenship is enabled through reasonable deliberation, made possible by emotional engagement. Thus, citizens are capable of being “good,” because they can feel. Once the connection between emotions and citizenship has been established within the literature, further scholarly work (for example Johnson, 2010; Wood, 2013; Brown, 2014) developed the nature of this connection. Although some work on the distinct emotions constituting emotional citizenship has been done, with studies conducted on citizenship and “patriotic love” (Ahmed, 2004; Panti&van Zoonen, 2006; Brown, 2014 and Franz, 2015), fear (Isin, 2004; Johnson, 2010; Fortier, 2010 and Franz, 2015), security (Jackson, 2016 and Skulte-Ouaiss, 2013), shame (Aguilar, 1996 and Brown, 2014), as MasGiralt (2015) rightly points out, scholarly literature is still sorely missing in-depth exploration on the diversity of distinct emotions constituting emotional citizenship.

This Ph.D. thesis aims to contribute to the literature on emotional citizenship by examining how a range of distinct emotions constitute the experience of “citizenship as feeling.” Following other similar studies, my argument is that the particular emotions constituting emotional citizenship are historically-rooted and context-specific. For example, two studies (Brown, 2014 and Aguilar, 1996) of how shame constitutes the emotional dimension of citizenship use the two very different historical and institutional contexts to provide explanations. While both studies examine the connection between shame and citizenship, Brown (2014) looks at how the German national feeling is dominated by shame due to the legacy of the Holocaust and the Nazi-era, Aguilar (1996) explores transnational

shame of the “Filipino as maid” image and the “potential inferiority of co-nationals, on the ‘weaknesses’ of the ‘race’ that one carries ‘in the blood’ (Aguilar, 1996, p. 123), ingrained in Filipino professionals working in Singapore. Although these two studies present directly incomparable contexts, they both argue that the connection between citizenship and a specific emotion, in this case shame, is rooted in a particular historical context and institutional setup. My argument is that the individual emotions constituting the emotional dimension of BiH citizenship originate from the historical context of the recently ended war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the nature of state-formation produced by the Dayton Peace Agreement. The key feeling of safety/security is missing from the emotional dimension of BiH citizenship. BiH citizenship does not make the citizens feel safe and secure. In case of dual citizens, the feeling of safety/security is derived from the pragmatic (foreign) citizenship. This crucial insight is revisiting in crafting the conceptual model presented in the Conclusion.

Further providing analytical rigor to the concept of emotional/affective citizenship are scholars such as Ho (2009) and Jackson (2016), who conceptualize it as home, belonging, safety and roots and other scholars (for example Magat, 1999; Wood, 2013; Howes & Hammett, 2016; Ahmed, 2016) who place the emphasis of emotional citizenship on belonging or a feeling of belonging. Although there exists scholarly debate on how the concepts of emotional citizenship, home and belonging are related, a thorough and robust understanding is still missing. This Ph.D. aims to fill this gap in the literature by presenting a conceptual model connecting emotional citizenship, home, belonging and a set of distinct, historically-rooted and institutional context dependent emotions. The conceptual model, presented in the **Conclusion** of this Ph.D. thesis, sets the explanatory framework, which argues that the feeling of safety/security is derived from the pragmatic (foreign) citizenship, as well as home and belonging, but not from the BiH citizenship. However, prior to establishing clear conceptual links between emotional citizenship, home and belonging, I turn to **Chapter 5** for an

exploration of how home and belonging are understood by the returnees in the particular context of post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina.



Chapter 5: Losing, creating and re-creating home and belonging

5.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the returnees' understanding of the concepts of home and belonging. Scholarly literature on home and belonging treat both concepts as complex and multi-dimensional and this chapter attempts to contribute to their better understanding. The life experience of the study participants makes this exploration particularly interesting, as its simplified version includes at least three phases: the initial loss of home in BiH, followed by an effort at homemaking in the host state, and ending with an attempt of re-creating home in BiH. Along these three stages, the returnees experience various types of belonging, exclusion from belonging both at home and abroad, as well as in-betweenness and multiple belonging. Throughout the process of loss, building and re-building of home and the associated types of belonging, the returnees experience specific emotions, which create links to the overarching concept of emotional citizenship. Specifically, this chapter answers the research question: What do 'home' and 'belonging' mean to the returnees? What do they associate these concepts with? Which specific emotions do they convey?

The results section of the chapter starts with examining the specific emotions returnees associate with the feeling of "being at home," namely: security, feeling relaxed and comfortable, joyous and happy, as well as feeling free. The following part looks at the returnees' conceptualization of home within family relations, particular places and time periods. The ways in which the study participants understand belonging is explored next. Relational, ethnic, linguistic, civic, religious, landscape and economic types of belonging are identified and analyzed. The results section of the chapter ends by a juxtaposition of boundary-making, in which the returnees are excluded from belonging both at home and abroad, and in-

betweenness, where the study participants exhibit multiple belonging. Arguments advanced in each part of the results section are supported by qualitative data analysis of 35 in-depth interviews consisting of inductive and deductive thematic coding and iterative procedures of pattern seeking, assisted by the technical functionality of NVIVO 11. A full coding scheme is provided in Coding Scheme – Appendix VII and a complete list of codes, together with each code’s label, definition, description, inclusion/exclusion criteria and textual example, is given in the Codebook - Appendix VIII. Seeking patterns based on co-occurrence of codes within coding units was the main tool to: identify associations; put forward propositions and formulate explanations. Matrix query results are presented in Appendix IX and together with the analytic memos, they form the main structure around which a “theorized storyline” (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007) is built⁷⁰ and presented in this chapter. The final section of the chapter discusses the results of the study by building correspondence with the wider literature on home and belonging.

5.2. “Feeling at home” means feeling secure/safe

The returnees are a group of people with a highly complex understanding of home. They have been either forcefully expelled or have left their original homes to establish new homes in host countries and have now returned to the home state attempting both to re-build their actual homes and their emotional understanding of home as a concept. The feeling of “being at home” comprises specific emotions, which are found in the family, in specific places, and particular time periods. In other words, home or the feeling of “being at home” is found in family relations, such as the nuclear or extended family; in particular places, such as the physical house, the native town or city, neighborhood, and in even the Balkan region. Most

⁷⁰ See Chapter 2 – Research Methodology and the accompanying Appendices for all further details.

problematized is the notion of “feeling at home” on the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The temporal dimension of home is at times found in a nostalgic longing either for childhood memories or recollections of life in Yugoslavia and in other cases it is found only in the here and now. Regardless of whether the feeling of “being at home” is found in the family, place or time, to feel “at home” for the returnees means to feel safe and secure, which is often conflated with feeling comfortable, satisfied and relaxed. In addition, the feeling of “being at home” is also determined by joy, happiness and freedom.

Nearly all of the study participants discussed the feeling of *security* as making up their feeling of “being at home, ” but perhaps the most telling example of this is Badema, a young Bosniak woman returnee to Srebrenica. It was a sunny summer day and we were having coffee in front of her family house, located only a couple of kilometers away from the Potočari memorial cemetery, commemorating the Srebrenica genocide. I asked her whether she feels at home here and what this feeling means to her.

Author: Would you say that you are at home now?

Badema: Yes! I am definitely at home now.

Author: How do you feel here?

Badema: Somehow peaceful, calm...I feel at home...This means that I feel protected. There is a sense of security. I feel safe here.

Badema is fully aware of the events of July 1995 in Srebrenica and together with her family she attends the annual funerals of victims of the Srebrenica genocide, whose remains were found during that given year in mass gravesites surrounding the neighboring hills and valleys. She is not in denial of historical facts, but the place where she feels safe, where she feels “at home” is in her garden and family home, surrounded by loving family members and pets. When she uses the word “home” it refers only to *this* particular place and does not extend to other parts of Srebrenica, Republika Srpska or even Sarajevo, where Badema studies and works.

Connected and often conflated with feeling secure, the emotions constituting “being at home” are feeling comfortable and satisfied. Ema discusses the emotions that give meaning to “feeling at home” for her, with particular emphasis on feeling secure and comfortable.

Ema: Aaahm...the emotions of home are feeling relaxed, smiling, security, feeling safe, the coziness⁷¹. How do we say it in Bosnian? Comfort. Yes, those are the emotions that I connect to feeling at home.

Upon returning from the U.S., Senad got married and moved away from his parents into a new apartment. For Senad, “being at home” brings a sense of satisfaction.

Senad: I would say satisfaction. I feel satisfied because I live in an apartment now, which I used to want and couldn't really have. Something like that.

Hrvoje discusses “being at home” as a feeling of satisfaction with life in general, connecting it to daily habits and relational belonging.

Hrvoje: There is one good old word: ‘rahatluk⁷²’ (laughter).

Author: What does this ‘rahatluk’ mean to you?

Hrvoje: For me, this is the first morning espresso with my friends; talking to them in our language and spending time with people who are emotionally and genetically very similar to us. That is all about been satisfied with life.

Feeling “at home” for Ema, Senad and Hrvoje mean either feeling comfortable and satisfied, both of which can and often directly are conflated with feeling safe and secure.

Feeling secure is also a defining dimension of home as a concept discussed in the relevant scholarly literature. Boccagni (2017) is clear when stating:

In my view, the most basic attribute of the home experience is that of (1) Security: a sense of personal protection and integrity which is attached to a place of one's own, where outsiders should not have free access and one's identity – whatever that means – is not in question (p.7). For Boccagni (2017) home is firstly characterized by security. Similarly, Hagemann (2015) agrees with a number of different authors who look at home as a “sense of place,” which often “designates such personal and intimate bonds that encompass feelings of being secure and at peace (Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Fenster, 2004; Tuan, 2008 as cited in Hagemann, 2015, p. 12). According to Lam&Yeoh (2004) and Jackson (2016), home refers to an “affective core

⁷¹ Ema uses the English word „coziness“ and then asks about its B-C-S translation.

⁷² The Turkish origin word „rahatluk“ is used throughout the Balkans to signify comfort, satisfaction and peacefulness.

(Rapoport, 1995, p 27), representing an emotional connection to a secure, 'stable physical centre of the universe' (Rapport, 1997, p. 73) from which an individual is formed together with connections to a particular community. Home interacts with belonging and identity to produce an emotional, physical and symbolic security (Howes&Hammet, 2016; Ehrkamp, 2005; Jackson, 2015b). Although the phenomenological approach to home (Antonsich, 2010) almost universally attributes security as its defining dimension, home here does not simply refer to the "domestic(ated) material space" (Antonsich, 2010, p. 646), often criticized by feminist scholars for re-enforcing patriarchal power relations. Home as a "gendered concept" was revealed when the returnees discussed feeling happy and free at home.

Finally, the returnees associate the feelings of joy-happiness and freedom with "being at home." For Marija, "being at home" is about joy and happiness in the daily routine of childrearing and family life. However, she does emphasize the repetitive routine aspect of her home life. As the wife and mother, she said that most of the household chores are her responsibility, so she also feels some of the routine burden of home life.

Marija: I am at home. I take the children to daycare and school. Then I go to the office and I pick up the kids after work. I prepare lunch and rest a bit afterwards. After that we do homework together. That is what home feels like to me. It is a routine. It's a comfortable routine, but still, it is a routine, repeating itself day after day. Well, it is peaceful (laughter). Peace, calmness, happiness and joy with the children.

On the other hand, Gavriilo, a divorcee, discusses feeling free as "being at home". Also, he associates this feeling to all of BiH, where he feels the solidarity among citizens of different ethnicities.

Gavriilo: Joy, freedom.

Author: Where do you get the sense of freedom?

Gavriilo: Anywhere. If something happens to me on the road, I know that there won't be any problems, because people here help each other out.

Joy, happiness and freedom are the feelings both Marija and Gavriilo associate with being at home, however, they have different attitudes towards them. As the home-maker Marija places the emphasis on repetition and routine aspects of the home, while Gavriilo's focus is on freedom, echoing the analysis presented in Henderson (2011) where she points to Simone de

Beauvoir's distinction between immanence vs. transcendence and Hannah Arendt's labor vs. work. As Beauvoir would predict, it seems that the home represents an anchor for the man who is left to pursue transcendent activities, while the woman is left to the unending immanent tasks of home keeping, including taking care of the children.

5.2.1. Family as home

The "family as home" at times refers to the nuclear family only, i.e. spouse and children in the case of married respondents. For example, Admir used to feel as if his parents and brother provided him with the feeling of "being at home". However, ever since he got married, his wife and son give this meaning to his life.

Admir: And after so many years I would relate my sense of belonging mostly to my family. I have a feeling that my family is my home, wherever that may be.

Author: Are you talking about your mom and dad?

Admir: Well, firstly my wife and child. Now, they are my family. I feel that, even if I lived at the other end of the planet, I would be happy if my family were with me. Yes, that is what is most important to me. I like everything else. I am happy to be where I am, but so much has happened in my life...I have changed so many different living environments...Although I have a strong bond to Sarajevo and BiH, still my strongest bond is to my family.

It is important to note that the spouse and children refer to the "family as home" in the case of happily married participants. Adnan compares how his "family as home" has changed from the time he was growing up in his parents' house, to his first marriage, which ended in divorce to his current and harmonious family life, with his wife and their children.

Adnan: This is the most beautiful feeling in existence, when I come home. The feeling is of safety, peace, calm and a stillness, marked by a constant desire to keep coming back, because there you are yourself. My first marriage was not successful and I know the difference between wanting and not wanting to come home. Do you understand? Now, I want to come home. Wherever I go, I just want to come back home to our bed, to having coffee together, to our happiness.

Author: Do you feel you could build a home with your current wife and children anywhere in the world?

Adnan: Yes, yes! The emotions I just described are strictly related to the four walls encompassing the home. I could build that place with my family anywhere in the world. For example, I really don't know why that is the case, but I whenever I go to Zenica and stay at my parents' home for a couple of nights, I don't feel at home. I don't feel

that their house is my home any longer, because my wife and children are not there. The rituals, our rituals are not there. My bed is not there and after two or three days I want to go back home, back to my home. The house I described is the place where I was born and where I grew up, but my family is not there and I no longer feel at home. The same thing happens to my wife when she visits her family in Istanbul. I guess this is only normal.

As was seen from the stories of Admir and Adnan, the “family as home” seems to depend on the marital status of the person, but it also exists with people who are neither married nor with children.

For single people, “family as home” refers to being close to their parents, as well as closeness to extended family members. For Nervan, his feeling of being at home is connected to the place where his parents live.

Nervan: Yes, the only place I feel at home is the house here, but only because my parents are there. Recently, anytime I came home I felt less and less happy about it. I only keep coming back because my parents are here. I am happy to be going back to my parents, but not happy about coming back to this place.

Author: So, your parents could be anywhere else in the world and you would feel happy and at home with them?

Nervan: Yes, that is exactly what I mean. I am not connected to the place, but only to the people, my family.

In some cases, the extended family, including aunts, uncles, grandparents and cousins is taken to embody the concept of “family as home”. Being surrounded by his extended family members gives Vedad a feeling of comfort and security, of “being at home.”

Vedad: For me, a very important experience was growing up in a big family home. My childhood was filled with the warmth of all my family members including my aunts, uncles and cousins. This is how I want my children to grow up – surrounded by the warmth of a supportive family. Recreating that experience would have been very, very difficult abroad. You simply cannot move all your entire extended family to live with you in a foreign country. The childhood set up in such a strong family environment provides the best foundation for life. It is an anchor for anything else that happens later in life.

Author: Would you say that the feeling of security and comfort you mentioned previously is provided to you by your extended family?

Vedad: Yes, that is true. That way, a person feels surrounded by his own.

In Vedad’s case, the extended family provides the social context he associates with home, one in which he grew up and one which he wants for his children to grow up in. His and others’ conceptualization of “family as home” points to a distinction made within the wider literature on the migration-home nexus between home as a “product” and home as a “process.”

Its popular usage [*of home*] seems to involve its being used *in lieu of house or dwelling*, possibly because it is “warmer”. This creates one of the major problems with its usage, since it is also used to describe certain *mental states*. There is thus conflation between its use to refer to a *product* (the thing) and a *process* (a mental state or positive evaluation). These need to be distinguished clearly, and the current confusion is another major general problem. The *mental states* seem to involve an *affective core*, feelings of *security, control, being at ease and relaxed, are related to ownership and to family, kinship, comfort, friendship, laughter, and other positive attributes; it involves personalization, owned objects, and taking possession* (Rapoport, 1995, p. 29).

In the sense described above, “family as home” can be understood as home as a process or a mental state. The “mental state” could imply a happy marital life with a spouse and children, one’s parents or extended family recreating the childhood experience for the next generation. Particularly relevant for the returnees’, who have changed their movement from one place to the next is the role family life plays in the continuing process of home-making (Boccagni, 2017) and “emplacement of home” (Allen, 2008). Ultimately, as the stories of Admir and Adnan show and as the migration-home literature also confirms (Boccagni, 2017), the understanding of “family as home” leads to the “portability” (p. 12) of home itself. In Adnan’s words, “family as home” can be summarized as: “I could build that place [*home*] with my family anywhere in the world.”

5.2.2. Spatial understanding of home – Home as place

Questioning the “portability of home” is looking at home, as “first and foremost, a special kind of place” (Easthope, 2004, p. 135). Home, as human geographers have argued, is most properly understood as a “sense of place,” with the important difference made between space and place. There are at least two different ways of looking at differentiating space and place: human geography and cultural history. From the perspective of the human geographer Yi-Fuan Tuan, while space is an abstract bastion of freedom, place is imbued with security (Tuan, 2001). Seen from this perspective, an abstract space becomes a place as it attains “definition and meaning” (Tuan, 2001, p. 136). “What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value” (Tuan 1977, p. 6 as cited

in Isomaa et al., 2013, p. xii) As Easthope (2004) asserts, to extend and deepen the notion of “sense of place”, Tuan coins the term “*topophilia*” to discuss “the affective bond between people and place” (p. 129). Differently from the phenomenological approach to place exemplified in the work of the geographer Yi-Fuan Tuan, the cultural historian Michel de Certeau associates himself with Foucault’s idea of space “as a network of power, but also acknowledges the daily acts and meaning that emerge in the various uses of space” (Isomaa et al, 2013, xii). For de Certeau, the distinction between space and place invokes a difference between place as physical entity and place as a social construct (Pedersen, 2003, p. 6).”In short, space is a practiced place. Thus, the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers” (de Certeau, 1994, 117).

This Ph.D. project uses Tuan’s notion of “sense of place” to understand home as place, which is consistent with *security* being a key feature of home. In Tuan’s differentiation between space and place, not only is space more abstract than place, but also “from the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space and vice versa” (Tuan, 1977, p. 6 as cited in Isomaa et al, 2013, xii). Seen as place, home takes a variety of forms for the returnees. The returnees “feel at home” in their physical house, their city or town, the entire region of the former Yugoslavia, and most problematized of all, the entire territory of the BiH state. As Easthope (2004) asserts:

A person’s sense of place can provide them with a sense of belonging and of comfort. It can be a wonderful thing to share with people from other areas and other cultures. It can also be defended (in some cases literally) to the death if it is seen to be threatened (p. 131-132). It is this “dark side of topophilia [and sense of place] as manifested in the naturalization of the nation-state” (Duncan and Duncan, 2001 p. 41 as cited in Easthope, 2004, p. 130) that is the main subject of discussion when problematizing the “domopolitics” (Walters, 2004) of feeling at home on the entire territory of the BiH state, the possibility of “framing the state as home” (Boccagni, 2017, p.95) .

Those returnees who view their physical house as their home are also prone to exclude other types of home. Vlado talks about the house he built on his family estate as making him “feel at home.” While discussing his house as home, he excludes other parts of Trebinje or BiH as making him feel at home.

Vlado: I only feel at home on my estate. Wherever I go, I come back eagerly, because in my little heaven I feel that my heart is in its place and I feel at ease with myself. There is no distraction. I feel safe, centered, in my right place. There are no dilemmas because everything is familiar. Interestingly, I do not have this feeling in the house where I was born. I only have it at the village estate, in the house that I built myself. In front of this house there is a salvia bush dispersing its fragrance into the air, giving the place a smell, I have known since I was a child.

Mahir spent most of his adult life moving from one country to the next, one rented apartment to the next. For him, even his own couch would initiate the feeling of being at home. Owning an apartment in BiH is what completed the feeling.

Mahir: For a very long time, I used to say that I would feel at home when I buy my first couch – a couch, a TV set, and a glass bowl in which to throw the house keys. So, that was the feeling I was looking for – this glass bowl for the keys and my last name written on the front door of the apartment.

Arif connects feeling at home in his physical house to the experience of being once forced to leave that house.

Arif: Well, this is very simple. If you have been expelled from your home for so many years and when you finally come back home, you realize that you are here again and that you have an enormous feeling of security. If we are talking about feeling at home, then this relates to my house, to the garden around my house.

Mostar, Anastasija’s native city, has transformed as a result of the war. Consequently, Anastasija does not feel at home anywhere else in the city or the country, except for her prewar family apartment.

Anastasija: You see, the only remaining thing is this apartment and that is why I invited you over here. What I mean to say is that this is the only place where I feel like I belong, from the entire country. It is only when I park my car down here (gesturing towards the parking lot in front of the building); when I pass through the corridor between the two buildings and I walk into my apartment that I feel at home. Only here.

The physical house is often viewed as the exclusive home, and in some cases, the returnees feel at home in other very specific and relatively small places. As substituting for the lack of security provided by the state of BiH. Emir, feels at home in his village home in the mountain of Romanija, outside of Sarajevo.

Emir: Really, I have no desire of living in Sarajevo or any other city. I would not want to live in Zenica, Paris or Helsinki.

Author: You would not want to live in an urban environment?

Emir: At this point in my life I would certainly not want that, particularly not in Sarajevo. If I had to choose between Helsinki, Ljubljana and Sarajevo, I would choose between the first two. I would not want to live in Sarajevo. Even as a citizen of this state, I do not have a state supporting me. There is no state here [in Bosnia and Herzegovina]. There is no such thing here.

As a result of analyzing the data and surveying the relevant scholarly literature, the feeling of “being at home” has been found to be primarily characterized by security. These findings were presented in the opening section of this chapter and this notion is further extended with conceptualizing home as only the physical house or another relatively small place, where one feels safe.

Similarly, if the city or town is expressed as the place where the returnees feel at home, other cities or towns in BiH are excluded. Amir was expelled as a non-Serb from Prijedor together with his family. He found refuge in Turkey and returned to Prijedor with his Turkish wife and their two children. Although he is a minority returnee in the RS, he prefers this status to moving to another city where he would be part of the ethnic majority.

Author: You can't feel at home even in Sarajevo?

Amir: No, not really. I mean, the people and the place all of that is nice. It's nice for a visit, let's say two or three days, but to feel at home...no, not really.

Author: Do you feel at home in Prijedor?

Amir: Yes, of course. This is how I feel here.

Author: You would not consider moving to Sarajevo or somewhere else?

Amir: I don't know. I had a job offer in Sarajevo, but I politely thanked the people. I mean I was very thankful, but I simply don't feel like I belong in Sarajevo. Of course, Sarajevo is the capital of my country, but it is also a big city and the reason I came back was to be here, close to nature.

Although Sanela, who was born and raised in Banja Luka now lives in Sarajevo, she still feels most at home in her native Banja Luka, a city from which she was expelled as a non-Serb in 1992.

Sanela: Actually, I feel much more at home in Banja Luka than anywhere else. Although, even there.... Although, the feeling I have there is strange, very strange. I mean, I spent ten days or close to two weeks in Banja Luka. I guess that this was the longest I had stayed in Banja Luka in recent times. Usually, I go there for two or three days. I was born and raised in Banja Luka. I lived there for eleven years. Let's say I am walking down a

street and I think to myself, my aunt used to live there. That is where my grandmother had her hair done. Over there is where I went to school. Now, when I go there and tell people about how things used to be in Banja Luka it could easily seem that I have gone mad. I mean, I have no proof that any of these things actually existed, that these people lived here and how it really used to be.

Author: As if it never happened?

Sanela: Yes! And I now look at this school and remember the playground where I used to play as a child, but it all seems as part of a dream. It is no longer there.

In addition to security, Boccagni (2017) adds *familiarity* to be the second “basic attribute” (p.7)

of home:

(2) Familiarity: both in an emotional sense, pointing to intimacy and comfort, and in a cognitive one, standing for orientation in space, stability, routine, continuity or even permanence – all implicit expectations that are not easy to reconcile with increasingly mobile life courses. The frequent connections between home and notions such as household, kinship, or neighborhood are telling of the centrality of this factor (p.7)

For both Sanela and Amir, their native cities and towns (Banja Luka and Prijedor, respectively) are home to them, not necessarily because they feel safer in the place from which they were once forcefully expelled, but because these *places* are more *familiar* to them. Banja Luka and Prijedor are more familiar to them than is Sarajevo, although they are part of the ethnic majority in Sarajevo and, due to ethnic cleansing campaigns of the 1992-95 war, are now ethnic minorities in Republika Srpska. This point is further illustrated when examining the dividing lines drawn by internal displacement.

Not feeling at home in cities and towns of BiH, outside one’s own birthplace is also the result of internal displacement. Bakir is Badema’s father, who returned from Germany to Srebrenica together with his wife and five daughters. He is critical of fellow Bosniaks who prefer living in Bosniak-majority areas of the Federation of BiH (such as Vogošća or Tuzla) instead of returning to their native Srebrenica.

Bakir: Well, when I look at all these returnees here, I see that they are waiting around for some aid package or something. They say that Mladić⁷³ expelled them to Vogošća, Tuzla and that they need to stay there until the road over here is fixed. How come that in the past, we used to carry everything on our backs and on horseback. I know every rock of these mountain paths, but now, now they say how they need asphalt roads. Their grandfathers

⁷³ “Mladić” refers to General Ratko Mladić, Chief of General Staff of the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) and a convicted war criminal, found guilty by the ICTY for committing war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.

and their great-grandfathers were born here and now they say that Srebrenica or the villages around Srebrenica are not good enough for them. I mean Mladić committed horrible evil, evil that can never be fixed. But, these women⁷⁴...they just continued with it.

Author: What do you mean?

Bakir: Because they left this place here [the Srebrenica area]. They can spend their retirement pension here too. Whether they buy their bread in Sarajevo or in Srebrenica, what difference does it make? They just continued with Mladić's genocide. For example, the Prophet Muhammad, p.b.u.h., after spending 12 years in Medina came back to his home in Mecca. People should go back to their homes, whether they are Christian, Jewish, Buddhist or Muslim. They [the women of Srebrenica] should come back to Srebrenica. Do you think that those from Vogošća or Bašaršija are happy that they now live in Bratunac or Srebrenica?!

Author: Are you now referring to the Serbs?

Bakir: Yes, I am talking about the Serbs. They can never love Srebrenica as much as they love Sarajevo.

Bakir is critical of Bosniak women who have not returned to Srebrenica to the point of accusing them of "continuing with Mladić's genocide," as their failure to return to Republika Srpska has solidified results of ethnic cleansing campaigns against non-Serbs. Interestingly, he uses the same standard to judge the Serbs, who have voluntarily (see Armakolas, 2007 for further clarification) left Sarajevo and moved to Republika Srpska so that they could be part of an ethnic majority. To a large extent, the findings of Armakolas (2007) echo what Bakir seems to say about the "displaced sense of place" (p. 89) of Sarajevan Serbs who now live in rural parts of Republika Srpska.

On the other hand, the constant invocation by Sarajevan Serbs of their former urban identity can be seen as an attempt to create a boundary between themselves and the local population. Among young people this is usually expressed through complaints about the backwardness of local people, their lack of style, or their funny preferences when it comes to entertainment. Socializing, going out and dating mostly with 'their own' people is one consequence of this. A hesitant acceptance or denial of locality, of local culture and people, maintains a dis-placed sense of place. (Armakolas, 2007, p. 89)

Although the case of Bosniak returnees to Republika Srpska and Bosnian Serb returnees to the FBiH cannot be directly compared due to the radically different nature of their initial departure, what can be observed is an interplay of both security and familiarity, as the defining characteristics of home.

⁷⁴ „these women“ refers to Bosniak women who, after surviving the genocide in Srebrenica, continued to live in Bosniak-majority areas in the FBiH.

Regardless of whether the returnee is part of the ethnic majority, the native town provides a feeling of home. As a Croat from Jajce, Marija did not feel at home in the Croat-dominated parts of Mostar, which she perceives as overly nationalistic.

Author: Do you feel at home throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Marija: Well, I would not say so. I mean I feel at home here in my environment, but let's say I go to Sarajevo. That is already a change in my environment.

