Stuck Inside of Oslo with the Spanish Blues Again

A case Study of post-2008 Spanish master students at the University of Oslo

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Abstract

Europe is experiencing unprecedented professional migration within its frontiers. In 2013, the percentage of people working in a EU country different from their own rose to 3.3%. Besides, the number of EU-15 migrants who attended higher education and then moved to another EU-15 country has also increased due to the impact of the crisis. This thesis focuses on how Spanish graduates have been affected by these changes, their country being among the most heavily hit by the crisis. Drawing upon empirical evidence from Eurostat and INE plus a strong theoretical background, the thesis highlights the mobility/migration process experienced by youngsters nowadays -especially those from countries where unemployment rates are high- and how it affects the graduate's life. Norway was selected as a country of destination, and seven interviews were conducted to Spanish graduates from the University of Oslo in order to analyze qualitatively their migrant experience. Self-defined migrants, they see this episode in their lives not as voluntary as political leaders claim, neither as pleasant. Besides, none of them see Spain as a short term destination although statistics show that the country has improved its situation since 2013. The work concludes by suggesting the authorities of higher education institutions to enhance recruitment among Spanish students given that, despite the growth of the Spanish community in Norway (ten times bigger in the last ten years), the number of graduate students who attend a master program at the most important Norwegian university has remained very low over the last decade.

Acknowledgements

To mamá, papá, Daniel, Sara y Miguelín.

To Bernardo, Cata kai Tinaki.

To Alejandro, Mela y Lara.

To Bosco.

To the teachers and professors I have had along these years of education.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Research Problem and Research Questions

Historically, travelling and migrating are part of the construction of Europe. Land of immigration as well as of migration, Europe evolved through a constant mix of populations, a permanent ethnic and cultural melting pot. Traditionally, pull and push factors led citizens to varying degrees of mobility within European spaces. Although migration does not only respond to economic factors, here it is argued that the latest changes in society –globalization, neoliberalism and their ultimate consequence: the financial crisis of 2008- have affected the process of building lives and therefore the process of taking the decision whether to stay or leave in one's own country. Uncertainty as a constitutive dimension of the *Zeitgeist* (and its corollaries: temporariness, the irrationality of making long-term plans, the need to be ready to review set goals in the light of evolving events) has become part of the cognitive baggage of young people in the 21st century (Leccardi, 2005).

The migration of skilled students has been part of the worldwide process of globalization. The number of students who study abroad has been steadily rising since 1970s, and according to 40, the number of mobile students has increased by 70% between 2000 and 2008. The total number of foreign students enrolled outside their country of origin stood at 3.3 million in 2008, and researchers predict (Guruz, 2008; Caroline Macready, 2011) that by 2025 the number of mobile students will reach 8 million. About 50% of them of them go to five countries: the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France and Australia, but Guruz (2008) points out that, as global mobility is expanding very quickly, more and more countries are becoming important destinations for international students. There is a consensus among migration researchers that "migration occurs between demand-pull factors that draw migrants into industrial countries, supply-push factors that push them out of their own countries, and networks of friends and relatives already in industrial societies who serve as anchor communities for newcomers" (Boneva & Frieze, 2001). International students are likely to stay and work in the host country once they have completed their studies, as Beine, Noël and Ragot (2014) argue, and for that reason countries show their interest to attract talents and skills needed to spur their growth process.

The interest of this master thesis is first and foremost a sociological study of student migration. New perspectives on migration are taken here: the researcher won't analyze migration from the point of view of migrant communities or receiving societies; instead, the author has preferred to focus on individuals who have experienced migration giving them a voice to express their own narrative. Van Mol's (2016) findings have been followed: he claims that in order to improve mobility within Europe qualitatively, it is required tackling the reasons for out-migration for highly educated young adults in countries hit hard by the crisis. This way, intra-EU mobility would become an option rather than a necessity. For that aim, the researcher has tried to disentangle the reasons that have enticed mobile/migrant graduates to leave Spain in order to pursue a master abroad (push factors), and the aspirations –and their narrative dimension which produce "justifications, narratives, metaphors and pathways through which we tie individual desires to wider social scenes and contexts and to more abstract norms and beliefs" (Andrews, 2014)- they pose when choosing Norway as their destination. Among workers, professional emigration is a consequence of individual differences related to their past training and achievements, current situation and the network of social relationships surrounding the individual (Portes, 1976). Is it the same among students? We will look at how they understand their experiences of mobility and, by analyzing how they narrate them, we will try to stablish connections between their personality and their socioeconomic and training background.

In order to achieve these goals, one main research question has led the development of this master thesis:

- HOW HAS THE FINANCIAL CRISIS OF 2008 CHANGED STUDENT MIGRATION PATTERNS OF SPANISH STUDENTS?

  And more accurate:

- HOW HAS THE ECONOMIC CRISIS INFLUENCED THE DECISION TO MIGRATE TO NORWAY AND ATTEND A MASTER AT THE UiO AMONG SPANISH GRADUATES?

In order to answer our overall question and to satisfy our research interest, the following three sub-questions are going to be raised:

- To what extent is the financial crisis seen as a *push* factor?
- How has the crisis affected the process of building their lives?
- How do graduate Spanish students studying in Norway cope with their experience abroad?

1.2 Relevance of Master Thesis

The so-called brain drain is a controversial topic; whether some scholars argue for its benefits, others claim its negative impacts on sending countries. As it is explained in the literature review, whereas there have been studies addressing this issue in countries where the crisis has hit hard such as Portugal, Greece or Ireland, researchers don't look to Spanish students abroad from a qualitative way. Besides, most of the literature written about Spanish "brain drain" phenomenon focuses on the labour market and lacks attention to higher education institutions; the empirical setting is therefore generally older than the one studied here and thus their expectations for life are divergent. The thesis also addresses the new European migration route that has been reinforced after the crisis, the so-called south-north, and complements the well-known east-west.

However, the author does not think that the relevance of this issue is limited to the academic arena due the implications it has –for good or bad- to both sending and receiving countries. In Spain, the current government has refused several times to accept what other political parties claim it is happening: the best and brightest are leaving because of the lack of opportunities within the borders[1]. The Spanish Bank (*Banco de España*) already in 2015 advised the government about the "network effect" among those who had already "migrated" and "the damage it could wreak to the Spanish economy"[2]. In March, 2017, the Spanish Foundation for Science and Technology (FECYT) published an article in *Science&Diplomacy* ("Spanish Science Diplomacy: a Global and Collaborative Bottom-Up Approach"). It was very controversial among Spanish scientists, who saw the article as "a government's attempt

[1] For more information, see http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2012/11/30/actualidad/1354286966_753467.html (Agency, 2012)or http://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20161221/412776579220/alfonso-dastis-jovenes-emigran-inquietud-amplitud-de-miras.html (Agency, 2016)
[2]http://www.bde.es/f/webbde/SES/Secciones/Publicaciones/PublicacionesSeriadas/DocumentosTrabajo/15/Fich/dt1503e.pdf (Izquierdo, Jimeno, & Lacuesta, 2015)

to take the credits for the science made abroad and supported by foreign countries"[3]. In this article the concept of "brain drain" is never mentioned; instead, they prefer to use "brain circulation". Matter (1977) concludes that graduates with high achievement motivation tend to remain in the community as long as the community is "achieving" but tend to depart when it is "declining"; Spain could be seen as a country that in the aftermaths of 2008 crisis is failing to achieve, as figure 8 shows. For that reason, this thesis contributes to a new understanding of the situation: it shows how graduate migration is taking place and highlights the reasons of it. It aims at calling the attention of authorities in order to find solutions to keep "the best and brightest" at home. In regards of the Norwegian society, the relevance of this master thesis lies on the fact that the Spanish is a fast-growing community within the country, and, as it is explained on the empirical setting chapter, south-north migration is made of highly-skilled individuals. Due to the imbalance of opportunities and their quality provided by Spain and Norway, the latter could encourage its institutions to attract Spanish students. Thus students would become familiar with the customs and the culture of the country while studying being therefore more likely to stay once they have completed their studies.

1.2.1 Limitations

This thesis focuses on the sociological side of migration. Issues like identity building during migration, the connotations of the use of different concepts when referring to the same issue (mobility/migration, brain drain/gain/circulation/waste and talent flow) and migrating experiences are analyzed here. For that reason, an analysis of the socioeconomic situation in Spain is provided. If the reader is looking for a policy analysis of graduate migration and the initiatives the government has taken to tackle this issue, this is not the right paper to read. The author is aware that there is a strong theoretical focus due to her interest in theoretical development rather than an empirical study, so the reader will encounter with a very detailed discussion about concepts and context which tries to extract a conclusion out of of the narratives taken from the interviews.

[3] For more information, see www.sciencediplomacy.org/article/2017/spanish-science-diplomacy-global-and-collaborative-bottom-approach (Elorza Moreno et al, 2017)

1.3 Thesis Outline

Chapter one has presented the introduction of the thesis and has informed about the research problem the master thesis faces and the research questions that lead the development of the work, so as the relevance of this topic within the academia and the society.

Chapter two condenses the articles relevant to the topic of the study that have been written, focusing both on Spain and other European countries that have also been hit hard by the turmoil.

Chapter three offers the reader the concepts and analytical tools that are relevant in the process of understanding the issue addressed in this paper.

Chapter four explains the methodology used to analyze the phenomenon and the criteria followed to enhance the credibility and the trustworthiness of the master thesis.

Chapter five narrows down the problem and addresses the specific case that is researched here: the European and national effects of the crisis towards citizens in general, youth and higher education students in particular.

Chapter six explores and discusses the findings of the seven interviews the researcher has conducted divided into the most relevant topics.

Chapter seven presents the conclusion where the researcher is providing possible answers to the research questions posed in chapter one.

2 Literature Review

During the last years media has widely covered the recession. A number of articles have been published about how the crisis affects different segments of the population, namely students, and how they have built not just their present but also their aspirations and expectations for their near future among these years (see Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Gentile, 2015; Moreno, 2014, *inter alia*). However, in regard of southern-European migration, scholars agree that this is an under-researched topic and pointed to the lack of in-depth analyses of this recently re-established migration route (from south to north Europe) (Bygnes & Flipo, 2016; Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2014, *inter alia*), mainly due to a lack of data on the features of these populations (people do not tend to announce to any public authority that they are leaving (González Ferrer, 2013, Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2014, *inter alia*).

The starting point of this master thesis was set by an article by Giuliano and Spilimbergo's (2013) titled "Growing Up in a Recession: Beliefs and the Macroeconomy". Their main finding is consistent with the work of Piketty (1995) who theorized that shocks can change people's belief about the relative importance of luck versus effort as a driver of success –nevertheless they agree that having a college degree during the impressionable years reduces slightly the emphasis on luck as a driver of economic success. Whereas economic standardized models assume that individuals are endowed with stable preferences and incorporate all historical data when forming beliefs, learning from experience based on psychological background predict that personal experiences rather than the analysis of all available historical data exert a greater influence in the formation of beliefs. They may therefore ask what consequences the crisis would have on the development of the higher education trajectory of those youngsters who experienced the crisis without being able to cope with their future expectations.

2.1 Different Country, Same Problem

Triandafyllidou and Gropas (2014) conducted an exploratory study to cast some light on the dynamics of the high skill emigration flows from crisis-ridden Italy and Greece. They also analyze motivations behind the decision to leave and remark the relevance of a sense of relative deprivation: lack of meritocracy, corruption and nepotism are flagged as pushed factors. The same scholars also conducted an e-survey (2014b) on high skilled emigrants from

Greece, Italy, Ireland, Spain and Portugal, leading to the same conclusions as their previous article.

Cairns (2014) analyzes the relationship between economic crisis and youth mobility in Ireland, namely the mobility intentions of tertiary-educated youth. His analysis suggests that there may be a class dimension on it, with those from skilled backgrounds being significantly more likely to consider to exit. He diminishes the impact of the economic crisis in favour of individual characteristics, though reassuring the difficulty that entails to establish a direct link between recession and mobility decision-making due to the confounding effect of other factors. Cairns has also published several papers about Portugal student and graduate mobility (Cairns, Growiec, & De Almeida Alves, 2014; Cairns, 2017) where he puts the finger on inequality, being more resistant to factors such as educational success, and expresses his concern for the scale of the loss of hope displayed by the respondents. The biggest concern of the author is participants' pessimism: it reaches not just labour market prospects but also key transition areas such as having a family. He also emphasizes that the experience of the economic crisis among European youth is not uniform across and within the youth populations of the most deeply affected countries.

In regards of the analytical framework that is used here, the following are the most remarkable researchers we have encountered who have used push and pull factors to analyze student migration. Van Bouwel, Lykogianni, & Veugelers (2011) study the decisions of a sample of European researchers to pursue their doctoral degree in their home country, in another European country or in North America. Its strength lies in the linkages between these decisions and, on the one hand, students' personal characteristics, and, on the other hand, features of the research and innovation system in the students' birth country. They found that graduate student mobility within Europe seems to be more driven by push factors in the home country (i.e. lack of opportunities) whereas mobility towards North America seems to be more driven by pull factors within its research and education system. Gibson and McKenzie (2011) research the microeconomic determinants of emigration and return migration of "the best and brightest" from Australia and New Zealand. They conclude that most of the highly skilled individuals underpin their decisions to migrate with preference variables, such as risk aversion, patience and subject studied in secondary school, and not strongly linked with economic variables such as liquidity constraints, the gain in income to be had from migration, or macroeconomic factors.

2.2 Spanish Abroad

Among Spanish scholars, Amparo Gomez Ferrer (2013), Dominguez-Mujica, Diaz-Hernandez, and Parreno-Castellano (2014), and Ramos and Royuela (2016) have written the most significant papers for this study. The former researches the shift in the migratory cycle in Spain (from a migrant destination to sending country) and the different sources where data can be obtained. She concludes that people who migrate the most are those aged from 35 to 44-years-old, and that Spanish sources heavily undervalue Spanish emigration, arguing for a number of migrants closer to 700000 people between 2008 and 2012 than to 225000, as the official sources proclaim. Dominguez-Mujica, Diaz-Hernandez, and Parreno-Castellano analyze on the emigration process of young skilled Spanish workers employing a qualitative survey conducted in 2013 with a group of 170 informants. Most of them express a pessimistic view of Spain's potential for change in the short term, blaming political leaders, institutions and employers for the poor management of the crisis. And even if the economic situation improves -which is the main condition for them to return-, some think they will not return as long as the salaries, contract terms and treatment of workers in the Spanish job market remain so unappealing. Ramos and Royuela focus their research on university students and propose that internal mobility has been replaced by international migration for recent graduates. Their empirical analysis addresses Spanish migrants aged 25 years and older at 20 OECD destination countries by gender, country of origin and educational level, for the period 1980-2010 (5 years intervals). They use individual data from different surveys addressed to Catalan graduates and recent Ph.D. holders in order to provide new evidence on the drivers and impacts of changing trends in their migration behavior. They argue that at that time there was no other similar survey for the rest of Spain; however, the authors consider that results could probably be generalized for the whole country. The study shows that people with higher grades in their studies more often migrate after graduation. Emigration rates are clearly higher for Ph.D. holders than for graduates, but the evolution has been similar: between 2008 and 2014, emigration rates have doubled. Previous mobility experiences and foreign language knowledge also impact positively migration decisions. Another main finding is that the higher the skills, the larger the impact of the great recession in the likelihood of migration.

2.2.1 Spanish Migration to Norway

Susanne Bygnes is a postdoctoral fellow of the department of sociology at the University of Bergen. One of her main research interest lies in sociological approaches to the study of migration, and one of her current project is “Labour migration in uncertain times: Migration from Spain to Norway”. She explores the heterogeneity of migrant experiences in the Norwegian labour market and the extent to which it provides protection and opportunities (or if on the contrary it facilitates exploitation), and the roles that class, skill level, gender, ethnicity and whiteness play in shaping the relationships between the migrants and Norwegian institutions and society. Her research has been very helpful in terms of discovering new concepts, such as symbolic and social boundaries -when analyzing migratory experiences ((Bygnes, 2017)- and liquidity -to conceptualize the particularities of legally intra-European migration (Hansen & Gordon, 2014). The most relevant findings are that very few of her informants (no longer in their twenties) envision a free-moving lifestyle, looking instead for the possibility of living in a grounded, secure and stable scenario (Norway was perceived as a good country to carry a settled life), and the emphasis southern European migrants –especially those who are highly skilled- put on corruption as a motivation to leave their own country. Regarding the latter motive, in 2016 Bygnes and Flipo (2016) concluded that whereas economic motives are cited as the main reason for leaving, political discontent sometimes appeared as a “hidden motivation”. They suggest that nowadays separating political from economic migration “fails to take into account the multifaceted catalogue of motives that migrants relate to in practice” (p.10).

Dan Jendrissek (2016) focuses on young, highly qualified Spanish migrants in the UK. The participants, though they narrate Spain as the place of friends and family, perceived the country as having been brought to a deadlock by the financial crisis. His findings are similar to Bygnes’: there is an emphasis from the interviewees on political anger interpreted by the author as “the animation of a protest discourse prevalent in the Spanish alternative media critical of the current conservative government and its austerity measures” (p.337). Besides, participants express a strong belief in process, an optimistic view towards the acquisition of human capital as a driver of upward social mobility, that some link to an inheritance from their parents.

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3 Conceptual and Analytical Framework

Anschauung ohne Begriff ist blind; Begriff ohne Anschauung ist leer[4]

Immanuel Kant

This thesis builds upon the theory "exit, voice and loyalty" (Hirschman, 1970) and concepts developed in this section such as neoliberalism, mobile capital and liquidity, all of them operationalized by push and pull factors. Migration/mobility will be seen as a form of exit, but since Spain is not a *product*, it cannot be interpreted by the criteria posed by Hirschman, i.e., price and quality; we are therefore on the need to find new criteria. We will draw from the interviews the reasons that have pushed and pulled Spanish graduates students in Norway based on previous articles that have already analysed the reasons to migrate using this categorization –see Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002; Lee & Tan, 1984; Argawal & Winkler, 1985; McMahon, 1992 *inter alia*.

3.1 Globalization and Cosmopolitanization

If you open a newspaper in any part of the western world, the cover will inform you about what is going on in the US, Germany or Syria, in Spain, Morocco or Brazil. On the 21st century the human condition cannot be understood nationally or locally but only globally. According to Beck (2002), "globalization is a non–linear, dialectic process in which the global and the local do not exist as cultural polarities but as combined and mutually implicating principles" (p.17). The great importance of globalization goes beyond the interconnections across boundaries; it accomplishes to transform the quality of the social and political inside nation–state societies. So under conditions of globalization the national is no longer the national; instead, it has to be rediscovered as the *internalized global*. Beck (*ibid*) uses the term "cosmopolitanization" to refer to this phenomenon: internal globalization, globalization from within the national societies. He puts the finger on the importance to differ from cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanization: the former refers to a set of political ideas,

[4] Opinion without concept is blind; concept without opinion is empty

philosophies and ideologies, the latter “a frame of reference for empirical exploration for globalization from within”.

Etymologically, the world “cosmopolitanism” means being a citizen of two worlds: *cosmos* and *polis*. The central defining characteristic of a cosmopolitan perspective is what Beck calls the “dialogic imagination”, defined as “the clash of cultures and rationalities within one’s own life, the ‘internalized other’” (p.18). Whilst the national perspective is a monologic imagination, excluding the otherness, the cosmopolitan is an alternative imagination, an imagination of alternative ways of life and rationalities where the otherness of the other is included, distinguishing the otherness of nature, of other civilizations and modernities, of the future. The future is the cornerstone of cosmopolitan societies since people all over the world are reflecting on a “shared collective future, which contradicts a nation–based memory of the past” (p.27). It is therefore future, and not the past, which integrates the cosmopolitan age. However, collective future lacks of adequate forms of institutionalized action (law, politics and science *inter alia*): they are all past–based.

Beck, Albrow (1996) and Robertson (1992) among others have rejected the dominant opposition between cosmopolitans and locals. The cosmo-logic, Beck argues, “signifies its thinking and living in terms of inclusive oppositions” (unifying nature and human being as it is said before) “and rejecting the logic of exclusive oppositions” (p.19). Robertson (1992) claims the global–local dialectics by using the term of “glocalization”. Then, sociology can investigate the global locally. Here, we are doing research of a western phenomenon (how the 2008’s recession reflects on graduate migration patterns) through the analysis of a specific country.

3.2 Neoliberalism

As we pointed on the previous section, globalization is understood here as a process in which the interconnectedness of nation–states and localities has been strengthened, among other things, through the international economic, social and cultural intercourse and flows across borders. The term of neoliberal globalization is used since neoliberalism has been an unyielding part of globalization since the 1950s. Politicians like Thatcher or Reagan and their ideas of free market and free trade still influence today’s political, economic and cultural systems. There is evidence (George, 1999; Falk, 2008, *inter alia*) which proves that the development of neoliberal discourses, policies and practices has been jointly financed and engineered by those with a great deal to gain financially from the labour practices and flows of capital. Embraced by globalization, neoliberalism has become the dominant ideology (Zheng, 2010). Therefore it is legitimate to talk about neoliberal globalization.