Author: Are there some aspects in these other places which make you feel uncomfortable?

Marija: Well, I am not sure what I could point to, but I believe that everything could be much more progressive and advanced. For example, I spent a long time in Mostar and the nationalism there is so strongly pronounced that I really don't feel comfortable. We here [in Jajce] grew up in a mixed setting and ethnic co-existence is normal for us. However, over there [in Mostar], living together seems impossible and this is what makes me feel uncomfortable. I cannot identify with such nationalistic tensions and the atmosphere makes me feel like I simply do not belong.

Marija feels at home in her native town of Jajce, which is more ethnically mixed, while she distinctly did not feel at home as part of an ethnic majority, while she was a student in Mostar.

A description of events leading up to the Croatian National Congress of 2000 provided by Grandits (2007) could serve as contextual background to Marija's experiences:

With the help of the media under its control, the HDZ tried to discredit non-HDZ Croat candidates by revealing 'true' details of their pasts, such as their failure to observe the Catholic faith or to join the HVO during the war, their readiness to cooperate with non-Croat parties, or their own financial misdeeds. Epithets such as 'communists', 'traitors' and 'Judases' were systematically sprayed on opposition campaign posters (Grandits, 2007, p.117)

Both Marija's story and Grandits (2007) analysis of ethnic loyalty and political factionalism among BiH Croats go beyond the often simplifying and reductive thinking based on ethnic allegiances alone.

To complicate the "Bosnian mosaic" (Bougarel et al., 2007) even further, in addition to the various dimensions of inter-ethnic conflict, the 1992-95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina also had an episode of Bosniak intra-ethnic fighting. As Ramet explains:

Clashes between Serbs and non-Serbs in Bosnia actually began in August 1991, but it was not until the following April that the Serbian assault on Bosnia-Herzegovina began in earnest. By October, if not before, the Croatian army was engaging in collaborative behavior with Serbian forces... The war eventually became a four sided conflict, with Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats, Bosnian forces loyal to the elected government of Alija Izetbegović and forces loyal to Fikret Abdić, self-declared head of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia, variously fighting or in collaboration with each other (Ramet, 2002, p.573).

Fikret Abdić's declaration of "autonomy" of an area of North Western Bosnia centered in the town of Velika Kladuša resulted in bitter clashes between his supporters and the Fifth Corps of the BiH Army, loyal to the elected government of Alija Izetbegović in Sarajevo. Elmir grew up in Velika Kladuša; lived and worked in Germany; returned to BiH and now divides his time between Sarajevo and Velika Kladuša. I asked him whether he feels more at home in Sarajevo or his birthplace.

Elmir: Well, I more or less moved to Sarajevo with my family, some five years ago. So, in the past, when I used to say 'I am going home', I meant this to be Kladuša. Now, when I talk about home, I mean this to be Sarajevo. This is a little strange, but my family is now in Sarajevo, my children.

Author: How do you feel when you go to Kladuša now?

Elmir: Actually, I was referring more to my family when we talked about home. Kladuša, I mean I definitely feel the best in Kladuša. I mean my ancestors were buried there. So... Although Elmir was initially hesitant to discuss Velika Kladuša as his "home" with full awareness of the painful history of the "Autonomy Movement," he later retreats to "feeling best in Kladuša," as the place of greatest familiarity, if for no other reason, the immutable fact of his ancestors being buried there.

The entire region of the former Yugoslavia, a country that no longer exists, is referred to as home in almost the same number of occasions as the current state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. When I asked Hrvoje about why he considers all of the former Yugoslavia to make him feel at home, he emphasized the similarities between people of various ethnicities living in the region.

Hrvoje: Well, I think this is all about our genetic makeup. Yes, I guess there is nothing else but our genetics. Although we might think we are so different in the Balkans and even though some countries, like Slovenia and Croatia, might consider themselves to be outside of the Balkans, still, this geographic area is one whole – a natural bridge. All of the former Yugoslavia is included and as much as we consider ourselves to be different from each other, in fact, we are all very similar. Similarly, Gavriilo sees more similarities between people of diverse ethnicities in the region, contrasting them to people he encountered while living abroad.

Gavriilo: It is about all the peoples inhabiting the Balkans. I will just give you one example. Go anywhere you like throughout the Balkans and try hitchhiking. Every third car will

stop to pick you up. Go to Italy and try doing the same thing. You could be standing there for an entire week and nobody would bother to stop (laughter). While similarities between the various ethnicities of the former Yugoslavia certainly do exist, those same similarities are also present in the current state of BiH, so turning to the question of whether the state of BiH is felt as home by different ethnicities and the challenges this notion presents seems to be more relevant.

5.2.3. State territory as place: Is it possible to “feel at home” on the entire BiH state territory?

The idea of “feeling at home” on the entire territory of a deeply divided state with an intensely traumatic recent history comes with a number of different challenges for all BiH citizens, including the returnees. In fact, only a very few of the returnees talked without reservation about feeling at home in all different parts Bosnia and Herzegovina, while most problematized the notion from different angles. Damir is a Bosniak from Sanski Most and one of a small number of returnees who say that they feel equally at home in different parts of BiH.

Damir: This means that I do not have a feeling that somebody would give me dirty looks or would make insulting remarks, regardless of where I might be, regardless of any ethnic divisions: I could be in Pale or Mostar, I don't experience any problems. I simply do not care about any of the ethnic barriers.

Author: Do you feel “at home”, having coffee in Foča⁷⁵, for example?

Damir: Yes, I feel ‘rahat’⁷⁶ (laughter).

Gavrilo, a Serb from Nevesinje, also feels at home in different parts of BiH, regardless of the various ethnic divisions. I asked him whether he feels “at home” in BiH and he answered positively and enthusiastically!

Gavrilo: Yes! I feel that way all over the country, throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁷⁵ Foča is a town in Eastern Bosnia, now located in Republika Srpska. The town was almost entirely „ethnically cleansed“ from its Bosniak inhabitants during the 1992-95 war.

⁷⁶ Damir seems to have purposively used the Turkish-origin word „rahat,“ meaning „peaceful and comfortable“ to talk about his imagined experience of having coffee in Foča.

The general challenge of feeling “at home” in public spaces, and particularly a relatively large space, such as the territory of a state, poses the question of how can “a special relationship with place” (Boccagni, 2017, p. 89) be established? As Boccagni (2017) suggests: “The political, here, lies in the unequally distributed potential to attach a sense of *security*, familiarity and control to outer living environments such as streets, parks, shops, “hangout” and recreational facilities and so forth; and possibly, in the most radical sense, to claim a place as one’s own home (p. 89). Damir and Gavriilo are the two rare cases of returnees who say they feel equally “at home” in different parts of BiH, while the more typical response is that in BiH it is close to impossible to attach security, familiarity and control to areas of the country which have been “cleansed” of one’s ethnic kin with constant reminders of recent history, such as open and public celebrations of convicted war criminals⁷⁷.

The main reason why it is difficult for citizens of different ethnicities to “feel at home” on the entire territory of BiH comes as a direct result of the war. Alma lives in Vrace, a Sarajevo neighborhood close to the inter-entity border with Republika Srpska. Although the area she describes is practically in her neighborhood, it has changed as a result of ethnic cleansing to the point that she, as a non-Serb, does not feel at home while walking around.

Alma: I mean, I could not say that I feel at home in all parts of BiH. I definitely could not say that. I look at Bosnia and Herzegovina like scattered pieces of a colorful kaleidoscope. I love the individual pieces, but I cannot really think of it as one whole country. Well, since we are divided in two...I cross the hill to go to East Sarajevo, where I have my dear friends and I walk down a street called Serbian Heroes Street (Ulica srpskih heroja), or another one called St. Vitus Day⁷⁸ Street (Vidovdanska ulica).

Author: How do you feel as you walk down these streets?

Alma: Very strange, because after all aren’t we in Bosnia and Herzegovina? The names of these streets are more Serb-sounding than the names of streets in Belgrade.

⁷⁷ For most recent examples, see Delauney, G. (2016, March 24). Mixed reaction to Radovan Karadzic verdict in Bosnia. *BBC News*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35897367> discussing billboards erected throughout Republika Srpska with pictures of Radovan Karadžić entitled „Serbian Hero“ in reaction to the ICTY verdict declaring him guilty of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes and convicting him to lifetime imprisonment.

⁷⁸ St. Vitus Day is a Serbian religious and national holiday and an important date in Serbian national history.

Alma's experience of "not feeling at home" while walking around public spaces in East Sarajevo⁷⁹ has significant background in public policies of exclusion (Palmberger, 2012) practiced in various parts of BiH, at various intensities. Palmberger (2012) focuses on the renaming of public spaces such as city streets, parks, squares, airports and in entire towns in the Croat-dominated West Mostar, but finds similar tendencies throughout BiH. The goal of postwar "national screening" (Palmberger, 2012, p. 3) of street names is twofold:

first it eradicates the old name and thereby aims to "de-commemorate" the event/person/place that was previously remembered and in a second step, by renaming, it establishes a new commemorative space (Azaryahu 1997). In the case of West Mostar, the de-commemoration concerns the socialist past while the new commemorative space is dedicated to Croat national history.

Palmberger's analysis concerns specifically the Croat-dominated West Mostar, but her conclusions analogously extend to Serb-dominated or Bosniak-dominated areas of BiH. She concludes that the renaming of streets in West Mostar to make them more Croat-sounding is "a policy of exclusion that unequivocally signals the non-Croat population that this part of the city is no longer their home" (p.24).

Feeling at home in all of BiH is also challenging as an indirect result of the war. Undoubtedly, the majority Bosniak areas of BiH have also changed with some these changes happening directly after the war⁸⁰ and some happening as a result of globalization and

⁷⁹ East Sarajevo comprises suburban municipalities of Sarajevo (East Ilidža, East New Sarajevo, East Old Town, RS section of Pale, RS section of Sokolac and Trnovo), now located in Republika Srpska. East Sarajevo is the official capital of Republika Srpska, although its administrative center is in Banja Luka. East Sarajevo was previously called Serb Sarajevo (*Srpsko Sarajevo*), but the name was changed due to a decision of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As Feldman (2005) observes, the Constitutional Court of BiH had found that the National Assembly of Republika Srpska had „renamed various cities and town in the territory of RS in was that presented them as having an exclusively Serb identity, violated the constitutional rights of the other two constituent peoples of BiH to collective equality and the right of all citizens to be free of discrimination, taken together with the right of refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes of origin and the right of all citizens to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of the state" (p. 649)

⁸⁰ See Robinson, Engelstoft & Pabrić (2001) on the work of an administrative commission appointed by the Sarajevo Canton government directly after the war to rename streets and other public spaces in Sarajevo. Also, see Robinson & Pabrić (2006) for an analysis of the protests in Sarajevo at the SDA proposal to change the name of Sarajevo's main street from Marshall Tito to Alija Izetbegović street. Due to these city-wide demonstrations and a decision of the OHR, the main street in Sarajevo is still called Marshall Tito's street (*Ulica Maršala Tita*).

increasing global migratory flows. Siniša, a Serb from Trebinje was made not to feel at home in Sarajevo, while he was visiting with his wife.

Author: Do you feel that way in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Siniša: Well, I can say that I do, more or less, although I don't really feel at home in some places in the country. Aaam, I think I can understand that other people might have similar feelings in different environments. Perhaps I am surrounded by Serb people in the center of Serbdom and even though we Serbs are a hospitable people and always welcoming, still I could understand that somebody who is not Serb could feel a bit strange. We congregate around our churches and have our customs. I felt a bit like that the other day in Sarajevo. I could even show you a photo I took.

We were sitting in a café and at one moment we noticed that everybody around us was either Arab or Middle Eastern. All the women were wearing black burkas. Although I respect everybody, but this scene was completely foreign to me. I mean if we were in an Arab country, I would expect it, but not here. I did not feel threatened or scared, but I just felt totally foreign. I felt like a foreigner, a foreigner.

Author: You did not feel at home?

Siniša: At that moment I did not. My wife and I took a selfie in that café so that we could remember the scene with covered women everywhere around us. It looked like we were in the Emirates. I don't mean to denigrate anybody, it's just that I felt so strange in that situation.

Siniša was describing his experience of visiting the Sarajevo City Center, the biggest shopping mall in BiH, financed by Saudi investors with an approximate cost of EURO 57 million⁸¹. This building in downtown Sarajevo is part of ongoing real estate investment projects throughout BiH, such as the controversial "Buroj Ozone" mountain resort, funded by investors from Saudia Arabia and other Gulf States⁸². In an interview⁸³ for a Sarajevo-based news portal, Professor Esad Duraković, a renowned scholar of Arabic studies at the University of Sarajevo, expressed concern, criticizing the BiH authorities' encouragement of such investment projects

⁸¹ von der Brelie, H. (2018, April 27). Foreign influence taking over Bosnia and Herzegovina? *Euronews*. Retrieved from <https://www.euronews.com/2018/04/26/insiders-foreign-influence-taking-over-bosnia-and-herzegovina>

⁸² For details see: Sito-Sucic, D. (2016, August 21). Gulf tourism frenzy in Bosnia delights business, polarizes locals. *Reuters*. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-bosnia-arabs-investment/gulf-tourism-frenzy-in-bosnia-delights-business-polarizes-locals-idUSKCN10W08L>

⁸³ See Depo.ba. (2016, August 11). *Esad Duraković: Arab settlements in BiH are part of a project endangering the state's survival*. Retrieved from <https://novi.ba/clanak/86224/esad-durakovic-naseljavanje-arapa-u-bih-je-projekat-koji-ugrozava-opstanak-drzave>

as they could “hurt the delicate religious balance in Bosnia.” His greatest concern was regarding the possibility for additional fueling of Bosnian Serb ambitions for secession as “they will not want to live in ‘Muslimstan.’” (Depo.ba, 2016) In Boccagni’s (2017) theoretical construct of home as being determined by security, familiarity and control, the case of Arab real estate purchases in BiH are primarily endangering the elements of familiarity and control. The investment projects are bringing with them cultural, social and religious practices, which are almost equally unfamiliar to either the Bosniak, Croat or Serbs, while the local population, be it Serb, Croat or Bosniak does not feel that they have any control over the process. Ultimately, the “hurt delicate religious balance,” could lead to a *security* threat.

Closely connected to feeling at home in all of BiH are the contrasting perceptions returnees have of BiH as a state, ranging from an impassioned opinion characterizing the BiH state as a national home to a disengaged stance relativizing its importance. When I asked Arif about the continued statehood of BiH, he felt very strongly and directly connected it to his own physical existence and the national survival of the Bosniak people.

Arif: What would have happened if the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not survive as a state during the war? What would have happened to all the Bosnian and Herzegovinian people? Some would be buried in mass grave sites, while others would be scattered all around the world. Within a hundred years they would all assimilate and cease to exist as a people.

While some participants view the continued statehood of BiH to be a matter of their own physical existence, others are much more nonchalant. Lejla, also a Bosniak and a yoga teacher, is emotionally indifferent towards the state of BiH and does not view it as her home. Instead, she chooses India, as her “spiritual home”.

Lejla: As far as considering the state as my home, I have no such feelings for Bosnia and Herzegovina. I need to be honest about this. Actually, I do have some similar feelings for India, which I consider to be my spiritual home.

Relating the concept of home to the homeland, nation and national identity has been studied widely (see MacPherson, 2004; Barrington et al., 2003). For MacPherson (2004) home is the “cornerstone of national identity” (p. 92) and Barrington et al., (2003) underline the importance of territoriality, understood as home and homeland, for the development of national identity.

Arif's views might be theorized within an established and strong relationship between home, homeland and national identity. On the other hand, Lejla's view could be placed within a general criticism of conflating the concepts of home, nation, homeland and finally the state, as the conflation leads to the production of the "neurotic citizen" (Isin, 2004) whose stable home is placed in service of the homeland and "homeland security." To a large extent, the second view is consistent with criticism of conceptualizing the state as home in the form of "domopolitics" (Walters, 2004).

5.2.4. Temporal understanding of home – Home in time

Nostalgia is associated with conceptualizing home in the past. For Amir, a Bosniak minority returnee to Prijedor, the familiar scents from his childhood make him feel at home.

Amir: Hmm...all the emotions come rushing through. This is where I went to elementary school and on the way to school there was a cookie factory, now owned by Kraš. The smell of cookies early in the morning on the way to school is what tells me that this is where I belong. Of course, cookies can be found anywhere around the world, but this particular smell brings me back to my childhood, brings me back home.

I asked Sanela how is it that she feels more at home in Banja Luka than in Sarajevo when she was forcefully expelled from Banja Luka and when Banja Luka has transformed in the meantime. She answered by discussing her feelings of being at home in the Banja Luka of her childhood.

Sanela: I don't know what to tell you. I don't want to go in, because I feel that my childhood is locked inside of me. I have no desire to enter that apartment anymore, because I don't feel it to be mine anymore. That is not my home anymore. When I go inside there, the old furniture will not be there and it won't look like my apartment. There will be nothing but walls and those walls do not make that place my home. I feel that way [at home] in the past. In the past.

Author: What feelings do you have when you think of your home in the past?

Sanela: I definitely feel nostalgic for it all. I had the most beautiful childhood, actually perfect. That is where I feel at home – in Banja Luka of my childhood. Right now, in the present, I have no home, so it almost doesn't matter to me where is that I am located. Since Banja Luka, the way it was in 1987 is gone for good, I could be in Zimbabwe.

Due to Bosnia's painful recent history, some returnees, such as Vlado, express a direct desire to consciously break with the past.

Vlado: When I came back to my family's village estate I threw out about 99% of the things that were lying around – the ancient plow or other belongings of my ancestors. I thought about restoring all these objects, some with historical value, but instead, I decided to pile them up and set them of fire. This is old energy and carries a certain spirit. I need to live my life. I need to live life and not build an ethnographic museum. These types of things are why wars are fought, because people value objects more than they value each other. All of that is just frustrating to me. All I could do is bow down to my ancestors' heritage with gratitude, thanking them for all they have left behind, but also firmly deciding that I need to live my life independently.

As discussed by scholars from different disciplines, home has a strong temporal dimension. For example, for Howes & Hammett (2016), "home is also constructed in relation to temporality through the grounding of these emotional connections to the past, present and future in social and material, visual and audible everyday practices" (p. 22). The idealized past is often seen as a peaceful harbor, a place of nostalgic escape from present hardships, often in reference to childhood, to which there is no actual return (Lam&Yeoh, 2004). The "temporal home", as discussed by Taylor (2009), refers to the refugee's place in time as much as in space. The stories of either Amir's "idealized past", Vlado's non-idealized past and his conscious desire to create a break with it and Sanela's "temporal home," which seems independent from the spatial dimension of home, which "could be in Zimbabwe" seem to illustrate these theoretical points. In fact, all three stories point to a displacement in both time and space.

[M]igration involves not only a spatial dislocation, but also a temporal dislocation: the "past" becomes associated with a home that it is impossible to inhabit, and be inhabited by, in the present. The question then of being at home or leaving home is always a question of memory, of the discontinuity between past and present. (Ahmed,1999, p. 343)

Perhaps the awareness of the dual time-space displacement, leads some of the returnees to actively fight the tendency of recreating home in the past and relying on memory to do so.

As a result, some of the returnees actively reject any notions of feeling at home in the past, whether it is to wax nostalgic for it or to denounce it. Instead, they favor feeling at home which is firmly anchored in the here and now. Adnan feels at home with his wife and children only in their current station in life, where they are together.

Adnan:No, no, no, I do not like that at all. We never talk about the past. This might be even too much. I don't like looking at old photographs, watching my old soccer matches, even scoring important goals. For example, I never even watched my wedding video. These kinds of things simply do not make me happy.

Emir is aware of problems with feeling at home in the past, by witnessing the behavior patterns of his friends. Instead, he chooses to find his home in the present.

Emir: Many of my friends remain locked in a cage made up of memories of the past. They are stuck in the past, in some days which were better or different from what we have today. I do not have this feeling. I escaped the prison of the past by going abroad and travelling. So, I lost this feeling. I have friends who have stayed exactly the way they were before the war or during the war. They are trapped in a closed system.

Author: What does this mean? Are they stuck in the eighties, the good old days of the Winter Olympics in Sarajevo, the glory days of 1984?

Emir: Well, there is certainly that, but more importantly people are just stuck in the period of 1992-95. The war.

Conceptualizing home in the past comes with a set of problems both on a personal and a collective level. Adnan, who had a success international career as a soccer player does not want to “live in the past” because he feels that this will take away from his present career and family life. Emir feels that his friends keep reliving the war, thus making it impossible to create a more peaceful present and future.

5.3. Feeling secure in place-belongingness

Similarly to the multi-dimensional understanding of home, the returnees exhibit various types of place-belongingness (Antonsich, 2010). Place-belongingness, as defined by Antonsich (2010) is primarily characterized by a feeling of safety, or as Ignatieff (1994) puts it, “Where you belong is where you are safe and where you are safe is where you belong” (p. 25). Adding to the classification found in Antonisch (2010), data analysis for this Ph.D. project has revealed seven distinct types of place-belongingness: relational, ethnic, religious, linguistic, landscape, economic and civic. Relational belonging is most frequently observed and it refers to finding belonging in social relations, which could be relations with neighbors, friends, classmates or in other social organizations, independent of family members, one’s own ethnicity or religious community. Ethnic belonging relates to one’s identification of membership in an ethnic group in BiH: Bosniak, Croat or Serb. Similarly, religious belonging refers to self-identification of membership in one of the main religious communities in BiH: Muslim, Catholic or Orthodox

Christian. Linguistic belonging is expressed through the use of a shared language with three different names: Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian. Landscape belonging discusses the emotional attachment people feel towards the geographic terrain and natural environment of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Economic belonging refers to economic decision-making influenced by an affective bond to the home state. Finally, civic belonging refers to prioritizing one's citizenship status, being a citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina, over other types of belonging, most importantly ethnic and religious belonging.

5.3.1. Relational belonging and neighborliness

Relational belonging often supersedes ethnic belonging. Selim, a Bosniak returnee to Banja Luka finds a greater sense of belonging with his prewar neighbors, other Serb residents of Banja Luka, than with members of his own ethnicity from other parts of BiH.

Selim: I felt wonderful when I came back. I could not believe how nicely everybody treated me. Of course, this was true for people who were born and raised in Banja Luka. The butchers who committed all the war crimes were not from this city. They came from outside. They were outsiders.

Author: When you came back, could you recognize anybody from wartime?

Selim: No! No! I could not recognize one Serb who did some evil to me. Not even one. Although, you need to realize the horrors that Banja Luka went through. But, if you look at the Serbs, the local Serbs had terrible problems from those Serbs who came here from Knin. They had terrible problems.

Author: What kind of problems?

Selim: All kinds of problems. They have completely different mentalities. For example, guests of all different nationalities come to my restaurant, but the Knin Serbs and the local Serbs simply cannot stand each other. There is so much animosity between them.

Author: Do Knin Serbs live here?

Selim: Sure. They are around here too. The Serbs who grew up with me and who went to school with me tell me about the problems they have had with them. They have no common ground. Their mentalities are completely different, while the mentalities of the Bosniak from Banja Luka and the Serbs from Banja Luka are much closer together. The same is true for me. I will always find ways to talk to a Serb from Banja Luka easier than to a Bosniak from Sarajevo.

Building and fostering relational belonging is essential to the returnees' sense of wellbeing.

Nusret, a Bosniak returnee to Prijedor, relies on his neighbors Serbs and Bosniaks in Prijedor for support and assistance, not looking to authorities in Sarajevo for protection.

Nusret: We created a local community for ourselves here. That is what we did and believe me, my neighbor, who takes care of just two cows and feeds his family in that way is more important to me than the president of the country. Believe me that this is how it is.

Mahir compares his wellbeing in Sarajevo, where he found relational belonging among his friends, to his relative social isolation abroad.

Mahir: Yesterday, I was going to a movie screening at the Sarajevo Film Festival with friends from America, Israel, France, Croatia, literally from all over....from Switzerland. There were seven or eight of us together and we were walking through the city together. While walking from the National Theater to the Hotel Europe, I said hello to 15 or 16 people. That could never, ever happen to me in either Brussels or Budapest. I felt wonderful. I felt like I was a part of something.

There exist a number of scholarly works (see for example Sorabji, 2008; Helms, 2010; Henig, 2012) examining relational belonging or neighborliness (*komšiluk*) in BiH and giving it centrality in formulating explanations of social relations - past and present. In *How Generations Remember: Conflicting Histories and Shared Memories in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Monika Palmberger presents a succinct understanding of relational belonging in BiH:

A central discourse about people's coexistence (*suživot*) is the concept of *komšiluk* (neighbourliness). If people speak about *komšiluk* when narrating the past, they are usually referring to the good pre-war neighbourliness. Even if Sorabji (2008) rightly reminds us that the concept of *komšiluk* cannot be reduced to cross-ethno-national relations, in discourses about the past it is usually referred to in this meaning. *Komšiluk* is then a way to express what was and what no longer is, and to emphasise today's corrupt relations between Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs. Pre-war *komšiluk* is narrated as the art of being neighbourly regardless of national affiliation (although Roma are usually excluded in this discourse), meaning neighbours who help each other out (for example, during illness) but who also celebrate festivities together and share daily practices, such as drinking coffee with one another (see Helms 2010; Stefansson 2010).

Although, as Palmberger (2016) explains, the concept of neighbourliness is much more associated with discourses of BiH's pre-war past, the stories of Selim, Nusret and Mahir seem to suggest that some remnant of the good *komšiluk* is also a part of the BiH present.

5.3.2. Ethnic belonging: Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks and “Others”

Although ethnic belonging is declared among all three ethnic groups, it is more pronounced with the Serbs and Croats than with the Bosniak. Although Vlado rejected declaring himself as part of any ethnic group within the demographic information section of the interview, also asking me to categorize him as a “nomad” and an “extraterrestrial”, soon within the in-depth part our conversation, he openly discussed his relation with his ethnic group, the Serbs.

Vlado: There were periods of time, some five or six years, when I did not really go to Trebinje or Serbia. This was during my twenties, from age 22, maybe even earlier to age 27 or so, I hardly went there at all. But even during that time, there was always a link. I always felt that that is where I belong.

Author: To the Serbs?

Vlado: Yes! I had this aspect more pronounced, I mean this is something sub-conscious. I mean, this is all about feeling in one’s own place, in the right place. For example, when I go to Sarajevo, regardless of how much I try and how hard I work on self-improvement, I cannot accept the way things are over there. I just don’t feel like I belong. I can understand people who were born in Trebinje and now live in Sweden. They also feel out of place, because their Trebinje, the Trebinje they knew, is no longer there.

Hrvoje, a Bosnian Croat, talks about his ethnic belonging in the context of being a dual citizen of Croatia and BiH.

Hrvoje: You see, whenever I am abroad, I never declare myself as a Croat or a citizen of Croatia, regardless of the fact that I travel with my Croatian passport and that all my business dealings are related to the Croatian passport. However, my Croatian passport includes my address in Sarajevo and states Sarajevo as my city of birth. What this means is that I have not given up anything and I do not want to give up on anything, because this place is mine too. This is the place where I was born and where I live. Also, within our family we always thought of ourselves as Croat. It has always been like that with us.

Although a majority of the participants were in some way associated with Islam as a religion and some self-identify as Bosniak, not even one provided any sort of elaboration of his or her Bosniak ethnic belonging. In lieu of the returnees’ discussion of Bosniak ethnic belonging, Helms (2013) provides a succinct explanation of differences between the terms Bosnian, Bosniak (also spelled as Bosniac) and Muslim.

It is important to distinguish between Bosniac and Bosnian. Bosnian, as adjective (*bosanski*) or proper noun (*Bosanac*, fem. *Bosanka*), refers sometimes to the geographic area within BiH (as opposed to Herzegovina) and is frequently (also) short for Bosnian-Herzegovinian.

Bosnian thus denotes anyone from BiH regardless of ethnic or religious background. Depending on the context, it can connote affiliation to a multiethnic polity, support for the existence of the state, non- or anti-nationalist orientation, as well as loyalty to the state as protector of the Bosniac nation. Bosniac (Bošnjak, fem. Bošnjakinja) has, since 1993, replaced Muslim (Musliman, fem. Muslimanka) as the official national name for Slavic-speaking Muslims, though Muslim continues to be used in everyday speech. It is understood as an ethnic rather than a necessarily religious label, even as religion is the primary marker of difference among what have come to be understood as ethno-national groups in BiH (see Bringa 1995; Sorabji 1995). Just as Catholics living in BiH had become Croats and the Orthodox had become Serbs, the (re)introduction of “Bosniac” was a move toward a more ethnic-sounding name (firmly tied to a specific territory), rather than “just” a religious one, even as religion remained a key component of all nationalisms in the former Yugoslavia. (p.35)

5.3.3. Religious belonging: Monotheistic traditions with fluidity and change

Although the returnees acknowledge the difficulties of developing strong civic belonging in Bosnia and Herzegovina, many of them insist on its importance and contrast it to religious and ethnic belonging. Both Alija and Nervan are most closely associated with the Bosnian Muslims in terms of religious belonging and the Bosniak in ethnic terms, but they both express their preference for civic belonging.

Alija: As I told you before, my main sense of belonging is civic and I do not identify with religion very much. I also do not identify with any of the ethnic peoples. This means that the only way that I can feel that I belong to this state is if it is truly a country for all its peoples⁸⁴.

Nervan: In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are always those who defend ethnic interests. I don't want anybody to defend my ethnic interests. I want my civic interests to be defended. People who simply want to be citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina are in a definite minority. This is why I told earlier how I want to leave this country. You cannot be a citizen here!

As was discussed previously, a number of returnees expressed their civic belonging, however, a number of points need to be emphasized. Firstly, the returnees expressing Bosnian-Herzegovinian civic belonging are mostly in some way associated either with the Bosniak ethnicity or with Muslim religious belonging, which is consistent with claims made by Helms (2013). Secondly, civic belonging is always contrasted to ethnic and religious belonging.

⁸⁴ The term Alija uses is “*narod*,” which is rather difficult to translate directly into English. To a large extent, I share Palmberger’s ambivalence (see Palmberger, 2012; Palmberger, 2016) when translating *narod* as either people or nation, since the term is used to describe group identities, alternatively: ‘nation’ or ‘national identity,’ as well as ‘ethnicity’ or ‘ethnic identity’.

Religious belonging in some cases takes precedence over ethnic belonging. From a religious perspective, Bakir rejects the ethnic categorization because he feels it severs him off from other Muslims. Religious belonging is most important to him, so he rejects the ethnic category of Bosniak.

Bakir: BiH citizenship is important to me as a religious person. I am Muslim, a Bosnian Muslim. I am not Bosniak.
Salih favors religious belonging over ethnic categorization because he feels that this division would strengthen civic belonging in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this respect, emphasis would be placed on a shared civic BiH belonging, with three distinct religions.

Salih: Why are there Serbs and Croats in this country? They did not used to exist here. This was a country inhabited by three religions: Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim.
In contrasting Bakir's and Salih's views another aspect of the ethnic-religious-civic triade is revealed. For Bakir, his religious belonging (Muslim) takes precedence over ethnic belonging (Bosniak), as ethnic belonging is not encouraged by the universality of Islam as a faith. For Salih, the most important type of belonging is civic (Bosnian and Herzegovian), followed by religious belonging (Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox) with disdain towards ethnic belonging (Bosniak, Croat and Serb) as ethnic allegiances weaken BiH as a state.

The differences between Muslim religious, Bosniak ethnic and BiH civic belonging are most visible in relation to Turkey, as a host state. Both Amir and Nervan consider themselves to be BiH citizens first, thus rejecting ethnic categorization. Also, both Amir and Nervan declare Islam to be their religion. Amir, who considers himself a moderate Muslim felt a sense of religious belonging while he lived in Turkey.

Amir: I feel as a foreigner anywhere outside BiH. This is a simple fact. However, while I was in Turkey, I did not feel different in terms of my religion. I would sometimes go to Friday prayers and this was acceptable behavior in Turkey. If I were in some Western country, I would probably be labeled an Islamic terrorist or something like that. In Turkey I did not feel any of that.
Nervan problematizes both the Bosniak ethnic belonging as well as the tendencies to Islamize it in Turkey.

Nervan: OK, this was supposed to be an association of Bosnian students and it was later translated to Turkish as Bosniak students, *Genc Bosnaklar Dernegi*⁸⁵. So, it was not translated as Bosnalilar, but instead as Bosnaklar. For example, why did they have Bayram celebrations? I mean, how could you have a Bayram celebration and expect Croats or Serbs to attend? Also, how could you put together the Bosniak who pray five times a day and those who don't care at all about religion? Personally, I would come to a Bayram celebration and I would not drink, although normally I do drink alcohol. I came to one such celebration organized by GBD and I was shocked to see that men were sitting separate from women! That was never the case in Bosnia. We never used to segregate males and females in that way! This was horrible, just horrible.

Due to the Ottoman historical legacy in the Balkans, the most nuanced perspectives on both being Muslim as a religious belonging and on being Bosniak as an ethnic belonging are probably offered by returnees from Turkey. In providing explanations on how the Ottoman historical legacy has been interpreted in Balkan national historiographies, Schad (2015) turns to the analysis presented by Fikret Adanır, who concludes that the post WWII historiographies of the Ottoman Balkans are dominated by the “national view on history” (Schad, 2015, p. 9), according to which the “Ottoman past is generally perceived as a dark chapter, as the “Turkish yoke”, responsible for the Balkans’ backwardness and underdevelopment” (p.9). As a result, the popular perception of Turkishness in the Balkans becomes fueled by the “notion of the Turk and Islam as the threatening Other” (Jezernik, 2010 as cited in Schad, 2015, p. 9). Obviously, such stereotypical images of Turks, Turkishness, Islam and the Ottoman legacy have the most significant ramifications for the Bosniak in BiH, as the notions Bosniak, Bosnian and Muslim, within Serbian nationalist mythology is often simply conflated as “Turk,” (see Boose, 2002). Thus, I would argue that the returnees from Turkey who identify as either Bosniak, Bosnian or Muslim had a unique opportunity of rediscovery of both how the generalized national Balkan historiographies have formed their views of their own ethnic, civic or religious belonging, as well as how these stereotypical notions are contrasted to their lived experience of study, life and work in the present-day Turkish Republic.

⁸⁵ *Genc Bosnaklar Dernegi* is an association of Bosniak-origin students studying at universities in Turkey.

Levels of religiosity among returnees of all three major religious denomination in BiH vary from practicing and devout to culturally-observant to non-observant. For some returnees, the general level of religiosity is too low in BiH, while others believe that the secular system is under-threat due to an ever increasing influence of religion. Both Mehmed and Sanela are Muslim, with varying degrees of religiosity. Mehmed feels like he does not belong to the overly secular establishment in BiH.

Mehmed: Although you might be speaking to somebody who considers himself a Muslim, still that person might not be practicing certain aspects of the faith. For example, there are some special days, outside of Ramadan, which I also fast, but this person has never heard of them. So, this makes me feel like I do not belong. I mean, this person identifies as a Muslim, but has no idea what is it that I am talking about.

Author: And in this respect you felt different as compared to the rest of Australian society?

Mehmed: No, no, I am talking about Bosnia!

Author: You also feel that way in BiH?

Mehmed: Yes, in BiH. There are lots of people in BiH who do not practice the religion. For example, there are some people who observe the Friday prayers, but many of them do not. The same is true for fasting during Ramadan. I always need to ask my boss, who is not a practicing Muslim, for permission to attend Friday prayers. I mean, this is difficult for me. My brother, he lives in Qatar and there, Friday is not a working day.

Sanela, albeit nominally Muslim, does not consider religion to be a part of her life and disagrees with the role of religion, namely Islam, in BiH public life.

Sanela: When I first came I remember being shocked at how religious people are here. I do not remember it being that way before the war. I left BiH when I was eleven years old, but still I was mature enough to remember...When I first came back this was a huge shock to me. I felt like I did not belong because everywhere I turn I would see religious practice: in politics, in the media and each aspect of daily life. It makes me feel like I do not belong. This country is going in the wrong direction, where religion has become so public, too much of a public issue. Religion is something private!

Author: Have you noticed some of your neighbors, colleagues or acquaintances judging the way you dress or some other aspect of your lifestyle?

Sanela: Yes, yes, yes! All of the time. Many of my friends really surprised me by hiding from their husbands that they drink alcohol. They got married to a man and lied about their drinking habits?!? They just don't want their husbands to know. Also, nobody drinks during Ramadan, but they get completely wasted for Bayram. Why would these people be judging me?!?

To situate the debate on secularism in BiH, it is important to note that religious belonging in BiH is set against a historical legacy of communism, officially discouraging religious practice.

Gavrilo, an Orthodox Christian, who considers his faith to be the most important part of his life, is resentful of the communist legacy.

Gavrilo: Nothing makes me happier than seeing a person practicing his or her religion, regardless which religion. This person upholds moral norms and understands the difference between good and evil. This person will not harm me, because no religion propagates evil-doing. The greatest evil was in this atheism, communism! That was the greatest of all evils. The people one needs to fear the most are those who do not believe in anything.

Hrvoje a Catholic Christian presents a different view of the communist legacy in relation to religious belonging. He believes that Yugoslav communism allow ample space for religious practice, while the current emphasis on religious freedom in actuality promotes the politicization of religious belonging.

Hrvoje: I always proudly say that, ethnically speaking, we are Croats and that our religion is Catholicism and all the rest of it. I mean, my father was a member of the Communist Party and I was also a member of the Communist Party, but my mother used to go to church every Sunday. There was no problem with that. In the past, only true believers used to go to church or the mosque, but nowadays, they go to win political favors. All of this modern church and mosque going is just hypocrisy. I don't go and I will not go, because I cannot stand the hypocrites around me. I cannot stand their hypocrisy.

Finally, to conclude the discussion on differing levels of religiosity among the returnees, it can be observed that due to either influences at home or abroad, religious belonging among the returnees is fluid and changing, between different religions and within one religion. After spending a considerable number of years in a religiously monolithic environment in Serbia and Montenegro, Anastasija, an Orthodox Christian, discovered that her sense of religious belonging lies in the mixing of religious traditions, as is the case in her native Mostar.

Anastasija: I remember it was summertime, hot, windows were wide open and after a day spent with my friends, family, neighbors, I was lying on my bed summing up all the events of the day. All of sudden, the sound of the ezan, the hoca calling to prayer! That was the sound of belonging for me, the sound of my city. My building is right next to the mosque and for me this was the sound of familiarity. At the time, the hocas were not screaming at 100 dB as they do now. When I heard that ezan, I thought to myself – this is where I was born and raised. I lived here.

When Amir left BiH for Turkey he was a practicing Muslim, however, his attitude towards the role of Islam in his life changed considerably after returning from Turkey.

Amir: Before the war, yes, I was schooled in religion. I attended the 'mekteb' and music school right after. I was raised in a practicing Muslim family.

Author: So what happened after your time in Turkey?

Amir: Well, I can't say that this was just the effect of living in Izmir for such a long time, but simply life made a couple of turns and I started changing my perspective. My perspective has changed, but I cannot say that I ever felt as a foreigner in Turkey in respect to my religion.

Amir's experience of a decreased level of religiosity after living in Turkey could seem counter-intuitive, however it does not necessarily come as a surprise to a reader informed on how the Ottoman legacy has been portrayed within national Balkan historiographies and the stark difference of actual life in the Turkish Republic.

5.3.4. Linguistic belonging: Do we speak a common language?

Linguistic belonging is essential to the returnees and has been one of the main features of their life abroad. Alija discusses the importance of using the Bosnian language at home with his family members, while living in Holland.

Alija: Yes! We expressed our ethnic belonging even while we lived in Holland. At home we always used our language. Our parents insisted on this point, mainly because they did not want us to forget and they wanted us to retain our sense of belonging. My sister and I continued to speak our language to each other.

Adnan, whose wife is Turkish, values the importance of keeping both Turkish and Bosnian alive in their home. His wife also speaks Bosnian and they used to speak Bosnian at home while they lived in Istanbul. Now that he has returned with his family to BiH, they speak Turkish at home so that the children could retain their bilingualism.

Adnan: Aaah, I don't have such prejudices about language use at home. At home we mainly use Turkish. I speak to my wife in Turkish because I don't want to forget the language and for the children to keep up too. By living here [in Bosnia], the children use Bosnian all of the time. I consider it an advantage that they are bilingual. Now, I usually speak to the children in Bosnian. I speak to my wife in Turkish. They speak Turkish between each other and they speak Bosnian and English with their friends.

Linguistic belonging is among the most important sub-categories under the general umbrella of cultural belonging (Buonfino & Thompson, p. 17 as cited in Antonsich, 2010, p. 648), as it can instill a communal sense between people, who "not only merely understand what you say, but also what you *mean*" (Ignatieff, 1994, p. 7 as cited in Antonsich, 2010, p. 648, emphasis added). This is true for the returnees, such as Alija and Adnan, particularly while they were living in the host state. During the time they lived in the host state, the common language,

Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian⁸⁶ was an important anchor of belonging, which felt as an “element of intimacy” (hooks, 2009, p. 24 as cited in Antonsich, 2010, p.648). However, as Antonsich (2010) asserts, aside from providing a safe feeling inherent in place-belongingness, language can and is often used in the politics of belonging to separate “us” from “them”. This certainly is how language is used in BiH.

Although linguistic belonging is essential to the returnees, even naming the language(s) of BiH is problematic. Emir, whose mother is Serb and whose wife is Finnish, discusses their use of language at home. He is somewhat ambivalent about naming the “mother tongue”.

Emir: I simply always speak to the children in our language, the Bosnian language, or whatever this language is called.

Author: How do *you* call it?

Emir: Our language. The mother tongue. Bosnian. I mean I don't have a problem calling it Bosnian although that is the greatest problem. This too is a political issue, which brings us back to the circus of our political system.

Naming the common language either Bosnian, Serbian or Croatian and how the language is used in all official correspondence is a highly politicized issue with an assortment of consequences from the somewhat comical, but costly “translations” of identical texts (see Pisker, 2018) to the more severe examples, such as practices of direct segregation in education. The most extreme example of using language as the politics of belonging to separate “us” from “them” (Antonsich, 2010) in BiH comes in the form of “two schools under one roof.” The phenomenon of “two schools under one roof” refers to schools in a number of ethnically mixed Bosniak-Croat towns and cities in FBiH where students of both ethnicities attend the same school, but are ethnically segregated in classes using different languages (Bosnian and Croatian) and different educational curricula. The phenomenon has been characterized as the

⁸⁶ According to the *Declaration on the Common Language*, Bosnian, Croatia, Montenegrin and Serbian are a common language with four different names, but without significant linguistic differences to distinguish them as separate languages. The basis of the *Declaration* was *Language and Nationalism*, the scholarly work of the Croatian linguist Snježana Kordić, as well as four academic conferences held during 2016 in Split, Sarajevo, Belgrade and Podgorica. Since May 2017, linguists, journalists, academics and thousands of citizens across the former Yugoslavia signed the Declaration (Ilić, 2017). The full text of the *Declaration on the Common Language* can be retrieved from <http://jezicinacionalizmi.com/deklaracija/>.

“most visible example of discrimination in education” by a recently published OSCE report, used to “justify practices that enforce the segregation of students based on ethno-national affiliation” (BiH Report of the United Nations (UN) Human Rights Council Special Rapporteur as cited in OSCE; 2018, p. 5). Similar types of linguistic-based discrimination are also practiced in Republika Srpska. Amir, a non-Serb minority returnee to Prijedor, discusses the political significance of labeling the Bosnian language in schools of Republika Srpska.

Amir: She completed the second grade of elementary school last year.

Author: And all the teaching was conducted in Bosnian?

Amir: Of course, of course, but her report card does not say Bosnian. It says ‘language of the Bosniak people.’ That is how it is in Republika Srpska. That is what the law says, the law Mr. Mile⁸⁷ got passed here.

Amir does not identify as Bosniak (rejecting ethnic belonging), although he is Muslim (accepting religious belonging). His preferred self-identification is the civic belonging of Bosnian-Herzegovinian and he insists on calling his native language Bosnian, however, the RS authorities do not recognize the Bosnian language in official education. Instead, the term “language of the Bosniak people” is used in transcripts. The explanation given by Serb authorities in the RS for the disputed name of the language is the “perfidious attempt by ethnic Bosniaks to impose their language as the dominant one in Bosnia” (Piskar, 2018).

5.3.5. Landscape belonging – an emotional attachment to the natural environment

Regardless of ethnic background, the returnees discussed their emotional attachment to the natural environment of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Siniša talked about his love for the general geographical terrain of the Balkan region.

Siniša: When I look around myself, I can just say how much I love these mountains, these rivers, forests and the entire environment. I feel a great sense of belonging to this geography.

⁸⁷ “Mr. Mile” refers to Milorad Dodik, the current Serb member of the BiH tripartite Presidency and the former President of Republika Srpska.

Bakir is more specific in his elaboration of toponyms in his native Srebrenica and the surrounding hills.

Bakir: Srebrenica has many first and last names. Each tiny spot around Srebrenica has its own name. If you wish, I could list some of them. For example, there is Black trash, Eye water, White water, Živko's hill, Gamber's place, Lamiz's hill....Gamber and Lamiz, these are Bogomil names. There is Golden water, Jovo's hill...There is also Slaughtered stream, yes that is its exact name! It is also sometimes called Slaughtered stream. There is a legend of how a man was slaughtered at the top of the stream, which is how it was named. Even the land registry lists it under this name – Slaughtered stream.

For Amir, the natural environment is part of his family history, filled with memories of times spent together with family members.

Amir: Everything here reminds me of my history: the fruit trees I planted with my father before the war. There is a cherry tree over there and an apple tree in the other corner. Our house was completely destroyed during the war, but at least the trees remained. My father and I cut these trees together, we pruned them and took care of them. Now, look at them now - they are all grown up.

Landscape belonging is often expressed as a preference of country living compared to city life and as attachment to land. Badema explains her belonging to the natural environment of Srebrenica through her love for the landscape.

Badema: This is because I was raised here. It is simply not the same thing to grow up on city asphalt and in nature. The city streets have no feelings, while a tree, a tree is alive. The tree is a living, breathing body. I feel I belong here, in this natural environment.

Author: You said that this tree is a living, breathing body. What does this mean to you?

Badema: Since I love art, I get inspired from nature. I believe that each and every living thing is worthy. I learned how to be empathetic from nature. I respect this flower. I stand in fascination of that tree over there. I thank God for its existence.

For Gavriilo, the thought of somebody else tilling his land in Nevesinje was unbearable to the extent of motivating his return to BiH.

Gavriilo: I don't know. I will tell you of a dream I had, better say a nightmare. I woke up in anguish, covered in sweat as I dreamt that somebody else was tilling my land. That was an incredible feeling. I woke up in terror. I stood out of bed and went for a walk outside, just to calm myself down. It was horrendous how I felt. This happened while I was still in Italy. Memories of working the land together with my grandfather flooded my psyche followed by the smell of earth in springtime. That is when I decided: 'I can't go on like this. I am going back.'

I found striking parallels between the stories of Gavriilo, Badema, Siniša, Bakir and Amir, who discussed their sense of belonging to the landscape of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the narratives of home of exiled Cypriots in the work of Taylor (2009). Throughout data analysis regarding home and belonging care was taken to treat these two concepts separately, to

maximize explanatory power and increase analytical rigor. Here, Taylor (2009) discusses the natural environment of Cyprus as “home,” while Gavriilo’s, Badema’s, Siniša’s, Bakir’s and Amir’s reflections are conceptualized as “landscape belonging.” To sort out any possible confusion between the two perspectives and create a basis for appropriate comparison, *emotional attachment to the natural environment* is stressed as the common denominator in both cases.

In the Cypriot context, home is not just seen as the house but also the fields, orchards, farmland and cemetery where ancestors are buried (Zetter 1998: 309). Originating largely in rural communities, Cypriots have a relationship to the material home, which goes beyond the economic value of crops and rather determines the colour, taste and smell of home. The close relationship with the land brought about by working on it, being surrounded by it and being sustained by its produce means that material aspects of home feature strongly in Cypriot refugee narratives (p. 16).

Taylor (2009) is also clear in distinguishing between finding home and safety in materiality beyond the physical house, which I refer to here as landscape belonging and its *misuse* expressed in nationalism discourses equating “soil” and “nation.”

5.3.6. Economic belonging – having a stake in the domestic economy

Preferring domestically produced goods over imports is a channel for the returnees to demonstrate economic belonging. Senad from Sarajevo actively takes part in the “*Buy Domestic*” campaigns making a point of transcending ethnic boundaries by favoring a product from Banja Luka over a foreign-produced good.

Senad: I am an economic patriot, which means I buy domestic. Whenever I can, I buy goods and services produced domestically. I believe this to be important for the development of our economy. Even much more advanced countries also cherish the “buy domestic” campaigns, even regardless of the European Union. I will always prefer buying jam made in Banja Luka over a similar product made in Turkey or Macedonia. Through the tax system, VAT and other taxation, the income from the domestically produced product stays within our borders and leads to the betterment of our economy.

Author: What is the dominant emotion you feel when deciding to buy a more expensive domestic product?

Senad: Well, this is not an emotion, really. This is my economic decision. This is my contribution to local patriotism. If we want to get something long-term, we need to make an investment. This is an economic decision.

Author: How do you justify it being an economic decision?

Senad: If you want to make long term gains, which would be visible through higher standards of production and stronger local production, you need to make an investment. Perhaps we will pay a slightly higher price for similar quality, but we will be investing in those long-term gains. Also, it is a question of belonging.

Draško from Derventa discusses the same subject from a slightly different angle. He also believes that buying domestically produced goods stimulates the economy, but, interestingly, he firstly turns to a good produced in Banja Luka and secondly gives an example from Sarajevo.

Draško: In Switzerland, they always emphasize buying Swiss products. This is very important to them and everybody participates. We should be buying our own products, anytime that this is possible. Why should we be drinking Heineken, when we could be drinking Nektar, or another locally produced beer.

Author: Where is Nektar from?

Draško: They are from Banja Luka. We could also be drinking Sarajevo Beer or another domestic brand. The same is true for wines, the meat industry and any other.

Economic belonging is also expressed in the returnees' willingness and conscientiousness as tax-payers. When I asked Mahir about how he feels when paying his taxes, he was enthusiastic and discussed tax payments in terms of civic duty.

Mahir: I feel fine about it. I feel fine paying taxes. Any time I have coffee in a café, I ask for the receipt, just to make sure that taxes are paid. I am one of those people who would rather have the waiter spit in their drink than allow him to sell the drink without paying any taxes on it. So, I always ask for the receipt. Any time I spend, let's say 80 KM on a night out, I think to myself 'this is great, at least some 10-12 KM went to the state budget.

Whether it is making consumer choices based on factors other than the price/quality ratio or tax payments that reflect one's sense of civic duty, economic embeddedness is recognized within the literature as important in order "to make a person feel that *she has a stake* in the future of the place where *she lives*" (Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008, 107; Sporton and Valentine 2007, 12–13 as cited in Antonsich, 2010, p. 648, emphasis added).

5.3.7. Civic belonging: Can citizenship be the main expression of an individual's identity in BiH?

Although returnees often discuss their civic belonging and talk about themselves primarily as citizens of BiH, their civic belonging is defined mostly in relation to their own

ethnic belonging. Anastasija talks about being a Bosnian and Herzegovinian, but at the same time points out that ethnically she is a Serb.

Anastasija: The young man who came to us from the Census Bureau was shocked when we declared ourselves as Bosnian and Herzegovinian, because he knew we were Serbs. Let's say ten years ago, I actually believed that this change towards a civic option could actually happen, but now... For example, when the BiH soccer team plays against any other country and particularly when they play against Serbia, nobody here believes me that I cheer for BiH. Nobody would believe me that I, as a Serb, support the team of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Similarly, Gavriilo expresses his civic belonging to BiH, but quickly moves to the ethnicized belonging of being a Serb.

Gavriilo: I mean, I am not ashamed to say that I am Bosnian or that I am Herzegovinian or that I am a Serb from Herzegovina. This is what I think and I don't want to escape this identity.

Author: When you say that you are a 'Serb from Herzegovina', what does this mean to you?

Gavriilo: Are you referring to my sense of belonging? What I associate with that is this geographic area, these rocks and stones, nothing else.

In the demographic part of the interview, Marija, a dual citizen of BiH and Croatia, self-identified as a Bosnian Croat. She championed her civic, BiH, belonging in the in-depth part of our conversation.

Marija: As for the question of ethnic belonging, unlike many others, I consider myself first and foremost a citizen of BiH. I am Bosnian, because I was born here.

As the perspectives of Anastasija, Gavriilo and Marija show, civic belonging also does exist among returnees, who ethnically align themselves with either the Serbs or Croats, however, civic belonging is almost always expressed *in relation* to their ethnic belonging. Keeping in mind the description of Bosnian-Herzegovinian provided in Helms (2013), Anastasija's, Gavriilo's and Marija's BiH civic belonging falls either into the category of "geographic area," "affiliation to a multiethnic polity, support for the existence of the state, non- or anti-nationalist orientation" (p. 35).

Civic belonging is also defined in relation to the ethnic belonging of others. Sanela declares herself as a Bosnian and Herzegovinian, and is frustrated with the nationalism of others, whether Bosniak, Croat or Serb.

Sanela: Well, it is very important that one does belong, that you are who you are. I mean, you cannot escape that and you should not escape it. Also, it is important to not take this belonging for granted, I mean it's important to keep building a better country, so that you have more reasons to be proud. I reject just saying things like 'I am Bosnian, and that is how things are.' I want this place to be better! So, I can say that I am frustrated somewhat with this belonging, because I sometimes feel that I don't belong to Bosnia. It is not the country I once used to know.

Author: When do you feel this frustration the most?

Sanela: I feel it most with some nationalistic stupidities.

Author: Could you give some specific examples?

Sanela: For example, two schools under one roof. I mean, I work with students, with distributing scholarships. Through our scholarship programs we try to instill the feeling that they are all Bosnian and Herzegovinian first and then they can also have types of belonging. But, but, the hatred...it's impossible!

Author: Inter-ethnic hatred?

Sanela: Yes, inter-ethnic! I simply cannot accept that. This is foreign to me and this is not the way I was raised. Regardless of what has happened to my family, my parents never, ever allowed me to speak ill of Serbs or Croats.

As was already discussed, civic belonging is noticeably more pronounced with returnees, who might reject Bosniak ethnic categorization, but have some, even just cultural identification with Islam. Sanela's perspective on civic belonging includes a frustration with nationalism and a strong pro-BiH state attitude.

The returnees who declared themselves primarily as Bosnian and Herzegovinian, thus rejecting ethnic categories discussed the importance of building and developing civic belonging, however, many others questioned its sustainability. Siniša is doubtful about the development of a strong sense of civic belonging in BiH.

Siniša: I mean ordinary people, such as myself, my friends, business associates and others, we simply don't make these kinds of distinctions. We don't make these [ethnic] distinctions between people, but when you watch the news or read the newspapers, although I try to stay away from all of that as much as possible, still you can notice that there really is no realistic togetherness in this country. I guess all ethnic groups in BiH have strong roots within their own traditions.

Alma, who works with children, tries to instill a sense of civic belonging in her kindergarten's educational activities discussed the challenges of singing the national anthem with the children,

as it, due to political disagreements, does not have any lyrics. Instead, Alma teaches a commercial song, popular in the former Yugoslavia, called “My Country”⁸⁸.”

Alma: In the kindergarten, we work so hard with the children on this point. That is why I told you that we sang “My country” with them. We also went to the National Museum to see the tombstones (stećak). Recently, there was an exhibit by Nasiha Kapidžić-Hadžić and the girls were fascinated by her poetry. We had a gentleman from the National Archives visit us to explain to the children how newspapers were made 100 years ago. We also teach the children about our folklore, folkloric traditions of all ethnicities.

In her efforts as a kindergarten educator, Alma is trying to facilitate what Kolsto (2006) calls “learning national identity.” As he explains:

Like any other identity, national identity has to be learnt. Important instruments in any learning process are various kinds of audiovisual aids, and so also in the school of national identity construction. That is why national symbols flags, coats of arms, national anthems play such a crucial role in nation building and nation-maintenance. (p. 676)

According to Kolsto (2006) learning national identity is systematically conducted in states around the world, however, two examples stand apart as “particularly explicit strategies for patriotism-training by means of national symbols” (p. 676). The first such example comes from a statement published by the Central Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party in 1996 entitled ‘Teach the General Public and Especially the Young to Love the National Flag. A second example he gives is the National Anthem’ Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, conducted in schools throughout the U.S. every morning during the entire school year. Viewed from this perspective, how can Alma’s efforts at “teaching national identity” succeed when all she has at her disposal as “audiovisual aids” (Kolsto, 2006, p. 676) are either a national anthem without any lyrics and a flag without any endogenous significance or a commercial song originally written for a country that no longer exists?