Neoliberalism has been conceptualized in many different ways through the years. It has first appeared as a distinctive strand of liberal in the 1940s, but it wasn't until the 1970s when it gained a major influence (Ibid). While some authors conceived neoliberalism as governmentality (Larner, 1998, as quoted in Nairn & Higgins, 2007), others (Robertson & Scholte, 2007) prefer to think about it as an ideology. Understood as the latter, its key principles can be summarized as "free–market individualism, private property, constitutional order, and the minimal state" (p.865). However, one should not think about neoliberalism as a mere economic notion. Its scope has been expanded to the political, cultural and ideological spheres. Besides market deregulation, state decentralization and reduced state intervention into economic affairs, Scholte (2000) recognizes that neoliberalism prevails as the reigning policy framework in contemporary globalization. Multilateral institutions that have been created during the last decades, such as OECD, IMF or WTO, are examples of the close link between neoliberal policies and globalization. This link also indicates a distinct set of policies for global governance (Robertson & Scholte, 2007). Consequently, neoliberalism has become the substitute term for globalization in a particular interpretation.

Larner (1998, as quoted in Nairn & Higgins, 2007) is one among the authors that don't conceptualize neoliberalism as a set of policy prescriptions nor an ideology but as a governmentality. She argues that the former approaches don't pay enough attention to the formation of subjectivities, especially in terms more complex than imposition from the state and the vested interests of powerful groups, undervaluing the agency of individuals. Larner proposes an understanding of neoliberalism in terms of political rationalities and political technologies: rationalities are mediated through discourses (open ended, contested and interrelated) and are made operable through political technologies, that is, strategies, techniques and procedures by which political programmes are put in place. Their utility lies on the fact that they help us to understand the basic structures of power by which individuals are governed and through which they are encouraged to conform to the norms of the market. Two examples of rationality are the knowledge and the cultural economy discourse. Whereas the former refers to a straightforward working out of a rationality that links education to the labour market, the latter provides more space for agency, for developing identities based on participants' own desires.

3.2.1 Agency and the Neoliberal Subject

The concept of agency is crucial to reflect on the importance of neoliberalism. Agency will be here understood as "the exercise of will and conscious action on the part of human subjects" and "as the extent to which people can resist, by exercising their own "free will", the influences of social structures and cultural institutions" (White & Wyn, 1998). Bansel and Davies (2005) explain that neoliberalism depends on and generates an end–product driven time that has power over individuals to control and shape not only the work–sphere but also their private time and subjective sense of embodiment and emotions. The author is aware that it is not easy to detect neoliberal practices of government; thus one of the tasks is to make neoliberalism visible as a particular historical moment with relevant effects on the life of young highly educated people. These effects, besides, are difficult to notice given that they are made to appear as the only way things could be in a globalised economy (Davies & Petersen, 2005). Agency is diminished due to the need to achieve the ends neoliberal governments aim at: national economic objectives. Individual and institutions make plans and take control of the future taking into account just what it is available to them at that precise moment. Besides, decision making has turn over the unpredictability of the global market. Neoliberal technologies are designed "to shift individuals' performance toward higher levels of flexibility and end–driven productivity" (Davies & Bansel, 2005, p.48), so each individual is reconfigured as an economic unit.

Neoliberalism promotes competition among individuals, among institutions and among nations, forgetting about the social accomplishments that societies have gained during the last two centuries mostly, that is, social justice and social responsibility (Davies & Bansel, 2007). The adjustment to the needs of the national markets has been attained by the intensification of each individual's belief in his/her own freedom, autonomy and sense of responsibility. However, as Watson, Buchanan and Campbell suggest (2003) , there is a neoliberal subject whose illusion of autonomy and freedom works more hours, has fewer choices and less mobility than neoliberal rhetoric promises. The intensification of focus on the individual and her/his responsibility under neoliberalism enhances the relevance of the self. The "autonomous" and "free" choices one made mean that in case there is blame to apportion, it must be apportioned on the self; the lack of time is perceived by the individual as a personal failure to find time (Davies & Bansel, 2005). Agency here is therefore associated with the individualization process, the belief that one is in control of one's decisions and is responsible for their outcomes; that is, agency is seen as a deluge of individual efforts made to cope with particular social conditions (Cuzzocrea & Mandlich, 2016).

David and Petersen (2005) assert the impossibility to resist the onslaught of neoliberalism. As subjects we will always be under the system yoke and we will be played by it, whether or not we consciously realise it, given that governance is enacted via our hearts and minds and the technologies of neoliberalism close down dissent and the perception of alternatives. According to them, it is only possible *to do* by being a neoliberal subject. Rose (1999) has been one of the first authors in theorizing how neoliberalism functions at the level of the subject. He argues that neoliberalism produces docile individuals who, despite being tightly governed, define themselves as free. Individuals, as we pointed out before, have been seduced by their own perceived freedom while letting go significant collective powers. Davies and Bansel (2007) suggest that this shift of risk from the state to individuals is not free of charge: it burdens not only individuals but also many nations a heavy cost (Falk, 2008). Agency and the faculty of choice are the means through which calculative actions are undertaken within neoliberalism, since all aspects of social behaviour are rethought along economic lines (Rose, 1999). Citizens to be governed are conceived as individuals active in making choices to follow their own interests. The state directs its strength at empowering entrepreneurial subjects in their quest for self–expression, prosperity and freedom, the latter being shaped by what the state desires, demands and enables, that is, national economic objectives. The change from social welfare to market–driven economy elaborates a new dominant discourse that is both moralistic and dominated by fear. Neoliberal subjects shape their desires, hopes, ideals and fears aiming at being morally worthy and responsible individuals. This is understood as not depending at all on the state; that is, there is a change from "social state" to "enabling state", which is thought to provide individuals with the knowledge, powers and freedoms to take care of themselves (Davies & Bansel, 2007). Hence the citizen transforms himself from a passive citizen of the welfare state to an active citizen with rights, duties, obligations and expectations –it is self–thought as morally superior, as an entrepreneur of the self. Besides a reactivation of liberal values such as self–reliance, autonomy and independence, this transformation emphasises the capitalization of existence itself through calculated acts and investments and the riddance of collective responsibility for the marginalized and vulnerable (Davies & Bansel, 2007), while extoling entrepreneurs as the ideal citizens (Apple, 2000) . While some could define neoliberal subjects as an epitome of meritocracy, Walkerdine (2003) and Skeggs (2004) argue that this subject position is highly exclusionary due to the fact that it is modelled on a middle–class, masculinized "rational" and strategizing subject. Investing in human capital is seen as a means to cope with the expectations 21st century's societies have. Human capital is a concept coined by Becker (1993). It comprises the stock of skills and productive knowledge that are embodied in people, enabling individuals to improve their skills and earning capacity. Blue collar workers lack the access to the knowledge of how to accrue effectively and the access to the sites for optimizing their cultural capital.

3.2.2 Neoliberal Youth

Youth are asked by society to build a meaningful relationship with social time, to establish significant connections between an individual and collective past, present and future (Leccardi, 2005). A conceptualisation of youth not as simply "transition to adulthood" but within a sociological framework of generation urges us to understand young people within their political, social and economic milieu (Wyn & Woodman, 2006). The concept of generation is used for "building an understanding of the distinctive nature of youth and young adulthood, and of age transitions in a context of social change" (Woodman & Wyn, 2015). The understanding of generation here is rooted in the sociological tradition of the Hungarian-born sociologist Karl Mannheim (1952) that locates the social generational dynamic firmly within the interaction of social conditions and individual subjectivities. A generation thus consists of individuals who belong to a common period of history, or whose lives are forged through the same conditions (Wyn & Woodman, 2006). According to Mannheim, major historical events change society quickly in a direct, linear way, and big events create a turning in the given generations. He argued for a generational consciousness that emerged for each generation. His theory is summarized by McCrindle (2007) who argues that "people resemble their times more than they resemble their parents" (p.2). Young people's link to their social generation takes place despite gender, locational or socio-economic differences. However, these distinctive generational subjectivities don't make them all the same; thus social generation, although its potentiality of distinctiveness, is not necessarily transformative and cannot be framed in a single label based on a practice or a personality type (Woodman & Wyn, 2015). Terms like "millennials", "baby boomers" or "gen X" are often simplistic;

however they go beyond simply viewing youth as a transitional phase in the life cycle. Thus, although the author is aware of its limitation, the generation who live under the umbrella of neoliberalism will be referred to as "millennial". The turning experienced for the so-called "millennial generation" is the growth of the technology (DeChane, 2014). Millennials use the computer and internet provided by their parents to confide in groups of people that may not live near them (Donohue, 2012). For DeChane (2014), technology and internet have promoted three qualities among the millennial generation: the rise of groups of friends, globalization on a personal level, and online politics.

Youngsters nowadays live in a context of increasing variability and unpredictability (Woodman & Wyn, 2015) where social justice and responsibility have been replaced by competition, individual freedom and individual autonomy (Davies & Bansel, 2007). Bourdieu refers to the shifts in the structure of employment produced in neoliberalism as "a mode of domination of a new kind, based on the creation of a generalized and permanent state of insecurity". Instability and unpredictability have become the *sine qua non* characteristics of today's youth. DeChane (2014) claims that they are asked to do what their parents did –buy a house and start a family right after university- ignoring how different economics are today. Mannheim's social generations approach argues that the rhythm of ageing is mediated by social structures and it is actually this junction what partially drives social change (Woodman & Wyn, 2015). The meaning of age is thus constructed through the predominant social and economic relations of society: since age alone is no longer the defining feature, several age cohorts would be included within one generation (Wyn & Woodman, 2006). The crisis of industrial time brings with it a crisis in the "normal biography": youth as preparation for work, adulthood as work performance, old age as retirement (Kohli, 1994). The image of a future progressive, controllable planned time has grown weaker in the last decades (Leccardi, 2005). "The formation of identity in a modern sense is guaranteed by adherence to the logic of the plan" (p.124); however, nowadays we are living in times of "biographical subjectivization", where youth extends and de-standardize the transition to adulthood fragmenting it on pieces which are difficult to connect to each other. Instead, it ascribes great importance to individual responsibility in defining choices and generally assigning a leading role to the ability to work out autonomous projects –the hype of being an entrepreneur. It also contradicts other characteristics of our times: to elude fixity in favour of fluidity, to isolate the present from the future, to avoid long term projects. The most relevant transition youth-adulthood model for this study is the so-called Mediterranean, typified by Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal. It could be defined by extended schooling; a phase of heavy professional precariousness at the end of studies; long cohabitation with parents even after entering the labour market while enjoying ample space for autonomy; finally leaving parent's home when getting married.

Students as Neoliberal Subjects

Values of neoliberalism are conveyed by schools and universities among other institutions. Brown (2003) argues that these institutions have been reconfigured to produce highly individualized subjects who have become "entrepreneurial actors across all dimensions of their lives" (p.38). Neoliberal discourses of flexibility, self–sufficiency and individualism (Hay & Kapitzke, 2009; Olssen & Peters, 2005) are all–pervasive within Higher Education. The capacity to be recognised as an "employable" student is dependent on having access to a range of unequally distributed resources –Bourdieu (1984) defines them as economic, social and cultural capital, and, as it will be explained, mobile capital (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002)– and on how to display them in order to be aligned with broader institutional and societal practices and relations. Employability is defined as the individual capability "to move self–sufficiently within the labour market to realise potential through sustainable employment" (Hillage & Pollard, 1998, p.11, as quoted in Allen, Quinn, Hollingorth, & Rose, 2013). Self–sufficiency discourses reproduce a notion that (some) students are over–dependent within Higher Education (Leathwood, 2006), prompting the drive to put themselves out in the market place (Walkerdine, 2003). However, there is also the case of countries where their markets cannot incorporate the array of job seekers. Hence mobility starts to be considered. Especially for young people, physical distances are not a hurdle in the management of their lives, mobility researchers say (Cuzzocrea & Mandlich, 2016). A willingness to be mobile is traditionally portrayed as the dominant characteristic of a cosmopolitan, postmodern and entrepreneurial young agent, who is opposed to the local embeddedness. Nevertheless, the promotion of mobility as a positive value has also been criticised and has characterized the neoliberal subject as an individual permanently capable and willing to move (Cuzzocrea & Mandlich, (2016). Also in the scope of mobility, the idea of freedom within neoliberalism has been widely discussed. Authors like Yoon (2014) claim that the myth of neoliberal freedom implicated in the discourse and the practice of global experience may not necessarily empower transnational young people, weakening instead the promise of self–development.

Agency is at the same time denied and executed: on the one hand, it is denied due to the fact of seeing the idea of moving as the only possible or desirable action in one's context; on the other hand, agency is achieved in the sense that moving is a way to control one's future, somehow that desires are possible somewhere else. We are here interested in the interpretation of mobility whether as a means of "circumnavigate disadvantage" (Cairns, 2014; Cuzzocrea & Mandlich, 2016) –a shortcut to avoid dealing local problems and challenges– or as a positive way to build a successful biography.

3.3 Migration or Mobility?

The lines of research triggered by these two concepts, as noted by Aybek, Huinink and Muttarak (2015), have different origins. Mobility studies are recent, since they have emerged in a context of progress in communication and transportation technologies. Unlike migration, mobility refers to voluntary and mostly desirable movements of EU citizens. We should therefore look –and we will on the empirical part- at the conditions in which southern EU citizens decide to leave their home country and the treatment they receive upon arrival in destination countries. From this perspective, international immigration –understood as long-term relocation across an international border– is but one among many forms of transformations in people's lives. Nowadays in Europe, the concept of mobility is widely used to the detriment of migration in public debates and policy circles to describe changes of residence from one EU Member State to another. Instead, migration is used to depict the arrival within the EU of citizens heading from third countries (Glorius, Grabowska-Lusinska, & Kuvik, 2014). It is highly relevant to observe how guest workers from South Europe who moved after WWII have become mobile EU workers as their countries took part on the European endeavour, mirroring the strength of political projects in the enterprise of changing the vocabulary used to describe people on the move (Lafleur & Stanek, 2017).

Although both terms will be used in this paper, due to the harsh impact that the crisis has had on the country of study "migration" could –arguably– be thought as being more accurate. Hence, interviewees will be asked whether they consider themselves mobile students or migrants after their departure from Spain.

3.3.1 Brain Drain

According to Docquier and Rapoport (2006) and their note in the *New Palgrave Dictionary*, brain drain usually denotes the "migration of engineers, physicians, scientists, and other very highly skilled professionals with university training". These migrations are usually from developing to developed countries, from rural areas to urban areas within a country, and from high-income selected countries (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011). In absolute levels, skilled migration is increasing due to the general rising of skill levels in the world as a whole; in fact, skilled migration rose at about the same pace as overall education levels in the sending countries in recent decades (*ibid*).

The concept of brain drain was forged by the British Royal Society to allude to the exodus of scientists and technologists from the United Kingdom to the United States and Canada in the 1950/60s (Cervantes & Guellec, 2002). The term was widespread later on and used to refer to migrants from poor regions to the Western world; thus it represents a pessimistic interpretation of the impact of skill migration, understood as a loss of resources for sending states and as both a consequence and a cause of underdevelopment. In fact, much of the movement of students or highly skilled labour has been shaped by the legacy of colonial relations (Robertson, 2006). There were extended local fears that skilled emigrants would find permanent jobs overseas and would stay in the more developed economies, prompting a dynamic of "success to the successful": the rich economies would increase their human capital while the poor would lose their most significant resource (Joyce & Hunt, 1982). This approach was promoted by the government of sending countries along with research and experts, who, besides denouncing the cost of brain drain, sought ways to compensate it (Levantino & Pécoud, 2012).

Though it was already challenged in 1965 by Harry Johnson (1965), a professor who, regarding the Canadian case, claimed that brain drain was "obviously a loaded phrase, involving implicit definitions of economic and social welfare, and implicit assertions about facts. This is because the term 'drain' conveys a strong implication of serious loss" (p.299). The negative paradigm started to be overtly questioned in the early nineties (Levantino & Pécoud, 2012). The stress was then put on the benefits of skilled migration for sending countries through remittances, return (or circular) migration and the positive consequences of emigration options on the education and training prospects of populations in regions of departure.

During the last decade, "brain drain" has become an important and controversial notion in political and economic arenas. The reason is the new knowledge economy system where brains, according to politicians and policy-makers, are the basis for a competitive edge. Bred in the dynamics of globalisation (Baruch, Budhwar, & Khatri, 2007), there is a race between countries to attract the best and brightest from around the world in order to generate the ideas that will lead to innovation, patents and profits. Nevertheless there are still scholars who highlight the negative side of brain drain ("brain drain is an inescapable fact faced by smaller nations in the shadow of large, more economically powerful one", Matthews & Zander, 2000, as quoted in Carr, Inkson, & Thorn, 2005) and who see brain drain as an almost inevitable part of the larger process of globalization. Related to that, Morano Foadi (2005) signals a concept that, though rarely, can be found in academic literature: brain waste. It describes the "deskilling that occurs when highly skilled workers migrate into forms of employment not requiring the application of the skills and experience applied in the former job" (p.136).

Same Phenomenon, New Ideas: Brain Gain, Brain Circulation, Talent Flow

The new positive conception of brain drain gave birth to the notions of "brain gain", "brain circulation" and "talent flow". The notion of "brain gain" encompasses a balance understanding of the relationships between skilled migration and development, aiming at correcting the overtly negative interpretations without dismissing them; at the same time it takes into account the possible gain effects and the complexity of the issue and the variations between time and regions (Levantino & Pécoud, 2012; Tung & Lazarova, 2006). These gain effects have been pointed by Docquier and Rapoport (2006), scholars who have shown that it is possible that high-skilled migration can lead to a rise in human capital levels in the home country. The rationale of brain gain lies on the decisions of individuals to invest in education as a reaction to the prospect of future migration. Besides, not everyone who chooses to improve their education because of the chance of migrating will actually end up migrating (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011). De Haas (2010) points to the crisis of the historical-structuralism approach in social sciences, the diffusion of postmodernist thinking and the emergence of new approaches that recognizes the agency of the individuals to actively change social structures as the causes of the emergence of "brain drain". Stark (1991) emphasizes the shift to consider emigration as a strategy by individuals and households, given that poor people are now understood as actors who can seek to improve their livelihood, instead of being considered passive victims of structural force. Brain drain can be found as a part of the twofold concept brain exchange which encompasses brain gain and brain drain

"Brain circulation", on the other hand, is a recent concept. It has become increasingly influential over the 21st century. It emphasizes the optimistic insight to skilled migration by accentuating the relevance of remittances and return migration (Kapur, 2005). Some observers claim that in some cases these remittances make up a very large proportion of the nations' GDP (Robertson , 2006). The argument to endorse this view lies on the emphasis on the times we live in: in an era of globalization, migration and "mobility" of the highly skilled should be considered a normal process instead of being linked to an idea of "loss". Besides, it should be associated with the "circulation" of trained workers within a global labour market. This has been accompanied by a trend to speak of "mobility" or "circulation", terms that are thought to be less static than migration (Levantino & Pécoud, 2012).

Carr, Inkson and Thorn (2005) prefer the concept of talent flow. It designates a process whereby economically valuable individuals migrate between countries; this is arguably linked more to the desire of developing an important global career than to international flows of personnel within global organizations. In this article the term "brain drain" is rejected due to its restrictiveness and its focus on the psychology of migration, specifically the economic, political, cultural, family and career forces motivating it. The authors argue that, rather than drain-gain juxtaposition, migration from, to and through countries should be understood as a flow of talent that changes both the competencies of the people within it and the environments through which it passes. The authors also acknowledge businesspeople and entrepreneurs within the word brain, instead of focusing just on the scientific and technological brain-power the word "brain" has acquired. Talent flow is governed by human choice –again we find emphasis on the agency level of individuals- and it is constituted from boundaryless global careers (a behavioural, individual-level phenomenon with societal outcomes that encompasses the motivators that direct careers across international boundaries). This can create three types of knowledge waves. First, reverse migration, i.e., the return of the migrants to their home country, bringing new knowledge capital with them (Inkson, Arthur, Pringle, & Barry, 1997). Second, the formation of offshore diasporas where career capital is shared between country of destination and country of origin (Cervantes & Guellec, 2002). Third and last, the dynamic and often creative interactions between immigrants and their hosts.

3.4 Student Mobility or Student Migration?

In the educational arena as in the overall scope, the literature and the policy debate in Europe tend increasingly to favour mobility, arguing that this term highlights the movement involved in migration instead of privileging the sending and receiving localities and their perspectives. Also in much of the literature mobility generally implies shorter time-frame for the movement as well as high probability of return (as for Erasmus students). Instead, longer term movements (such as for an entire degree programme) fit the conventional statistical definition of international migration, which often encompass mobile experiences lasting one year least. They are characterized with a more-open ended likelihood to return to the country of origin.