⁸⁸ The song “My Country” is a patriotic song written and performed in the mid 1970s, with lyrics discussing the love one feels for one’s country and its natural beauties. The lyrics are neutral in the sense that there is no direct mention of the name of *the* country, so in that sense it could be re-purposed. Originally, it was devoted to the Yugoslav guest workers (gastarbaiter) leaving Yugoslavia as labor migrants. The song was performed by the *Ambassadors*, a popular Sarajevo-based band. It was also one of Josip Broz Tito’s favorite songs, often performed at official state ceremonies in Yugoslavia.

5.4. Outsiders here and outsiders there: Boundary making and the politics of belonging

In the case of the returnees, the process of boundary-making, focused on creating lines of separation between an “us” and a “them” (Crowley as cited in Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 204), runs parallel in both the host and home states. To create a clear dividing line between place-belongingness and the politics of belonging expressed through processes of boundary-making is to view the former as stemming from the individual internally, while the latter is placed upon the individual externally. MasGiralt (2015) effectively summarizes the difference, where place-belongingness relates to “personal emotions of feeling in place” (p.4) and the politics of belonging provide answers to the question of whether society, formally or informally, perceives the person as “being in place” (p.4). The common requirements of belonging formulated by the politics of belonging are different at home from those abroad, but these requirements do exist in both spaces and our study participants are often left outside of the “us” category both at home and abroad. As data analysis reveals, the returnees are often left feeling as “outsiders here and outsiders there” along differently set boundaries, but nevertheless outside.

The main boundary of belonging the returnees face in BiH is their ethnicity. Ethnicity as a boundary set by the politics of belonging is markedly different from ethnic belonging, in the same way that any aspect of place-belongingness differs from the politics of belonging. For example, a person might or might not identify with the Bosniak ethnic group, however, in most cases, in the eyes of society even his or her first or last name will place them firmly within this ethnic boundary. As expected, the ethnic boundary is most pronounced in cases of minority return. It is important to mention that ethnic boundaries are not completely clear cut, simply as Bosniak, Croat or Serb, as there also exist intra-ethnic boundaries, either as a result of wartime tensions, such as the autonomy movement led by Fikret Abdić or because of regional differences, for example Croats from Bosnia as compared to Croats from Herzegovina. Internal

displacement is also a significant boundary which cuts across ethnicity. Finally, being labeled as the “returnee” by the local population is a boundary that also traverses different ethnicities. The phenomenon of the “returnee” in BiH (Stefansson, 2004) characterized by betrayal, cowardice and resentment by the stayee population is engrained to the extent that it holds a particular place in return migration literature (see for example Pedersen, 2003; Sirin, 2008; Kuschminder, 2017).

The study participants are also painfully aware of boundary-making abroad. When discussing boundary-making abroad, the returnees of Muslim faith often invoked the Islamophobia they faced, particularly in countries of Western Europe. They discussed other boundaries, particularly race, which distinguish them vis-à-vis other people of Muslim faith living in countries of Western Europe, boundary-making on the level of religion was important. It is also important to note that religion, and not necessarily level of religiosity, was seen as the basis of boundary-making. What this means in practice is suffering the effects of Islamophobia reported by people who do not identify as practicing Muslims, but who nevertheless see themselves as Muslim. Coming from a legacy of Yugoslav-styled communism, boundary-making, particularly in the U.S. on the level of class differences, was also significant in discussions. Returnees who had experiences with living in both Western Europe and the U.S. compared how they were excluded from common belonging based on ethnicity and religion in Western Europe and included in the U.S. due to their race. Benefitting from “white power and privilege” in the U.S. was also reported in other studies of Bosnian diaspora (see Valenta&Ramet, 2011). Ironically, what appeared as significant for boundary-making abroad is being labeled and thus set outside of common belonging, regardless of their ethnicity (meaning Bosniak, Croat, Serb and others) simply as “ex-Yugoslavs or Yugos”, particularly in countries of Western Europe, which have for decades relied on a consistent supply of *gastarbeiter* labor coming from the region of the former Yugoslavia.

5.4.1. Boundary making at home

The dominant boundary the returnees feel in BiH is the boundary of ethnicity, however, also noticeable are intra-ethnic boundaries, either based on a legacy of intra-ethnic conflict or on regional differences. When discussing ethnic boundaries, participants in my study, like many other citizens of BiH often kept referring back to ethnic relations within Yugoslavia. For Elvis, ethnic boundaries in Yugoslav Prijedor were simply non-existent, while they are heavily present within the current situation.

Elvis: Yes, yes. I discovered this in Prijedor. I'll repeat it again here, Prijedor is the city of my birth, where I was raised and where people, my fellow citizens, used to know me and my family. What happens to me now when walking down a street, out of the thousand people I encounter, perhaps I'll recognize four or five familiar faces. It seems as the rest of the population landed here from space. You just feel like an outsider. You go to the police station, the municipality, social security office, the bank or any other institution and you don't know anybody working there. Prijedor is a small town and, in the past, everybody knew each other. Now, this is not the case. How can somebody from Bosansko Grahovo, who came to live here after the war, understand our way of life, what we had before the war? He can't! The only thing this person sees is your ethnicity and nothing else. Your first and last name.

Other participants, like Hrvoje, although nostalgic for much less obvious ethnic boundaries in the former Yugoslavia, acknowledge their implicit existence.

Hrvoje: Although, even in our previous system, the education facilities knew about this issue. It was not public, but still some distinctions were made. If you go back in time and look at, for example, how elementary school functions were allotted, you will see who was the class president...who was the minute taker and who was the class hygienist. You will notice a pattern across classes and see that there are three different groups. The students did not know about this, but the school administrators took this into account and you could see that the Croats, Muslims, Roma or some other groups had to be represented. Again, I would like to emphasize that this was not done publicly, as it is in our current system. That is a major difference.

Elvis, a Bosniak citizen of prewar Prijedor, feels othered and excluded from belonging to the Serb-dominated postwar Prijedor, while a Serb from the rural area of Bosansko Grahovo is included. Elvis is nostalgic for the Yugoslav times of "brotherhood and unity" when ethnic boundaries did not seem to exist, while Hrvoje is more skeptical of the Yugoslav past. Elmir was born and raised in Velika Kladuša, the center of Fikret Abdić's "Autonomy Movement" and the site of major intra-Bosniak conflict between the forces loyal to Abdić and those allied

with Alija Izetbegović, headquartered in Sarajevo during the 1992-95 war. Elmir now lives with his wife and children in Sarajevo, while the rest of his family remained in Velika Kladuša.

I asked him about his sense of belonging to either Sarajevo or Velika Kladuša.

Author: You said that you have many friends in Velika Kladuša.

Elmir: Yes!

Author: Are their opinions divided regarding autonomy?

Elmir: Well, what can we say about that? Twenty years have passed and these topics have faded for most people. I mean, there are people who have much to gain by keeping them alive, but most ordinary people have forgotten about all those unfortunate events. No, no, this is not a problem anymore. It used to be, up until some five or six years ago. Not anymore. This is in the past. I mean if somebody lost a close family member or friend during the conflict, of course they feel rage and resentment towards the current political setup. But, this is true for all groups throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region. We have no alternative but to live together. The economy connects all of us.

Regional differences also produce intra-ethnic boundaries. Marija, a Croat from Jajce in the Bosnian part of BiH, did not feel the existence of intra-ethnic boundaries while she lived in Germany, but felt them in Mostar among other Croats in BiH.

Marija: While we were in Germany we were all refugees. The children attending my elementary school were mostly foreigners. So, I did not feel as a second-rate citizen in Germany. But, I went to university in Mostar, on the Croat side of the city. I always considered myself Bosnian and there I felt a bit like a second-rate citizen, because they were all Herzegovinian. Ethnicity was very important there, much more important than abroad. Actually, I never felt it abroad.

Author: Never abroad?

Marija: Well, exactly. While we were abroad, we were all simply foreigners: Afghans, Bosnians, Croats. You could feel more as a foreigner in Mostar, because there it is important to be Herzegovinian to be a Croat. I came from Bosnia, and that is how they referred to me down there [in Mostar]. They called me 'Bosnian' and this distinction was very pronounced. The distinction between Herzegovinian and Bosnians was clear. They are really very primitive down there [in Mostar].

Ethnic boundaries in BiH also felt by the returnees as can be expected have as Bougarel et al.

(2007) contend become "more pervasive and rigid after war and ethnic cleansing" (p. 20),

however in examining the full complexities of BiH society, it is necessary to move "beyond ethnicity" (Bougarel et al. 2007).

Depending on the circumstances, war related categories can undermine, override, reinforce, or complicate ethno-national identifications, at times even rendering them all but irrelevant (Bougarel et al., 2007, p.21)

The intra-ethnic boundaries based on memory of intra-ethnic conflict and regional differences are both examples that “complicate ethno-national identifications,” while the boundaries set by internal displacement not only serve as additional illustrations of intra-ethnic divisions but also as deepening the “long-standing conflict between the urban, marked by ‘culture’ and ‘Europeanness’, and the rural associated with ‘non-culture’ and ‘backwardness’ (Bougarel et al., 2007, p. 22)

One of the strongest boundaries for the returnees is the boundary set by internal displacement. Going back to the time he and his family were forcefully expelled from their home in Foča, together with other non-Serb residents, Admir has felt the boundary of displacement, whether at home or abroad.

Admir: Ever since I was 12 years old, I was labeled a refugee. I was expelled from my home in Foča and I came to Sarajevo. While in Sarajevo, I lived in a number of different neighborhoods, moving around all the time. Finally, I moved to the U.S. and there I lived in a couple of different cities. That is how it is for me – constantly on the move. I mean, ever since I was twelve, I have been a refugee, living with a permanent feeling of not-belonging.

Feeling excluded has become the norm for Admir, whether in the home or host state, yet the boundary of internal displacement seems the most counter-intuitive. He was expelled from Foča as a non-Serb, thus violently experiencing the ethnic boundary. Upon settling in Sarajevo, he experienced the boundary of internal displacement, although he was not part of the ethnic majority.

In fact, internal displacement has created much resentment in BiH, which the returnees also feel. When I asked Badema, who returned to Srebrenica from Germany and now studies and works in Sarajevo, to compare her sense of belonging to Srebrenica and Sarajevo, she was determined in her answer.

Badema: Oh, I completely belong here. I never, ever felt Sarajevan! I never felt as a true Sarajevo woman.

Author: What does ‘being a true Sarajevo woman’ mean to you?

Badema: Being a true Sarajevo woman? First of all, there are really very few real Sarajevans living in Sarajevo today. I am talking about the educated, emancipated people who understand many different things. There are many uneducated people in Sarajevo

today. I will give you some examples from my generation. Being a Sarajevo woman to them means that you behave exactly the same as everybody else. For example, they are all blonde. They all have iPhone, low cut jeans etc. These are just some banal examples, but they are telling. I mean this is all so stupid and I hate it. I am so irritated by their constant divisions, between those who are from Sarajevo and those who are from outside. Even within Sarajevo, they make distinctions between those from Nedžarići⁸⁹ and those from Čaršija.

Author: How do you view such divisions?

Badema: With a dose of pity. Actually, with a dose of disgust. Really! Literally. I cannot understand that people have the need to separate themselves as ‘those from Čengić Vila’ and ‘those from Dobrinja’!? It is just silly. Funny. Stupid. Pointless. That is exactly what it is – pointless!

Both Badema and Admir feel the boundary of internal displacement, but their attitudes towards it are different. While Admir accepts his position as a “permanent feeling of not-belonging” and continues to live in Bosniak-dominated Sarajevo, not returning to his native Foča. Badema returned to Srebrenica and adopted a more cosmopolitan outlook ridiculing the pettiness of boundaries imposed in Sarajevo.

Badema, a Bosniak minority returnee to Srebrenica feels more excluded from belonging in the Bosniak-dominated capital of Sarajevo. This conclusion might appear paradoxical only to the “foreigners” (Stefansson, 2007).

Foreigners entering Sarajevo are therefore likely to be in for a surprise if they expect the local population to subscribe to the popular notion of a ‘civil war’ that was fought between antagonistic ethno-religious communities (narodi), carrying out brutal ethnic cleansing fueled by an ancient history of communal hatred in this unruly and conflict-ridden Balkan region. While not dismissing the ‘ethnic’ explanation altogether, Sarajlije⁹⁰ tend to portray the siege and the shelling of Sarajevo as a war that village or mountain people waged against the urban population and its refined style. Similarly, the central social cleavages in post-war Sarajevo seem to be those separating Sarajlije from newcomers, urban from rural people, returning refugees from those who stayed behind, and the economic elite from the lower classes, all of which, in today’s Sarajevo, often amounts to an *internal conflict among Bosniacs*, and not between the Bosniac, Bosnian-Serb and Bosnian-Croat parts of the population (Stefansson, 2007, p. 65, emphasis added)

In addition to the social cleavages listed above, Stefansson (2007) correctly refers to the “popular imagination” (p. 61), which ascribes higher levels of wealth, cosmopolitanism, ‘Europeanness’ and lower levels of religiosity to urban Sarajevans. These are the “imagined” attributes, which serve to create the boundary between the Sarajevans and the “more or less

⁸⁹ Nedžarići, Čaršija, Čengić Vila and Dobrinja are different neighborhoods and quarters of Sarajevo.

⁹⁰ Sarajlije is a Bosnian term for the citizens of Sarajevo.

rural, poor, primitive, traditional, religiously radical and ‘non-cultured’” (Stefansson, 2007, p. 61), the internally displaced such as Admir and Badema.

Participants in my study feel labeled as “returnees” by their compatriots. Anastasija considers the “returnee” boundary to have had a deeply negative effect on her life.

Anastasija: I came back here as a citizen of Mostar. I neither left Mostar as a Serb, nor did I return as a Serb. I left as a woman from Mostar and that is how I returned. But, the entire system here treated me as a returnee. A returnee.

Author: What does being ‘a returnee’ mean to you?

Anastasija: It is very bad. Very bad, Aida. Being “a returnee” means that you are directly placed into a kind of second-rate category. The immediate questions are: ‘Where were you in ’92, in ’93?’ The comments that follow are something like: ‘So, you left us during hard times, and now you are back..’ and so on. Well, how do they know how we left? Who are they to judge us? The whole thing makes me so mad, but ‘returnee’, that’s what returnee means...It means second-class.

Damir, who returned to Sanski Most directly after the war ended, feels that the situation has improved regarding the “returnee” boundary.

Damir: It is much better now. Yes, in the past it was really very difficult. Right after the war, as soon as you would say that you are a returnee, the automatic question was ‘So, where were you during our hard times??’ Being a returnee from Germany in Sanski Most really was not an easy thing to be. It was not easy.

In some cases, the returnees themselves feel their own difference without reference to their social environment. Ema feels that she is different in BiH, because of a difference in her approach to life and perspective.

Ema: In Bosnia, in Bosnia I am definitely an outsider. I don’t feel like that in Austria, but here I do. I think differently than most people around me and they find me to be strange. I don’t know how else to explain it. I keep spreading love and respect around me and although I am no Dalai Lama, still people find it strange that I treat them politely and respectfully. Also, I could not care less about people’s ethnic backgrounds and I treat everybody equally. Being human is what is important to me. All of this makes me feel like an alien! (laughter)

The feeling shared by Damir and Anastasija, as well as, to some extent Ema, has been documented extensively within the literature on post-war return in general, and particularly scholarly works on return to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As early as Bovenkerk (1974) it was recognized that the stayees in the home state do not readily accept the returnees, in some cases showing direct mistrust, enmity and envy towards them (Koser & Black, 1999; Kibreab, 2002 and Stefansson, 2004 as cited in Sirin,

2008). Anders Stefansson's work on the particular animosity towards returnees in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been widely cited (Pedersen, 2003; Sirin, 2008; Kuschminder, 2017) and the point he makes is that the strained relations between the stayees and the returnees result from a lack of mutual understanding and the stayees' belief of having a "monopoly of suffering" (Stefansson, 2000, p. 4). Maček (2000) makes a similar point when discussing the relationship between stayees and returnees in the BiH case also adding the "symbolic capital" (p. 45) asserted by the stayees when a pragmatic choice of staying in BiH during the war, for example to protect possessions or due to fear of starting anew abroad, gets transformed into a moral choice. From this perspective, the stayees gain moral ground for a judgmental attitude towards the returnees, summarized within a moralizing question directed at the returnees: "Where were you when it was the worst of all?" (Stefansson, 2002).

Unlike the BiH case, Pedersen (2003) does not find the same level of vitriol and resentment hurled at returnees in the case of return after the Lebanese civil war. In a footnote comparing the BiH case to Lebanon, Pedersen (2003) concludes:

I believe that this difference between our findings is related to the fact that the Lebanese civil war ended six years before the war in Bosnia, and that people in Lebanon have gained more distance to the war than people in Bosnia. It seems that social relations change over time as society is reconstructed" (p.59)

Although this conclusion seems quite reasonable, I must disappoint to draw on the example of a parliamentary discussion held on December 26, 2018, that is fifteen years after the stated conclusion, during which the newly elected Prime Minister of the Sarajevo Cantonal Government and a returnee from the U.S., was cross-examined by opposition representatives attempting to discredit him due to his BiH during the 1992-95 war⁹¹. The same, two-decade-old question was posed: "Where were you when it was the worst of all?" The parliamentary

⁹¹ For more on this incident, see Klix.ba. (2018, December 26). *Dispute between Elmedin Konaković and an SDA representative about the military preparedness of Edin Forto and other representatives*. Retrieved from <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/prepirka-elmedina-konakovica-i-zastupnice-sda-o-vojnoj-sposobnosti-edina-for-te-i-ostalih-zastupnika/181226058>

incident sparked a lively public debate on the general societal attitude towards returnees, but the BiH case still seems quite unique compared to other post-conflict settings. Pedersen (2003) reports the experience of her study participant, Fuat M. who, upon coming back to post-war Beirut meets his old friends and colleagues who were happy to see him and to revive their old friendships. After a while, they would tell him “You have changed”. “Of course,” he replied, “and so have you”. Keeping in mind Damir’s optimism and his witnessing of some positive changes during the past two decades, still it seems that the returnees in BiH have a long way to go before attaining the level of relaxed societal acceptance, as could be observed in post-war Lebanon.

5.4.2. Boundary making abroad

Boundary making abroad at the level of religion is most dominant among the Muslim returnees, regardless of the level of their religiosity. Vedad, who does not consider Islam to have a prominent role in his life and to a large extent is a non-practicing Muslim, discusses the Islamophobia he experienced while living in Germany.

Vedad: Since I worked as a physical therapist, I was in constant contact with people. I mean in the hospital, patients, colleagues and others. They all knew that I am a Muslim from Bosnia and there was talk behind my back, about this and that. Most of it was not exactly nice to hear. I would often say that I am Muslim. I mean, I would do this intentionally. In response, they would be amazed... ‘How could you be Muslim?’ They would ask.

Author: So, what was their perception of Muslims?

Vedad: They had so many prejudices about this. I mean, I understand them [the Germans] too. They see their streets full of Arabs, the ones who could not make it in their own societies and then came to live in Germany. The husband walks 10 meters in front of the wife, who is covered from head to toe with 10 children at her side. Their view of Islam is shaped by what they see on their streets and the propaganda from their media. Very quickly, you can notice how homogenous their own [the German] society really is, centered around Catholicism and Evangelism. I am very interested in religions and I got to know their religion better than the Germans themselves. Coming from Bosnia, this is normal to me. We always used to celebrate both Christmases and Bayrams together with our neighbors. Multiculturalism is nothing new to me. But it is to them [the Germans]. They believe whatever their media tell them. There was a point when I just felt tired from feeling like a terrorist, you know. It is exhausting. When somebody asked me once how it feels to be back in Bosnia, I said that I finally feel relieved that I no longer feel as a terrorist.

Vedad's story seems to be consistent with research presented in Valenta & Ramet (2011), where Bosniaks were found to keep a low profile when it comes to public display of their religiosity (Kalčić & Gombač, 2011); to self-identify as atheists, cosmopolite or European (Coughlan, 2011; Mišković, 2011) or to place additional emphasis on their "European Islamic" heritage. As Valenta & Ramet (2011) point out, the "European Islamic" focus comes as the "migrants' response to global political tensions which contribute to anti-Muslim discourse and Western Islamophobia" (p. 19).

Boundary-making around socio-economic status affected the study participants profoundly. Lejla talks about her experience of baby-sitting in an upper-class family in the U.S.

Lejla: So, I came to a household of actual multimillionaires and they literally treated me as a piece of garbage. I mean, I came there with the knowledge of four different languages and whatnot, but this was not respected one little bit! They saw themselves as above me and I immediately understood that this is going to be an issue of discrimination. Fortunately for me, I was always a fighter and I would not stand being placed in such a position, not for one minute! I would not allow for somebody to disrespect me. This family was not right for me and I left them very quickly.

Class boundaries as observed in the U.S. were shocking to Lejla, who grew up in Yugoslav-styled socialist self-management (see Horvat, 1969) with very slight class differences and lived through the war in BiH, which furthered her beliefs in solidarity and the importance of community. She resisted "being placed" in an inferior position due to her socio-economic status, firstly leaving the original family and ultimately the U.S., where she experienced this type of exclusion

There is a noticeable difference in how the entire region of the former Yugoslavia factored in boundary-making in European countries compared to the U.S. Vlado talks about the discrimination people from different parts of the former Yugoslavia experience in Switzerland.

Vlado: There [in Switzerland] you feel differently. I mean they [the Swiss] do not distinguish between Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, this and that. We are all ex-Yugoslavs to them. To them, we are more or less like the Turks in Germany. We, all of us, are just a bunch of Yugos to them. I was pretty lucky because my last name does not end in a 'vić', so they could never directly put me in the Yugo category automatically. My last name sounds sort of Italian, so the discrimination was always delayed in my case. It took them a

while to figure out my background. The people whose last names end in ‘vić’ got discriminated against right up front, with job applications, apartment searches, their children taking high school entrance exams – any possible place, really!

Ervin compares the European experience to that in the U.S. to conclude that the dominant variable of discrimination in the U.S. is race.

Ervin: I never felt as a second-class citizen over there [in the U.S.], while there are so many examples of people feeling that way in European countries. In case their last names are not Schmitt or Francois, they have no business living there. That is simply not true in the U.S. The main divisions in America are along racial lines, not ethnic. These [ethnic] division have pretty much been erased in the U.S. The system works without any problems. You are accepted based on what you can do, what you know and the quality of your character. Other than that, nobody really cares.

While I am not aware of scholarly works directly comparing the experience of BiH-originated refugees and migrants in Switzerland and the U.S., there exists research confirming and situating individual claims made by Vlado and Ervin. For example, Behloul (2007) discusses how in 1969, immigrants in Switzerland were either positively or negatively perceived depending on whether they originated from Western or Southern Europe, with Italians being the most negatively perceived group in 1969. In the decades that followed, particularly with intensified migration from the former Yugoslavia due to the wars of the 1990s, the ‘Jugos’ became the most unpopular group (Hoffman-Nowotny, 2001; Wimmer, 2004 as cited in Behloul, 2011, p. 313). Regarding the status of the Bosnian diaspora in the U.S., Mišković (2011) asserts that they could be “simultaneously placed within the normalized race (i.e. whites) and a targeted, negatively profiled community which is often racialized (i.e. Muslims). The fact that most Bosnian refugees in the United States are Muslims presents a puzzle to such discourse, which is recognized in the words of a Bosnian in St. Louis who summarized it as: “right skin color, wrong religion” (Martin, 2008 as cited in Mišković, 2011, p. 235). In other words, although Mišković (2011) underlines how the Bosnian diaspora in the U.S. has benefitted from “white power and privilege”, still she acknowledges the “racial/ethnic/religious” ambiguity.

Coming from the region of the former Yugoslavia is a factor in boundary-making abroad. I asked Nusret whether he ever felt like he did not belong, or as a second-class citizen,

an outsider, while he lived and worked in Switzerland. He elaborated on the various dimensions of discrimination he experienced during his time in Switzerland.

Nusret: They do not even hide this, but you need to know the language very well in order to understand what this is about. Actually, I also understand their point of view. It seems normal that people will love their own more than the others. It seems pretty normal. However, what I cannot accept is that, as a worker, I know that I contributed much more than the Swiss. The Swiss guy was not worth half of me, but he was always paid double of what I was paid. Well, this is exactly what made me return! I do not want to be mistreated anymore. Believe me, even my children felt this. Whenever they went to the playground, the Swiss kids would not play with them. They are only children, but somebody, some adult instructed them that they should not play with my children. I swear. It happened a thousand times. Even in kindergarten, my little girl was not part of the school play. When I looked at the other children who were excluded, there was a Tamil kid from Sri Lanka and a Black kid from some African country. When you look at the kids who were not in the play, it was only the foreigners. Do you need a better example of discrimination than this?!

Author: How did you feel as a father?

Nusret: Hmm...the only goal I have for my children is for them to get the best education. My little girl is not so little anymore. She is 25 and graduating this year with a M.Sc. degree in Architecture from the University of Graz in Austria.

For example, Behloul (2011) discusses the history of Bosniak migration to Switzerland as beginning in the 1960s and continuing in the 1970s as part of migrant quotas. Bosniaks came to Switzerland as labor migrants and were virtually non-distinguishable from Croats, Serb and other ethnicities coming from the SFRY. These immigrants met in “Yugoslav clubs” (p. 310) and until the 1980s had no separate ethnic, cultural or even religious infrastructure. It is this historical legacy, which still places the ex-Yugoslavs into one broad categories and the boundary, which often includes direct and indirect discrimination, is drawn based on coming from the region.

5.5. The “myth of return”: Being “in between” and multiple belonging

As was previously discussed, the “myth of return” can be conceptualized in at least two different ways. On one level, the “myth of return” refers to the “psychological, cultural and political processes through which migrants sustain the idea of future return even as it becomes increasingly unlikely” (Carling et al., 2015, p.3). In other words, migrants while living abroad

often continue to nurture their “homeland orientation” even as their actual connections with the host state grow stronger and those with the home state weaker, making physical return less and less possible or even attractive. As Antonsich (2010) points out, this type of “myth of return” results in a “neither here nor there” state for the migrants, a continuous “longing to belong” (Probyn, 1996; Ilcan, 2002), a constant source of tension characteristic of diasporas around the world (Ilcan, 2002). In this sense, home becomes “a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination” (Brah, 1996), a place of intense yearning to which the displaced “long to belong” (Probyn, 1996; Ilcan, 2002), but never actually return, as their settlement in the host country becomes a permanent reality.

A second way of thinking about the “myth of return” is to perceive the idea of “return migration as a clear-cut concept” (Carling et al., 2015, p.3) as mythical. The “mythical” element here is that the actual and physical return of diaspora members to the home state is simple and straightforward. As was amply demonstrated in Chapter 3 of this Ph.D. thesis, the physical return of diaspora members to their homeland is anything *but* simple and straightforward. In fact, the return “home” is fraught with obstacles, challenges, adaptive development of strategies for overcoming these obstacles and challenges with continuous evaluation and re-evaluation of the success of return and the subsequent consideration of the possibilities for continued residence in the home state or further re-emigration. On an emotional level, the nature of the study participants’ experience creates the foundation for a permanent state of “in-betweenness”, meaning that even when they *do* return physically, their *actual* return “home” retains a “mythical” dimension.

These ideas are perhaps best formulated in the wise words of Heraclitus: “no man ever steps in the same river twice, for it’s not the same river and he’s not the same man” or the novelist Thomas Wolfe’s melancholic lament: “you can’t go home again.” Alma, discusses her own sense of loss and attempt at recreating meaning for her twice-lost homeland.

Alma: From the people I know who have left BiH, lived somewhere abroad and then came back, I can say that we have all lost our homeland at least twice. We went to live abroad and returned, thinking that we are coming back home. When we came back, we discovered that the country is no longer the place we used to know. This was not our homeland. That is what happened to us. But, I really don't mind it anymore. I have gotten used to it.

As was discussed previously, when discussing the temporal dimension of home, there always exists a tense relationship between imagining the past memories of home and the “reality” of the physical places to which these memories connect (Fortier, 2001; Boccagni, 2017). The difference between the “ideal” and the “real” of past home(land) exists for all, but “may get still wider for international migrants, due to their extended detachment from the material bases of home” (Boccagni, 2017, p.73). Widening the gap even further are both the conditions of war, which have entirely devastated the material bases of home, and the forced nature of the migrants' departure from home. These two factors together create what Alma referred to as “twice losing our homeland”, once when forced to leave and the second time upon return with the realization that the homeland has been irreparably disfigured by war.

While an *actual* return home could be a philosophical impossibility characteristic of the general human condition, the particular nature of the returnees' life experience situates them in an “in-between” position, which could be viewed as “*neither here nor there,*” thus accentuating a loss of belonging. However, it is also possible to position the returnees as belonging “*both here and there,*” expressing gain - a dual belonging to the home and host states. Alija, a dual BiH and Dutch citizen, feels a sense of belonging to both countries.

Alija: In Holland we lived in a small town close to Amsterdam, with mainly Dutch people living there. I was only friends with the Dutch. We went to school together, played tennis and everything else. I definitely felt accepted in that society. Now, I cannot say that I belonged 100%, but this is really about living in two different worlds and being yourself at the same time. Sometimes, I also felt a bit stuck in between. I felt confused. If somebody were to ask me how is it that I feel, I would say that I am Bosnian, but also Dutch.

A dual citizen of Switzerland and BiH, Vlado feels a greater sense of belonging to Switzerland when back home in Trebinje, BiH.

Vlado: I had an experience with some people from Switzerland, who came to visit Trebinje. I belong to a mountaineering society and we go hiking every weekend. The Swiss guys

wanted to join me and my childhood friends for a hike up mountain Leotar, above Trebinje. As we were walking up I kept asking myself questions as to who I felt closer to – to the Trebinje guys or to the Swiss? When we came to the top, instinctively I joined the Swiss in hanging the Swiss flag on top of that mountain. It was a strange realization. I was at home in Trebinje, with my own, feeling more Swiss than ever before in my life.

Conversely, for Ervin, a dual US and BiH citizen, it is important to retain his Bosnian identity while in the U.S.

Ervin: Everybody in Sarajevo knows me as Charlie. This was my nickname even before the war, before going to America. I mean everybody who knows me in Sarajevo, except for my mom and sister, called me Charlie. Nobody even knows my real name [in Sarajevo]. This is because I did a pretty good job imitating Charlie Chaplin's walk and that is how I got the nickname. The nickname stuck with me and for my entire social life in Sarajevo, people knew me by 'Charlie,' my nickname. In Sarajevo everybody knew me as Charlie, but in the U.S. I felt it wrong to introduce myself to people using this nickname. I felt it wrong because the name has a completely different connotation in the American context. I always introduce myself as Ervin in the U.S. I would just feel so stupid referring to myself as Charlie in America, because I do not want to sound as an Americanized Bosnian. So, my Bosnian identity is very important to me, even in the U.S.

Author: Do you feel like you belong both here and there?

Ervin: Absolutely, absolutely! Anytime my plane lands either here or there, I automatically feel at home. I feel at home in both places.

The migration studies literature (see Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2006) is replete with empirical studies demonstrating the existence of dual and multiple belonging in contemporary migrants, expressed through “complex webs of mobilities and belonging” (Howes&Hammett, 2016, p.21). These complex relationships often blur the lines between rights derived from citizenship and individual identities. According to Kastroyano (2000), “engaging in transnational practices may result in an institutional expression of multiple belonging, where the country of origin becomes a source of identity, the country of residence a source of rights, and the emerging transnational space, a space of political action combining the two or more countries” (p. 309). Although Kastroyano (2000) refers to migrants residing in the host state, this perspective could perhaps be customized for the returnees to say that the country of “pragmatic citizenship” becomes a “source of rights.”

As a result of multiple belonging, i.e. belonging both here and there, the transnational space becomes a space of political and other types of action. The in-betweenness of the returnees

becomes a useful survival strategy making it possible for the returnees to remain in the home state, while maintaining transnational ties becomes key to making their return to BiH a success. When I asked Hrvoje about his in-betweenness, he presented it as a pragmatic response to the level of risk associated with return to BiH.

Author: Do you ever feel like you belong here and there, somewhere in between?

Hrvoje: Well, absolutely! I guess this also depends on your personal views. I definitely am somewhere in between. Why? Well, because this is a good position to be in. I am always one foot in and one foot out. There is always a backup plan. Due to our political situation, this is necessary. Certainly not because of the people, but because of the economic and political situation, there always needs to be a plan B.

In response to a question comparing the citizenships of Switzerland and BiH, Husein elaborated on the benefits of being a citizen of both countries.

Husein: Aaah, I am happy with what both citizenships have to offer. How could I say anything negative? I produce and work in Bosnia and sell in Switzerland. How could I be any happier?

The “in-betweenness” of Hrvoje and Husein, dual BiH-Croatia and BiH-Switzerland citizens respectively, with strong commercial and other types of ties with the host states made their return to BiH possible in the first place, as well as sustainable long-term. This finding has been recognized in the literature as paradoxical, because it is in fact the citizenship of the host state that enables return to the home state, since it provides “transnational mobility back to the destination country and serves as a safety valve in case of unsuccessful return (Mortensen, 2014 as cited in Carlin & Erdal, 2014, p. 4). Furthermore, Cassarino (2004) looks at how transnational ties among “migrants, who are anchored (socially, culturally and physically) neither in their place of origin nor in their place of destination” (Al-Ali & Koser, 2002, p. 4 as cited in Cassarino, 2004, p. 263) lead to the “gradual deterritorialization of citizenship” (p. 263). Carlin & Erdal (2014) emphasize the importance of transnationalism for the economic sustainability of return, while Black & Castaldo (2009) argue that “the networks, contacts and wider experiences that migrants gain abroad” are even more significant for a successful outcome of return than their investment of financial capital.

5.6. Feeling safe/secure at home and in place-belongingness

Scholarly literature on the meaning of home is vast and covers a number of disciplines: political science, sociology, anthropology, psychology, human geography, architecture, philosophy and history (for example, see Mallett, 2004; Jacobson, 2012; Boccagni et al., 2018). As some authors point out, “while being overwhelming by now, it [the literature on home] also tends to be dispersed and parcelized” (Boccagni et al., 2018, p. 1). To provide for greater integration in conceptual understanding and consistency, the focus of this Ph.D. study is chosen to be the *nexus* between home and migration (Boccagni et al., 2018). In this sense, home has a daily, vernacular meaning with multidimensional conceptual significance. The literature on migration and the search for home, looks at home as a set of relations with family, friends and roots (Jackson, 2016; Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Lam & Yeoh, 2004 and Taylor, 2009), home as relationship with place (Tuan, 2001; Erkman, 2015; Rapport, 1997) or home as connection to a particular time (Howes & Hammett, 2016). In either the relational, spatial or temporal conceptual understanding of home, home implies “an attribution of a sense of *security*, *familiarity* and *control* to particular settings over all others” (Boccagni, 2017, p.1). As was illustrated throughout this chapter, the feeling of safety/security is identified as dominant for the returnees to feel at home.

The analytical framework used to explore belonging distinguishes between place-belongingness and the politics of belonging (Antonsich, 2010). The distinction between the two types of belonging is clarified by MasGiralt (2015), for whom place-belongingness relates to “personal emotions of feeling in place” (p.4), while the politics of belonging refers to the issue of whether society, either in formal or informal ways, acknowledges the person as “being in place” (p.4). In other words, place-belongingness refers to the *internally*, while the politics of belonging relate to an *externally* determined understanding of belonging. Antonsich (2010) understands place-belongingness as defined by the feeling of security, and feeling “at home”.

Similarly to Boccagni (2017), Antonsich (2010) looks at home as a “symbolic place of familiarity, comfort, security and emotional attachment” (p. 646). Putting the three concepts together, place belongingness implies feeling “at home,” which in turn means feeling safe and secure. The other elements of “home”, which according to Boccagni (2017) are: familiarity and control, and according to Antonsich (2010), familiarity, comfort and emotional attachment, are also important, but *security* is the common denominator for both “home” and “place-belongingness” and thus becomes the focus of discussion. The politics of belonging, on the other hand, refers to a boundary making process of creating an “us” and a “them,” i.e. providing external definitions of the criteria of belonging, resulting in outcomes of who gets to be considered “inside” the political community and who gets left outside (Yuval Davis, 2006).

This Ph.D. project aims to contribute to the literature on home and belonging by examining existing analytical frameworks and introducing new categories. The main starting point for conceptualizing home was Boccagni (2017) and his three criteria: security, familiarity and control. Within this analytical framework, home was viewed through the lense of spatiality, temporality and a set of social relations, particularly family relations. When examining place belongingness, this Ph.D. project adds categories of analysis to the existing five aspects identified by Antonsich (2010): “auto-biographical, relational, cultural, economic and legal” (p. 647). My data analysis reveals the seven relevant categories to be: relational, ethnic, religious, linguistic, landscape and economic belonging (place-belongingness). Although there are some overlaps between the categorization presented in Antonsich (2010) and my own, introducing sophistication between for example ethnic, religious and linguistic, as opposed to conflating them under the more generic “cultural,” is particularly relevant to the case studied as it allows greater precision in drawing conclusions. The boundary-making process was studied with greatest reference to the politics of belonging presented in Yuval-Davis (2006) with distinctions made between how boundaries are constructed in both the home and host

states, thus often leaving the returnees “neither here nor there.” Although the “myth of return” can be conceived in at least two different manners, the focus was placed on viewing the “mythical” to lie in a simple and straightforward re-integration process. In reality, as was amply documented in Chapter 3, the search for home and belonging through return migration involves a complex re-integration process of constantly facing and overcoming obstacles and challenges. Often, the “neither here nor there” status of the returnees can be transformed into an in-betweenness of “both here and there” with multiple belonging and transnational ties being instrumental for both the success and sustainability of return. The key insight brought forth by this chapter and further formalized within the conceptual model presented in the Conclusion is that the feeling of safety/security is derived from the returnees’ conceptualization of home, understood as family, place or time and the various types of place-belonging: relational, ethnic, religious, linguistic, landscape and, most problematized: civic belonging.

Conclusion

According to a recently published Gallup poll based on interviews with nearly half a million adults in 152 countries between 2015 and 2017, Bosnia and Herzegovina scored – 32% on the potential net migration index⁹² (PNMI), and ranked at the bottom of European countries, with only Kosovo at a lower rank. The situation is even more alarming when looking at the indices for brain drain and youth migration, for which BiH scored -40% and -57% respectively. These results ranked BiH at the bottom on an international scale, with countries such as Iraq, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Haiti scoring lower. Amidst such abysmal emigration prospects, there appears a truly puzzling phenomenon: voluntary *return* migration. This Ph.D. thesis set out to explore this puzzle: why are people coming back to a place from which so many seem desperate to escape? When I set out on a journey to give some meaningful answers to this question, my initial inspiration was a documentary produced by Al Jazeera Balkans in May 2016 entitled “I want to go home” (*Hoću Kući*) featuring the stories of individuals who have returned from the diaspora to live and work in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Three years later, as I finish writing the final pages of my Ph.D. thesis, another documentary film produced by the same news organization captivates my attention.

The documentary is entitled “Disappearing” (*Nestajanje*) and as the show notes state, it tells the story of “young, highly educated people from Bosnia and Herzegovina who, despite their different backgrounds, find themselves on the same road. This road, unfortunately, takes them far from their home country which didn’t give them a chance to realize their full

⁹² PNMI measures the potential net gains and losses to a country’s adult population by subtracting those who would like to move out of a country from those who would like to move into a country. The same methodology is applied to the brain drain and youth migration indices. For more see: Gallup. (2019). *Potential Net Migration Index*. Retrieved from http://news.gallup.com/migration/interactive.aspx?g_source=link_news9&g_campaign=item_245204&g_medium=copy

potential⁹³.” The reality is such that, unfortunately, voluntary return migration to a post-conflict society, such as BiH, was an anomaly in 2016 and is even more of an anomaly in 2019. In the three years of earnestly working on this puzzle, I hope to have shed some light on its many facets and contributed to its better understanding. If this goal has been achieved even partially by the production of this Ph.D. thesis, I feel that my three-year journey has had meaning and purpose.

In more formal terms, the Introduction gave the purpose statement of the Ph.D. thesis to be: both to explain the reasons behind the decision to return to and remain in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to explore the concepts of emotional citizenship, home and belonging in relation to the voluntary return of Bosnian and Herzegovinian diaspora members. The purpose statement was used as a basis for a set of three distinct research questions to guide the study. The theoretical problem laid out in the Introduction was to tackle the foundation of a nexus between citizenship, home, belonging and a set of specific and distinct 'political' emotions. The case of diaspora members/transmigrants returning to the home country presented a unique opportunity to study this problem, particularly when the decision to return is made voluntarily and when the disparity between the host state and the home state is as great as it is in the case of developed Western democracies and a state still recovering from the aftermath of war.

To set the foundation for data collection and subsequent analysis, a conceptual framework, based on a review of the relevant scholarly literature was presented in **Chapter 1** and **Chapter 2** described the research methodology. Results of data analysis containing answers to the research questions were presented in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. **Chapter 3** demonstrated how this type of voluntary return migration is primarily emotionally motivated and not a result of maximizing economic self-interest; listed the many obstacles inherent in

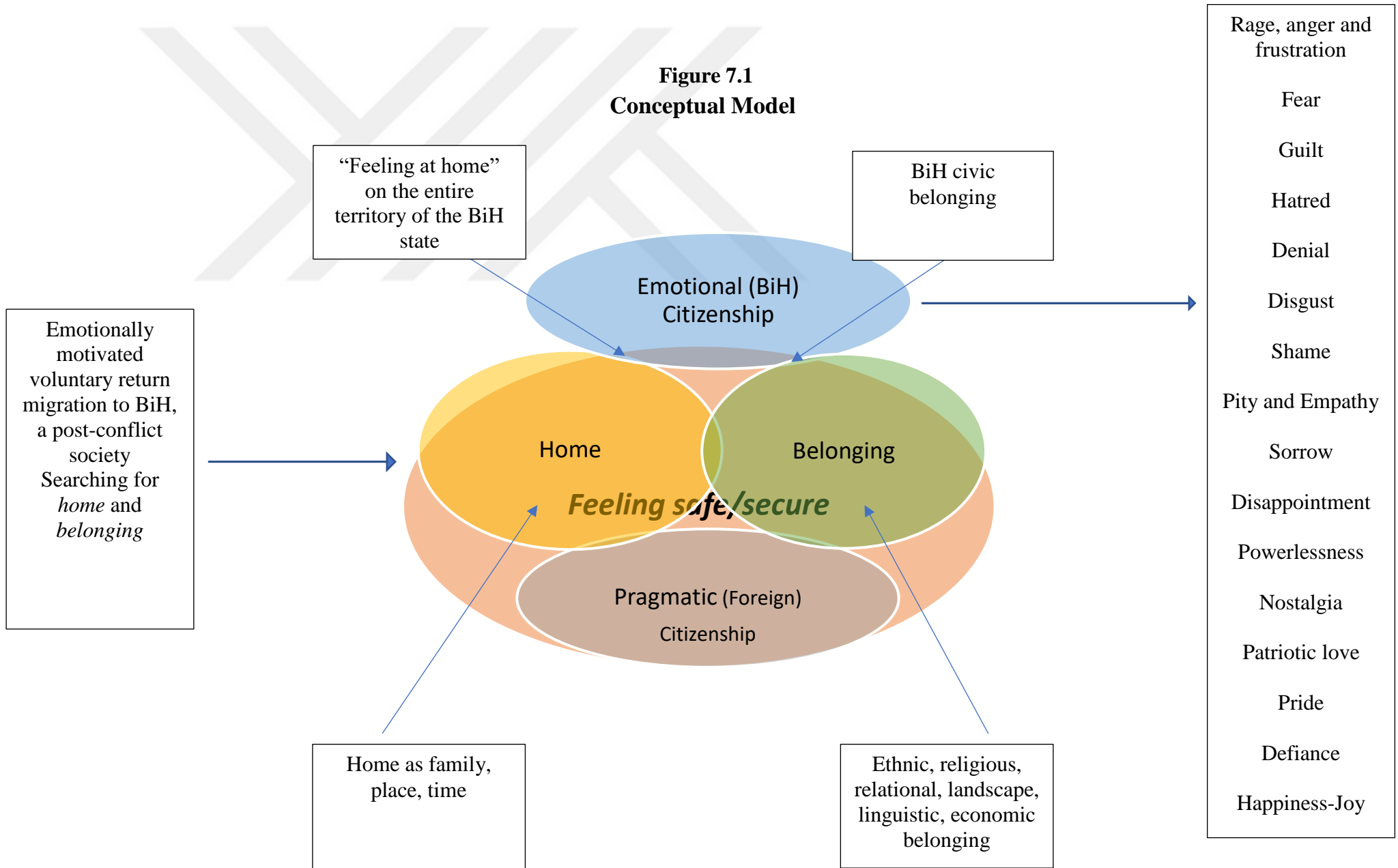
⁹³ The documentary with English subtitles can be found at: Al Jazeera Balkans. (2018). *Regioskop: Nestajanje*. Retrieved from <http://balkans.aljazeera.net/video/regioskop-nestajanje>

reintegration; discussed the returnees' strategies for overcoming these obstacles and their evaluation of the success of return. **Chapter 4** firstly examined the relationship between pragmatic and emotional citizenship and subsequently explored the distinct set of historically-rooted and context-dependent emotions constituting the BiH citizenship. Finally, **Chapter 5** explored the ways in which the returnees' construct their understanding of home and belonging.

The main theoretical argument of this Ph.D. study is that, unlike previous studies on emotional citizenship (Ho, 2009 and Jackson, 2016), where home and belonging are instrumental to the understanding of emotional citizenship, citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who have voluntarily returned to live and work in the home state do not associate their feeling of "being at home" and their sense of belonging directly to their BiH citizenship. In other words, the emotional dimension of BiH citizenship is *not* conceptualized as home and belonging. The main explanation provided by this Ph.D. project is that the citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an unconsolidated, contested state and a post-conflict society, does *not* make the respondents feel secure, which is the main reason why respondents do *not* conceptualize the emotional dimension of citizenship as home and belonging. In other words, when asked what it feels like to be a BiH citizen, the returnees do not invoke the notions of home and belonging, mainly because the feeling of "being at home" and "belonging" requires the key component of security/safety. Security is derived from the second, pragmatic citizenship, as well as various dimensions of home and belonging, but *not* from the BiH citizenship. "Feeling at home" for all citizens of BiH on the entire territory of the state of BiH to a small extent provides the possibility for the emotional dimensions of BiH citizenship to be conceptualized as home, however, direct and indirect consequences of the most recent war further impede this proposition. Similarly, inherent challenges in sustainable civic belonging create further difficulties for the emotional dimension of BiH citizenship to be conceptualized as belonging.

The argument advanced above is supported by qualitative data analysis of thirty five in-depth interviews consisting of inductive and deductive thematic coding and iterative procedures of pattern seeking, assisted by the technical functionality of NVIVO 11. A full coding scheme is provided in Coding Scheme – Appendix VII and a complete list of codes, together with each code’s label, definition, description, inclusion/exclusion criteria and textual example, is given in the Codebook - Appendix VIII. Seeking patterns based on co-occurrence of codes within coding units was the main tool to: identify associations; put forward propositions and formulate explanations. Matrix query results are presented in Appendix IX and together with the analytic memos, they form the main structure around which a “theorized storyline” (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007) was built in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Finally, putting everything together resulted in a conceptual model, which captures the majority of the dataset and “re-stories” the interviews “into a framework that makes sense” (Creswell, 2007, p.56). The conceptual model is supported by matrices used for Chapters 3, 4 and 5 and represents a summation of data patterns, as they were revealed throughout data analysis. A detailed account of the exact methods used to reach these conclusion together with an audit trail tracing each conclusion to the raw data is provided in Chapter 2 – Research Methods. A visual display of the conceptual model, summarizing the argument proposed above is presented in Figure 7.1.

**Figure 7.1
Conceptual Model**



Further Research – Theory Development

As was elaborated in the Methodology chapter, this Ph.D. project mainly relied on inductive thematic coding and seeking patterns in the data, based on which associations between concepts were identified, propositions put forward and explanations formulated. The processes of description, comparison and conceptualization were finalized with the production of a conceptual model. The conceptual model formulates a set of connections between the key theoretical concepts this Ph.D. dissertation examines: voluntary return migration, emotional citizenship, pragmatic citizenship, home, belonging and a set of specific emotions. From a methodological standpoint, the outcome of the Ph.D. thesis is exploratory and explanatory, however, the existing dataset lends itself to further analysis with potential for a theoretical contribution. In that sense, results of this Ph.D. project can be viewed as presenting a solid platform for further research and providing an answer to a higher-level theoretical question, with potential for application in comparative work on voluntary return migration to post-conflict societies. As was mentioned in the Methodology Chapter, the existing dataset could be used to answer the question: “Under which conditions does voluntary return migration to a post-conflict society happen?” by application of a grounded theory method of data analysis, specifically the Strauss and Corbin (1998) coding framework.

Although Strauss & Corbin (1998) do not prescribe a certain order to the coding stages, open coding which could be simply thought of as inductive thematic coding, is its first and most basic phase. As can be seen by the terminology used by Strauss & Corbin (1998), data analysis for this Ph.D. study completed the open coding phase. During this phase, looking at each category, several properties or subcategories are identified and data is found to dimensionalize each property. Data is used to show the extremes on a continuum of the property (Cresswell, 2007). In the words of Strauss & Corbin (1998) open coding is “the analytic process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in the

data” (p. 101). This is the process of breaking down the data and closely examining it – comparing it for similarities and differences. Creswell (2007) discusses the importance of “constant comparison” during which the researcher “saturates” the categories with data and continues to look for new data that would provide fresh perspectives to the category. In general, open coding is the process of “reducing the database to a small set of themes or categories that characterize the process or action being explored in the grounded theory study” (Creswell, 2007, p. 160). As could be seen from the description of open coding, the results of this Ph.D. dissertation rely on the open (inductive thematic) coding scheme, which was developed during data analysis.

In order to move towards theory building, the subsequent phases of axial and selective coding would be applied to the existing dataset. Creswell (2007) provides a succinct summary of axial coding as procedures in which “the researcher identifies a central phenomenon (i.e., a central category about the phenomenon), explores causal conditions (i.e. categories of conditions that influence the phenomenon), specifies strategies (i.e. the actions and interactions that result from the central phenomenon), identifies the context and intervening conditions (i.e. the narrow and broad conditions that influence the strategies), and delineates the consequences (i.e. the outcomes of the strategies) for this phenomenon” (Creswell, 2007, p. 67). Thus, axial coding can be thought of as the beginning step in theory building during which categories begin to be related to each other. With selective coding, hypotheses (propositions), statements that specify relationships between the categories in the coding scheme (Creswell, 2007) would be produced. Selective coding would be the final step in theory building, during which theory would be integrated and refined (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Strauss and Corbin (1998) give a detailed account of what is meant by each one of the terms, used as building blocks for the production of theory grounded in data.

- **Central phenomenon/Core category** – answers the question “what is going on here” (p. 130). It needs to be central so that all other categories can relate to it;

be frequently present in the data and sufficiently abstract in order to lead to the development of more substantive theory;

- **Causal conditions** are “sets of event that influence the phenomenon” (p. 130).
- **Intervening conditions** “mitigate or otherwise alter the impact of causal conditions” (p.130).
- **Contextual conditions** “have their source in causal (and intervening) conditions and are the product of how they crosscut to combine into various patterns dimensionally” (p. 132).
- **Strategies** are “deliberate acts that are taken to resolve a problem and in so doing shape the phenomenon in some way” (p. 133).
- **Consequences** are “outcomes of actions/interactions...represented by questions as to what happens as a result of those actions/interactions” (p. 128-129).

The core category/phenomenon, around which axial and selective coding would take place in a follow-up research project would be “voluntary return migration to a post-conflict society.”

When looking for answers to questions of why, when or how does “voluntary return migration to a post-conflict society” happen, the central phenomenon would be situated within a certain structure (set of conditions), which in turn set the stage for process, actions and interactions (strategies and consequences) between persons, communities and organizations. Theory production would be enabled when structure and process are integrated and linked to the central phenomenon. As an illustrative example of a standard in application of the Strauss and Corbin (1998) methodology, Creswell (2007) points to a study by Morrow and Smith (2007), including a visualization of the theoretical model comprising the phenomenon, causal, intervening and conditions together with the strategies and outcomes.

Appendices

Appendix I – In-depth interview structure

Hello! My name is Aida and, as I explained in my letter, I am completing a Ph.D. in Political Science at Istanbul Bilgi University in Istanbul, Turkey. My Ph.D. study is about the emotional dimension of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian citizenship.

- Is it alright if I audio record this interview? Thank you.
- Let me take a second to test my equipment. Also, could you please sign the informed consent/Ethics Committee form. Thank you.
- The interview will consist of two parts. Firstly, I will collect some demographic information involving short questions and answers. We will then move on to the second part of the interview, lasting approximately one hour. During this time we will discuss your views on citizenship, belonging home, as well as your personal story of emigration, life abroad and return
- Do you have any other questions or concerns before we start the interview? Thank you.
- We will now start with the first part of the interview, concerning basic demographic data:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Gender | 12. Legal status abroad |
| 2. Age | 13. Profession |
| 3. Place of birth | 14. Education |
| 4. Place of current residence | 15. Current employment status |
| 5. Host country | 16. Monthly income |
| 6. Marital status/Family size | 17. Citizenship |
| 7. Parents (need for their care) | 18. Minority/majority return |
| 8. Residence of extended family and friends | 19. Ethnicity |
| 9. Age when leaving BiH | 20. Religion |
| 10. Age when returning to BiH | 21. Level of religiosity (1-5) 1=not religious; 5=devoutly religious |
| 11. Time abroad | 22. Languages (active usage) |

Appendix II – In-depth interview guide

1. What does being a BiH citizen make you feel? Which emotions do you feel?

Probes: Annual Srebrenica memorials? Political rhetoric including a new RS referendum or the formation of a third entity? Prospects of Bosnia and Herzegovina joining the EU? Constant threats of renewed hostilities? Dayton reality? BiH soccer team playing at the 2015 FIFA World Cup? (POLITICAL EMOTIONS, EMOTIONAL CITIZENSHIP) **Probes:** How did/do you feel when you: see the BiH flag or hear the BiH national anthem; use the BiH passport at the border control; attempt to resolve an administrative issue; vote; pay taxes to the BiH government? (CITIZENSHIP PRACTICES) **Probes:** Comparison of emotions towards BiH citizenship and your second citizenship. (PRAGMATIC/FLEXIBLE CITIZENSHIP)

2. What does the idea of ‘belonging’ mean to you? Why is the idea of belonging to BiH important to you?

Probes: Childhood memories/Friends and family/Neighborhood, municipality, city/Bank accounts/”Buy domestic” campaign/Investment decisions/Language (BELONGING-PLACE BELONGINGNESS-AUTOBIOGRAPHIC/ RELATIONAL/ECONOMIC/LINGUISTIC) **Probes:** Feeling as an “outsider”/”different”/”second class citizen” in the home/host country? Feeling that way in BiH? (BELONGING-POLITICS OF BELONGING-BOUNDARY MAKING) **Probes:** Belonging “here and there”/Being “in between”. (BELONGING-POLITICS OF BELONGING-MYTH OF RETURN)

3. What does “being at home” feel to you? Do you feel that way in BiH?

Probes: Physical home – prewar/postwar? Natural environment? Nostalgia for prewar past? Homeownership abroad? Feeling at home everywhere? (HOME AS PHYSICAL/SENSE OF PLACE/TIME/COSMOPOLITAN INDIFFERENCE) **Probes:** Some specific things, events, behavior, people, food, drink, rituals from BiH which give you a feeling of “being at home” and some of those from the host country? What did you miss most from BiH while you stayed abroad and vice versa?

4. Describe your departure from BiH. Why did you leave? What did you feel when leaving BiH? What was the most difficult thing to deal with emotionally?
5. Describe your life while living abroad. What did you feel while living abroad?
6. Why did you return to Bosnia and Herzegovina?
7. What did you feel when you came back to Bosnia and Herzegovina? In what way have your feelings changed over time?
8. What are some of the challenges and obstacles you faced upon your return?
9. How did you overcome these obstacles?
10. What do you make of your return so far? What does a successful return mean for you?

Appendix III - Recruitment letter

(The version of the Recruitment Letter and Informed Consent Form presented here is in English, while the actual letter was distributed to study participants as a Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian translation.)

Dear Sir/Madame,

My name is Aida Ibričević and I am completing a Ph.D. in Political Science at Istanbul Bilgi University in Istanbul, Turkey. My Ph.D. study is about the emotional dimension of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian citizenship. I would like to interview members of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian diaspora who have returned to live and work in BiH. The interview will take approximately 1-1.5 hours and it will be an informal discussion revolving around issues of citizenship, emotions, diaspora and a sense of home and belonging.