An inspiring book that provides this thesis with relevant definitions that enhance the quality of the mobility/migration debate is the one written by professor Murphy-Lejeune (2002) entitled “*Student Mobility and Narrative in Europe: The New Strangers*”. In this work, mobility is considered as a particular case of migration, and namely student mobility in Europe is thought to be undertaken by a minority significant enough to be distinct from the majority of their peers: the migratory elite (Musgrove, 1963). According to her, migration denotes movements outside one’s country of origin with the consequent changes in residence and legal status this process triggers. Mobility, on the other hand, applies to wider phenomena other than moving from one country to another. It first emphasizes change: it refers to the specific quality of being prone “to change easily or quickly; changeableness, instability; fickleness” (Oxford English Dictionary). Mobility, she claims, “is the quality of those who can easily move and adapt to different environments”. Although it is mostly conceived as a geographic condition, it is extended into the linguistic, social, psychological, intellectual, professional and cultural domain. That is the reason why mobility within Europe is sometimes characterized as “mobility light” given that the transfer of people is produced from not-too-distant cultures (Teichler, 2004). Whereas migration is seen as a final movement that leads to long-term social integration or assimilation which implies a slow but intense transformation of the individuals concerned, mobility “implies a shorter kind of integration where personal transformations may be more peripheral”. The transition from local to global which has already been addressed has created new spaces for communication where mobility is conceived as a “continuous and multiple process rather than as a one-way ticket”.

Migrants share a special position of being stranger who, "on the boundaries of sameness and otherness, provoke a sometimes unsettling awareness in their interlocutors and test the permeability of borders" (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002, p.20). In their experience, different stages can be differentiated, such as decision to leave, arrival in a new place, progressive appropriation of a linguistic and cultural environment, the professional roles, acquisition of social relations. Each one involves an identity transformation needed for a successful adaptation that undoubtedly depends on a multiplicity of social and personal variables. However, it also depends on the times under which it is undertaken. In the 20th century, migration was seen as the enforced departure holding much better economic and political expectations and "leaving was more important than arriving" (*ibid*, p.23). Nowadays migration is seen as the arrival in spaces carrying new promises and, unlike former times, home and newer possibilities are never too far away. While the migrant of the past preferred to fade into the mases, the new ones claim their visibility and difference. Here mobile students will be therefore seen as a particular case of migrants.

3.4.1 The Student Stranger?

"*Student Mobility and Narrative in Europe: The New Strangers*", though it is mostly focused on credit mobility students, renders a good overall description of mobile students. The global economic recession has reinforced a new profile of migrants: highly skilled workers, seeking professional added value or moving for study reasons, and whose migration may be only temporary (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002). So these new migrants, besides highly educated, are young and described as being adventurous and risk-takers (Van Mol, 2016). The younger generations, besides being better educated, are also better equipped to manoeuvre in a global context. Although a higher education level among young people has led to a decline in youth unemployment rates in most of the countries, the exact opposite occurs in Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain (Hernández Peinado & Montero González, 2013). Evidence shows that higher educated people are more likely to move abroad when the youth unemployment ratio is higher (Van Mol, 2016) and these four countries have been the ones most severely hit by the crises. Therefore it is easy to understand why social and geographical mobility is viewed as an alternative to unemployment, precarious work or underemployment (Domínguez-Mujica, Guerra-Talavera, & Parreño-Castellano, 2014; Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2014). These students are often without family responsibilities or other ties, in the so-called state of family and economic lightness (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002), and their mental horizons are generally more unobstructed. Hence their integration into a different environment might prove easier, faster and more comprehensive.

However, this book poses a new characterization of mobile students: the student stranger. Student travellers represent then a specific case of mobility and strangeness (*ibid*). The coexistence of closeness and remoteness is what makes being a stranger problematic: when those who should be close –because they would like to be close- are distant, the result is a degree of tension and anxiety (Levine, 1971 in Murphy-Lejeune, 2002). Murphy-Lejeune argues that students abroad also experience disorientation in many ways which may cause a personal crisis during which identity borders are disturbed and must be renegotiated. Disorientation can be spatial, about time, social and symbolic. Regarding space, strangers are in between two places; thus, this displacement induces duality and sometimes dislocation. No matter why one decided to move, breaking from one's roots mentally is a prerequisite for crossing over to the other group, to the receiver society (Stonequist, 1961 in Murphy-Lejeune, 2002): "when you move, space –physical, personal, affective, social, cultural or mental- must be redefined" (p.84). However, the experience of mobility calls for a rethinking of space, strongly influenced by virtual globalization. Time, as Bauman (2012) claimed, might become a substitute for space as the basis for social relation. The student traveller represents a special case of potential wanderer; he faces an indecisive itinerary, he sees his present as excessively dilated. Such potential wanderer is temporarily settled in stages that are uncertain. He must cope with the uncertainties of youth, of the duration of the stay (though it may be fixed institutionally, it is not definite), of what is coming next.

It has already been pointed out that, for qualitative and quantitative reasons, student travellers are a minority regarded as migratory elite (Musgrove, 1963). They are ready to move and are open to changes in their environment: language, lifestyle, personal setting. In this regard, Murphy-Lejeune has coined the term mobility capital. As a subcomponent of social capital (Swartz & Zolberg, 2005), it enables individuals "to enhance their skills because of the richness of the international experience gained by living abroad" (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002, p.50). It is constituted by four elements: family and personal history –how they facilitate mobility-, previous experience of mobility, first experience of adaptation that serves as an initiation and personality features of the potential wanderer. The latter is the most innovative: people with mobility capital present a "taste for living abroad", the "travel bug", an "appetite for wandering" (*ibid*, p.52; p.56; p.59). Three core elements of the travelling personality can be depicted: curiosity, attraction for novelty or difference, and sociability or a desire to communicate and seek social contacts. Mobility capital is not just a resource that people can make use of as they like; instead, it is an internalised disposition that directs young people towards further mobility.

3.5 Liquidity

The concept of liquid migration (Bygnes & Erdal, 2017) taken from Bauman's idea of liquidity (2012) will be used to frame the graduates' attitudes towards mobility. We will pay attention to the ways in which considerations about their past, present and future narrated by the seven interviewees may or may not be interpreted as "liquid migration". We agree with Bygnes and Erdal (2017) on the value "liquid migration" has for describing the context of contemporary intra-European migration. The interviews will be analysed towards the lenses of liquidity. Zygmunt Bauman described social reality in terms of liquid modernity, i.e., based on the predicament of constant change. Though progress remains the dominant agenda of today's society, the idea of modernity is nowadays very different from its original project; hence there is a need of a new conceptual framework to describe our reality. "Solid cancels time; for liquids it is mostly time that matters" (2012, p.2). Liquidity is "motion and change that trumps immobility and stability" (Oxenham, 2013) and that is the reason why liquidity comes to be such a relevant concept: uncertainty is a notion repeated by the interviewees who see Norway as a bastion of *solidity* (social security, social engagement, high rates of employment, good quality jobs…). When introducing the mobility/migration debate to conceptualize participants' experiences of mobility/migration, ideas introduced by Bauman are revealed: the condemnation to a chronically unfulfilled identity projects ("would I be here if the situation in Spain were different?", "I can't foresee my life in the medium term"). In a liquid world, something that works today may not work tomorrow while whatever more interesting may pop up somewhere else: no one wants permanent ties to anything, everybody wants to keep each game short, i.e., to beware long-term commitments (Bauman, 2011). The key of progress is no longer stability but adaptability. Bauman also had some words for a common situation referred to by the interviewees: precariousness. Career planning loses any meaning in a liquid world and the endemic precariousness of work devastates self-confidence. It is said that structural unemployment generates an unprecedented experience of insecurity given that a good job today may vanish next year. A faster pace of life favours the growth of short-term plans.

Liquid modernity is the revenge of the nomads over the settlers, Bauman claims. Interviewees are seen here as nomads, given the lack of long term plans, and their lives are seen just as a sequence of episodes. Liquid migration (Bauman, 2007) is one way of conceptualizing the particularities of legally unconstrained intra-European migration characterized by temporariness, unpredictability and individualization (Bygnes & Erdal, 2017). The formation of identity of these graduates will also be analyzed. The case of Spanish graduates migrating to Norway can be somehow defined as what Bauman calls "tourists": they are on the move and they are "everywhere they go in, but nowhere of the place they are in" (Bauman, 2011, p.28). However, there are reasons not to attach to this archetype. Bauman asserts that tourists move "on purpose", their movements are first of all "in order to" and secondarily "because of", i.e., pull are more relevant than push factors. This could be true to argue why they have chosen Norway given the importance these individuals give to solidity. Nevertheless "tourists" fit better the image of youth migrants the Spanish government holds - the purpose of moving is gaining new and different experiences (*ibid*)-, while interviewees try to stay away from these depictions which they do not consider true at all.

3.6 Exit, voice and loyalty

Emigration is rarely considered a form of protest by collective actions academics; however, they analyse it as a response to discontent in terms of Hirschman's (1970) concepts of "exit" and "voice". Taking into account the literature's findings and once the interviews have been conducted, seeing migration as a means to cope with displeasure with one's country fits the Spanish scenario. This general formula for human behaviour, although it was first developed to conceptualize dissatisfaction with an organization, has been used by scholars (Hoffmann, 2010) to analyse migration. Applied to international migration, "exit" is now translated into leaving a country and migrating to a different one –in the past, exit was branded as criminal (desertion, defection and treason). Voice, on the other hand, is defined as any attempt to change -rather than to escape from, an objectionable state of affairs (Hirschman, 1970, p.30). It is also defined as the articulation of discontent "all the way from faint grumbling to violent protest". It is equally defined as the political action par excellence (*ibid*, p.16). In today's Europe, Bygnes and Flipo (2016) suggest that "emigration is a possible course of action for politically engaged and dissatisfied individuals who feel that the 'repertoires of contention' at their disposal are insufficient for channelling their political discontent".

Loyalty applies to those who stay without voicing discontent, ranging from enthusiastic support to passive acceptance or even submissive silence; although an individual might not be influential himself, he must have the expectation that someone will act or something will happen to improve matters (Hirschman, 1970). Its importance lies on the power of neutralizing within certain limits the tendency of the most quality conscious customers or members to be the first to exit (p.79). It is worth to mention that this third category has never received the same prominence as the two others in the academic career of the concept (Hoffman, 2010; Hirschman 2017. p.31: "the choice is often between voice and exit"). Both "voice" and "exit" reactions are well-developed regarding Spanish citizens abroad: they are described as both "the most radical" and "the most likely to engage in protests" of all European citizens abroad (Muxel, 2009 in Bygnes & Flipo, 2016). Besides, we have already characterized Spanish migrants within Europe as highly skilled individuals due to its better response to the market needs of the North.

Despite the fact that Hirschman modelled these categories not exclusive but contrasting (Hirschman, 1970, p.15) and described their interaction as a seesaw mechanism, Hoffman suggestions (p.68) and interviews show an understanding of migration characterized precisely by the overlapping, combination and simultaneity of the three options. Voice can be a substitute for exit as well as a complement to it (p.37). This is the case for transnational migration. Emigrants maintain strong social ties –loyalty as Hirschman conceptualizes it– to their country of origin, including a claim to have a word in its public affairs (voice), so exit, voice and loyalty are no longer exclusive options; instead, the nature of migrant transnationalism is defined by the overlapping and simultaneity of these categories (Hoffmann, 2010, p.57). For Hirschman, within "advanced countries" dissatisfaction is more likely to take the form of silent exit whereas in less developed countries it is normally depicted in protests since there is a lack of opportunity for exit. However, if "customers" or citizens are convinced that voice will be effective, they may well postpone exit. Exit will therefore be a reaction for last resort after voice has failed (Hirschman, 1970, p.37). Hirschman actually tackles the brain drain phenomena and the mantra that those who know best –or are highly skilled if we extrapolate to the migration realm- are the ones that leave first: “those customers who care most about the quality of the product and who are those who would be the most active, reliable and creative agents of voice are for that reason those who are apparently likely to exit in case of deterioration” (p.47). This also happens within graduates: as Matter indicates (Matter, 1977), graduates with high achievement motivation tend to remain in the community as long as the community is “achieving”, but tend to depart when it’s declining. Hirschman notes that loyalty depends on the closeness of the available substitute: countries can ordinarily be considered well-differentiated products being therefore much scope for voice to come into play in the course of progressive deteriorations before exit will assume massive proportions. Nevertheless Hirschman (1970, p.81) highlights that “only as countries start to resemble each other because of the advances in communication and all-round modernization will the danger of premature and excessive exits arise, the brain drain being a current example”. That moment has come.

3.7 Push and Pull Factors

In the study of the phenomenon of mobility-migration, economic theories are ruling, emphasizing economic motives, effects and differences. These approaches define equilibrium as the matching of supply and demand; migration then takes place from regions with a low demand for labour to regions with a higher demand. Professional migration is a consequence of internal structural imbalances between the supply of professionals produced by the educational system of a society and the internal demand for their services. This could be extended to student migration: the host country offers more and better chances than the sending country that is affected by the just mentioned internal structural imbalance. In the realm of sociology, Hoffmann-Nowotny (1970, as quoted in Hadler, 2006) considers unequal distribution of power and prestige –prestige being the legitimate amount of participation or possession of central social values whereas power refers to the opportunity to fulfil these claims- the main source of tension. Anomie therefore arises as a relevant concept. Both approaches (the economic and the sociological) will be mingled to create a comprehensive tool to analyze the migration phenomenon of Spanish graduates in Norway.

Supply and demand sides can also be designed as push and pull factors. “Push” factors operate within the source country and initiate a student’s decision to undertake international study whereas “pull” factors operate within a host country to make that country relatively attractive to international students (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002). Economic and social forces within the home country serve to "push" students abroad: here, special attention has been paid to historical links, language, cost of education in the home country, expected benefits of studying abroad, degree of involvement of the sending country in the world economy, priority placed on education in the home country and availability of educational opportunities in the home country. Scholars have highlighted the importance of student's prior knowledge and awareness of a host country or institution as well as recommendations made by the student's family and friends during the purchase decision.

According to Mazzarol (1998), the decision process through which the international student moves when selecting a final study destination involves three stages that have helped to segment the narratives of the interviewees:

1. In stage one the student must decide to study internationally, rather than locally. As noted, this can be influenced by a series of "push" factors within the home country.
2. The second stage consists on deciding where to move, i.e., the selection of a host country. "Pull" factors become important, making one host country relatively more attractive than another.
3. In stage three the student selects an institution. A variety of additional "pull" factors make a particular institution more attractive than its competitors. Generally, there is a wide variety of institutions from which a prospective student can make a choice. The decision to attend a particular institution is a trade-off and is likely to be influenced by opinions from family, friends and counsellors

Many scholars have argued for the most relevant push factors (see Lee and Tan (1984), Agarwal and Winkler (1985), McMahon (1992) *inter alia*) including historical or colonial links, a commonality of language, the price or cost of education, the expected benefits of studying abroad, the degree of involvement of the sending country in the world economy, the priority placed on education by its government and the availability of educational opportunities in the home country.

Regarding "pull" factors we will attach to the division made by Mazzarol, Kemp and Savery (1997) (as quoted in Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002). These three scholars distinguish six main factors to determine the selection of a host country, namely:

1. Overall level of knowledge and awareness of the host country in the student's home country. Other articles (e.g. Kinnell, 1989; McMahon, 1992) prefer to point to the

reputation or profile of the country in which the student is seeking to study without alluding to the home country.

2. Personal recommendations: previous experience of others
3. Cost issues, including financial and social cost. The cost of an international education must be measured through the direct cost of fees, the cost of living and other indirect factors, such as the opportunity cost of studying at home or not studying at all. Student migration could be seen as a personal investment in human capital
4. Environment: it includes all type of “climates”: study, physical and life style
5. Geographic proximity to the sending country
6. Social links that ease the acclimatization to the host country

To come back to Hoffmann-Nowotny (1970, as quoted in Hadler, 2006) and the unequal distribution of power and prestige, we find that the notion of anomie looms large and emerges as the most relevant push factor besides mobile capital (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002). This concept was developed by Durkheim and afterwards refined by Merton (1938). Durkheim (2002) maintains that anomie arises in a society when moral individualism is replaced by economic individualism. Merton added an explanation of anomie in terms of social structure. According to him, anomie is the product of the imbalance between two fundamental components of society: cultural structure and social structure; i.e. the acceptance of culture goals and institutionalized means. The degree of anomie in a social system is indicated by the extent to which there is a lack of consensus on norms judged to be legitimate, with its attendant uncertainty and insecurity in social relations (Merton, 1964, as quoted in Zhao & Cao, 2010). In this thesis anomie would be understood as Bygnes (2017) does, a concept that refers to a breakdown of purpose and ideals in society. She points that what is new about the motivations cited by highly skilled Spaniards and migrants from south European countries such as Greece or Italy after the onset of the crisis is the “emphasis on corruption, bad working conditions, lack of faith in politicians, lack of meritocracy and, above all, the very bleak future prospects they anticipated in their countries of origin”. Whereas anomie refers to the structural level, anomia is located at the individual level and refers to the “loss of normative orientation and of control over situations and goals of action, which however are dependent on the socially anomic constitution” (Legge, Davidov, & Schmidt, 2008, p.249). We will therefore diagnose with anomia those individuals who indicate the impossibility to achieve their goals as a reason to “exit” Spain.

The idea of the following scheme was taken from HEFCE (2004) and depicts a model of the student decision-making process regarding student mobility. This scheme will be operationalized through the lenses of push and pull indicators. Here migration is analysed at two levels. First, there is the macro-level question of why a large number of people wish to emigrate, and encompasses the social, economic, cultural and political context –of Spain- that is largely common to all the community members; it is summarized in the box placed at the bottom of the following page. The second analytical approach is the micro-level question of who wants to migrate and why: indicators are shown inside the box, divided into drivers of and barriers to mobility, that come together to decide whether to move or not. These will be used along the push and pull factors mentioned on the previous pages when coding the interviews.

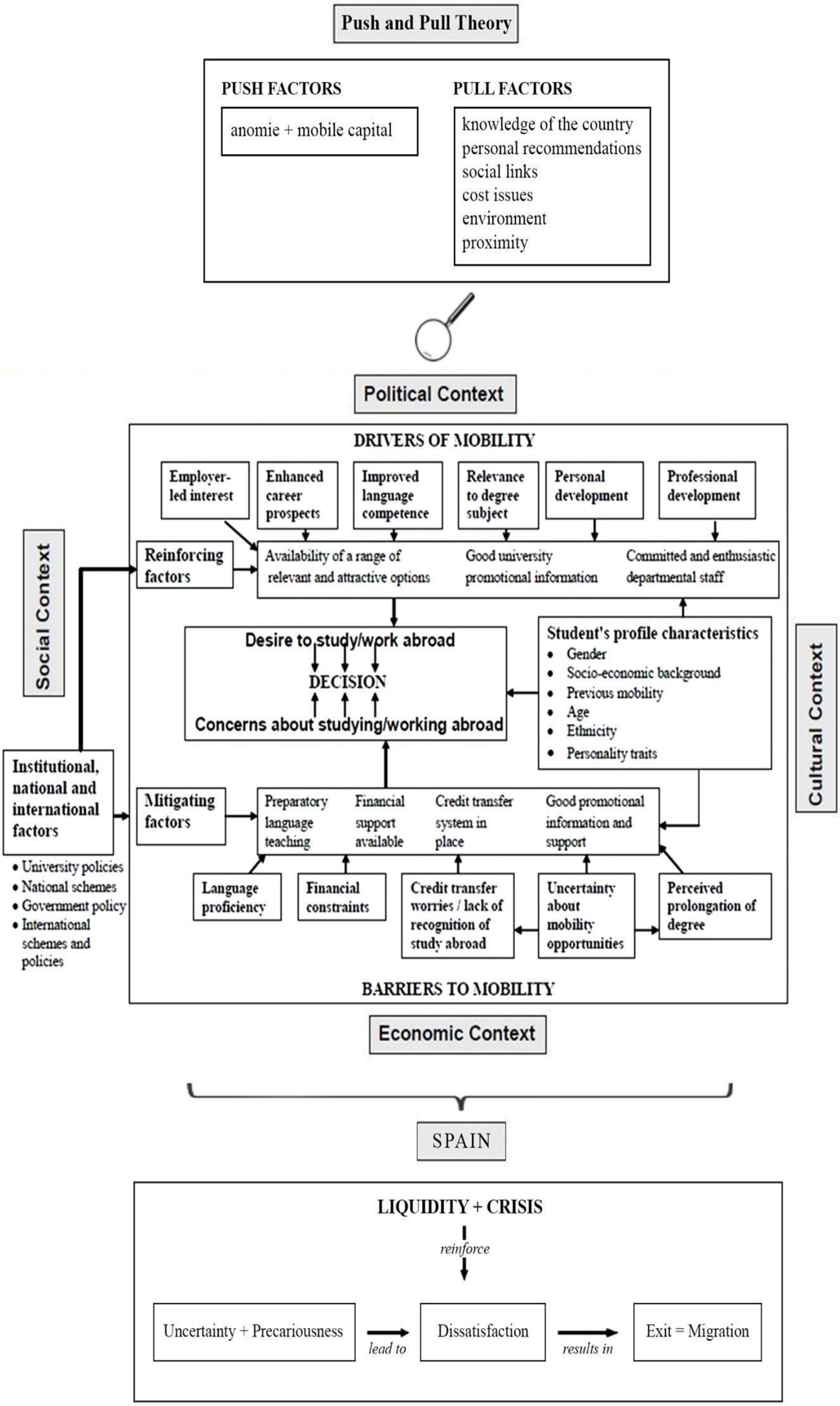


Figure 1: Analytical Framework

4 Research Methodology

The analysis and interpretation of the empirical data gathered uses a distinct philosophical approach: phenomenology. The phenomenological has been defined as, "the study of the structure, and the variations of structure, of the consciousness to which anything, event, or person appears" (Georgi, 1985, in Kvale, 1996, p.53). It aims at understanding social phenomena (student migration in this case) from the actors' own perspective with the goal of portraying the world as experienced by the subjects. Thus this philosophy is concerned with the question of how individuals make sense of the world around them by not only attending to immediately experienced meanings but going a step further: make the invisible visible. The task of social scientists is then to gain access to people's "common-sense thinking" and consequently to interpret their actions and their social world from their point of view (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975, in Bryman, 2015, p.26)

4.1.1 The Nature of the Case Study Research

Robert K. Yin provides in the last edition of his book "Case Study Research: Design and Methods" (2014) a twofold definition of case study whose meaning has been constantly evolving over the four previous editions of this book. The first part starts with the scope:

A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the case) in depth and within its real world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident. (*ibid*: 15)

The second part of the definition regards the methodological approach:

A case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest that data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulation fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. (*ibid*: 15)

Our case study seeks for an explanation on how migration has taken place since the beginning of the crisis, namely from Spain to Norway and specifically regarding those who have attended UiO aiming at studying a master program. The research questions are for that reasons exploratory, requiring an extensive and in depth description of that social phenomenon: mostly *how* and *why*, although there are *what* questions whose aim is at developing hypotheses for further inquiry that provide the thesis with an exploratory approach. According to Bryman, the research who has attached to a case study approach is concerned to reveal the unique features of the case.