Each interview with study participants will be audio recorded with written transcripts prepared. All interviews will be entirely confidential and I will be the only person to have access to the audio recordings. All personal identifiers will be removed from the interview transcripts and thus will never become part of my dissertation or any other publication resulting from this research.

If you have any further questions about my research project, please do not hesitate to contact me at: aida.ibricevic@bilgiedu.net. I sincerely thank you for considering this request and I look forward to hearing from you.

Best regards,

Aida Ibričević

Appendix IV - Informed consent form

The objective and purpose of my Ph.D. study is to improve our theoretical understanding of the emotional dimension of citizenship and the concrete application of these theoretical constructs to the case of individuals returning from the abroad to live and work in their homeland, Bosnia and Herzegovina. I am interested in your story of leaving the country; returning back home and your emotional experience of BiH citizenship, your sense of belonging and home. Although there are no direct benefits to your participation in my study, I am convinced that your participation will greatly contribute to my study, whose findings, I hope, will in turn add to an enhanced understanding of the connections between citizenship and human emotions and to a more meaningful understanding between citizens in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Your participation in my study does not pose any type of risk to you or to your environment. I ask you to participate in my study by taking part in one in-depth interview, lasting 60 to 90 minutes. The in-depth interview will be recorded and the audio material will be transcribed. If you like, I could send you the completed transcript for your review and verification. Your privacy will be guaranteed as personally identifying information will never be made public in any way. Your participation in my study is entirely voluntary and it can be stopped at any point and for any reason.

Name of study participant

Signature

Time and place

Appendix V – Ethics Committee Evaluation Result

ETİK KURUL DEĞERLENDİRME SONUCU/RESULT OF EVALUATION BY THE ETHICS COMMITTEE

(Bu bölüm İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul tarafından
doldurulacaktır /This section to be completed by the Committee on Ethics in research
on Humans)

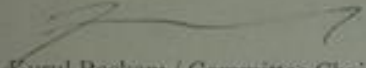
Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant: Aida Ibricevic

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: Searching for Home and Belonging: A Qualitative
Study To Understand The "Emotional Citizenship" of Diaspora Returning to Bosnia
and Herzegovina

Proje No. / Project Number: 2017-20019-64

1.	Herhangi bir değişikliğe gerek yoktur / There is no need for revision	XX
2.	Ret/ Application Rejected Reddin gerekçesi / Reason for Rejection	

Değerlendirme Tarihi / Date of Evaluation: 23 Haziran 2017


Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair

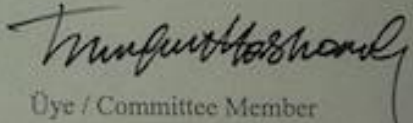
Doç. Dr. Itr Erhart


Üye / Committee Member

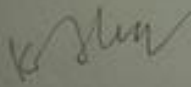
Prof. Dr. Aslı Tunç


Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak


Üye / Committee Member

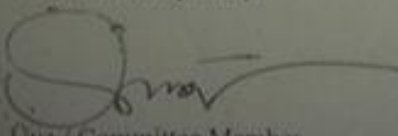
Prof. Dr. Turgut Tarhanlı


Üye / Committee Member

Doç. Dr. Koray Akay


Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Ali Demirel


Üye / Committee Member

Doç. Dr. Ayhan Özgür Toy

Appendix VI – Demographic data

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Place of Birth	Place of Residence	Host country	Prewar residence	Lives in prewar residence	Marital Status/Family Size	Parents (need for care?)	Where do most of your family and friends live?	Age at leaving	Age at return	Time abroad	Legal status abroad	Profession	Education	Current employment status	Monthly Income post-tax in KM (1 EURO = 1.95 KM)	Citizenship	Minority return	Ethnicity	Religion	Level of religiosity (1-5) 1=not religious 5=devoutly religious
Admir	M	37	Foča	Sarajevo	US	Destroyed during war and sold after the war	No	Married/1 child	Both alive, do not need care	BiH	21	31	2001-2011	Refugee, work permit, citizenship	Musician	B.A. in Music	Freelancer	2000 KM	BiH and US	No	BiH/Others	Islam	1
Adnan	M	46	Zenica	Sarajevo	Turkey/Spain	Undamaged	No	Married/3 children	Both alive, do not need care	BiH and world	19	39	1991-2011	Citizenship - Turkey and Work Permit-Spain	Restaurant Owner	High School	Owner	5000 KM	BiH and Turkey	No	Bosniak	Islam	3
Alija	M	37	Prijedor	Prijedor/Sarajevo	Holland	Refugees in house during the war and later left.	Yes	Single/0 children	Both alive, do not need care	Most family members including parents live in Holland. Friends all over the world.	11	27	1992-2008	Permanent residence and citizenship	NGO Founder	M.A.	Founder and President	2500 KM	BiH and Holland	Yes	BiH/Others	Islam	2
Alma	F	52	Travnik	Sarajevo	Germany	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	No	Married/3 children	Mother alive and care is not needed	Friends are around the world and relatives in Sarajevo	27	34	1992-1999	Refugee	Teacher	M.A.	Owner	1100 KM	BiH	No	BiH/Others	Agnostic	1
Amir	M	40	Prijedor	Prijedor	Turkey	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	Yes	Married/2 children	Mother is alive and does not need care.	All around the world and Prijedor	15	39	1993-2000 and 2006-2016	Student and work permit	Teacher	B.A.	Unemployed	800 KM (miscellaneous jobs)	BiH	Yes	BiH/Others	Islam	3
Anastasija	F	44	Mostar	Mostar	Serbia and Montenegro	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	Yes	Unmarried	Alive, do not need care	All around the world.	19	26	1992-1999	Refugee and Citizenship	Teacher/Political Activist	B.A. in Law	Freelancer	200 KM	BiH and Montenegro	Yes	Serb	Orthodox Christianity	1
Arif	M	56	Kozarac	Kozarac	Norway	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	No	Married/3 children	Alive, do not need care	Norway and Kozarac	31	47	1992-2007	Refugee, work permit, citizenship	Farmer	High School	Owner	3500 KM	BiH and Norway	Yes	Bosniak	Islam	3















Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Place of Birth	Place of Residence	Host country	Prewar residence	Lives in prewar residence	Marital Status/Family Size	Parents (need for care?)	Where do most of your family and friends live?	Age at leaving	Age at return	Time abroad	Legal status abroad	Profession	Education	Current employment status	Monthly Income post-tax in KM (1 EURO = 1.95 KM)	Citizenship	Minority return	Ethnicity	Religion	Level of religiosity (1-5) 1=not religious 5=devoutly religious
Badema	F	25	Dortmund	Srebrenica	Germany	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	Yes	Unmarried	Alive, do not need care	Abroad and one friend Sarajevo	N/A	8 months	1998	N/A	Student	B.A.	Student	0	BiH	Yes	BiH/Others	Islam	3.5
Bakir	M	61	Srebrenica	Srebrenica	Germany	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	Yes	Married, 9 children	Not alive	Sarajevo, Germany, USA, Tuzla	23	54	1970-1999	Work Permit	Miner	Prim. Education	Owner of horse stables	N/A	BiH, German Residence Permit	Yes	Bogumil	Islam	5
Damir	M	44	Sanski Most	Sanski Most	Germany	Undamaged	Yes	Married/3 children	Alive, do not need care	Abroad and in Sanski Most	18	22	1992-1996	Refugee and temporary residence permit	Metal construction	High School	Owner	4000 KM	BiH	No	Bosniak	Islam	3
Draško	M	31	Dervent	Derventa	Switzerland	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	Yes	Unmarried	Alive, do not need care	BiH and Switzerland	6	23	1992-2010	Citizenship	Technician	B.A.	Owner and Manager	Above average	BiH and Switzerland	No	Serb	Orthodox Christianity	3
Elmir	M	49	Karlovac	Sarajevo, V. Kladuša	Germany	Undamaged and owned	No	Married/2 children	Not alive	V. Kladuša and Krajina	25	33	1994-2000	Refugee	Manager	Technician	Owner and Manager	4000 KM	BiH and Croatia	No	Bosniak	Islam	1
Elvis	M	42	Prijedor	Prijedor	US	Damaged in war, refugees and renovated postwar.	Yes	Divorced/1 child	Alive, need care	US	17	40	1992-2015	Refugee, work permit, citizenship	Tribologist	Mechanical Engineer	Employee	3000 KM	BiH and US	Yes	BiH/Others	Agnostic	3
Ema	F	36	Dervent	Derventa	Austria	Destroyed during war	No	Unmarried, lives with partner	Alive, do not need care	Europe, Croatia	11	35	1992-2016	Work Permit	Economist	B.A.	Owner and Manager	0	BiH and Croatia	Yes	European	Christianity	1
Emir	M	43	Sarajevo	East Sarajevo, RS	Slovenia/Finland	Apartment in SA damaged and renovated-	No, lives in his B&B	Married/2 children	Mother died, Father alive and needs care	Slovenia and all over the world	20.5	39	18.5 years 1995-2013	Slovenian citizenship	B&B owner, caretaker	High School	Self-employed/Business owner	500	BiH and Slovenia	Yes	BiH/Others	Atheist	1













Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Place of Birth	Current residence	Host country	Prewar residence	Lives in prewar residence	Marital Status /Family Size	Parents (need for care?)	Where do most of your family and friends live?	Age at leaving	Age at return	Time abroad	Legal status abroad	Profession	Education	Current employment status	Income (monthly), post-tax in KM (1 EURO = 1.95 KM)	Citizenship	Minority return	Ethnicity	Religion	Level of religiosity (1-5) 1=not religious 5=devoutly religious
Ervin	M	52	Sarajevo	Sarajevo and Washington D.C.	US	Undamaged and owned	No	Married/1 child	Mother alive and care is needed	Sarajevo	29	48	1995-2014	Refugee, work permit, citizenship	IT manager	B.A.	Owner	30000 KM	BiH and US	No	Bosniak	Islam	2
Gavrilo	M	54	Gacko	Nevesinje	Italy	Undamaged and owned	Yes, partly	Divorced/1 child	Not alive	All around the world and Nevesinje	30	37	1996-2003	1 year unreg. 6 work permit	Owner /Manager	B.A.	Owner and Manager	1000 KM	BiH	No	Serb	Orthodox Christianity	3
Hrvoje	M	50	Sarajevo	Ljubuški/Sarajevo	Macedonia and 16 other countries	Undamaged and owned	Yes	Married/1 child	Mother alive and care is needed	Sarajevo	28	36	1999-2007	Work Permit	Manager	M.A.	Owner and Co-owner	5000 KM	BiH and Croatia	Yes	Croat	Catholic	3
Husein	M	51	Maglaj	Žepče	Switzerland	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	Yes	Married/3 children	Alive, do not need care	Austria, Germany and Switzerland	20	37	1986-2003	Work Permit and Citizenship	HR Manager	B.A.	Owner	N/A	BiH and Switzerland	No	Bosniak	Islam	2.5
Lejla	F	32	Sarajevo	Sarajevo	US		No	Divorced/1 child			19	24	5 years	2004-2009	Yoga Instructor	Associate Degree	Self-employed/Business owner	2000	BiH	No	Bosniak	Yoga	3
Mahir	M	30	Sarajevo	Sarajevo	Czech, Poland, Hungary, Italy, Belgium	Apartment in SA damaged and renovated-	Yes, lives in that apartment with his sister	Single /0 children	Father died, Mother alive and does not need care	Family in Bihać and friends all over the world.	5	29	18 years 1992-1998 and 2004-2016	Student and work permit	Foundation Director	M.A., L.L.M., Ph.D.	Fulltime employee	2100	BiH	No	Bosniak	Islam	3
Marija	F	30	Jajce	Jajce	Germany	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	No	Married/2 children	Alive, do not need care	Abroad and Jajce	4	10	1992-1998	Work Permit (via parents)	Manager	M.A.	Employee	Above average	BiH and Croatia	No	Croat	Catholic	3
Mehmed	M	32	Sarajevo	Sarajevo	Australia	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	Yes	Unmarried	Alive, do not need care	Sarajevo and Australia	9	27	1995-2012	Refugee and Citizenship	Aviation	Piloting license	Employee	1200	BiH and Australia	No	Bosniak	Islam	5

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Place of Birth	Current residence	Host country	Prewar residence	Lives in prewar residence	Marital Status /Family Size	Parents (need for care?)	Where do most of your family and friends live?	Age at leaving	Age at return	Time abroad	Legal status abroad	Profession	Education	Current employment status	Income (monthly), post-tax in KM (1 EURO = 1.95 KM)	Citizenship	Minority return	Ethnicity	Religion	Level of religiosity (1-5) 1=not religious 5=devoutly religious
Mensura	F	25	Celje, Slovenia	Kozarac	Norway	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	No	Married/1 child	Alive, do not need care	Norway and UK	0	21	1992-2015	Citizenship	Marketing manager	B.A.	Employee	3000 KM	BiH and Norway	Yes	Bosniak	Islam	3
Mirela	F	36	Sarajevo	Sarajevo	US	Summer house destroyed during war	No, owns an apartment	Married/no children	Both alive, do not need care	NYC; Kuwait, Sarajevo	14	28	14 years 1995-2009	Student 8 years, Work permit 6 years	Marketing manager	B.A.	Self-employed/Business owner	3000	BiH	No	Bosniak	Islam/Transcendental meditation	1
Nervan	M	33	Gračanica	Gračanica	Turkey	Undamaged and owned	Yes	Unmarried	Alive, do not need care	Turkey, BiH and Croatia	20	31	2004-2015	Student and tourist visa	Architect	B.A.	Unemployed	0	BiH	No	Bosniak/BiH	Islam	1
Nusret	M	49	Prijedor	Prijedor	Switzerland	Undamaged	No	Married/3 children	Not alive	Prijedor and abroad	20	32	1988-2000	Work Permit	Metal construction	High School graduate	Owner	2000 KM	BiH	Yes	Bosniak	Islam	3
Reuf	M	36	Camberra	Sarajevo	Australia, USA and Turkey	N/A	No	Married/2 children	Mother alive and care is not needed	Australia, BiH, all over the world	Born abroad	35	Came back in 2016	Citizenship	Actor/Filmmaker	B.A.	Owner and Manager	N/A	Australia	No	Bosniak	Islam	5
Salih	M	64	Rogatica	Sarajevo, Počitelj, Venice and Paris	Italy	Damaged in war, renovated postwar.	No	Married/2 children	Not alive	Sarajevo	48	52	1992-1996	Work Permit and Citizenship	Painter/Artist	PhD in Painting	Freelancer/Owner	10000 KM	BiH and Italy	Yes	BiH/Others	Atheist/Islam/Art	1
Sanela	F	36	Banja Luka	Sarajevo	Greece and US	Damaged in war, renovated postwar. Currently rented.	No	Married/1 child	Both alive, do not need care	US and BiH	11	32	1992-2012	Citizenship	NGO Founder and President	M.A. in Political Science	Owner	3000 KM	BiH and US	No	BiH/Others	Islam	1
Selim	M	53	Bijelo Polje	Banja Luka	Turkey and Germany	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	Yes	Married/4 children	Not alive	Relatives in Switzerland, Germany and Sarajevo. Friends around the world.	28	37	1992-2001	Refugee/Unregistered to obtain employment	Restaurant owner	High School	Owner	3000 KM	BiH, Croatia and Montenegro	Yes	Bosniak	Islam	3





Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Place of Birth	Current residence	Host country	Prewar residence	Lives in prewar residence	Marital Status /Family Size	Parents (need for care?)	Where do most of your family and friends live?	Age at leaving	Age at return	Time abroad	Legal status abroad	Profession	Education	Current employment status	Income (monthly), post-tax in KM (1 EURO = 1.95 KM)	Citizenship	Minority return	Ethnicity	Religion	Level of religiosity (1-5) 1=not religious 5=devoutly religious
Senad	M	45	Sarajevo	Sarajevo	US	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	Yes	Married/2 children	Both alive, do not need care	Family in BH, Friends all over the world	23	31	8 years 1995 - 2003	6 years student, 2 years work permit	Manager	M.A.	Representative in the House of Peoples	3200	BiH	No	BiH/Others	Atheist	1
Siniša	M	50	Buenos Aires	Trebinje	Argentina	N/A	No	Married/7 children	Not alive	All around the world and Trebinje	N/A	40	1967-2007	Citizenship	Dentist	B.A.	Owner and Manager	3000 KM	Argentina, Serbia and BiH	No	Serb	Orthodox Christianity	3
Vedad	M	47	Sarajevo	Sarajevo	Germany	Damaged in war, renovated postwar	No	Married/4 children	Not alive	Sarajevo	22	39	1993-2009	Student and work permit	Phys Ther	B.A.	Owner and Manager	N/A	BiH	No	Bosniak	Islam	3
Vlado	M	40	Trebinje	Trebinje	Switzerland	Damaged in war, renovated postwar.	Yes	Divorced/0 child	Both alive, do not need care	Trebinje and abroad. All family members live in Switzerland.	13	35	1991-2012	Permanent residence and Citizenship	Painter	High School	Owner	2000 KM	BiH and Switzerland	No	E.T./Others/Serb	Buddhism	2

Appendix VII - Coding scheme

Name		Sources	References	Created On	Crea...	Modified On	Modifi...	Color
▼ 1. Open Coding		0	0	08/11/17	AI	08/07/18	AI	
1. DECISION		33	67	09/11/17	AI	08/07/18	AI	
▼ 2. ECO. REAS.		15	18	08/11/17	AI	08/07/18	AI	
BO BiH		14	19	19/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
GFC		3	3	09/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
Glob. Cap.		9	20	09/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
▼ 3. EMO. REAS.		32	64	09/11/17	AI	08/07/18	AI	
Enth.		14	24	09/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
Fam. ties		24	29	01/06/18	AI	12/07/18	AI	
HP-Res.		16	48	09/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
M of M		8	14	09/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
T&R		10	25	03/06/18	AI	12/07/18	AI	
▼ 4. OBST.		6	8	09/11/17	AI	08/07/18	AI	
Bur.		25	76	11/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
Cond. Bus.		20	93	11/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
Cont. Emigra.		7	13	14/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
Corr.-Nep.-Uneth.		29	114	08/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
Ethn. Div.-Disc.		30	113	10/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
Healthcare		8	15	11/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
Jobs		18	64	09/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
Low liv. stds-Stag.		17	49	08/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
Ment. - Victim.		28	100	09/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	
Pol. Uncert.		19	47	11/11/17	AI	12/07/18	AI	

▼ ● 5. OVER. OBST		0	0	09/11/17	AI	08/07/18	AI
● Act.-Org.-Pro.		10	21	13/11/17	AI	13/07/18	AI
● Adapt.		5	7	10/11/17	AI	13/07/18	AI
● Humor		5	6	11/11/17	AI	13/07/18	AI
● Pat.-Pol.-Pers.		15	26	11/11/17	AI	13/07/18	AI
● Res. & Self-rel.		26	50	09/11/17	AI	13/07/18	AI
● Self-Emp.		5	5	09/11/17	AI	13/07/18	AI
● Think alt.		9	16	12/11/17	AI	13/07/18	AI
● Tune out		8	29	08/11/17	AI	13/07/18	AI
▼ ● 6. EVAL. RET.		34	55	09/11/17	AI	08/07/18	AI
● No Success		3	4	12/05/18	AI	13/07/18	AI
● Par. Success		5	5	12/05/18	AI	13/07/18	AI
● Success		32	52	12/05/18	AI	13/07/18	AI
● 7. 1st (BH) CITIZEN.		35	381	11/05/18	AI	09/07/18	AI
● 8. 2nd (FOR) CITIZEN.		27	48	08/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
▼ ● 9. EMOTIONS		35	616	08/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
▼ ● NEGATIVE		34	287	27/01/18	AI	13/07/18	AI
● 1. Anger-Rage-Fr...		28	93	09/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
● 2. Sorrow		22	49	08/11/17	AI	11/06/18	AI
● 3. Dis.		16	29	13/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
● 4. Fear		12	26	08/11/17	AI	11/06/18	AI
● 5. Power.-Hum.-H...		14	29	19/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
● 6. Pity-Empathy		8	16	11/11/17	AI	11/06/18	AI
● 7. Disgust		6	12	08/11/17	AI	15/06/18	AI

8. Guilt		7	10	09/11/17	AI	11/06/18	AI
9. Denial		3	5	09/11/17	AI	11/06/18	AI
91. Shame		7	10	08/11/17	AI	11/06/18	AI
92. Hatred		7	8	09/11/17	AI	11/06/18	AI
▼ 92. POSITIVE		35	328	27/01/18	AI	13/07/18	AI
1. Pat. love		23	57	08/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
2. Pride		21	46	08/11/17	AI	15/06/18	AI
3. Nost.		23	43	08/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
4. Def.-Cour.		8	31	11/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
5. Happ.-Joy		12	16	11/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
6. Hope		15	26	08/11/17	AI	16/06/18	AI
7. Free		9	18	13/05/18	AI	09/07/18	AI
8. Grat.		6	8	12/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
9. Sec.		22	51	08/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
91. Relax.		20	31	13/05/18	AI	09/07/18	AI
91. EMO. INDIFF.		23	70	09/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
▼ 92. HOME - FEEL. AT...		34	128	09/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
▼ 1. Home as place		27	48	09/11/17	AI	21/06/18	AI
1. Neigh-Town-City		15	26	12/05/18	AI	09/07/18	AI
2. Phys. house		16	24	11/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
3. Region		9	12	15/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
4. State		8	10	12/05/18	AI	09/07/18	AI
▼ 2. Home in time		8	8	09/11/17	AI	21/06/18	AI
1. Present		6	8	12/05/18	AI	09/07/18	AI

● 2. Past		9	15	12/05/18	AI	09/07/18	AI
● 3. Family		12	25	08/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
▼ ● 93. BELONGING		4	4	08/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
● 1. Relational		22	40	08/11/17	AI	22/07/18	AI
● 2. Ethnic		16	37	08/11/17	AI	26/06/18	AI
● 3. Linguistic		24	36	08/11/17	AI	22/07/18	AI
● 4. Civic		16	28	10/11/17	AI	22/07/18	AI
● 5. Religious		14	26	10/11/17	AI	22/07/18	AI
● 6. Landscape		15	26	10/11/17	AI	24/06/18	AI
● 7. Economic		12	21	08/11/17	AI	24/06/18	AI
● In between		30	44	08/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
● Outsider		35	86	08/11/17	AI	09/07/18	AI
▶ ● 94. Miscellaneous		5	14	09/11/17	AI	11/06/18	AI

Appendix VIII – Codebook

(Boyatzis, 1998)

LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE
DECISION (Parent node)	“DECISION” refers to the mental process involved in deciding to return to BiH from the host country.	Look for “DECISION” in passages where return is initially discussed.	Inc: People talk about why they returned. Exc: People discuss the success of their return.	“I decided to return when I first came back to visit my parents.”
ECO. REAS. (Parent node)	“ECO. REAS.” refers to all the stated factors of economic self-interest influencing the decision to return to BiH. Types of economic reasons are: BOBiH, Glob.Cap and GFC.	Look for “ECO. REAS.” in response to the question “Why did you return?”	Inc: People discuss any economic reasons for their decision. Exc: People talk about any emotional reasons for their decision.	“I decided to return because, finally, a job was waiting for me in Sarajevo.”
BO BiH	“BO BiH” refers to a business opportunity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which acted as an economic “pull factor” and thus influenced the decision to return.	Specifically, look for “BO BiH”, which could be a job offer or the possibility of starting a company in BiH.	Inc: People discuss a specific business opportunity in BiH. Exc: People talk about any general issues concerning the economy.	“I always wanted to be my own boss and returning to BiH would give me that chance.”
Glob. Cap.	“Glob. Cap.” refers to a discussion of the pros and cons of global capitalism, affecting decisions to migrate from and to the home/host country.	Look for “Glob. Cap.” whenever the respondent is comparing the economic conditions between the home and host state.	Inc: People discussing labor relations, access to capital, taxation and other economic factors when comparing the home and host states. Exc: Any non-economic comparison between the home and host states.	“The greatest tax burden here is the 17% VAT, while it would be much higher in Germany.”
GFC	“GFC” refers to the global financial crisis of 2008-2009, which acted as an economic “push factor” for return migration.	Look for “GFC” in passages where the respondent discusses reasons for return having to do with deteriorating economic conditions in the host state, particularly the U.S.	Inc: Specific discussions of the Wall Street crash, the demise of investment banks such as Lehman Brothers or Bear Sterns, the mortgage crisis and financial deregulation in the U.S. Exc: General economic conditions around the world.	“It was horrible! When Lehman collapsed, I really thought It was the end. I mean, people were throwing themselves out of windows.”

LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE
EMO. REAS. (Parent node)	“EMO. REAS.” refers to all the stated non-economic/ emotional factors influencing the decision to return. Types of emotional reasons are: HP-Res., T&R (Heal, Lone and PTSD), Fam. Ties, Enth., and MM.	Look for “EMO. REAS.” in response to the question “Why did you return?”	Inc: Respondents talking about the non-economic motivations for their return. Exc: Discussions of economic motivations for return.	“I just wanted to a part of something greater than myself. Bosnia is that for me.”
HP-Res.	“HP-Res.” refers to the sense of higher purpose and responsibility the returnee feels towards BIH and thus feels compelled to return.	Look for “HP-Res” in passages where respondents discuss their emotional indebtedness to the home state and a desire to give back and contribute.	Inc: Respondents specifically discussing issues of higher purpose, gaining meaning, giving back, responsibility and contribution to BiH. Exc: Any economic reasons for return, as well as other specifically non-economic motivations, such as meaninglessness of materialism. HP-Res is in reference to the home state and not criticism of the host state.	“My mission was to live a more meaningful life and contribute to the lives of people I grew up with.”
T&R	“T&R’ refers to instances when trauma and recovery, such as loneliness experience abroad, symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) or the process of healing trauma are discussed in the context of return to BIH.	Look for “T&R” when respondents discuss their wartime, refugee or return experiences.	Inc: Discussions of trauma incurred from the collective experience of being a BiH citizen and how this experience has affected the decision to return. Exc: Any other emotional reasons for return, particularly family ties, as well as any economic motivations.	“I am proud, proud of the suffering we sustained and still manage to come out on the other side, alive!”

LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE
Fam. Ties	“Fam. Ties” refers to the importance the returnee places on family relations and how this factor has influenced his/her decision to return to BiH.	Look for “Fam. Ties” when participants discuss their relationships with parents, spouse or children and how these relationships have influenced their decision to return.	Inc: Discussions of family relations. Exc: Discussions of any other types of social interaction (e.g. friends, neighbors or compatriots)	“I feel at home with my family and my entire family is in BiH.”
Enth.	“Enth” refers to the enthusiasm the returnee expressed while discussing the decision to return.	Look for descriptions of, particularly initial, sentiments regarding return.	Inc: Enthusiastic responses to the possibility of progress and growth in the home state. Exc: Any other emotions related to return.	“I felt so happy to finally be back with my own people. I really thought that I was home again.”
M of M	“M of M” refers to the meaningless of materialism as a factor in deciding to return.	Look for descriptions of how, according to the participants, materialistic values dominate the capitalistic world.	Inc: Rejection of materialistic values the participant encountered in the host state and how this rejection has influenced the decision to return. Exc: Any other types of criticism of the host state.	“They are all on Prozac because they need a drug to keep them happy. They live for making money and that realization finally started to make me sick. I was sick of it all.”
OBST. (Parent node)	“OBST.” refers to the obstacles the interviewees experienced upon their return to BiH. Obstacles include: Corr.-Nep.-Uneth.; Ethn. Div.-Disc., Ment.-Victim., Cond. Bus., Bur., Jobs, Low liv. stds.-Stag., Pol. Uncert., Cont. Emigra., Healthcare.	Look for “OBST.” in response to the question “What are some of the challenges and obstacles you faced upon your return?”	Inc: General discussion of obstacles. Exc: Specific obstacles encountered.	“There were so many different obstacles. Where do I begin?”
Corr.-Nep.- Uneth.	“Corr.-Nep.-Uneth.” refers to corruption, nepotism and other types of unethical behavior, as obstacles the returnees experienced.	Look for “Corr.-Nep.-Uneth.” in response to the question “What are some of the challenges and obstacles you faced upon your return?”	Inc: Instances of bribes, extortion, nepotism in employment and other types of unethical behavior. Exc: Closely related nodes of ethnic divisions and discrimination, general business conditions and bureaucracy.	“The corruption is everywhere. It makes life in this country impossible!”

LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE
Ethn. Div.-Disc.	“Ethn. Div.-Disc.” refers to ethnic divisions and discrimination based on ethnicity as an obstacle to return.	Look for “Ethn. Div.-Disc.” in response to the question “What are some of the challenges and obstacles you faced upon your return?”	Inc: Discussions of how ethnic divisions and discrimination are an obstacles to return. Exc: Closely related node of corruption, nepotism and unethical behavior.	“Let me tell you honestly. Your ethnicity is your biggest obstacle here. You are discriminated at every corner.”
Ment.-Victim.	“Ment.-Victim.” refers to the often invoked notions of the “general mentality” of people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and an overwhelming sense of victimization and victimhood. Both the “mentality” and sense of “victimhood” was discussed in the context of an obstacle the returnees observed.	Look for “Ment.-Victim.” in response to the question “What are some of the challenges and obstacles you faced upon your return?”	Inc: Instances where assuming the “victim role” impedes development and progress. Exc: Other types of obstacles.	“This makes me so angry When will people realize that they can’t stay in this victim state forever?”
Cond. Bus.	“Cond. Bus.” refers to the general obstacles of conducting business in Bosnia and Herzegovina.	Look for “Cond. Bus.” in response to the question “What are some of the challenges and obstacles you faced upon your return?”	Inc: Discussions of business conditions, seen as an obstacle to return. Exc: Bureaucracy, corruption and high unemployment rates.	“Everything is hard here. Getting even the simplest paper takes forever.”
Bur.	“Bur”. refers to the complicated bureaucratic procedures as an obstacle to life and work in BiH.	Look for “Bur.” in response to the question “What are some of the challenges and obstacles you faced upon your return?”	Inc: Instances of complicated bureaucratic procedures, lack of legal harmonization throughout the country, rapidly changing legislation. Exc: Other types of obstacles, such as business conditions.	“Then you have to get this piece of paper signed in

LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE
Jobs	“Jobs” refers to the lack of jobs in BiH as an obstacle to return.	Look for “Jobs.” in response to the question “What are some of the challenges and obstacles you faced upon your return?”	Inc: Discussion of the high unemployment rate. Exc: Other types of obstacles.	“Jobs. There are no jobs around here. How can I stay here when I can’t find a decent job.”
Low liv. stds.-Stag.	“Low. liv. stds.-Stag.” refers to the low living standards and economic stagnation in BiH as an obstacle to return.	Look for “Low. liv. stds.-Stag.” in response to the question “What are some of the challenges and obstacles you faced upon your return?”	Inc: People talking about the everyday difficulties associated with low living standards and economic stagnation, such as frequent water shortages. Exc: Other types of obstacles, particularly difficulties in conducting business operations	“I am very disappointed by the fact that we have water shortages in the 21 st century in a country abundant in natural water sources.”
Pol. Uncert.	“Pol. Uncert.” refers to the political uncertainty in BiH as an obstacle the returnees discussed.	Look for “Pol. Uncert.” in response to the question “What are some of the challenges and obstacles you faced upon your return?”	Inc: Discussions of threats of renewed conflict, political deadlock and lack of reform progress. Exc: Other types of obstacles, such as the complicated bureaucracy.	“Due to all the events here, I always keep a backup plan. I mean these are the Balkans and there is always some threat of new conflict.”
Cont. Emigra.	“Cont. Emigra.” refers to the continued emigration of BiH citizens as an obstacle.	Look for “Cont. Emigra.” in response to the question “What are some of the challenges and obstacles you faced upon your return?”	Inc: Participants discussing the burning issue of greater and greater numbers of particularly young people having to leave BiH in search for opportunities abroad. Exc: Other obstacles, particularly low living standards.	“It makes me so sad to hear of people leaving this country. Entire families are moving abroad, even people who had jobs here. They just don’t see a future here.”
Healthcare	“Healthcare” refers to the low level of healthcare services the returnees discussed as an obstacle they experienced.	Look for “Healthcare” in response to the question “What are some of the challenges and obstacles you faced upon your return?”	Inc: People discussing the deteriorating state of the healthcare system in BiH. Exc: Other obstacles, such as low living standards.	“My grandfather is not ill. He is just elderly. The doctors here pretty much wrote him off, as he were dead already.”

LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE
OVER. OBST. (Parent node)	“OVER. OBST.” refers to strategies and tactics the returnees employed to overcome the obstacles they faced upon their return to BiH. The types of overcoming obstacles are: Res. & Self-rel., Tune out, Pat-Pol.-Pers., Think alt., Adapt., Self-employ., and Humor.	Look for “OVER. OBST.” when interviewees answer the question: “How did you overcome these obstacles?”	Inc: General discussions of overcoming obstacles. Exc: Specific obstacles overcome.	“What can you do? You figure out ways to overcome them, one by one.”
Res. & Self. Rel.	“Res. & Self. Rel.” refers to returnees discussing how they overcame obstacles faced upon their return to BiH by becoming more resilient and self-reliant.	Look for “Res. & Self. Rel.” when interviewees answer the question: “How did you overcome these obstacles?”	Inc: Participants turning inward, relying on their own resources, to resolve problems they encountered upon their return. Exc: Self-employment as a particular form of resilience and self-reliance.	“After spending the night on that park bench, I only thought about one thing – How can I find work?”
Tune out	“Tune out” refers to returnees “tuning out” from daily political news in BiH as a strategy of overcoming obstacles to return.	Look for “Tune out” when interviewees answer the question: “How did you overcome these obstacles?”	Inc: Instances of people consciously deciding to stay out of the daily news cycle in order to protect their sanity. Exc: Other types of overcoming obstacles, particularly thinking about alternatives.	“Mostly, I avoid watching the news. I mean the more you focus on all that negativity, the less capable you become of dealing with reality.
Pat.-Pol.-Pers.	“Pat.-Pol.-Pers-“ refers to relying on patience, politeness and persistence as a strategy for overcoming obstacles of return.	Look for “Pat.-Pol.-Pers.” when interviewees answer the question: “How did you overcome these obstacles?”	Inc: People discuss the specific virtues of being patient, polite and persistent when dealing with obstacles. Exc: Discussions of how people adapt, which is more general.	“When they say wait for three hours, that is what I do. I patiently wait, like everybody else.”

LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE
Think alt.	“Think alt.” refers to thinking about alternatives, either re-emigrating to the original host state or migrating to a third country as a strategy of overcoming obstacles of return to BiH.	Look for “Think alt.” when interviewees answer the question: “How did you overcome these obstacles?”	Inc: Instances of people discussing other possibilities in case their return to BiH ends up less successful than they expected. Exc: Other ways of overcoming obstacles, particularly tuning out, which does not involve any concrete alternative plans.	“It is not certain that I’ll stay. I mean there is always a backup plan. You have to have one. If things go wrong here...”
Adapt.	“Adapt.” refers to various strategies of adaptation as a strategy of overcoming obstacles.	Look for “Adapt.” when interviewees answer the question: “How did you overcome these obstacles?”	Inc: General discussions of how people “adapt to survive.” Exc: Particular forms of adaptation, such as self-reliance, tuning out or politeness, persistence and patience.	“You adapt. Of course. This is how you survive.”
Self-employ.	“Self-employ.” refers to various options of self-employment, such as freelancing or entrepreneurship as a tactic of overcoming obstacles, mainly the lack of jobs in BiH.	Look for “Self-employ.” when interviewees answer the question: “How did you overcome these obstacles?”	Inc: Participants discussing how they created jobs for themselves. Exc: Other forms of self-reliance.	“In the beginning, I only wanted to provide a basic income for myself and my family. The company grew during the past two decades.”
Humor	“Humor” refers to using humor as a coping mechanism in overcoming obstacles.	Look for “Humor” when interviewees answer the question: “How did you overcome these obstacles?”	Inc: People talk about funny or silly responses to the absurdities of daily life in BiH. Exc: Other types of coping mechanisms.	“Hahaha, they never could understand this about us We find humor even in the most difficult of life’s circumstances.”

LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE
EVAL. RET. (Parent node)	“EVAL. RET.” refers to the returnees’ subjective evaluation of the success of their return to BiH. The three types of evaluation are: Success, No Success and 50-50 Success.	Look for “EVAL. RET.” when participants answer the questions: “What do you make of your return so far? What does a successful return mean for you?”	Inc: General thoughts on return. Exc: Specific results of evaluation (success, no success, partial success)	“Evaluating return is rather hard to do.”
Success	“Success” refers to the returnee’s feelings that his/her return to BiH has overall been successful so far. In this case, the returnee has full intention of remaining in BiH.	Look for “Success” when participants answer the questions: “What do you make of your return so far? What does a successful return mean for you?”	Inc: Discussions of a successful return. Exc: Other types of return evaluation.	“A perfect 10. I am satisfied in every way!”
No Success	“No Success” refers to the returnee’s assessment that the return to BiH has not been successful, and thus the returnee is In the process of actively attempting to re-emigrate.	Look for “No Success” when participants answer the questions: “What do you make of your return so far? What does a successful return mean for you?”	Inc: Discussions of an unsuccessful return and the alternative paths the returnee plans to take Exc: Other types of return evaluation.	“Not successful at all. I am doing everything I can to go abroad. I see no future here.”
Par. Success	“Par. Success” refers to the returnee’s evaluation that the return has been a partial success. The returnee is undecided about either remaining in BiH or re-emigrating.	Look for “Par. Success” when participants answer the questions: “What do you make of your return so far? What does a successful return mean for you?”	Inc: Discussions of a partially successful return. Exc: Other types of return evaluation.	“It is a little bit difficult to say anything conclusive about my return. In some ways it’s been a success and in other not so much.”
1st (BH) CITIZEN.	“1 st (BH) CITIZEN” refers to any discussion of the daily, everyday experience of the first citizenship. In the case of 33 respondents the first citizenship is also BiH citizenship. For two respondents Argentinian and Australian citizenships are the their first citizenship.	Look for “1 st (BH) CITIZEN.” when participants answer the question: “What does being a BiH citizen make you feel?”	Inc: The daily experience of the respondents’ first (BiH) citizenship. Exc: The everyday experience of the second (foreign) citizenship.	“Being a BiH is all about supporting the underdog.”
LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE

2nd (FOR) CITIZEN.	“2 nd (FOR) CITIZEN.” refers to any discussion of the daily, everyday experience of the second citizenship. In the case of 33 respondents the second citizenship is also a foreign citizenship. For two respondents (Argentina and Australia), BiH citizenship is the second one.	Look for 2 nd (FOR) CITIZEN.” when interviewees answer the question: “What does being a foreign country’s citizen make you feel?”	Inc: The everyday experience of the second (foreign) citizenship. Exc: The daily experience of the respondents’ first (BiH) citizenship.	“I feel grateful and secure as a U.S. citizen.”
EMOTIONS (Parent node)	“EMOTIONS” refers of any emotional response discussed by the returnees. Emotions are roughly divided between Positive (Pat. Love, Pride, Nost., Def.-Cour., Happ.-Joy, Hope, Free., Grat., Sec., Relax.) and Negative (Anger-Rage-Frus., Sorrow, Dis., Fear, Power.-Hum.-Help., Pity-Empathy, Disgust, Guilt, Denial, Shame and Hatred).	Look for “EMOTIONS” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Any emotional response, stated in general terms. Exc: Emotional indifference and any specific emotions discussed.	“I feel things move inside me anytime I come back home.”
Pat. Love	“Pat. Love” refers to instances when patriotic love is discussed.	Look for “Pat. Love” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of love towards the country. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned, particularly romantic love or love towards family members.	“Love, love is all that I feel for my country.”
LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE

Pride	“Pride” refers to discussions of returnees feeling proud.	Look for “Pride” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of pride expressed towards the country. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“I feel proud when I see our flag flying in the wind.”
Nost.	“Nost.” refers to returnees feeling nostalgic.	Look for “Nost.” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of feeling nostalgic for some aspects of the state, society, culture or economic system in the former Yugoslavia. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“To me the Yugoslav flag is everything. It is about one life, one love. Nostalgia, pure nostalgia.”
Def.-Cour.	“Def.-Cour.” refers to returnees feeling defiant and courageous.	Look for “Def.-Cour.” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of defiance and courage as emotions. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“You need to be brave in this country. More so now than during the camps.”
Happ.-Joy	“Happ.-Joy.” refers to returnees expressing feelings of happiness and joy.	Look for “Happ.-Joy” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of happiness and joy as emotions. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“I am overjoyed and so, so happy when I see the success of our compatriots, in music, sports or any other field.”
Hope	“Hope” refers to returnees discussing hopeful and optimistic feelings.	Look for “Hope” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of hope as an emotion. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“The EU is a big hope for us. All this won’t matter at all once we join.”
Free	“Free” refers to respondents talking about feeling free, either in terms of economic freedom or freedom of movement.	Look for “Free” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of feeling free. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“The second passport give me freedom. I feel free.”
LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE

Grat.	“Grat” refers to feelings of gratitude.	Look for “Grat.” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of feeling grateful. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“I am grateful to the Dutch people. They gave us refuge when we really needed it.”
Sec.	“Sec.” refers to feeling safe and secure.	Look for “Sec.” whenever the interviewees answers the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of feeling safe and secure. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“The U.S. citizenship is all about security for me. I know that the Americans would take care of me if I really needed help.”
Relax.	“Relax.” refers to returnees feeling relaxed and comfortable.	Look for “Relax.” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of feeling relaxed. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“Home is the only place where you can be completely relaxed and comfortable.”
Anger-Rage-Frust.	“Anger-Rage-Frust.” refers to feelings of anger, rage or frustration experienced by the returnees.	Look for “Anger-Rage-Frust.” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of anger, rage and frustration. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“Whenever I go to that stupid Ministry office, I just feel angry and frustrated. I mean what century do these people live in?”
Sorrow	“Sorrow” refers to returnees discussing sadness and sorrow.	Look for “Sorrow” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of sorrow, grief and sadness. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“Sad. Of course sad. Where are the thousands of people now? Why did they die? What was the point of it all?”
Dis.	“Dis.” refers to disappointment expressed by the returnees.	Look for “Dis.” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of disappointment. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“In the beginning there was so much enthusiasm, slowly the disappointments followed one after another.”
Fear	“Fear” refers to instances of the returnees feeling afraid.	Look for “Fear” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of fear. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“Of course, you feel afraid walking down these streets. Full of fear.”
LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE

Power.-Hum.-Help.	“Power.-Hum.-Help.-“ refers to feelings of powerlessness, humiliation and helplessness.	Look for “Power-Hum.-Help.” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of powerlessness, humiliation and helplessness. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“Being a BiH citizen is like being hostage of some strange experiment.”
Pity-Empathy	“Pity-Empathy” refers to discussions of either being pitied/empathized with or pitying/empathizing with others.	Look for “Pity-Empathy” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of either being pitied or being empathized with. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“I can’t stand being pitied.”
Disgust	“Disgust” refers to returnees being disgusted.	Look for “Disgust” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of pride expressed towards the country. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“Their attempts to manipulate the victims’ feelings simply disgusts me. How can they refer to themselves as human?”
Guilt	“Guilt” refers to discussions of guilt.	Look for “Guilt” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of guilt. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“I think that they do feel guilty about crimes committed during the war. The guilt is unprocessed.”
Denial	“Denial” refers to reflections on denial.	Look for “Denial” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of denial. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“You could just feel the denial. I mean thousands of people died. How can this be denied?”
Shame	“Shame” refers to mentioning shameful feelings.	Look for “Shame” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of shame. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“Yes, in that moment I felt ashamed as a BiH citizen. This man was embarrassing me.”
Hatred	“Hatred” refers to hateful feelings expressed by either the returnees or others they observe.	Look for “Hatred” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of hatred. Exc: Instances when other emotions are mentioned.	“He is so stupid to be tearing that flag down. Hatred, that is the only thing motivating him.”

LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE
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EMO. INDIFF.	“EMO. INDIFF.” refers to any stated lack of emotional response, emotional indifference.	Look for “EMO. INDIFF.” whenever the interviewees answer the question: “How did this make you feel? What emotions did you feel?”	Inc: Discussions of emotional indifference, not having an emotional response. Exc: Any emotional response.	“Nothing. I have no feelings towards it. This citizenship means absolutely nothing to me. I have it because it makes my life easier and nothing else.”
HOME – FEEL. AT HOME (Parent node)	“HOME – FEEL. AT HOME” refers to returnees discussing home and what it means to “feel at home”. Three distinct dimensions of home are: spatial – home as place (Neigh.-Town-City, Phys. House, Region, State); temporal – home in time (Present, Past) and Family as home.	Look for “HOME-FEEL. AT HOME” when participants answer the question: “What does “being at home” feel to you? Do you feel that way in Bosnia and Herzegovina?”	Inc: General discussions of home and feeling at home Exc: Specific types of home.	“Feeling at home means feeling safe and secure.”
Neigh.-Town-City	“Neigh.-Town-City” refers to the returnees discussing home and feeling at home in the context of their neighborhood, town or city.	Look for “Neigh.-Town-City” when participants answer the question: “What does “being at home” feel to you? Do you feel that way in Bosnia and Herzegovina?”	Inc: Participants talking about their neighborhood, town or city as their home. Exc: Other types of home.	“When I came back to Sanski Most and saw all the debris left over after the wartime destruction, I said to myself: I am home.”
Phys. House	“Phys. House” refers to the physical house or apartment discussed as home and evoking “feeling at home”.	Look for “Phys. House” when participants answer the question: “What does “being at home” feel to you? Do you feel that way in Bosnia and Herzegovina?”	Inc: Participants talking about their physical house as their home. Exc: Other types of home.	“The only place I feel at home is my apartment and literally nowhere else. This is the only place that has not changed. It is living proof that the past life really did exist. I did not imagine it.”
Region	“Region” refers to the geographical area comprising the successor states of the former Yugoslavia as home or evoking “feeling at home”.	Look for “Region” when participants answer the question: “What does “being at home” feel to you? Do you feel that way in Bosnia and Herzegovina?”	Inc: Participants talking about all of the former Yugoslavia as their home. Exc: Other types of home.	“I feel at home anywhere in the Balkans. The people here, we all share the same mentality. We like to think of ourselves as different, but, we are pretty much the same.”
LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE

State	“State” refers to the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina as home to the returnees or making them “feel at home”.	Look for “State” when participants answer the question: “What does “being at home” feel to you? Do you feel that way in Bosnia and Herzegovina?”	Inc: People discuss feeling at home in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on all of its territory. Exc: Other types of home.	“I feel at home equally in Mostar and in Sanski Most. In Foča, well there...I feel rahat.”
Present	“Present” refers to home and “feeling at home” in the present time.	Look for “Present” when participants answer the question: “What does “being at home” feel to you? Do you feel that way in Bosnia and Herzegovina?”	Inc: People talk about feeling at home in the present. Exc: People discuss being at home in the past.	“Now, now, I feel at home now. I don’t even want to remember.”
Past	“Past” refers to home and “feeling at home” to be situated in the past, either directly prewar or in the more distant past.	Look for “Past” when participants answer the question: “What does “being at home” feel to you? Do you feel that way in Bosnia and Herzegovina?”	Inc: People discuss being at home in the past. Exc: People talk about feeling at home in the present.	“As I walk down the streets of Banja Luka, I remember the place where my grandmother used to live or where my aunt’s hairdresser shop was...None of that exists at home, but thinking about it makes me feel at home.”
Family	“Family” refers to the returnees discussing home and feeling at home in the context of their family.	Look for “Neigh.-Town-City” when participants answer the question: “What does “being at home” feel to you? Do you feel that way in Bosnia and Herzegovina?”	Inc: The participant discusses his or her family as providing the feeling of home. Exc: “Family ties” as a reason for return.	“I could be in New Zealand, but if I had my family with me, I would feel at home. My family is home for me.”
BELONGING (Parent node)	“Belonging” refers to returnees’ experiences of belonging either in the home or host state. Types of belonging are: Civic, Ethnic, Religious, Relational, Linguistic and Economic. In addition, being “in-between” is a form of belonging to both home and host state and being an “outsider” is a lack of belonging in either home or host state, according to various axes.	Look for “BELONGING” when interviewees answer the question: “What does the idea of ‘belonging’ mean to you? Why is the idea of belonging to BiH important to you?”	Inc: General discussions of belonging. Exc: Discussions of specific types of belonging, to be covered in the child nodes.	“Well, belonging is important for any person. Everybody needs to belong to something to somebody. It is a human need. “
LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE

Civic	“Civic” refers to belonging to the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, without any expressed belonging to an ethnic or religious group.	Look for “Civic” when interviewees answer the question: “What does the idea of ‘belonging’ mean to you? Why is the idea of belonging to BiH important to you?”	Inc: Discussions of being a BiH citizen as the primary sense of belonging. Exc: Other types of belonging.	“I am proud to be outside all ethnic and religious categories, because being a citizen of BiH is where I find my sense of belonging.”
Ethnic	“Ethnic” refers to belonging to one of the three main ethnic groups in BiH: Bosniaks, Croats or Serbs.	Look for “Ethnic” when interviewees answer the question: “What does the idea of ‘belonging’ mean to you? Why is the idea of belonging to BiH important to you?”	Inc: Discussions of belonging to an ethnic group in an affirmative sense. Exc: Instances of either ethnic divisions/discrimination as an obstacle or feelings of being an outsider due to ethnic boundaries.	“We were raised to consider the link to our Serbian heritage as the most important to our family, even though we were raised abroad.”
Religious	“Religious” refers to belonging to one of the three main religious groups in BiH: Muslim, Catholic or Orthodox. In addition, this category includes other forms of spiritual practices, outside of the three main religious communities.	Look for “Religious” when interviewees answer the question: “What does the idea of ‘belonging’ mean to you? Why is the idea of belonging to BiH important to you?”	Inc: Discussions of belonging to a religious community in an affirmative sense. Exc: Instances when the returnee feels as an outsider due to religious boundaries.	“Religion is what keeps a society together. To me, this is what is most important. I will always find common ground with a believer of any faith. We share a common morality.”
Relational	“Relational” refers to finding belonging in social relations, which could be neighbors, friends, classmates or other social organizations, independent of family member, ethnicity or religious community.	Look for “Relational” when interviewees answer the question: “What does the idea of ‘belonging’ mean to you? Why is the idea of belonging to BiH important to you?”	Inc: The returnee talks about belonging to a diverse set of social circles, unrelated to citizenship, ethnicity or religion. Exc: Other specific types of belonging.	“I feel better among my friends, the people I grew up with. We understand each other so well.”
LABEL	DEFINITION	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION/EXCLUSION	EXAMPLE

Economic	“Economic” refers to expressions of belonging through economic decision-making, such as purchasing domestically produced products or prioritizing the home state when investing.	Look for “Economic” when interviewees answer the question: “What does the idea of ‘belonging’ mean to you? Why is the idea of belonging to BiH important to you?”	Inc: The returnee discusses his or her economic choices based on a sense of belonging to BiH. Exc: Other specific types of belonging.	“I am an economic patriot and participate in all the <i>Buy Domestic</i> campaigns.”
In between	“In between” refers to belonging to both home and host state and the “myth of return.”	Look for “In-between” when interviewees respond to the probe: “Belonging “here and there”/Being “in between”	Inc: The returnee talks about the ties he or she maintains with both the home and host states. Exc: Other specific types of belonging or not belonging.	“Sure, I move back and forth all of the time. This is also great for my business and me personally.”
Outsider	“Outsider” refers to instances where some type of exclusion (not belonging, being rejected, being left outside) or “boundary making” is mentioned either here (BiH) or there (abroad) according to various dimensions such as: ethnicity, religion, language, race, class, or “returnee” status.	Look for “Outsider when participants answer the question: “”Feeling as an “outsider”/”different”/”second class citizen” in the home/host country? Feeling that way in BiH?”	Inc: Discussions of returnees not-belonging due to some reason. Exc: Discussions of returnees experiencing ethnic divisions and discrimination as an obstacle to their return. The “Outsider” node is thus distinct from the “Eth. Div.-Disc.” node.	“I usually feel as an alien, because my way of thinking is completely different.”

Appendix IX – Matrix query results

Chapter 3: Voluntarily returning to a post-conflict society

1. The Decision to Return – Emotional and Economic Reasons

	A : 2. ECO. REAS.	B : 3. EMO. REAS.
1 : 1. DECISION	18	61

2. Economic Reasons

	A : BO BiH	B : GFC	C : Glob. Cap.
1 : 1. DECISION	12	3	5

3. Emotional Reasons

	A : HP-Res.	B : Enth.	C : Fam. ties	D : M of M	E : T&R
1 : 1. DECISION	30	8	18	5	6

4. Emotional and Economic Reasons

	A : HP-Res.	B : Enth.	C : Fam. ties	D : M of M	E : T&R
1 : BO BiH	3	4	5	2	2
2 : GFC	0	0	1	1	1
3 : Glob....	0	0	0	1	0

5. Obstacles and Emotions

	A : 1. Anger-Rage-Fr...	B : 3. Dis.	C : 4. Fear	D : 5. Power.-Hum.-H...	E : 91. Shame	F : 2. Sorrow
1 : Bur.	12	2	0	1	2	1
2 : Cond. Bus.	3	2	2	0	0	0
3 : Cont. Emigra.	0	0	0	0	0	7
4 : Corr.-Nep.-Uneth.	13	9	8	5	5	4
5 : Ethn. Div.-Disc.	15	6	15	6	6	9
6 : Healthcare	3	1	3	0	1	3
7 : Jobs	3	0	2	0	0	0
8 : Low liv. stds-Stag.	5	3	1	1	2	5
9 : Ment. - Victim.	12	5	2	4	2	6
10 : Pol. Uncert.	5	1	2	0	1	2

6. Obstacles – Cross-tabulated

	A : Bur.	B : Cond. Bus.	C : Cont. Emigra.	D : Corr.-Nep.-...	E : Ethn. Div.-Disc.	F : Healthcare	G : Jobs	H : Ment. - Victim.	I : Low liv. stds-Stag.	J : Pol. Uncert.
1 : Bur.	76	29	0	28	10	1	19	15	7	3
2 : Cond. Bus.	29	93	0	36	15	1	17	25	2	2
3 : Cont. Emigra.	0	0	13	0	1	1	2	0	0	0
4 : Corr.-Nep.-Une...	28	36	0	114	30	3	24	13	6	3
5 : Ethn. Div.-Disc.	10	15	1	30	113	2	6	8	10	21
6 : Healthcare	1	1	1	3	2	15	0	2	2	2
7 : Jobs	19	17	2	24	6	0	64	18	6	1
8 : Ment. - Victim.	15	25	0	13	8	2	18	100	13	7
9 : Low liv. stds-St...	7	2	0	6	10	2	6	13	49	4
10 : Pol. Uncert.	3	2	0	3	21	2	1	7	4	47

7. Obstacles and Overcoming Obstacles

	A : Pat.-Pol.-Pers.	B : Act.-Org.-Pro.	C : Self-Emp.	D : Adapt.	E : Res. & Self-rel.	F : Tune out	G : Think alt.
1 : Corr.-Nep.-Uneth.	8	6	1	0	17	0	0
2 : Ethn. Div.-Disc.	5	7	1	1	13	14	6
3 : Ment. - Victim.	3	11	1	0	19	6	0
4 : Cond. Bus.	15	2	0	4	22	1	1
5 : Bur.	14	9	0	2	15	0	1
6 : Jobs	1	6	5	0	16	0	5
7 : Low liv. stds-Stag.	3	11	1	0	9	0	0
8 : Pol. Uncert.	0	1	0	1	1	26	7
9 : Cont. Emigra.	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
10 : Healthcare	1	0	0	1	1	0	0

8. Evaluating Return and Economic Reasons

	A : BO BiH	B : Glob. Cap.	C : GFC
1 : Success	7	12	0
2 : No Success	0	0	0
3 : Par. Success	0	0	0

9. Evaluating Return and Emotional Reasons

	A : Enth.	B : Fam. ties	C : HP-Res.	D : M of M	E : T&R
1 : Success	5	10	4	3	1
2 : No Success	0	1	0	0	0
3 : Par. Success	0	1	1	0	0

10. Evaluating Return – Overcoming Obstacles

	A : Act.-Org.-Pro.	B : Adapt.	C : Self-Emp.	D : Pat.-Pol.-Pers.	E : Res. & Self-rel.	F : Think alt.	G : Tune out
1 : Success	0	0	1	1	5	3	0
2 : No Success	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
3 : Par. Success	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