Spain, as well as Greece or Italy, has been severely hit by the crisis and thus high skilled youth has to face obstacles which increase the likelihood of migrating. This case study could then be defined as a representative, typical or exemplifying one (Spain is one country –one case- among the southern European). Its objective is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an ordinary situation. These cases are understood either as epitomes of a broader category of cases (the economic crisis and dissatisfaction have pushed skill youngsters away to develop their careers, as articles from other southern European countries have shown –Portugal, Greece or Ireland-) or as providers of suitable context for certain research questions to be answered while allowing the researcher to examine key social processes (how migration takes place in times of recession) (Bryman, 2015).

The main feature of case studies is the analytical in lieu of statistical generalization when it comes to the way of deriving findings from a case study. Yin warns that a "case study is not sampling units and also would be too small in number to serve as an adequately sized sample to represent any larger population" (2014, p.40). Instead, case studies strive for generalizable findings or lessons learned that go beyond the setting for the specific case that have been studied. Yin claims that generalization may be based on "either corroborating, modifying, rejecting, or otherwise advancing theoretical concepts that you referenced in designing your case study or new concepts that arose upon the completion of your case study" (*ibid*: 43). This case doesn't aim at creating new concepts but working on the categories that have been posed by scholars researching on the same topic but within a different scenario (Cairns, 2014; Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2014b, *inter alia)*

4.1.2 Sources of Evidence

A social institution can be fully understood only if we do not limit ourselves to the abstract study of its formal organization, but analyze the way in which it appears in the personal experience of various members of the group and follow the influence which it has upon their lives

Thomas and Znaniecky, 1958, in Galletta, 2013, p.45

In order to address why and how Spanish graduate students have migrated to Norway to pursue a master degree, the thesis will examine mainly one source of evidence. Since the interest of this thesis lies on the personal experience of subjects and, in order to grasp the more hidden reasons and motivations for students to migrate, semi-structured interview was the main method. The thesis aims at offering insight into individual experience, enabling the researcher to explore participants' narratives of experience and views of migration to a Scandinavian country to pursue a master program. However, some statistical analysis from official data sources (EUROSTAT and INE) was made in addition. Its use and analysis for purposes of social research has been a very controversial area for many years (Bryman, 2015, p.319). The most conspicuous advantages of official statistics are easiness to access the data since it has already been collected and the prospect of analyzing the data cross-sectionally and longitudinally (both EUROSTAT and INE allowed for clustering data from specific countries, specific time and specific issues). On the other hand, official statistics present issues regarding reliability and validity, that is, problems to audit the process and to ensure the credibility of findings. In order to achieve these goals, i.e., to offer a big picture of the Spanish case and specifically the experience of Spaniards master students in Norway, it was though that semi-structured interview offers the great possibility of paying attention to lived experience while also addressing theoretically driven variables of interest. We are using narrative interviews -"narrative interviews are ultimately interactional data in which the researcher is very much part of the narrative telling, and his/her role should be not just reflected upon but also all contributions by the researcher, whether verbal or non-verbal, should be fully transcribed" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p.382)-.

Semi-Structured Interviewing

"Mastering the semi-structured interview and beyond: From research design to analysis and publication" (Galletta & Cross, 2013) has been the building block to design and carry out the interviews. The choice of this method relies on its unique flexibility given that it is "sufficiently structured to address specific dimensions of the research question while also leaving space for study participants to offer new meanings to the topic of study" (*ibid*: 2). Hence there is room for interviewees to bring to the surface the multidimensional nature of lived experience when narrating their experiences as study migrants in Norway while having the chance to contribute to the meaning of what student migration signifies; it promises to yield a more complete story. This method is paramount in qualitative analyses since it opens up new possibilities in understanding complicated phenomena often accepted as unproblematic -the Secretary of Immigration, Marina del Corral, claimed in an interview in 2012 that Spanish youth emigrated because of their "adventurous spirit" (Agency, 2012); the Foreign Affairs minister stated on the 22nd of December, 2016, that *the government has not expelled anyone; going abroad both enriches you and opens your mind* (Agency, 2016)

Semi-structured interviews are a "hybrid" method as they can be structured into segments, moving from fully open ended questions toward more theoretically driven question as the interview progresses. The data they elicit is grounded in the experience of the participant as well as guided by existing constructs in the particular discipline, i.e. higher education and migration/mobility.

The first step to conduct interviews is to gather the participants. Generic purposive sampling was employed in a fixed manner with the criteria for selecting individuals formed a priori. The researcher established criteria concerning the kind of cases need to address the research questions, and then sampled from those cases that have been identified. In order to get the participants, emails with a statement of the purpose of the research were sent to the administration of difference faculties at the University of Oslo. However, since they are not allowed to provide with contact information of students or former students as it is sensitive information, the researcher had to find the information in other ways. Thus the researcher decided to approach participants using social media, namely Facebook, and therefore joined different groups: "International Students at UiO" and "Españoles en Oslo". She posted a message written in Spanish in order to seem friendly to the future participants and to call attention for Spanish members of the former group -all messages are written in English. Four people answered the post (three future participants and the partner of the fourth, sending her contact on a private message). The other three participants were reached using snowball sampling. Once the participants were gathered, a proper statement of the purpose of the research and an expression of gratitude for their involvement were sent to their email addresses. Five out of the seven participants were either living outside Oslo or too busy to arrange a meeting; for that reason interviews were conducted through Skype. Its major advantage is precisely this one: more flexibility and possibility for last-minute adjustments to the scheduling of the interview. Besides time and cost savings, its convenience may encourage people to agree to be interviewed. There is also a big disadvantage that was taken into account but fortunately didn't take place during any of the interviews: technological problems and fluctuation in the quality of the connection can make the flow rough. In order to keep track of the Skype interviews, Amolto –a free software program aiming at recording video and audio for Skype- was employed. Participants were asked twice their consent to audiotape the interview: one with the recording device turned off, and once they had given their consent, it was turned on and their approval was asked again.

According to Galletta and Cross (2013), the process of conducting an interview relies on two orienting tasks: first, "to listen closely to the participant for points in need of clarification and further generation of meaning" (p.76); second, "to locate and place on hold points in the interview to which you may return later for elaboration or on which you may invite the participant to critically reflect" (p.76). These processes enhance the reciprocity the researcher offers the participant during the interview creating an exchange between the empirical data as it is collected and analyzed, and the theory embedded in one's question, framework and design.

The interview guide is included on the appendix and it was built on Galletta and Cross' indications (2013) which divide interviews on three different segments in pursuance of enhancing meaning making:

1. Opening segment: its goal is to create space for a narrative grounded in participant experience. This segment relies on the knowledge the researcher has of the topic and her ability to support the unfolding of the participant's narrative. The first part of the interview is intended to elicit from the participant the central story that will give the interview direction and depth. This matches the first part of the questionnaire, that is, those questions that refer to participant's background and their attitude towards migration before actually pursued it. Although the focus of the questions is very deliberate and carefully tied to the research topic, questions were designed to be open ended for the sake of creating space for participants to narrate their experiences.

2. Middle segment: there is a shift into questions that are more specific looping back, when appropriate, to participant's narrative material as it connects with specific question. It explores further participant's responses noted as meaningful in the opening narrative. These questions are narrower than the first set of questions, more

comfortably located and they ensure the research topic was adequately explored. Questions are included here that refer to the decision to migrate and how their lives have changed since then, as well as the choice of Norway as the destination and their opinions about political statements are placed.

3. Concluding segment: it aims at revisiting the opening narrative for important theoretical connections and moving toward closure. This last part offers an opportunity to return to points in the participant's narrative that are still in need of exploration in order to ensure accuracy in interpretation. However, along the interview, every time the researcher finds a point of special relevance she asks the participant to elaborate that point in order to yield more details that may offer additional insight. There is an opportunity to engage the participant in clarification, meaning making and critical reflection –three approaches to communicative and conceptual reciprocity-, particularly as it relates to more abstract and theoretically driven questions. The researcher has to reflect on how the lived experiences are narrated by the participants and how they inform the phenomenon under study and, in case there is a story, metaphor or a particular phrase loaded with meaning that needs further exploration. One question asked to all participants aimed at deepening in critical reflection was whether their experiences could be defined as migration or mobile and for what reasons. This question and similar others enable the researcher to gain confidence about the accuracy of word usage while engaging participants in generating meaning that drives the interview below the surface of words, expression and metaphors to the meaning participants give to their narratives. In the end, the interview should work toward a sense of wrapping up and the researcher should advise the participants that the interview is nearing completion.

Name	Gender	Year of birth	Means of interviewing	Background
I-1	Female	1975	Skype	Pedagogy + Master in Spanish
I -2	Female	1976	Face to Face	Spanish + Master in Special Needs Education
I -3	Female	1992	Face to Face	International Relations and Political Science + Master in Comparative Education

I -4	Female	1985	Skype	Psychology + Master in Health Economics
I -5	Male	1988	Skype	Economics + Master in Economics
I -6	Female	1990	Skype	Geology + Master in Geosciences
I -7	Female	1992	Skype	Biology + Master in Marine Biology and Limnology

Table 1: Interviewees

As we have stated in the conceptual framework, the social generations approach employed here states that age is constructed through social and economic relations of society. Due to the crisis in the "normal biography" triggered by precariousness and uncertainty, youth extends and de-standardize the transition to adulthood. Here we have encountered two participants whose age could at first not be seen as relevant for this case study. However, they provide the case with very interesting insights and, in spite of their age, their comments don't differ from younger participants' statements. It is worth to mention as well that the researcher hasn't encountered any significant difference between Skype and face to face interviews. Skype prove to be a very convenient tool to conduct interviews with people, not only who live far away from the researcher, but also with people with difficulties to schedule an interview. Once an interview is conducted, the researcher needs to complete a post-interview reflection about the process itself, particularly thoughts about precise moments that transpired between her and the interviewee that should be taken into consideration in the analysis of data.

4.1.3 Data Analysis

Here a theory-driven qualitative content analysis is done. By developing an extensive conceptual framework, the author tries to set up the theory to attach later on interviewees' life to the concepts and notions she has previously developed. Once the interviews are conducted, data is systematically gathered and analyzed. The analysis of the data, according to Galletta and Cross, "involves locating and labelling thematic patterns, which reflect ideas evident in the data" (2013, p.119). Coding entails "reviewing transcripts and/or field notes and giving label names to component parts that seem to be of potential theoretical significance and/or that appear to be particularly salient within the social worlds of those being studied" (Bryman, 2015, p.569). Identifying a code, where it came from, what ideas it puts forth and how it is related to other codes is central to the analysis. A considerable amount of codes emerged that didn't respond to the research question; therefore they were set aside in order to develop a smaller but meaningful set of codes. The codes weren't discarded because of their low frequency since qualitative research is less focused on the quantity of data; instead, due to the attention qualitative research pays to the meaning generated by the data, each code was recorded and studied for its relationship to the research questions and other emerging consideration in the analysis. We follow the recommendation of Galletta and Cross that encourage researchers not to pursue too early the relationship between data and theory; instead, they advise to remain most faithful to the lived experience of study participants by getting immersed in the data (Galletta and Cross, 2013, p.121).

As the researcher moves along in the analysis, she begins to identify ideas relevant for the topic and label them with different codes –as long as the ideas are different. Then codes should be connected one to another in order to extend the meaning making and, following hunches, hypotheses can be made based on relationships between concepts. We will then create a category, that is, a concept that has been elaborated so that it is regarded as representing real world phenomena. This clustering of codes under a broader label sheds new light in the interpretation of the data. Then, after a process of repeated reading of the data and locating instances that relate to the research questions, connections across thematic categories will become evident. Next step is to explore the relationships across these thematic categories toward generating sustained meaning and an increasingly dense network of ideas -any specific tool was used to assist the process of coding, just different colors of highlighters. Once this has been achieved, and considerations have been made about the generated meaning in the synthesis of these key themes, the research works toward linking the findings of the interviews to the theory explained in the conceptual framework through the analytical lenses. While elaborating the conclusions, the author does a review of the literature about the topic in order to compare her findings to others' findings, and use the theoretical framework to assure her theory is linked to the concepts explained in the thesis. This work is compiled in the *Conclusions* section.

4.1.4 Quality of the Research

In order to improve the quality of the research, several criteria have been taken into account. The researcher, however, must be aware of the special features of interviews when used as the main working method. They could be biased due to poorly articulated questions, due to the participants' responses, inaccuracies in both answers and transcriptions due to poor recall, or due to a lack in reflexivity which prompts interviewees to give what the interviewer wants to hear. These are the challenges the researcher has to overcome using relevant tactics that enhance the thesis' quality.

In contrast to the adoption of a natural scientific model as they do in quantitative research, the stress on qualitative research is on the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of the world by its participants. For that reason, the researcher has considered that a qualitative study should be evaluated according to different criteria from those used by quantitative researchers. Therefore the thesis attaches to Lincoln and Guba's (1985, in Bryman, p.374) criteria which stimulate qualitative researchers to assess the quality of their research with principles different from validity and reliability. According to them, trustworthiness is made up of four criteria:

- Credibility: it is achieved by the use of respondent validation. In order to establish the credibility of findings, the researcher should ensure that her work is carried out according to the principles of good practice and it is recommended to submit her findings to the interviewees aiming at seeking corroboration in order to obtain confirmation that she has correctly understood the social work she is investigating. Although interviewers didn't want to take part in the developing of the draft, two of them showed willingness to read it once it is finished. Besides, for case study analysis, Yin recommends (2014, p.142) to employ pattern matching logic. It compares the pattern based on the finding from the case study, with a predicted one made before you collected the data. Yin argues that the results can help a case study to strengthen its internal validity (that is parallel to credibility) as long as the empirical and predicted patterns are similar, as it has happened here.

- Transferability: whereas quantitative research seeks for breadth rather than depth, qualitative findings tend to be oriented to the contextual uniqueness, what has been labeled as analytical generalization. For that aim, the former researchers are encouraged to produce "thick description", that is, to compile rich accounts of the details of the process, therefore providing others with a database for making judgements about the possible transferability of findings to other spheres. The use of a significant theory and a dense literature review and conceptual framework is the tactic used in this thesis.

- Dependability: it refers to the task of keeping an auditing approach. The supervisor has been reviewing the progress of the thesis along the past months to ensure that complete records are kept along all phases of the research process

- Confirmability: it should be apparent that the researcher has not overtly allowed personal values or theoretical inclinations to sway neither the conduct of the research nor the findings deriving from it. This issue might be problematic in this case since the author is Spanish and has been a master student at UiO. To ensure this has not happened, she asked at the end of every interview to the participants if they have noticed any ideological preference or any sign that could indicate she was struggling to prove a specific theory. Besides, she supports her ideas and thesis in relevant literature and data.

With the aim of improving the quality of sense-making of data analysis, explanation has to be based on multiple sources and findings must be cross-checked. They allow a researcher to address a broader range of historical and behavioral issues and the development of converging lines of inquiry. This case study strives for accuracy and conviction by using seven different interviewees and statistics retrieved both from the Spanish Government and Eurostat. This technique is known as triangulation, and according to Yin this approach is a major strength of case studies. There are different types of data triangulation in doing evaluation according to Patton (1980): the triangulation of data sources, investigator triangulation (among different evaluators) and methodological triangulation. Here the focus was on the first way of triangulation, following the different steps suggested by Creswell ((2007): data managing (create encrypted files for data), memoing (reading, coding), describing the case and its context (patterns of -student- migration in Europe, Spain, Norway and the University of Oslo), classifying (moving from codes to categories), interpreting (relate the case and context descriptions to the data extracted) and representing the case study by an in-depth picture.

The issue of language and translation was one of the major challenges. There was no doubt that interviews were going to be conducted in Spanish, since it is interviewees' native language and they feel more comfortable to narrate their experiences. The problem took place when it was time to transfer the content and meaning into English. Transcribed into Spanish, they were summarized in English and coded in English too. The obstacle was overcome with the use of several tools: first, an online dictionary called *Linguee*, suggested by a former English teacher of the researcher; *Thesaurus*, an online device whose strength lies on the provision of synonyms, and the *Oxford English Dictionary* in order to grasp the meaning of a word by interpreting it through English lenses. The researcher is aware that in the study of narratives, the use of words and their meanings is essential, and accuracy is a crucial issue. For that reason, besides the already mentioned resources, the author has kept contact with a Doctor of Philology who has translated several books from Spanish to English

4.1.5 Confidentiality

The master thesis is the final assignment of the master programme "Higher Education" at the Department of Education, taught at the Faculty of Educational Sciences, University of Norway. When it comes to do research in Norway that involves dealing with sensitive personal information, the researcher must report to the Data Protection Official for Research (Norwegian Social Science Data Services). Interview recordings exist on three different devices: working place at the computer room of Helga Engs building at the University of Oslo, personal laptop and personal USB device. Only the author and the supervisor of the thesis have had access to these files (Spanish), transcriptions (Spanish) and summaries (English). In regard of confidentiality, anonymization was made by labelling all these files with I-1 to I-7 ("interview one" to "interview seven"). Research participants were given when they were at the stage of "prospective" interviewees as much information as they needed to make an informed decision about whether or not they wish to participate in the study. Audio recording was made upon request as it has already been explained, being possible to pause it when the interviewee demanded.