Chapter 4: The emotional dimension of BiH citizenship

1. Emotional vs. Pragmatic Citizenship

	A : 9. EMOTIONS	B : 91. EMO. INDIFF.
1 : 7. 1st (BH) CITIZEN.	372	35
2 : 8. 2nd (FOR) CITIZEN.	26	25

2. First (BiH)/Second Citizenship and Emotions

	A : 1. POSITIVE	B : 2. NEGATIVE
1 : 7. 1st (BH) CITIZEN.	167	229
2 : 8. 2nd (FOR) CITIZEN.	24	3

3. First (BiH)/Second Citizenship and Negative Emotions

	A : 1. Anger-Rage-...	B : 2. Sorrow	C : 3. Dis.	D : 4. Fear	E : 5. Power.-Hu...	F : 6. Pity-E...	G : 7. Disgust	H : 8. Guilt	I : 9. Denial	J : 91. Shame	K : 92. Hatred
1 : 7. 1st (BH) CITIZEN.	85	48	22	25	22	15	10	9	5	9	7
2 : 8. 2nd (FOR) CITIZEN...	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

4. First (BiH)/Second Citizenship and Positive Emotions

	A : 1. Pat. love	B : 2. Pride	C : 6. Hope	D : 4. Def.-Cour.	E : 5. Happ.-Joy	F : 3. Nost.	G : 7. Free	H : 8. Grat.	I : 9. Sec.
1 : 7. 1st (BH) CITIZEN.	52	44	26	31	11	3	1	0	4
2 : 8. 2nd (FOR) CITIZEN.	4	0	0	0	0	0	9	3	13

5. First (BiH) Citizenship and Obstacles

	A : Bur.	B : Cond. Bus.	C : Cont. Emigra.	D : Corr.-Nep.-Uneth.	E : Ethn. Div.-Disc.	F : Healthcare	G : Jobs	H : Ment. - Victim.	I : Low liv. st...	J : Pol. Unc...
1 : 7. 1st (BH) CITIZEN.	13	5	8	36	49	8	4	17	17	10

Chapter 5: Losing, creating and re-creating home and belonging

1. Feeling at Home and Emotions

	A : 7. Free	B : 9. Sec.	C : 91. Relax.	D : 5. Happ.-Joy
1 : 92. HOME - FEEL. AT HOME	4	10	31	5

2. Feeling at Home and Place, Time, Family

	A : 2. Phys. house	B : 1. Neigh-Town-City	C : 4. State	D : 3. Region	E : 1. Present	F : 2. Past	G : 3. Family
1 : 92. HOME - FEEL. AT HOME	24	25	10	12	8	15	25

3. Types of Belonging – Cross-tabulated

	A : 1. Civic	B : 2. Ethnic	C : 3. Religious	D : 4. Relational	E : 5. Linguistic	F : 6. Landscape	G : 7. Economic	H : In between	I : Outsider
1 : 1. Civic	28	15	3	0	0	1	2	0	1
2 : 2. Ethnic	15	37	6	0	1	1	0	0	1
3 : 3. Religious	3	6	26	0	0	0	0	0	2
4 : 4. Relational	0	0	0	40	2	2	0	1	0
5 : 5. Linguistic	0	1	0	2	36	1	0	1	2
6 : 6. Landscape	1	1	0	2	1	26	0	1	0
7 : 7. Economic	2	0	0	0	0	0	21	0	0
8 : In between	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	44	2
9 : Outsider	1	1	2	0	2	0	0	2	86

Conclusion: Feeling safe/secure, citizenship, home and belonging

1. Citizenship and Feeling at Home

	A : 92. HOME - FEEL. AT HOME	B : 1. Neigh-Town-...	C : 2. Phys. house	D : 3. Region	E : 4. State	F : 1. Present	G : 2. Past	H : 3. Family
1 : 7. 1st (BH) CITIZEN.	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
2 : 8. 2nd (FOR) CITIZEN.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

2. Citizenship and Types of Belonging

	A : 1. Civic	B : 2. Ethnic	C : 3. Religi...	D : 4. Relational	E : 5. Lingui...	F : 6. Lands...	G : 7. Economic	H : In betwe...	I : Outsider
1 : 7. 1st (BH) CITIZEN.	9	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
2 : 8. 2nd (FOR) CITIZEN.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

3. Feeling at Home and Types of Belonging

	A : 1. Civic	B : 2. Ethnic	C : 3. Religious	D : 4. Relational	E : 5. Linguistic	F : 6. Landscape	G : 7. Economic	H : In betwe...	I : Outsider
1 : 92. HOME - FEEL. AT HOME	1	1	0	10	6	4	0	4	0

4. Conceptual Model: Feeling safe/secure, Home, Belonging, Pragmatic and Emotional Citizenship

	A : 7. 1st (BH) CITIZEN.	B : 8. 2nd (FOR) CITIZEN.	C : 92. HOME - FEEL. AT HOME	D : 93. BELONGING
1 : 7. Free	1	9	4	1
2 : 9. Sec.	1	13	10	1
3 : 91. Relax.	0	0	31	5

Appendix X - Sample analytical memos

May 14, 2018

The node “first (emotional) citizenship” intersects with all the individual emotions to produce the specific emotion as a result of the daily practice and experience of being a citizen, citizenship practice. Wherever we have citizenship practice intersecting with emotional indifference that will be referred to as “pragmatic (second) citizenship”. The terms in parentheses are there to indicate that most of the “citizenship as feeling” responses are reserved for the first citizenship (in most cases BH, except for one guy, whose first citizenship is Argentinian, but the relationship still holds), while most of the emotional indifference intersects with the second citizenship. However, some emotional indifference also intersects with the first citizenship, while some emotions (security, gratitude and feeling free) also intersect with the second citizenship. Therefore, all four combinations are possible.

June 1, 2018

It seems that citizens cope with frustration by ignoring the events around them, as they do not feel that they can control what is happening around them. Therefore, the pessimistic attitude. Going back to Boccagni's work on home, the three dimensions found in that research are: control, security and familiarity. Can people feel at home if they have a sense that they have no control? Probably not. Therefore, they do not conceptualize their emotional citizenship as home (or belonging). Also, if both security and control are missing the only one that would remain is familiarity. However, even if everything is familiar (and in many cases it is not!), can the place (referring to the entire state) be called a home if security and control are missing? Probably not.

June 7, 2018

Frustration is felt by single citizenship holders (only BH) with dual citizens who gain their sense of security from their second citizenship. The newly emerging social cleavage based on dual citizenship is perfectly illustrated by the "Macedonia story." Finally, even Mahir, who said that he felt safe as a BiH citizen, in the particular circumstances of the Macedonia conflict, later on admits "I would like to hold a different citizenship!" adding his frustration at not having a second citizenship and thus missing the security it offers. What does this tell us? People have a strong attachment to home and all different kinds of belonging, but no security from the state. Bosnia and Herzegovina, as was described by Mahir in the earlier part of the interview, “an evil grandfather that is respected (because he is the only grandparent still alive) but not loved”.

June 15, 2018

A possible explanation for why emotional citizenship does not co-occur with home: the key feeling of security is missing. Returnees derive their feeling of security and safety from their second citizenship. Home, however, does co-occur with safety/security, familiarity and control (as was found by Boccagni), but citizenship (first-emotional) does not co-occur with neither home, nor these feelings. Why? Compare to Ho's sample of Singaporeans, who do conceptualize emotional citizenship as home and belonging and who feel safe/secure. However, the security offered by the Singaporean passport, being consistently ranked at the top of the most desirable passports, is the polar opposite of the security given by a post-conflict society, such as BiH. Therefore, it is not surprising when Singaporeans say that their citizenship makes them feel safe/secure and that they view it as their home and belonging, while citizens of BiH do not. Perhaps, I can re-visit my premise of political emotions being context-specific.

June 17, 2018

Interesting point made by Vlado regarding freedom and security; how two different types of both interrelate:

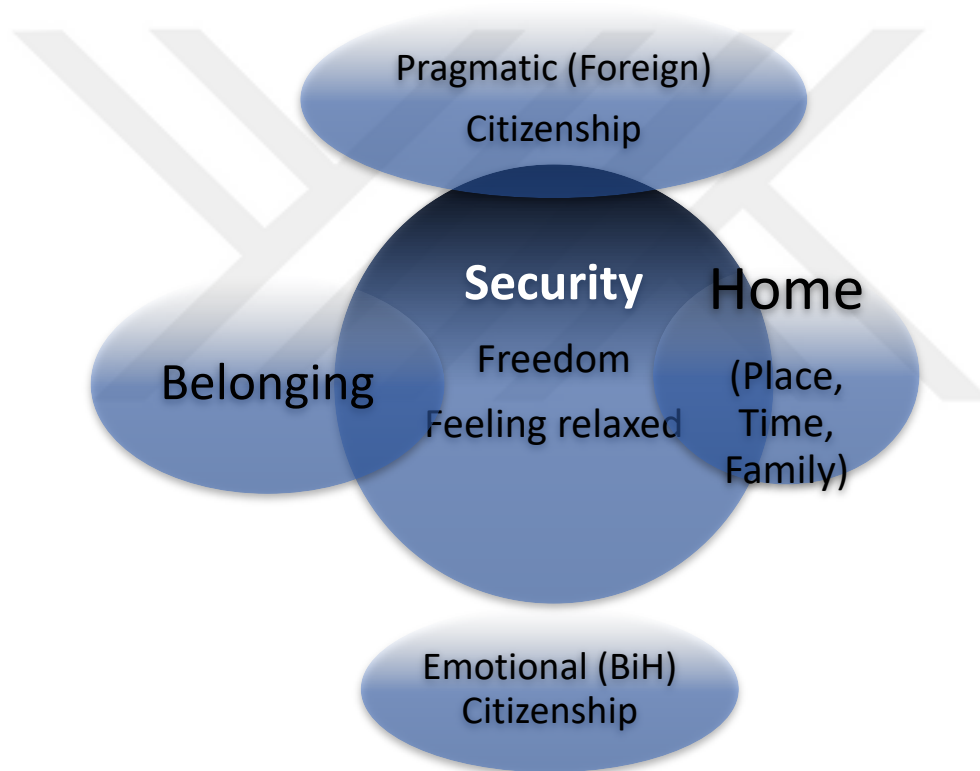
1. Financial freedom (because of low living costs)/financial insecurity (due to low growth and high unemployment) with emotional security in BiH

VERSUS

2. Financial security/freedom of movement (because of strong economy and strong passport) with emotional insecurity, due to social isolation and “cold” social relations in Switzerland.

The matrix query Emo & Eco Reasons gives a good basis to discuss how the decision to return is based on both economic and emotional factors.

Concept Mapping



Appendix XI – Sample field note and reflective journal entry

Fieldnote 33

September 13, 2017

After saying goodbye to Ema yesterday, I boarded a bus to Banja Luka. When I asked the driver to let me off at the Tabaco Factory, pronouncing it the way we do in Sarajevo (Fabrika duhana), he pretended not to understand what I was talking about, but he ‘understood’ me once I used a more Serb-like pronunciation of Fabrika duvana. I stayed the night in Banja Luka in a Youth Hostel called ‘Havana,’ located on the First Krajina Corpus Avenue.

Today I am in Jajce, where there are all town celebrations of September 13, the Day of Liberation of Jajce. I saw officers dressed in uniforms of the HVO (Croatian Defense Council), but also official HV uniforms (Croatian Army). The celebrations are accompanied by songs of Marko Perković – Thompson, such as the infamous ‘Čavoglave’. The waiter in the restaurant where I had lunch told me that the Bosniak side is organizing similar festivities to mark their own liberation of Jajce. Even with all the celebrations and festivities going on, the taxi driver informed me that people, people of all ethnic groups are leaving Jajce en masse. Entire families are emigrating because they cannot provide for their basic needs by staying in Jajce. These people are searching for their happiness somewhere far, far away from here.

These are just some brief remarks from the past 24 hours of my travels through BiH. With all this going on in the background, I congratulate myself any time I successfully complete another day of my fieldwork, another new interview with my participants.



Jajce, September 13, 2017 – “Flags on Sale”

(From left to right: BiH flag used during wartime, former Yugoslav flag, current flag of the Republic of Croatia, current flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the wartime flag of “Herceg Bosna.”)



Jajce, September 13, 2017 – *“Contesting Sovereignty”*



Jajce, September 13, 2017 - BiH Flag and the “Herceg Bosna” Flag



Iconic symbol of ZAVNOBiH – The Jajce Waterfall

Although it has been lying around on the desk in Amila's room for a couple of weeks now, I only noticed it this morning. The title of the book is *Textbook for children educated abroad – Grades 1 to 4*, published by the Ministry of Civil Affairs of the BiH Government. At age seven, my family and I had to move from our home in Sarajevo to Tripoli, Libya, because our father was assigned as head project engineer in the construction of two hospitals in the towns of Tarhuna and Msallata. I simply hated leaving Sarajevo, my grandparents and our garden in Sarajevo's Višnjik neighborhood. I hated everything about moving – the new climate, language, customs and completely different people. I felt banished and punished, promising myself that when I am old enough to make my own decisions, I would never leave again. Due to an ironic set of life circumstances, I have been moving from country to country, continent to continent ever since. When looking at the cover page of the textbook, strangely the word 'abroad' instills in me great security. The reason for this is that when there is an acknowledgement of the "abroad" then implicitly there is that which is "not abroad", i.e. "domestic." If there is something outside of the borders, then this implies that there is a state defined by those borders. I say strangely, because borders usually mean limitations, so how could they also impart security?

In 1982, when we left Sarajevo for the first time the boundaries between the domestic space and all what was foreign were very clear. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was what was domestic and abroad was anything outside of its borders. With the breakup of Yugoslavia and the loss of the idea of a state what was also lost was the distinction between what is domestic, familiar, close and friendly in every way and that which is not. As the war started, we were thrown into an uncertain and unfriendly world, forced to sink or swim on our own. In the ensuing chaos everything around us became foreign, hostile, unknown and terrifying. The term 'abroad' gives me a sense of security only because it implies that there is something which is 'not abroad' – i.e. the truly secure place of the inner, domestic of my own. Of all the languages I use, the binary nature of the internal-external is most pronounced in Turkish. The word 'yurt' means both home and homeland, while the Turkish word for abroad is 'yurtdisi,' which literally translated means outside of the home/homeland. Yuval-Davis refers to Crowley, who speaks of the boundary making process as designed to separate humanity into an "us" and a "them," referred to by some authors as the "dirty work of boundary maintenance" (Crowley as cited in Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 204). While the terms home and abroad also imply some boundary making between 'us' and 'them', in my case the boundary was between "Us -Yugoslavs' versus 'Them - Arabs, Libyans or other foreigners.' I am somewhat puzzled as to why I associate a sense of security and child-like joy with such boundary making?

While we lived in Tripoli, we always knew that we were there only temporary and that we would soon be going back to our house, our home on Višnjik in Sarajevo, SFRY. We spent time abroad and returned to our home on JAT (Yugoslav Air Transport) airplanes via Belgrade, our then capital city, convinced that our home state loves and respects us, always wishing what is best for us, as its children. The 'loving state' took care of its 'children educated abroad' and organized extra classes in our native language, then called Serbo-Croatian in its schools around the world. Actually, while in Tripoli, I went to two different elementary schools. Monday to Friday I attended the Oil Companies School, an international school mainly for children of foreign diplomats, executives and engineers involved in, as its name suggests, the international oil business. There, we got dressed up in costumes for Halloween, took part in the Swedish girls' Saint Lucia processions around Christmas and sent "Be Mine" cards to each other for St.

Valentine's Day. In the summers, we had summer camp with water slides, girl scout brownies with a locally invented delicacy called 'fruit juice iced' and frequent visits to the Regatta Beach Club. To make things even a bit more confusing, after coming back home, instead of cartoons there were readings from Gadhafi's "Green Book" every night on TV. When we went to visit another family from Sarajevo living in Tripoli, my sister and I could watch Italia Uno's "Bim, Bam, Bum" children's TV program, because that family had a "special antenna," a huge luxury at the time. On weekends, I attended my Yugoslav school, where we learnt about partisan victories during the People's Liberation War in the SFRY, read stories about the heroic feats of children our age taking part in wartime communist resistance and participated long-distance in the national 'Tito's Revolutionary Path' competitions. One of our favorite activities was tracking the progress of the relay races on a large map of the SFRY, organized in honor of Tito's birthday. The Yugoslav educational system recognized the years of foreign education, only if the schooling was accompanied by parallel, Yugoslav instruction. When the children came back to Yugoslavia from their time abroad, they could fit back into Yugoslav schools without experiencing any linguistic or ideological difficulties. They would have a smooth transition integrating back into the Yugoslav educational system. That was the idea of educating children abroad, as it was practiced in the former Yugoslavia.

What happens once the original state is destroyed together with its citizenship? There is no more Yugoslavia and among all the other tragedies, what gets destroyed is the actual concept of the state, statehood and citizenship, together with the educational system that accompanies it. Many years after the destruction, somebody in some Ministry thought of putting together a "*Textbook for children educated abroad*," once again acknowledging that there is such a thing as "the abroad."



BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA
MINISTARSTVO CIVILNIH POSLOVA

UDŽBENIK

DOPUNSKE NASTAVE
ZA DJECU U INOSTRANSTVU

I do IV razreda
osnovne škole

SARAJEVO, 2015.

Textbook for children educated abroad – Grades 1 to 4

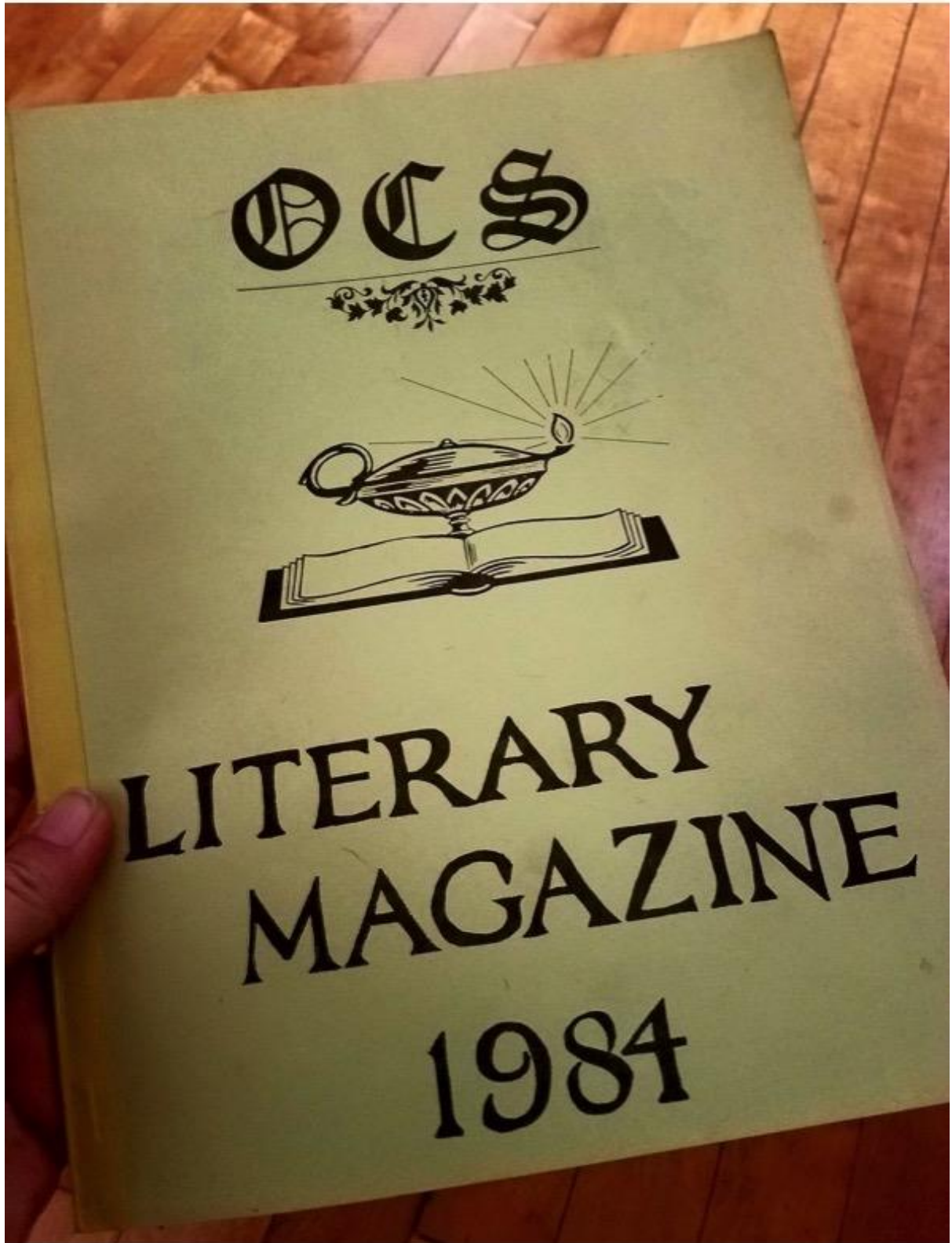
Living a dual “work week versus weekend” school life, split along cultural and ideological fault lines, could be confusing to an eight year old. To ease my frustration with the inherent conflict, I wrote a poem! If I only knew what, less than a decade later, was to happen to Yugoslavia. For that matter Libya, too.

POEM FOR MY COUNTRY

My country has free streets, free houses,
free blue sky without any ugly blackbirds,
no tanks going through hills and mountains
You could hear free birds singing,
free squirrels hopping.
No parades with Dictators,
crying women for their husbands.

Aida Ibricevic
(Grade 3 - Yugoslavia)

“Poem for My Country” (1984), *Literary Magazine*, Oil Companies School, Tripoli, Libya



Cover, *Literary Magazine* (1984) published by the Oil Companies School. Tripoli, Libya

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- Zdeb, A. (2019). Ethno-nationalism and Political Conflict in Bosnia (Europe). In *The Palgrave Handbook of Ethnicity* (pp. 1–19). Singapore: Springer.

Curriculum Vitae

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Education

Ph.D. Candidate June 2015 – present
Istanbul Bilgi University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Political Science Program, Istanbul, Turkey

Ph.D. Dissertation: “Searching for Home and Belonging: A Qualitative Study to Understand the “Emotional Citizenship” of Diaspora Returning to Bosnia and Herzegovina”

Ph.D. Comprehensive Exam completed in the fields of Political Theory and Comparative Politics June 2015

‘Diplôme’ in Journalism 2003 - 2004
Mediaplan Institute School of Journalism, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina/ L’École supérieure de journalisme de Lille, France

M.A. in Economics - With Distinction 1998 - 2000
Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

B.A. in Economics 1993 – 1997
Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT, USA

Publications

Ibričević, A (forthcoming), ‘Facing fear: Conceptualizing home, belonging and the “emotional citizenship” of diaspora returning to Bosnia and Herzegovina’ in *Crisis, return and onward migration: Balkan case-studies*, Special issue of *Migracijske i etničke teme (MET)* edited by Russel King, Zagreb, Croatia, 2018.

Ibričević, A. (2015). Improving students' motivation in ENG 101. *Refresh: The Changing Role Of Freshman English* (pp. 40-54). Istanbul: Sabancı University Press.

Fellowships, Grants and Awards

FORTE Travel Grant to attend the 19th Nordic Migration Conference in Norrköping, Sweden August 2018

Council for European Studies (CES) Travel Grant to attend the 25th International Conference of Europeanists in Chicago, IL, USA March 2018

European Consortium on Political Research (ECPR) Grant to attend the Summer School in Methods at the Central European University, Hungary July 2017

French Government Scholarship and Mediaplan Institute 2003-2004

Journalism Final Project: “A cheap solution to workers’ agony-new bankruptcy legislation in Bosnia and Herzegovina” voted by Academic Board as best piece of print journalism in graduating class.

Salzburg Seminar Fellowship

February 2003

Open Society Institute Scholarship and Central European University 1998-2000
M.A. Thesis: “Privatization in transition economies: the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina” graded ‘With Distinction’.

Middlebury College - Dean’s List and College Scholar

1993-1994 and 1996-1997

Conferences and Seminars

Migration Studies

“Choosing to go home: A grounded theory study to understand “emotional citizenship” and voluntary return migration to a post-conflict society” – paper to be presented as part of the workshop on *Spatial aspects of migrant belonging: Translocality and emotional geographies* at the 19th Nordic Migration Research Conference in Norrköping, Sweden. August 2018

“Facing fear: Conceptualizing home, belonging and the “emotional citizenship” of diaspora returning to Bosnia and Herzegovina” – paper presented at the 3rd Western Balkans Migration Network Conference in Zagreb, Croatia May 2018

“Searching for home and belonging: A grounded theory study to understand the “emotional citizenship” of diaspora returning to Bosnia and Herzegovina” – paper presented as part of the *European and Turkish Narratives of Migrant Belonging* panel at the 25th International Conference of Europeanists in Chicago, IL, USA March 2018

Qualitative Methodology

Summer School in Methods, European Consortium on Political Research (ECPR), CEU, Hungary July 2017
Qualitative Data Analysis (Nitel Veri Analizi) at Anadolu University, Eskisehir, Turkey Spring 2017

Academic Writing

“Clouds, Storm and Rain: Getting started with the essay in three simple steps” – a workshop presented at the ‘Where Inspiration Is Born’ - 23rd IATEFL- Slovenia Conference, Terme Topolšica, Slovenia. March 2016

“Improving students’ motivation in ENG 101” - a paper delivered at REFRESH: The Changing Role of Freshman English, Sabancı University, Istanbul, Turkey. September 2014

Area Studies – Balkans and the Middle East

Middle East Studies Program, Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul, Turkey May 2007
Global Leadership Forum, Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul, Turkey May 2007

Balkan Studies Conference, Beykent University, Istanbul, Turkey

April 2006

Journalism

International Journalism, Communication and Media, Kokkalis Foundation for Southeastern Europe and Duke University, Olympia, Greece July 2004

Women in International Media, Center for Independent Journalism and New York University, Bucharest, Romania June 2004

Fetzer Leadership Program, Salzburg Seminar, Salzburg, Austria February 2003

Economic Reporting, Media Development Center and Deutsche Welle, Sofia, Bulgaria March 2002

Teaching Experience

Academic Writing Instructor (critical thinking, text analysis, research skills and library work, data collection, citation and referencing, conventions of academic writing – essay structure, tools and techniques, oral presentation skills, debate and reflection/peer evaluation) with twelve years of undergraduate teaching experience: Özyeğin University (2013-2016), İstanbul Bilgi University (2008-2013), Bahçeşehir University (2006-2008) and Beykent University (2004-2006) in Istanbul, Turkey. 2004 – 2016

Public Policy Experience

Consultant, Regional Environmental Center for East and Central Europe, Metković, Croatia.
Developed a strategy for the promotion of sustainable environmental tourism and conservation in the area of the Neretva River and the Hutovo Blato Nature Park in Croatia. Under supervision of the REC Project Manager prepared a feasibility study for a bird watching center, to be located on the Lower Neretva. 2002 -2003

Coordinator, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the International Advisory Group (IAG) on Payment System Reform in B-H, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina.
Coordinated the efforts of the IAG (USAID, EC, World Bank, IMF and other major donors) on payment system reform in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Closely cooperated with officials and counterparts from the Payments Bureaus of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska, the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as private and state-owned banks. Prepared detailed policy reports on IAG reform progress for representatives of national governments (RS and Federation) and international donors. 2000 – 2003

Assistant Advisor, United States Department of the Treasury, Office of Technical Assistance, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina.
Assisted the US Treasury Advisor in providing technical assistance to the Ministry of Finance and the Banking Agency of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Performed diverse tasks related to the restructuring and privatization of state banks and the re-negotiation of state external debt. Created a NPV model of debt servicing as preparation for the London and Paris Club negotiations. Assisted expert working groups drafting banking laws and regulations. Participated in accounting, audit, foreign exchange markets, and advanced bank supervision training. 1997- 1998

Intern, World Bank Resident Mission, Sarajevo Bosnia and Herzegovina.
Created and developed a comprehensive data base tracking the physical implementation progress of the international reconstruction program for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Collected field data on project funds disbursement, contractors, tender preparation, bidding methods, procurement and employment generation. June – September 1996

Language Skills

Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian: Native. **English:** Native-like. **Turkish:** Upper-intermediate. **French:** Upper-intermediate. **Italian:** Intermediate.

Fieldwork and Technical Skills

Experienced in conducting in-depth interviews. Skilled in effective cross-cultural communication. Proficient in the use of the NVIVO 11 software package for computer assisted qualitative data analysis.