5 Empirical Setting

5.1 Europe on the move

5.1.1 Intra EU post–2008 migration

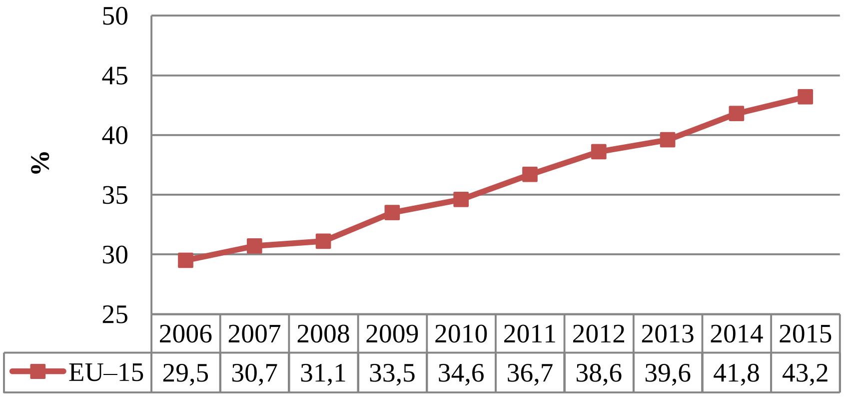
The times they are a–changin'[5] is a well known song by recent Nobel Prize winner for literature Bob Dylan. These words have often been a useful way to describe a rapidly changing social reality. The major changes in political and socioeconomic structures undertaken in the 1980s have given rise to the globalization, acceleration, differentiation and feminization of migrations (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2013, in Murphy-Lejeune, 2002). New migratory spaces are the strongest impact experimented in Europe nowadays according to Koser and Lutz (1998). However, the 2008 financial and economic crisis has marked a milestone in the development of lives. But what is a crisis? Crises are usually conceptualized as "periods of disorder in the seemingly normal development of a system and widespread questioning or discrediting of established policies, practices and institutions" (Nohrstedt & Weible, 2010, p.3). Crises are also generally considered as turning points that trigger social phenomena and public policy responses. In words of the Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci, "the crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear". Scholars have noticed that due to 2008 downturn, migration flows have been taking new forms. Migration of EU citizens to other member states has been on the rise after 2008: the number of those working on a different member state has reached 8 million, representing 3.3% of the labour force in 2013 while in 2004 the percentage was 1.6% and 2.4% in 2008 (European Comission, 2014, in Lafleur & Stanek, 2017). Besides, migration patterns have changed radically in EU member states. The new trend that can be observed is the significant increase of south–north migration (Lafleur & Stanek, 2017; Murphy-Lejeune, 2002; Van Mol, 2016) -nevertheless east–west migration within the EU didn't notably slow down during this period of time (Kaczmarczyk, 2014; Zaiceva & Zimmermann, 2016, in Lafleur & Stanek, 2017). Could all these mean that people are increasingly responsive to rapid economic or social changes? On the one hand, we have European countries whose economic situation is critical and are letting skilled workers go (mainly countries placed in the Mediterranean region); on the other hand we find nations

[5] Dylan, 1964

that "have reacted best to the crisis and used the structural instability to increase their political leadership and economic competitiveness" (Domínguez-Mujica, Guerra-Talavera, & Parreño-Castellano, 2014, p.222), namely countries of northern and central Europe).

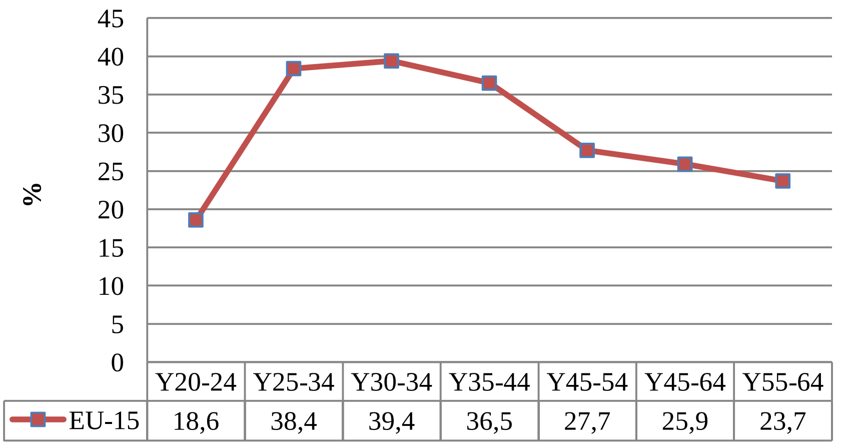
Lafleur and Stanek (2017) argue that the reasons for this increase can be explained by two crisis–related factors. First, high unemployment in the southern EU member states most affected by the crisis has pushed some of their nationals to seek employment abroad. Second, the insecurity and bleak prospects offered by the labour market might be the motivations among those who already held a job but seek for an alternative employment abroad. It is true that this pattern of migration had been seen during the 1950s and the 1960s; however, whereas these southern European guest workers left countries that were barely industrialized during most of the 20th century, the new migrants are leaving their home countries after several decades of economic growth as EU–15 Member States ((Lafleur & Stanek, 2017b). Until early 70s, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece had a negative migration rate; it wasn't until the post-Cold War era when they became countries with net immigration to a greater or lesser degree. In fact, they became powerful magnets for immigration (Reyneri, 2001). Another difference that can be found is the socio–demographic profile of migrants. The citizens leaving during the crisis are on average better educated compared to their post–war counterparts, this fact being motivated by a general improvement in educational attainment in these societies (Van Mol, 2016; Lafleur & Stanek, 2017; Trow, 2000). As a matter of fact, the percentage of migrants born in a EU-15 country aged from 25 to 64 years old who have attended higher education institutions and have moved to another EU-15 country has experienced a notably increase (see figure 2). Nowadays additional motivations for migration are related to lifestyle options for young adults who value "open, sophisticated, tolerant and culturally diverse metropolis" (King, Lulle, Conti, Mueller, & Scotto, 2014).

Figure 2: % Migrant population within EU-15 who have achieved tertiary education (25-64-years-old)



It is also true that this change in the educational background of the migrants is also given by a general rise in the attainment of higher education degrees: from an elite-system to a mass-system of higher education (Trow, 2000). As we can see in figure 3, the older an age cohort is, a lower level of education they have. The 20-24 cohort is an exception given that most of them haven't graduated yet.

Figure 3: % EU-15 population with tertiary education by age cohort



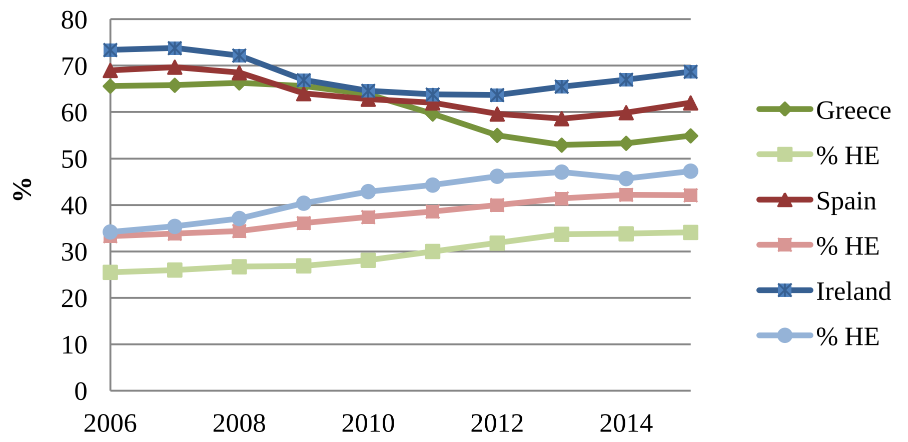
It is worth to mention, however, that the economic crisis has hit more severely the segments of population with lower levels of human capital, and that highly skilled individuals are over–represented in the new flows of Southern European migrants because they are the ones who better respond to the market needs of the North (Lafleur and Stanek, 2017b). Therefore individuals with a higher level of human capital are more prone to migrate. The following table shows on the first row the employment rate among the total population from 20-64 years old, and on the second row the percentage of those who own a higher education diploma and are employed among the total employed aged 20-64 (e.g., 70,2% of people were employed in 2006; among them, 27.9% attained tertiary education). We can see that although there hasn’t been any major change in the employment rate, those who have higher education studies take up a third of the jobs. This means that the higher level of education an individual has attained the more probabilities someone has to be employed. It is worth to mention that these numbers don’t indicate that their job fit their educational attainment.

GEO/TIME	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
EU-15	70,2	71,0	71,3	69,9	69,6	69,6	69,3	69,2	69,8	70,5
% HE	27,9	28,4	29,1	30,3	31,1	31,9	33,0	34,0	34,6	35,3

Table 2: EU Employment rate and jobs taken by HE graduates

However, if we take a closer look we can see that this tendency is not homogenous within EU-15. The author has selected the three most paradigmatic cases where there is actually a severe decrease in the employment rate, whereas a third or even almost half of the jobs are held by higher education graduates. Thus, the crisis has widened the breach between those who have and have not attained higher education in terms of employment, and more drastically in countries where the crisis has hit heavily.

Figure 4: Total employment rate and jobs taken by HE graduates (from 20 to 64 years old)

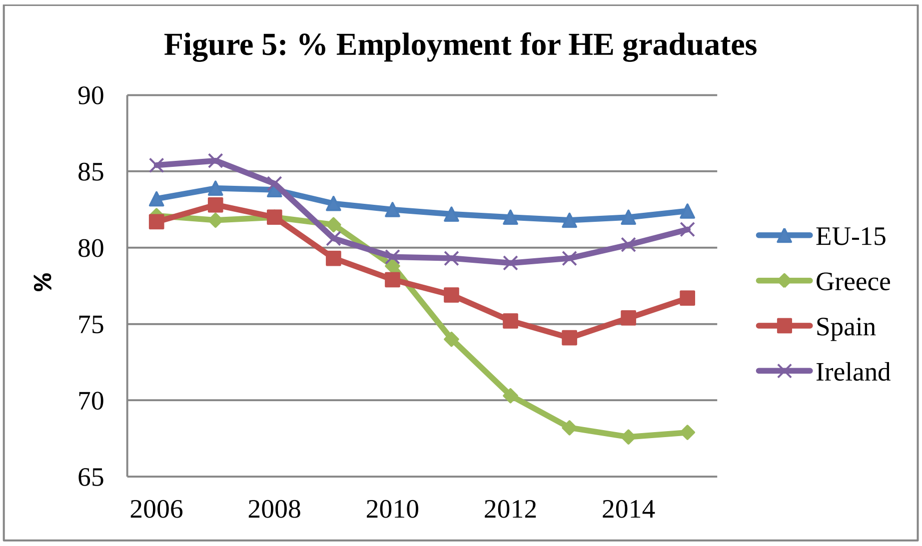


GEO/TIME	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Greece	65,6	65,8	66,3	65,6	63,8	59,6	55	52,9	53,3	54,9
% HE	25,5	26	26,7	26,9	28,1	30	31,8	33,7	33,8	34,1

Spain	69	69,7	68,5	64	62,8	62	59,6	58,6	59,9	62
% HE	33,3	33,8	34,4	36,1	37,4	38,6	40	41,4	42,2	42,1

Ireland	73,4	73,8	72,2	66,9	64,6	63,8	63,7	65,5	67	68,7
% HE	34,2	35,4	37,1	40,4	42,9	44,3	46,2	47,1	45,7	47,3

Van Mol (2016) argues that the high levels of unemployment have led to intra-EU migration. This migrant profile consists of tertiary educated young adults, since young people are hit particularly hard -about a third is unemployed (EUROSTAT)-, and, in search of a better life, they accept jobs abroad below their educational qualifications. Figure 5 depicts how HE graduates have been affected by the crisis: although not as hard as those without tertiary education, graduates have suffered its consequences severely. The three countries that have suffered the biggest decrease were selected for the chart.



GEO/TIME	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
EU-15	83,2	83,9	83,8	82,9	82,5	82,2	82,0	81,8	82,0	82,4
Greece	82,1	81,8	82,0	81,5	78,8	74,0	70,3	68,2	67,6	67,9
Spain	81,7	82,8	82,0	79,3	77,9	76,9	75,2	74,1	75,4	76,7
Ireland	85,4	85,7	84,2	80,6	79,4	79,3	79,0	79,3	80,2	81,2

Although the Treaty of Rome institutes the right of free movement within the EU, only pensioners, students -whose mobility rights have not been questioned-, and especially highly–skilled workers have continued to remain desirable in the eyes of receiving countries governments. At the same time, sending countries have experienced the fear of losing their best–educated citizens. They run the risk of finding themselves with a lack of a skilled workforce when the economic situation improves. However, although Southern European governments –Italy being an exception (Tintori, 2017)– are concerned, very little has been done to tackle the issue of brain drain disregarding those within the national political arena that describe this as an issue of critical importance (Lafleur & Stanek, 2017).

5.1.2 Student circulation within the EU

Structural factors must be also considered along with other circumstances such as those derived from European integration on matters of education. Student circulation is defined for the purposes of this study as any form of mobility outside one's country which take place during a student's time of registration at a higher education institution within the frame of educational arena. The period of mobility should be long enough to have an impact on the student's appreciation of a foreign culture as well as having some defined role within a student's learning experience. The UK Higher Education Statistics Agency (HEFCE, 2004) employs a threefold typology of student mobility: diploma mobility, which refers to the mobility for an entire programme of study; credit mobility, just for part of a programme; and other voluntary moves undertaken for a range of personal reasons. King and Raghuram, (2013) share this threefold categorization, but the third option involves voluntary or mandatory schemes of shorter duration like summer schools and field trips. For the aims of this study we will disregard the latter, as well as students who are enrolled in overseas branch campuses (seen as part of the international student population by these authors)

Higher Education, EU initiatives and Student Mobility

When Higher Education is discussed on a supra-national basis, three are the terms most usually employed in Europe: internationalisation, globalisation and Europeanisation (Teichler, 2004). They are similar in two respects (Knight, 1996; Scott, 1998; Teichler, 1999; Van der Wende, 2001): first, they refer to a trend or a policy direction that claims for a long-distance transport of knowledge; second, they might point either to the changing context which poses a challenge for higher education or to changes which occur within higher education itself. However, they differ in their prime meaning. Internationalisation seeks to address an increase of border crossing activities amidst a more or less persistence of national systems of higher education; globalization assumes that borders and national systems as such get blurred or even might disappear; and Europeanisation is the regionally defined version of either internationalisation or globalisation, presenting more often the regional version of the former (Teichler U. , 2004). Globalization is often associated with competition and market-steering, transnational education and with commercial knowledge transfer, while the other two share specific issues they both tend to focus on: physical mobility and academic cooperation. Beyond that, Europeanisation also addresses issues such as integration or convergence of contexts, structures and contexts.

Mobility of students in Europe differs from the international scenario: in contrast to the predominantly "vertical mobility" between continents, it is mostly horizontal. It entails communication between partners of more or less the same level of knowledge. In spite of being less efficient in ensuring substantial and rapid knowledge transfer, it offers a "better framework for border-crossing communication and discourse that can create a win-win situation among the partners in reaching a higher level of reflection" (Teichler U. , 2004, p.14). The European Commission points at mobility as the core element in research development and doesn't consider it as an end in itself but as an instrument by which research results can be optimized (European Comission, 2001, in Morano-Foadi, 2005). Within mobility, commissioners differ between transnational (movement between countries), interregional and intersectorial (movement between academia and industry). Thus, although different, these dynamics share a goal: take a maximum advantage of available resources.

The phenomena of Europeanisation most frequently referred to since 1990s were first horizontal mobility and cooperation (notably "Erasmus") and, later on, standardisation of study programmes and degrees ("Bologna Process") (Teichler, 2004). The goal of these initiatives and others that also boost intra-European migration is to create a shared sense of membership across Europe. Besides, they also aim at giving Europe and its educated elite a competitive edge in the global market for skills (King & Raghuram, , 2013).

- *The Erasmus Programme*

From 1970s onwards the EU became the most active political actor in Europe in stimulating student mobility and reinforcing recognition of studies abroad within the old continent, scholars pointed (see Smith, 1996; Waechter, Ollikainen, & Hasewand, 1999; de Wit, 2002). The Erasmus Programme (European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students), launched in 1987 and considered as the flagship of all the educational programmes administered by the EU (Teichler, 2001), displays the most popular scheme for student mobility. Since the Erasmus Programme's goal is to train European-minded professional, Papatsiba (2006) argues that in first instance student mobility serves the purpose of economic cooperation within the EU. It was assumed that future generations would be better disposed to take responsibilities and to work in multicultural contexts if they had experienced various professional cultures at an earlier stage in their careers.

It is worth to mention that in spite of its popularity, at least until 2006, Erasmus had never reached the target of 10% of mobile students. Mainworm (Maiworm, Steube, & Teichler, 1993, p.464, in Papatsiba, 2006) notes that "many publications on Erasmus erroneously quote the substantially higher figures of estimated number of mobile students. (…) However, the actual number of students going abroad with Erasmus support is substantially lower. The 'take-up rate' (proportion of estimated students who actually went abroad) declined over the years to less than 50%".

- *The Bologna Process*

One of the most important initiatives carried out in Europe in the educational arena with the aim of promoting mobility is the Bologna Process. It is depicted by some scholars as a turning point in the development of European HE (see Van der Wende, 2003). Bologna Process refers to "multi-national reforms and changes currently undertaken by European states, with varying scope and pace, in order to implement the goal of creating a barrier-free European Higher Education Area (EHEA) characterized by 'compatibility and comparability' between the higher education systems of the signatory states" (Papatsiba, 2006, p.95). To achieve this goal, a joint declaration –not a binding agreement-, the so-called Bologna Declaration, was signed by 29 European States in Bologna in 1999. It posed a set of voluntary commitments whose main goals are the strengthening of the European cooperation and the provision of response to globalization by increasing the attractiveness of European HE systems (Kälvemark & Van der Wende, 1997). It was a huge step forward in the challenge of standardisation. The introduction of a Bachelor's-Master's structure of programmes and degrees has eased the structural convergence of European higher education systems very much while enhancing graduate employability and stablished a promising intensification of mobility among students and staff. It is argued that vertical mobility -that is, between cycles- due to the goal of converge, gets to convey anxiety related to the attraction of the best students and a subsequent brain-drain. It aimed at a standardization of the length of study programs all over Europe. Other endeavours whose goal was also standardization had already been undertaken at that time. Since 1980s there were supra-national bodies that began to call for the introduction of the "diploma supplement" in order to present the major elements of study and the achievements of the graduates in an internationally more readable way. It wasn't until 1994 when ECTS -a European Credit Transfer System, aiming at comparing study activities and achievements more easily and at granting recognition with a strong reference to the workload of student (Papatsiba, 2006)- were extended to every field of study. Three years later, the Lisbon Convention demanded the recognition of prior achievements by the host country and the host institutions unless there was clear evidence that they were not comparable.

5.2 Impact of the Recession in Spain

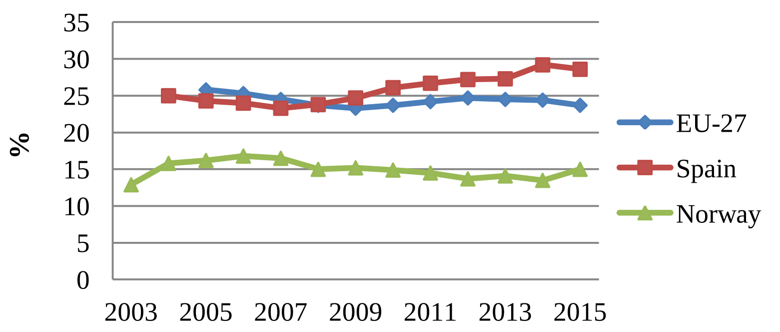
5.2.1 Economic and social changes

The global financial and economic crisis has had a dramatic impact in the Southern EU member states. Until the onset of the crisis in 2008, Spain was experiencing an economic "boom". During the previous 10 years to 2006, real GDP in Spain grew at 3.7% per annum – more than twice as fast as in any other EU-15 state- despite the economic recession Spain had experienced in 1992 (EUROSTAT). The construction sector was the main reason to explain this growth: it eclipsed all other economic sectors and contributed to what is known as the Spanish "housing bubble" (International Labour Organization, 2011). However, it took a while for this bubble to crash, Spain becoming in the meanwhile an attractive destination country for international labour migrants. This period of strong and sustained economic success reflected in the expansion of its labour markets. Unemployment rates kept decreasing gradually to reach 8% in June, 2007, the lowest figure there is access to, just one point above the EU-28 average (EUROSTAT). The bubble's crash set the end for this bonanza in a much more dramatic way than previous recessions Spain had gone through (mid-1970s and early 1990s), both in terms of economic deceleration and job losses (Ortega & Peñalosa, 2012). The unemployment rate hit the peak of 26,3% in March, 2013 - and skyrocketed for those under 25 (56%) -, decreasing since then and being at 18% in May, 2017, 10 points above the EU-28 and 14 ahead of Norway. The crisis demonstrated how unstable the previous period of prosperity had been and how scarcely reliable it is to trust the construction sector when it comes to building a prosperous economy. The reintegration of vulnerable groups (low-skilled and older workers) is a general concern for policy makers due to the high risk they present. It is true that the Spanish economy is performing well (GDP is growing and jobs are being created) (Spanish Ministry of Employment, 2013) and good predictions are being made about Spain (see Pérez, 2017). However, the Spanish labour market is experiencing a two-speed recovery. Figures show that there has been an improvement in job prospects for short-term unemployed people; despite this, they also display that long-term unemployment continues to break records. Although the latter characteristic is common to EU countries more seriously hit by the crisis, the case of Spain is particularly alarming: at the end of 2016, 14% of the workforce had been unemployed for more than a year, of which 70% had been seeking employment for at least two years.

Temporariness and precarious work was well-known in Spain before 2007. During the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, temporary contracts began to be progressively seen as an instrument of job creation in this country. In times of high levels of structural unemployment labour legislation was changed in order to ease the use of permanent and temporary contracts, and the provision of work was mediated by temporary work agencies. As a result, the labour market became dual: permanent workers and less favored non-standard/atypical workers. This duality became more pronounced as a result of the deregulation of temporary employment (Broughton, Green, Rickard, Swift, Eichhorst, & Tros, 2016). For example, a quarter of the contracts that have been signed in 2015 are for less than a week’s work; only 8% contracts were regular open-ended. It is worth mentioning that already in 2007 Spanish temporary jobs’ rate doubled the European (Spanish Ministry of Employment, 2013). As a consequence of this hyper-flexible labour market, the segmentation created by high levels of temporary employment started to be seen as a problem by policy makers, as well as an increasing concern about precarious work. In the point 3.2.2 of this thesis -*Neoliberal Youth*- the issue of precarious employment (precariousness includes temporality) is tackled, and Spain ranks the first among European countries. Although precarious work and temporality were not new-born characteristics of Spanish labour market in 2007, the crisis prompted these aspects: the working poor are growing in number and informal economy is said to represent around 20% of the GDP (Broughton, Green, Rickard, Swift, Eichhorst, & Tros, 2016). Studies based on the Spanish Labour force Survey have shown that temporary employment is predominantly non-transitional to permanent employment and largely involuntary

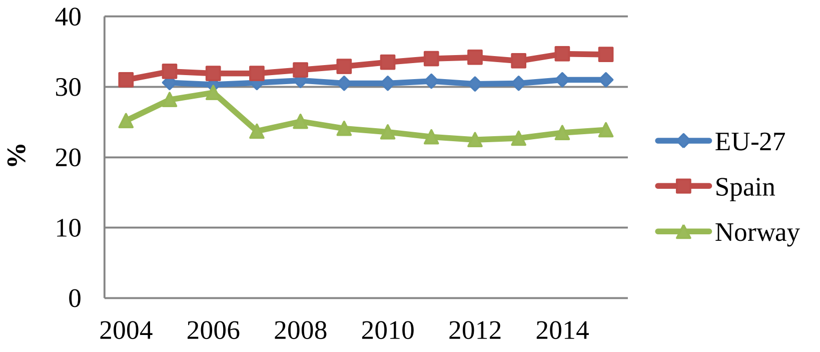
In addition, the social expenditure rose during the first years of the recession as a result of a growth in unemployment allowances. However, once the first wage of unemployed collected their benefits, this percentage stagnated due to austerity measures adopted by the government in 2010 (León & Pavolini, 2014). Nevertheless its importance cannot be forgotten given that, according to *Colectivo Ioé* (2013) "in 2010, resources provided by social policies contributed 48% of household incomes". Almost 30% of population in Spain is considered to be at risk of poverty or social exclusion while income inequality has augmented (10), and the profile of people suffering from it has changed since the crisis started: now are younger than they used to be and they are unemployed instead of pensioners. "At risk of poverty or social exclusion", abbreviated as AROPE, refers to the situation of people either at risk of poverty (the share of people with an equivalised disposable income (after social transfer) below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold, which is set at 60 % of the national median equivalised disposable income after social transfers), or severely material deprived or living in a household with a very low work intensity (EUROSTAT). The following figure shows that the Spanish rate is highly above the EU-27 (5 points in 2015), where there wasn't a remarkable increase after the onset of the crisis, neither was in Norway, where this rate is almost half the Spanish: 15% in 2015 while Spain reached 28,6%.

Figure 6: % people AROPE



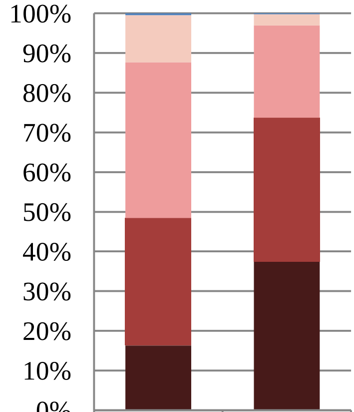
Inequality –a reason posed to argue for the decision of leaving Spain- is generally measured by using the Gini coefficient of equivalised disposable income (the total income of a household, after tax and other deductions that is available for spending or saving, divided by the number of household members converted into equalised adults). A Gini coefficient of zero expresses perfect equality; the closer to 100, the maximal inequality among values; then, an increase in the Gini coefficient suggests that income is becoming more unevenly distributed. Whereas among EU-27 countries this index increased in 0,4 points from 2007 to 2015 (31%), in Spain there was a 2,7 growth (34,6% in 2015) and 0,2 points in Norway (23,9%).

Figure 7: Gini coefficient of equivalised disposable income



In the wake of the 2008 crisis, protest actions were quickly mobilized across Spain against political corruption, increasing social inequality and the effects of austerity measures (Lima & Artiles, 2013). The economic downturn –some authors talk about collapse (Bygnes & Flipo, 2016)- that followed a decade of economic boom created abrupt changes in Spanish society The emergence of the *Indignados* movement (a Spanish version of Occupy Wall Street), the appearance of anti-corruption and anti-establishment party *Podemos* and social movement organizations such as *Marea Verde*, *Marea Blanca* or *Marea Granate* (striving for a better public education system, public health system and less harmful crisis' responses that do not *force* Spaniards to *flee* respectively) can all be seen as reactions to the record low levels of trust in Spanish politicians captured in opinion polls in November, 2014: 87.8% of those polled rated the general political situation in Spain as "bad" or "very bad" (CIS, 2017). Figure 7 compares the assessments from 2007 and 2017: although the answers weren't that positive back in time, they are much worse now.

Figure 8: Assessment of the political situation

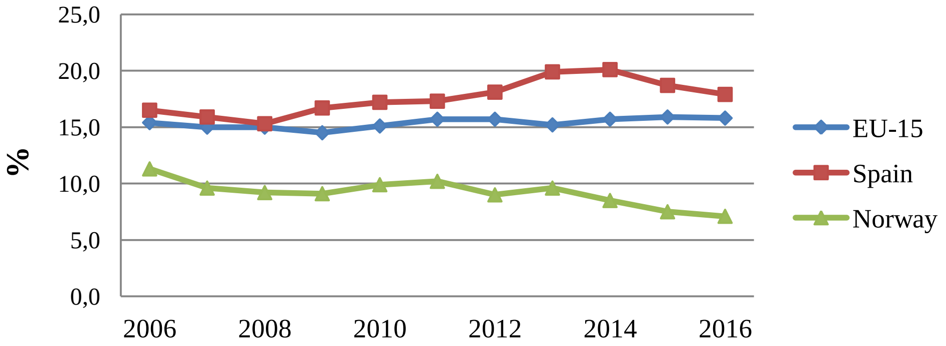


	March, 2007	March, 2017
Very good	0,4 %	0,2 %
Good	11,0 %	2,7 %
Average	36,3 %	22,4 %
Bad	29,7 %	34,9 %
Very bad	15,1 %	36,0 %

5.2.2 Spain: No Country for Young (Wo)Men

Even though higher education increases the chances of employment and has an impact on avoiding long term unemployment, graduates of Southern European countries seem to face problems in the labour market as their degree is not as effective on increasing the likelihood of employment as it is in Northern Europe, as previous graphs have shown. The financial crisis and its aftermath has been one driver affecting risk of precariousness in Europe. Workers find themselves operating in a more competitive and uncertain post-crisis context where new hiring increasingly takes place in the form of temporary and marginal part-time contracts (Broughton, Green, Rickard, Swift, Eichhorst, & Tros, 2016). Given that the alternative would be continued unemployment, these contracts have been accepted. This rise in atypical contracting has brought job insecurity, involuntary temporary work and involuntary part-time working. Precariousness is measured by Eurostat by taking into account different risks such as low pay, in-work poverty, stress and health, labour rights, social security, chances to develop the career *inter alia*. Based on this, the EU study Precarious *employment in Europe* (2016) found evidence to conclude that open-ended full-time contracts and open-ended part-time contracts are at a relatively low risk of precariousness; marginal and involuntary part-time work, fixed-term work and involuntary fixed-term work, work and self-employment are at a relatively medium risk of precariousness; temporary agency work and posted work are at a relatively medium/high risk of precariousness; and informal/undeclared work and in some cases zero hours contracts are at a relatively high risk of precariousness. The likelihood of being employed on a full-time permanent contract decreases, the lower the educational level and the lower the age. The following table shows the share of precarious employment of those who are from 15 to 64-years-old.

Figure 9: % Precarious employment (15-64-years-olds)



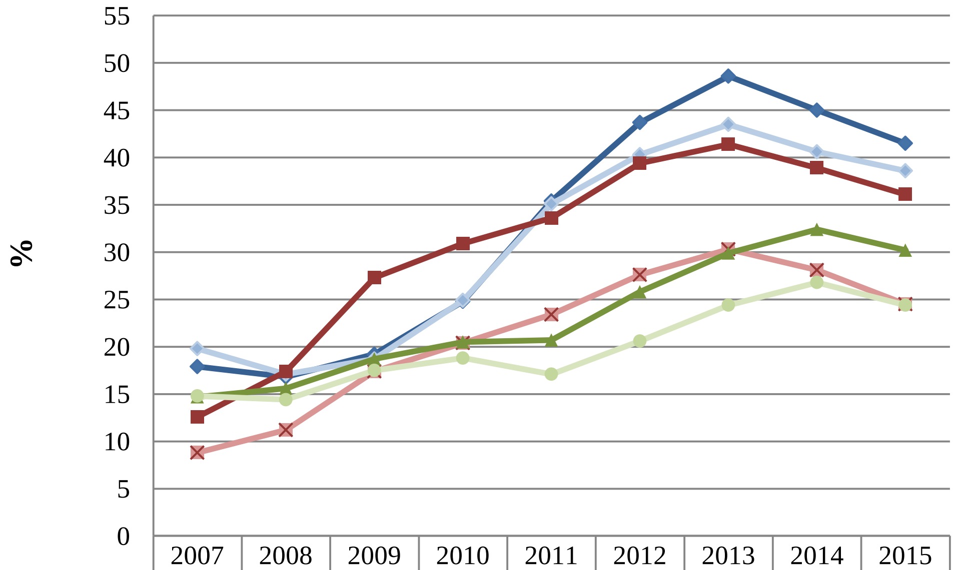
The implemented reforms to deal with the crisis forced the pursuit of flexibility towards the non-unionised, immigrant and illegal labour market. Thus, the societies with the greatest protections for insiders –Mediterranean countries: Greece, Italy and Spain- share two features: high youth unemployment and a large, informal economy with relatively low migrant unemployment (Hansen & Gordon, 2014). Youth employment has been deteriorated more rapidly than any other group. Youth are disproportionately outsiders in Europe: they are concentrated in cyclical sectors and in temporary jobs, and employers face few costs in firing them (*ibid*). In fact, as we stated on the abstract, due to its social and economic conditions this generation may come to be known as "austerity generation" (Wyn & Woodman, 2006). Here we see the rate of unemployment among people aged 15-29-years-olds. The first row depicts unemployed people without tertiary education, and the second row includes only those who do have tertiary education.

GEO/TIME	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
EU-15	11,5	11,9	15,2	15,9	16,3	17,8	18,4	17,5	16,1
EU-15	7,4	7,4	9,9	10,6	11	12,1	12,9	12,2	11,1

Table 3: EU-15 % Unemployment 15-29 – Without and with HE degree

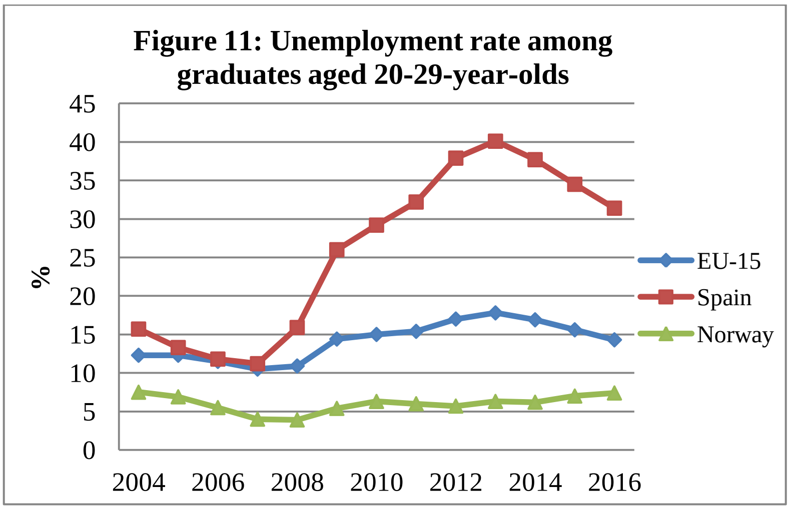
The numbers don't seem that high; however, if we focus on the countries where the crisis has hit the hardest we see that the gap is generally wider. While 1 out of 4 of the individuals who own a university degree aged 15-29- years-olds experience unemployment in Spain, the percentage rises to 1 out of 3 for individuals who don't have tertiary education –it's the widest breach among Europe-. The case of Greece is astonishing: the difference is lower than the average EU-15, and already before the crisis stroke unemployment rate was higher among HE graduates.

Figure 10: % Unemployment 15-29 – Without and with HE degree



	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Greece	17,9	16,8	19,2	24,8	35,4	43,7	48,6	45	41,5
HE Greece	19,8	17,1	18,7	24,9	35,1	40,3	43,5	40,6	38,6
Spain	12,6	17,4	27,3	30,9	33,6	39,4	41,4	38,9	36,1
HE Spain	8,8	11,2	17,4	20,4	23,4	27,6	30,3	28,1	24,5
Italy	14,7	15,6	18,7	20,5	20,7	25,8	29,9	32,4	30,2
HE Italy	14,8	14,4	17,5	18,8	17,1	20,6	24,4	26,8	24,4

It is characteristic from Mediterranean countries and their welfare systems that employment rates vary in a cyclical way due to times of expansion and times of crisis (De Marco & Sorando, 2015). As we pointed in the literature review, it seems to be young people who have seen their chances of entering or remaining in the job market most affected. Since the onset on the crisis there is a tendency among these countries of high volatility of the youth employment, mainly temporary, and, as we have already mentioned, unemployment among the least skilled workers. In Spain, 2016, the age cohort 20-24 presented 43,3% of unemployment whereas among those aged 25-29 it decreased to 26%, and to 19,6% among the 30-34-year-olds (INE). It is true that younger people have traditionally been more exposed to joblessness; however, the current crisis has brought concerns about the loss of human capital due to inactivity or emigration, i.e., brain drain (González Ferrer, 2013; González Enríquez & Martínez Romera, 2014; Navarrete Moreno, 2014). Educational attainment also influences labour market opportunities, with unemployment hitting hardest those with the lowest level of formal education (Santos Ortega, 2013). Nevertheless figure 11 shows a wide breach between Spain, EU-15 and Norway regarding the unemployment rate among HE graduates aged 20-29-years-olds. Despite the recent narrowing of these differences, still in 2016 24 points separated Spain from Norway.



However, the relationship between employment and education is not univocal, neither occupation is synonym of job satisfaction, as the overqualification of the 54,9% of employed youngsters shows (Consejo de Juventud de España, 2014). Instituto Valenciano de Investigaciones Económicas (2008) released a study in 2008 which highlighted that the number of people with tertiary education that were employed in jobs that didn't required qualification had quintupled during the previous ten years. Overqualification and the huge increased of unemployment among graduates (from 11% in 2007 to 31,4% in 2016) prove that university degrees are not lifejackets anymore to avoid precariousness and unemployment. Besides, these characteristics also boost the breach among families: youth have problems when it comes to achieve what their parents had regarding social, professional and economic status (Marí-Klose & Moreno, 2013).

Young workers are a group deemed to be at risk of employment precariousness. A typical way of entering the labour market is through internships. These are linked with employment activation and designed primarily for unemployed people. Internships are governed by the following legal requirements:

1. The intern must be unemployed, aged 18-25-year-olds and registered with the employment office
2. They must own an official university degree, or professional certification training.
3. They should not have had an employment relationship longer than 3 months in the same companies.

4. The companies should sign a training agreement with the Public Employment Service.

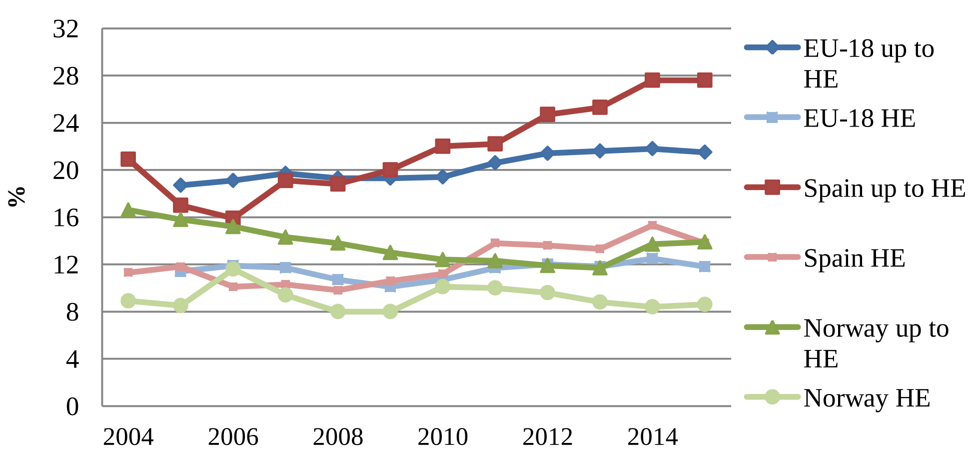
If a company decides to incorporate university or professional school students as interns, the company should consider the following:

1. Monetary compensation to the intern obliges the company to register the person into the Spanish social security system and to pay contributions.
2. The objective of the internship is educational and must contribute to the students' learning whether or not the tasks performed make any profit
3. In no circumstances should an intern substitute an employee

Internships' main characteristic is the lack of employment relationship. Its existence can be presumed when an intern performs the same tasks as any other employee, does not have a tutor in the company, organizes their tasks autonomously and is hired for a time period which exceeds six months. An OECD empirical study on youth and employability from 2016 (OECD, 2016) showed that Spanish trainees are the worst paid within European Union countries; besides, only 40% students receive some form of financial compensation for their work.

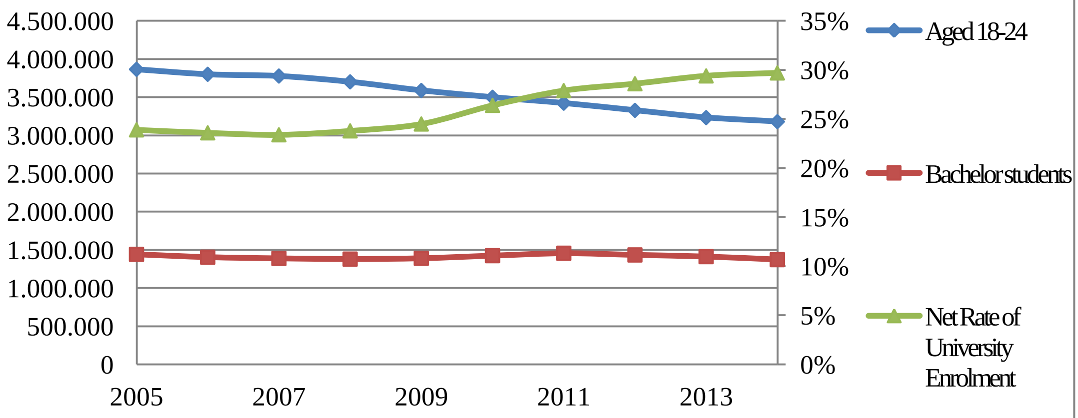
We stated that low-skilled workers are in higher risk of social exclusion. As we observe in figure 11, HE reduces severely the likelihood of being at risk of poverty or social exclusion. But the country matters: approximately 8% of graduates living in Norway are at risk of poverty while this percentage rises up to 14 when it comes to Spain, almost 2 points above the EU-28 average. However, among these three scenarios it is in Spain where HE studies reduces the most (exactly halves) this possibility (from 27,6% to 13,8% in 2016).

Figure 12: % people AROPE by educational attainment



Having tertiary education diminishes the chances of being unemployed and, at the same time the economic crisis reduces the opportunity cost of studying due to the lack of employment. Blue line in next graph shows a widespread problem among west European countries: the ageing process of the society. However, the number of bachelor students and the net rate of university students (axis Z) have grown since the onset of the crisis; we can therefore conclude that more –and probably older- people enroll university than they used to before the onset of the crisis. The lower opportunity cost could be one of the reasons: Reina Paz, Rodriguez Oromendia and Sevilla-Sevilla (2012) argue the increase in enrollment is based on the fact that many people who used to have access to the labour market in 2007 did not anymore in 2012, and therefore they sought to broaden their education by enrolling in a university or complementing their former studies with a second degree aimed at a career path that is more appropriate for current times. A second reason they provide for this increase in enrollment is a widespread intention among the unemployed to take advantage of their time and gain academic benefit from their new unemployment situation. Devaluation of university degrees favour uncoherent and disordered careers (Ariño & Llopis, 2011).

Figure 13: Trend of population aged 18-24, of bachelor students and of the net rate of university enrolment



5.3 Spanish Population Dynamics to Norway

European countries are demographically stagnant, aged and undergoing a second demographic transition (Van de Kaa, 1987). Mediterranean countries however went through this transition much earlier: fertility and birth rates kept high until 1970s. Until 1973, Italy, Portugal, Greece and Spain had a negative migration rate, but due to a set of changes in the post-Cold War Era, they became countries with net migration to a greater or lesser degree. In fact, as Reyneri (2001) argues, these south European countries became powerful magnets for immigration. Spanish population censuses have shown an increase number of foreign nationals from 350000 in 1981 to close to 5.3 million in 2011.

Spanish emigration statistics show relevant problems when it comes to register its nationals who have left the country, as it happens in many other countries (Romero-Valiente, 2016). Since 2002, Spain has applied a new register of Spanish emigration integrated in the *Estadística de Variaciones Residenciales* (EVR), made by the *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (INE). This register gathers the data from the registration and deregistration in the *Padrón de Españoles Residentes en el Extranjero* (*PERE*, register for Spanish nationals abroad) as well as the registrations and deregistrations from the *padrón municipal*. Between 2008 and 2014, according to EVR there were 374505 Spanish emigrants. Romero Valiente (2016) argues that this number doesn't reflect the real situation due to the overestimation of the number of foreign nationals residing in Spain. Emigration flows are underestimated given the lack of incentives for people to deregister once they leave the country (registering is not mandatory and is not always a procedure known by the migrants). Besides, those who reside in free movement areas, like the European Union, don't register themselves on PERE or take longer to do it (*ibid*). According to Romero Valiente, there is not a correlation between the level of educational attainment and registration on PERE; however, it is possible to stablish a link with age: there is an under registration on PERE from young migrants (20-29-year-olds).

Padrón municipal (municipal population registries) is the most used source is studies of migration in Spain, despite its disadvantages. It shows that foreign nationals' number (foreigners who have been naturalised) has increased steadily until 2008, when it reached 5.6 million, the equivalent of 12% of the population. However, by the end of 2014 this number had fallen to 4.7 million. Thus stagnation and decline have been due both to a reduction in immigration and an acceleration of emigration, which has turned the migratory balance negative since 2010 (Bermudez & Brey, 2017).

"Deregistrations" refer to people who are removed from a particular municipal population registry (*padrón municipal*) because they move to another municipality (within Spain or abroad) or for other reason (death, incorrect registration, expiry date). Its number, gathered in the EVR, had been increasing steadily from 2007 to 2014. The *Estadística de Migraciones* (EM external migration statistics) was created in 2013, and it also reports registrations and deregistrations from the *padrón* but using a methodology more sophisticated than the one used by the EVR due to its accuracy measures (it estimates the date of emigration abroad, adjusts the information in the *padrón* to its own definition of migration…) (INE). Besides, *EM* allows users to choose the country of origin plus the citizenship of the population. This is very relevant because in 2016, only 33% of Spanish living abroad were born in Spain, 59,1% in their current country of residence, and 7,6% in other countries.

The following figures depict the balance between deregistrations and registrations of Spanish citizens from 2005 to 2015, and of those Spanish whose destiny was Norway, respectively. They display a steady growth, becoming stronger in 2010, the year when austerity measures were adopted by the government (León & Pavolini, 2014). These tables depict a change in the population dynamics of Spain: starting from 2007, Spain experienced a shift from country of immigration to country of emigrants. However, it is worth mentioning that Spain had the highest number of persons acquiring citizenship in 2014 (23% of the EU-28 total) (EUROSTAT).

Figure 14: Migrants from Spain to EU-28 countries (EVR)

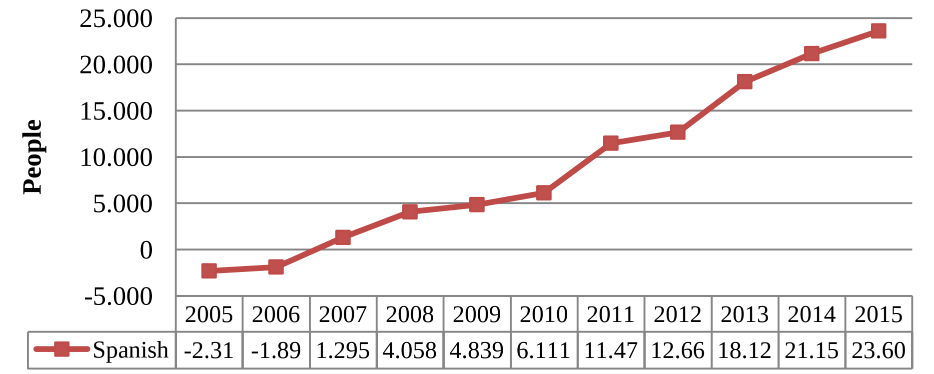


Figure 15: Migrants to Norway Emigrants (EVR)

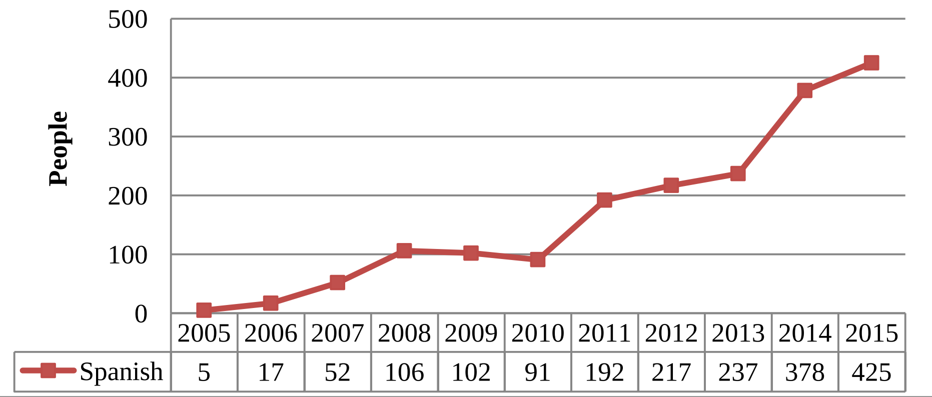
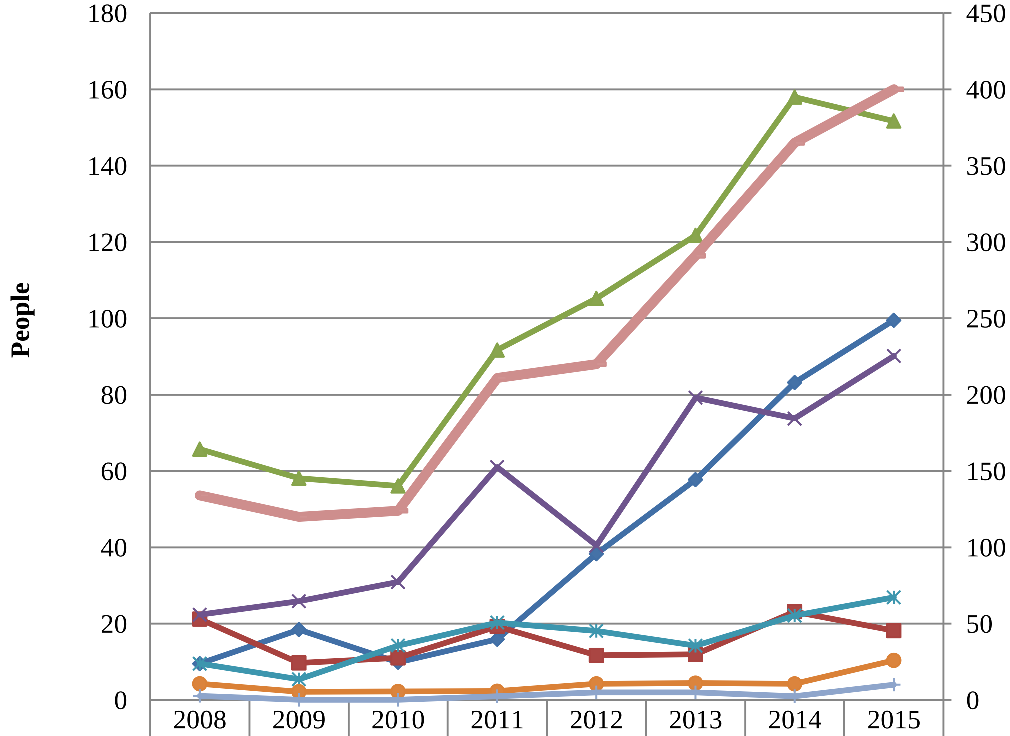


Figure 16 shows the increase of Spanish citizens who were born in Spain and now live in Norway. It makes clear that the age group made up by those aged 25-34-year-olds (usually made by people that age who decide to take a master) is highly represented in Norway, whereas the oldest people are, the least represented they are. There is a tendency lately that can be seen in the increase of the youngest cohort: those from 0 to 14 years old. It might be due to the decision of those on their thirties who come to Norway to settle down and raise their children in Norway. One reason to explain the fact that these children were born in Spain may be that “children who are born in Norway but have two parents who are citizens of other countries, do not become Norwegian citizens when they are born”. Besides, as respondent 1 poses, getting dual citizenship in Spain is a lot easier and simpler than it Norway.

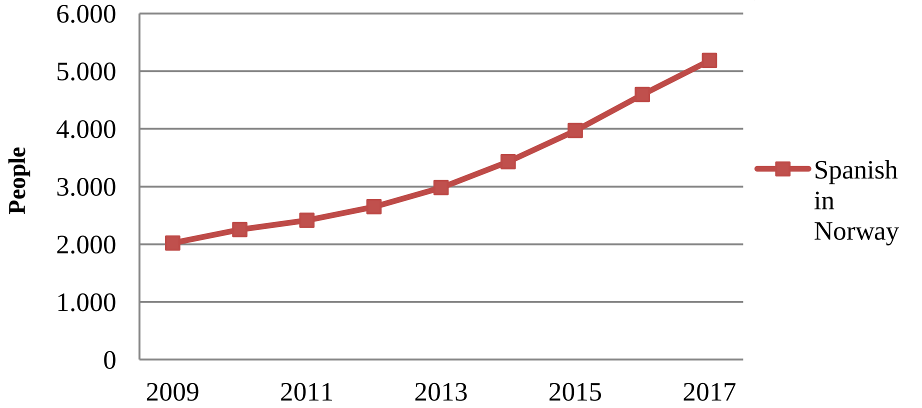
Figure 16: Spanish born-in-Spain net migration rate registered in Norway per year by age group (EM)



	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
0-14	10	18	10	16	38	58	83	99
15-24	21	10	11	19	12	12	23	18
25-34	66	58	56	92	105	122	158	152
35-44	22	26	31	61	40	79	74	90
45-54	9	5	14	20	18	14	22	27
55-64	4	2	2	2	4	4	4	10
≥65	1	0	0	1	2	2	1	4
Total	134	120	124	211	220	291	365	400

PERE set the number of Spaniards living in a different European country at 822 thousand by January, 2017. There was an increase of this number with regard to the previous year of 46479 Spaniards, which means an increase of 6% (INE). Nevertheless, this figure is not accurate because it does not cover the emigration of foreign nationals from Spain while it does include people who have acquired Spanish nationality abroad because of their parents or as a result of the application of the *Ley de Memoria Histórica* (Law of Historical Memory). It was approved in 2007 with the aim of "acknowledging the injustice represented by the exile of many Spaniards during the Civil War and Dictatorship". This law allows "the optional acquisition of Spanish citizenship of origin by persons whose father or mother was originally Spanish and by the grandchildren of those who lost or were forced to forfeit their Spanish citizenship as a consequence of the exile" (Ministry of Justice, 2007). In fact, almost 52% of those Spaniards residing in Europe were not born in Spain.

Figure 17: Spanish registered in Norway (PERE)



As we stated before, Spanish migration statistics register several problems due to the lack of incentives to inform the authorities of going to live abroad. That is the reason why we took the decision to check Norwegian statistics (Statistisk Sentralbyrå) and test whether or not the numbers match. They don't, and SSB shows much higher numbers: according to this source, the net migration number (immigration-emigration) of Spanish coming to Norway in 2015 was of 1212, and not 425 as the *EVR* registered. Norwegian Statistics count little more than 100 entries in 2004. It is remarkable that Spain was in 2015 the fourth country, after Poland, Lithuania and Romania, with the highest migration net rate. Regarding the number of Spanish population in Norway, *PERE* registered 5186 by 1st of January while *Statistisk sentralbyrå* did register 6049; it is remarkable that back in 2005 the total number of Spanish living in Norway was 1501. We can conclude that the Spanish community in Norway has gone from being anecdotic to become a not-that-small growing community. Among 46 European states (counting The Vatican City and Kosovo), Spain ranks the 17th.

5.4 Internationalization in Norway: the case of the University of Oslo

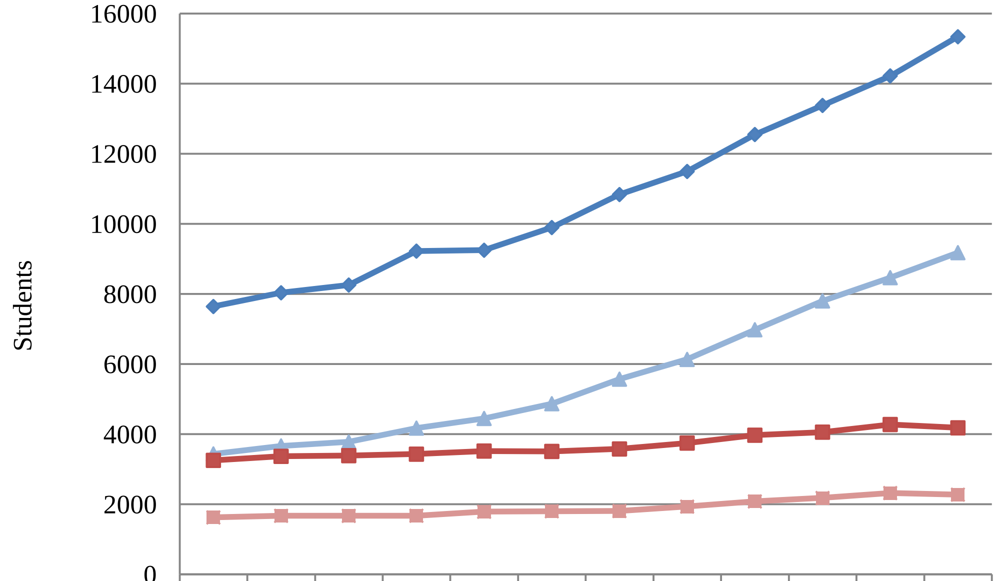
Internationalization in Norway was first experienced towards the Nordic region. Its origins are rooted in 1952, when the Nordic Council was founded as an organ for parliamentary cooperation between Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. Almost twenty years later, the Nordic Council of Ministers was established as a forum for Nordic governmental cooperation. The socio-economic, political and cultural similarities between these countries have played a solid role for their long-term cooperation. Despite their differences, policy making in this region is often characterised as being a result of the “Nordic Model”. With regards of higher education, Nordic countries share, among others, the following characteristics: state-owned institutions with institutional autonomy in many areas, high levels of state investment and the ways they are allocated throughout the system, and student support schemes with the goal of increasing participation rates in the sector. With the 1999 Bologna Declaration, the Nordic cooperation in higher education fitted nicely into a wider European cooperation (Carlsson, Jensen, Nyborg, Skulason, & Uronen, 2009). The Bologna Process also led to embrace a degree system based on two cycles (3 years of bachelor plus 2 years of master) in the Nordic countries and quality assurance systems were developed according to commonly agreed standards and guidelines. The schemes for Nordic student mobility have complemented the EU mobility programmes. In 2000, the Nordic Council of Ministers adopted a Nordic Agenda and a strategy for Nordic cooperation that can be comparable to the EU Lisbon Agenda (Maassen & Uppstrøm, 2004). In the education realm, this has resulted “in various mobility programmes for pupils, students, teachers and researchers (including the NORDPLUS programme for students and teachers, described below), agreements for the mutual recognition of degrees and study programmes, simplified admission requirements for Nordic students throughout the region, and various expert committees for policy issues and cooperation initiatives” (*ibid*, 126)

Maassen and Stensaker (2008) claims that internalization has been a crucial element in the Norwegian Higher Education System; however, the basic rationale has changed over the decades. During the 1950s and 60s education abroad was promoted, first of all, due to the lack of capacity provided by the country (by that time only 6000 people attended higher education institutions), and then with the aim at offering Norwegian society with a broader knowledge basis. For that purpose, grants aimed at covering tuition, living expenses and travel to universities in Western Europe and North America, and in 1990s the support scheme was widened to include recognized universities anywhere in the world. Later on, student mobility was given increased priority thanks to Bologna Process, in which Norway became an active participant. The aftermath of this process started what has been known as the "Quality Reform" of Norwegian higher education. It stated that higher education in Norway is a public responsibility and a central element in national politics, being therefore partners in the realization of national goals to, *inter alia*, strengthen co-operation with the international community. Internationalization has been seen as a central element in the Quality Reform: co-operation and exchange of students and staff is believed to be a central element in quality improvement. For that reason, a large –and increasing- number of new study programmes are taught in English, especially at the master's level in Norwegian universities. A law on Higher Education, both public a private, signed in 2005 gave institutions the autonomy they had been requesting for many years, as well as more responsibility and accountability. Since then, individual institutions have decided on their goals and strategies, appoint their professors, admit their students, choose their study programmes and are responsible for the quality of them. Their budget can be divided into two: it receives a lump sum from the Ministry of Education and Research besides an income from contracts with state agencies and private industry. Regarding the quantity of this latter income, universities take around 75% of the total budget and state colleges around 10%. The White Paper on internationalization was published in 2009 and was acclaimed for being the first comprehensive White Paper on the topic. It described internationalization not just a goal in itself but also "as a means for more quality and relevance in education, and as such a core aspect of the primary processes in higher education" (Elken, Hovdhaugen, & Wiers-Jenssen, 2015).

In Norway, as late as in the mid-1950s, there were only 6000 higher education students. However, the country experienced an expansion regarding population's increasing social and cultural expectations that reflected in a student population which almost reached 200000 students by the early 21st century (201940 registered students in 2001). On the academic year 2016/2017, Norway offered a range of ten universities, six *vitenskapelige* *høyskoler*, twenty six *høgskoler*, and two *kunsthøyskoler*. Besides, there is an increasing number of private Higher Education institutions; by 2016, almost 15% of the total number of students (269092) studied in private institutions (NSD, 2017). The University of Oslo is Norway's first and largest public university. Established in 1811, shortly after Norway becoming independent, this university is nowadays in the top one per cent of the world's universities and in the top 20 in Europe (Shangai rankings). In the 2016-2017, 27886 students attend this institution divided in 8 faculties and around 1000 international researchers visit UiO every year to share and develop their expertise in collaboration with other UiO researchers. UiO has more than half of Norway's ERC-funded projects, and ten of Norway's 21 Centres of Excellence, which conduct research of the highest international quality. They offer more than 50 Master's degree programmes taught entirely in English and 15% of students are international so are 30% of PhD candidates and 28% of academic employees. The document Strategy 2020 (University of Oslo, 2010) provides a framework as well as directions for the ambitions for the University of Oslo. Adopted by the University Board on April 27, 2010, it has a ten year perspective and it aims at "developing UiO into a first-class international university, where the interaction across research, education, communication and innovation is at its best" (p.4). One objective claims for more visibility, attractiveness and engagement in the international arena than it is at present; it will "intensify internationalization by increasing its cooperation with the most attractive international environments, and by competing for the best international projects, researchers and students" (p.7). Regarding students, more and better international programmes will be established, as well as an international campus, a UiO website more international in character and a professional system for welcoming and integrating international students.

There has been a steady increase in the number of international students in Norway: while in 2010 it was about 14,500, it has risen to above 19,000 in 2014 (Wiers-Jenssen, 2013).This could be partially explained by the fact that many other Nordic counties have introduced student fees for non-EU/EEA countries, therefore making Norway a more attractive Nordic country for studies (Elken, Hovdhaugen, & Wiers-Jenssen, 2015). The following figure shows the number of international students –light colors depict European students- in Norwegian Public universities and the University of Oslo. It is noteworthy that, despite the steady and fast increase of internationals students in Norway, UiO has experienced a moderate growth.

Figure 18: Students from abroad in Norwegian Public Universities



	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Total	7642	8034	8255	9222	9247	9895	10836	11495	12549	13378	14221	15337
Europe Total	3437	3666	3777	4174	4449	4870	5570	6133	6980	7802	8466	9179
UiO	3253	3368	3387	3430	3519	3508	3578	3746	3971	4058	4276	4181
Europe UiO	1624	1671	1669	1673	1786	1801	1808	1934	2081	2180	2321	2275

The research on this thesis is based in Spanish graduate students who have taken a master at UiO; for that aim, information about the total amount of them was requested to the student information center. The numbers they provided show the new registrations during the fall semester of each year for two-year master programmes, and, as we see in the following table, they are surprisingly small. We cannot conclude that, according to these numbers, there has been an increase after the onset of the crisis. However, if we look to figure 16, we see that Spanish that migrate to Norway are mostly aged from 25 to 34 years old. And this is the age when people generally take a master. Therefore we will explore why these people have chosen Norway not just as a country for emigration but also as a place to conduct their graduate studies.

2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
5	9	13	8	4	2	3	1	2	6	6	3	7	3

Table 4: Spanish master students at UiO

6 Discussion of Findings

Once the interviews were conducted and transcribed, the researched proceeded to their analysis using the methods explained in section 4. Findings are divided into four sections: push factors, which include anomie, mobile capital related reasons and other categories posed by scholars who have also employed the push and pull framework to analyzed mobility; pull factors, following as well these different categories relevant to study why the interviewees chose Norway as their destination; the third section examines brain drain and mobility/migration debate; and the fourth tackles the interviewees' experience at UiO.

6.1 Push Factors

6.1.1 Anomie

As it was stated in the conceptual framework, anomie was in origin characterized by Durkheim as the replacement of moral individualism by economic individualism; later in time, Merton described anomie as the imbalance between the acceptance of culture goals and institutionalized means. Nevertheless, a recent conceptualization of anomie is used, that is, the one made by Bygnes (2015), who refers to anomie as the breakdown of purposes and ideals in society. In this case, this failure of expectations was triggered mainly by the economic crisis. I1 points to the crisis as the main reason to migrate. In 2006 both her and her partner were employed in Barcelona and had a mortgage, so *absolutely nothing pushed us here* (Norway), *nothing, nothing at all*. The reader should remember, as it was pointed in the empirical setting section, that the financial crisis hit the country at the peak of economic prosperity in terms of GDP growth and job creation, driven mainly by the construction sector and related industries and services losses (Ortega & Peñalosa, 2012). In 2007 her partner lost his job and when she returned to work after her maternity leave (her second child) she had a different boss and she was mobbed by him. After a year experiencing salary reductions and mobbing, *luckily* she said, her company opened a branch office in Norway and they could move to that country. I5's opinion is not that severe, and he claims that *it would have been ideal to stay in Spain, but coming to Norway was no drama. If the situation had been different, I probably wouldn't have gone abroad*. I7 posed an interesting insight: the indirect benefits for those who weren't affected by the crisis (or at least the crisis hadn't hit them as hard): I *have* *colleagues that have stayed* (in Spain) *and are doing research, but they are those who were able to work for the departments for free.* Hence, bright but in need of money students couldn't spend their time improving their knowledge since these jobs aren't paid and are therefore taken by well-off students.

Personal and Professional Development in Spain

Five out of seven participants point to the lack of opportunities available in their home country as one reason to migrate. I1 claims: *my friends and I belong to a generation* (her conception about generation has to do only with the age) *very affected by the crisis, many lost their jobs, and in their current jobs they earn way less; many lost their houses and are now living with their parents.* Besides that, she declares not having any reason to come back. She used to own a house in Barcelona but, given that she couldn't face the terms of the mortgage, she got an eviction order and the bank repossessed her dwelling and the money she had paid during ten years[6]. I2 indicates that the discouraging atmosphere was already present before 2008's crisis; however, it wasn't until 2010 when she decided to retake the studies in order to cope better with the crisis: *I wanted something better, stable, and that is why I decided to keep studying; in the end that is what we all do: since we do not have any idea what to do, we keep working*. This finding is in line with Reina Paz, Rodriguez Oromendia and Sevilla-Sevilla (2012), that is, the intention among the unemployed to take advantage of their time and gain academic benefit from their new unemployment situation. These examples are also useful to argue for the crisis in the "normal biography". Also I4 and I5 refer to the changes the "traditional life path" has experienced: *unemployment creates a breach between how old you are and the experience you have that you cannot fill (...) Either I went abroad or I lost the chance (...) I tried to find jobs, but time came by, nothing changed and the situation didn't seem to improve. It has been 6 years since then* (I4); and *no one is how they imagined they would be when they were 30: they are in a worse situation. The economic situation doesn't allow people to cope with their expectations. Stability has been delayed* (I5). I5 repeats a mantra often reproduced by media: *alternatives for youngsters are less than they used to* be. I3 and I6 are two interviewees whose decision to migrate is supported mainly by their desire of traveling. Plus, I6 considers her home region, Catalonia, *an exception*; nevertheless,

[6] According to Cano Fuentes *et al* (2013), nowhere in western Europe has the number of evictions been comparable to that in Spain

although these participants don't claim to be affected, they are aware that there is an *opportunity crisis*.

However, it is not just the lack of opportunities but also the quality of them what interviewees find problematic. I5 and I6 argue that in order to come back to Spain, the country should offer them similar conditions to Norway, and they do not think it would happen soon. Participants are dissatisfied about their late experiences in Spain and their current peers' experience. Before departing to Norway, I2 was living with her parents and the job she was offered in Spain was paid 10 € per hour -10 hours per week- and without contract[7]. I4 worked in Spain as a researcher in an European-funded project, and she claims that *when I was paid, the money was not bad*. Besides, her peers who have stayed in Spain are not working as psychologists and, those who do, work for private companies *in very bad working conditions*; I5 tells a similar story: most of his colleagues in Spain are not working, or working due to the courses they took when being unemployed (the unemployment office offers courses to "enhance employability" among unemployed people). *Others finished and were lucky*: the interviewee refers to those who are working in a field relevant to their background as "the lucky ones". Some could ask why people accept these conditions, and without having asked –neither directly nor indirectly- I2 and I4 agree on the answer: in Spain people take poorly paid jobs due to a high level of competition; they are afraid of getting fired given that if you don't want the job, someone else does. *That fear*, I4 states, *makes people suffer*.

Corruption

In the context of the current crisis, concepts such as shadow economy and corruption have become more visible. In Spain, the size of the shadow economy is growing steadily over time, and public finance corruption cases are being revealed with increasing frequency (González-Fernández & González-Velasco, 2014). As Bygnes' (2015) participants did, our interviewees emphasized corruption. We have agreed on embracing the definition of corruption provided by Transparency International, which produces one of the most common used corruption indexes: the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. In this sense, Stiglitz (2002) states that "government is supposed to act in the interest of citizens, not to use its

[7] Schneider (2015) calculates Spanish shadow economy in 18,6% of the official GDP, 0,2% above the EU-27 average

enormous power to benefit leaders or special interests at the expense of the general public". I1 critizes *the enthusiasm Spanish society show for football whereas nobody is shocked when politicians steal 10.000 €.* One reason I4 gives to explain why she feels so comfortable in Norway is because *Norwegians realized that the crisis is a political or a corruption issue*. To bring the issue of corruption into discussion, they were asked about their opinions about the statements made by Jeroen Dijsselbloem (the Eurogroup President), who accused southern European Union countries of having wasted their aid money on "spirits and women". All agree that it was just a comment based on a stereotype; however, two participants (I1 and I5) related this comment to one scandal: "tarjetas black". The 83 directors –they were all political appointees, installed by their respective parties and trade unions- of the former "Caja Madrid" were each issued with a black credit card, with the collective bill reaching 15 million € over a 10-year period (22 directors continued to use their cards after they had ceased to have any role at the bank). Three years after Caja Madrid merged with smaller savings banks until becoming Bankia, the latter reported a loss of 19 billion €, the largest corporate loss in Spanish history. And Bankia was bailed out in 2012 by the Spanish government for 12,5 billion €[8]. I1 clearly says that she totally dislikes this statement, and that she *would like these things not to be true. But then you see how the money was spent, and one guy spent 13000 € with prostitutes. You see, it is the "Caesar's wife" problem*.

Priority placed on Education

Interviewees are aware that, until 2008, construction eclipsed all other economic sectors and it caused the so-called "housing bubble". They don't consider the situation has changed: *Spain is a country that sadly has decided its growth model to be built on turism, and for that reason there is no need to have HE: people who own a HE degree end up earning 600 or 300 € working as an intern, and then, during summer, they have to work as waiters in the shore*, I1 states. I2 agrees: *the government doesn't invest on research; they focus on turism, a type of unsustainable tourism.* I7, although she doesn't point out any specific sector where the government devotes the money, has her future clear: she doesn't want to come back mainly because she would like to pursue a PhD. The following graphs show the money countries spend on research and development measured by € per inhabitant based on Eurostat data. We have selected Scandinavian and the five most populated countries in the EU. The researcher decided to use this value instead of a percentage of GDP because, due to the high GDP

[8] http://www.elmundo.es/economia/2017/01/10/5874cecae5fdeaa9708b4573.html

Scandinavian countries have, it would look like these countries don’t invest that much on R&D -and, as we see in the figures, they do. Spain, however, matches interviewees’ perceptions.

Figure 19: R&D expenditure by € per inhabitant

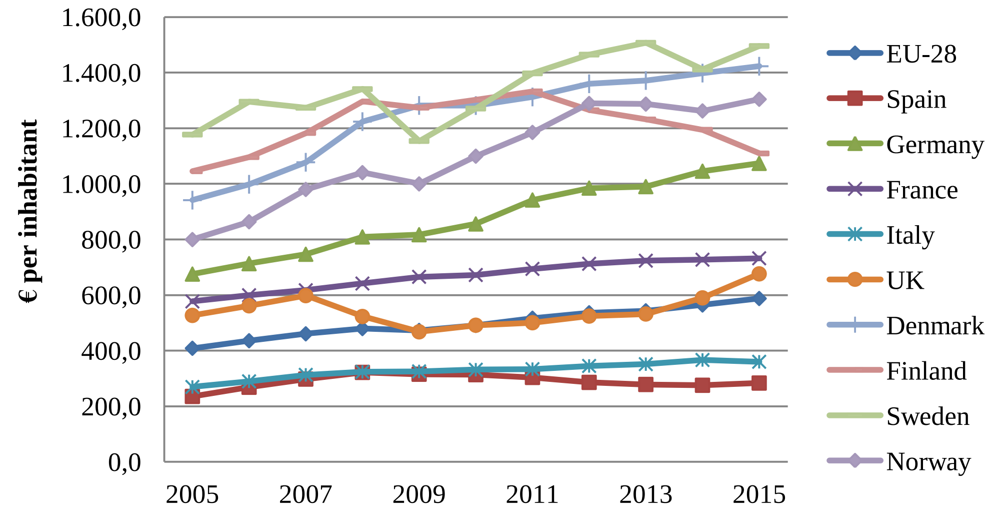
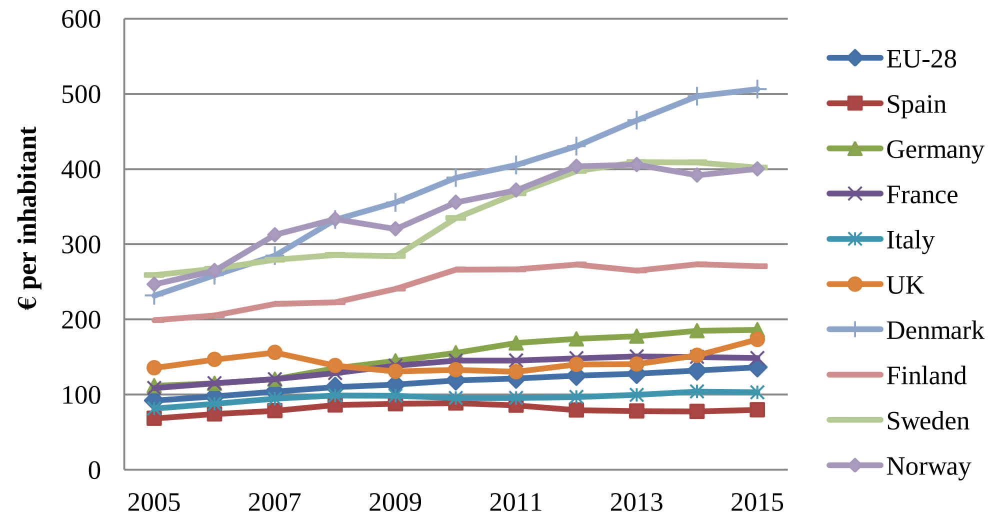


Figure 20: R&D expenditure in HE by € per inhabitant



Cost of Education and Expected Benefits from Studying Abroad

Although the majority of participants refer to the cost as a pull factor to choose Norway as the destination, I7 pointed out the student fees as a push factor: *you have to pay three, four or five thousand € to take a master in Spain. You have to think it twice.* This interviewee and I6 agree on considering the master provided by their home university as an *extra bachelor year*, which involves the same atmosphere, the same teacher, and barely *anything new they would have got out of them*. Plus, I6 claims she just didn't want to take the master in Spain due to boredom; she considered studying abroad as a first step to stay afterwards, a fact that could be easily linked to mobile capital.

6.1.2 Mobile Capital

Six out of the seven interviewees have previous experience of mobility. However, not every experience of mobility does mirror mobile capital: as it has been explained, mobile capital entails distinctive features besides the act of moving. For that reason, I1 does not portray the experience we are looking for: before moving to Norway, she spent holidays many times in Norway due to her Norwegian roots, but she had never had any remarkable stay abroad. The other interviewees have undergone relevant mobility experiences that have shaped their personality.

We can cluster participants' mobile capital in three groups: the first includes participants who develop their mobile capital by working in other countries (I2 and I7); the second, participants whose mobile capital has been developed at higher education stage – Erasmus in Norway- (I4 and I5); and the third, participant who enjoy experiences abroad from an early age (i3 and I6)

1. The first group includes I2 and I7. I2 worked in England and Hong Kong, one and two years respectively, and none of her parents own a HE degree. When I7 finished high school, she moved to England for a year to learn the language. After the bachelor, in order to save money to move to Norway, she moved to Cardiff to work as a shop assistant. She based her decision to leave in lack of opportunities and her desire to leave. Her parents, who lost their job *because of* the crisis, she says, tried to convince her to study something with better job perspectives than marine biology. They also encouraged her to go abroad. They don't have tertiary education but *they have always tried to improve*.

2. I4 and I5 belong to the second cluster. Although I4 had previous experiences of mobility before starting university, due to her Erasmus in Bergen the author decided to include her in the 2nd group. She was 16 when she earnt a grant to participate in "Ruta Quetzal", that is, a one-month-trip around one country of South America and Spain

intended to Latin American and Spanish teenagers, whose aim is to promote intercultural exchange. She made an exchange with Helsinki for a month in the last year of high school, and one year of Erasmus in Bergen. She grounds the decision to leave Spain on a mixture of her good experiences she had as an exchange student and the lack of opportunities. Neither of her parents own a HE degree. I5 also did an Erasmus in Norway (in Ålesund). His parents -he has HE, she hasn't- neither encouraged nor discouraged him, they trusted his criteria since they all know that in Spain it is very hard to *develop one self*. Six months after he finished his master, he was in his hometown seeking for job with no results. Then he came back to Norway to work in the Spanish Embassy.

3. I3 and I6 reflect the highest levels of mobile capital. I3 has been living abroad since she was 16 –she did the International Baccalaureate in Costa Rica, and then took a degree on International Relationships and Political Science in Lake Forest, IL, USA. She spent a semester in Paris doing an internship as part of the curriculum. She states that her career has prompted her desires to travel; regarding Norway, she affirms she *came here* (Norway) *for the adventure. I always like to travel. Living abroad was my dream since I was a kid.* She declares having chosen her studies partially because of her innate taste for travelling, living abroad, studying abroad. When she was asked if she could imagine her short term future she was very clear: she is really looking forward to coming back to Spain, she defines herself as an optimistic, maybe ingenious short of person. Her goal now is not placed on the labour market but on *the way of life. Evidently, unemployment rates are scary but I want to think that the situation is not that dramatic, that if you look for something you will find it.* However, she is aware that *if it turns to be that it is actually that dramatic I will look for something abroad*. Her parents are divorced: her mother, who has tertiary education, encourages the participant to stay abroad; according to I3, she has a *depressing* view of Spain. On the other hand, her father, who doesn't own a university degree, would have preferred her to stay in Spain. She could be seen as an *outlier* among the interviewees. On the other hand, I6 also has previous experiences of mobility: two exchanges to Italy in high school, where she studied French and Italian. She worked one month as an au-pair in France, and while she was doing her bachelor she volunteered one month in a summer work camp in Finland. After finishing her master in Norway, she got a Marie Curie grant and joined a project in Northern Ireland. She

quitted after a year due to dissatisfaction with the project and the environment. She currently lives in Stockholm. *I wanted to experience a new adventure* (…) *I had a lot of international friends, I always like travelling and wanted to live abroad. In my case, the decision to leave was more related to gain experiences rather than a brain drain issue*. Her sister got the taste for travelling thanks to her, and her little cousin says when she grows up she wants to be like I6. Besides, she was the first in her family to finish graduate studies. She really appreciates her parents' backup, who, despite not having tertiary education, they have always encouraged her to travel and regret not having lived abroad.

6.2 Pull factors

Availability and Quality of Opportunities in the Host Country

Several facilities prompt the choice of Norway as the country to pursue postgraduate studies. I1, I2 and I6 point out the absence of student fees, which, along with other opportunities to develop personally and professionally, make Norway a perfect place to establish oneself: *here I can learn what I want and it is for free! If you get a job you can study for life, and there are a lot of opportunities to work as a researcher,* I2 states. I4 focuses in the good reputation psychologists have in Norway, it is *a different world if you compare it to Spain*. Regarding personal issues, I7 chose Norway because of the chances to progress in her field of studies (marine biology) and to set a life with her Norwegian boyfriend. Those who have already finished their master have experience an enhancement in their career prospects: I4 first Norwegian job contract was permanent -not temporary as she has experienced in Spain- as a public servant. I5, who had previously pointed that he would only go back to Spain if the labour conditions offered were similar, declared that In Norway he is a happier worker that he would be in Spain. Labour and family conciliation provisions were a topic highlighted by some of the interviewees. I1, who has two kids, says: *if kids are on holiday you can take them to school, it would be unbelievable in Spain (...) Kids can study what they want because they know that the state will support them, there are a lot more possibilities for an individual to develop their interests.* I6, who is living in Stockholm and is about to have a baby, agrees on the facilities Scandinavian countries provide for couples to raise kids; hence, she prefers Sweden to Spain to parent her child. I2 gives an example of how this issue is tackled in Spain: a friend of hers works for a bank and lives in Valladolid with the child and her husband. However, when the crisis started she was assigned to an office in Madrid. Since the child is still a baby and her husband works in Valladolid, she has decided to drive every day to Madrid and back (200 km each way). The fact that the university offers master in English boost mobility (I2, I4, I6) and the resources for disabled people (I2 suffers from visual impairment) play an important role. Geographic proximity is important to decide where to go: *loads of people go to "the peninsula" to look for work, so I thought: rathter than going to the peninsula, I would go to Norway* (I5 was born in Canary Islands). Besides, I3 indicates the easiness to get access to the country's opportunities. Whereas she thinks that applying for a master in Spain requires heavy and tedious burocracy (she took her bachelor in the US), she found that the requirements to enrol a Norwegian university are minimum: just a copy of the grades and a motivation letter.

Level of Awareness of the Host Country in the Students' Home Country

The fame Scandinavian countries have regarding research and development –generally and namely among the field of education- is, according to the last figures presented, well-deserved. I2 defends an image of these countries being *very inclusive and investing their wealth in social resources*. I5 claims his desire to come to Norway based on its social, economic and political environment. I3 narrows the scope and attributes her decision to move to Norway to its high performance on educational issues: its success plus a friend's recommendation pushed her to Oslo. Thus previous experiences of others are relevant when deciding where to move. I5's uncles worked in Sweden and Norway for 20 years, so when he was a kid they used to meet during Christmas *and they couldn't stop talking about how beautiful these countries were and how properly things work there.* Social links are also significant. It has been indicated that I1 is half Norwegian, she speaks Norwegian since she was a kid and in 1996 she took the exam to become a sworn translator and interpreter of Norwegian in Spain; therefore learning the language was never a barrier for mobility but a driver. I6 has a half Norwegian friend who suggested her to come to Norway and enjoy the facilities the country provides for students, besides enjoying its nature (I6 studied geology).

Environment

I1 indicates that, in spite of the cold, she definitely prefers the "Norwegian way of life". She highlights the attitude Norwegians have towards life: *it is way more relax than in*

Spain. I4 chose Norway partially after her good experience in other Scandinavian countries: her perception of Norway is one of *a stable and safe place to set your life: you earn a lot and everything costs a lot, but you can buy a house, a car, a future, your safety.* I5 remarks the magnificence of nature, and how the society is aware of its importance. I7 visited Norway for the first time as a tourist 5 years ago: *it is the country I like the most so far, the only one where I felt I was at home.*

6.3 Brain Drain and Mobility/Migration debate

Interviewees were asked about the significance of brain drain, if they thought it was an adequate term to describe the situation of young skilled Spaniards. Out of seven, two respondents show disagreement with the view some media sources provide of Spain as a country severely affected by brain drain. I2 argues that *very valuable people stay in Spain because they prefer to live and seek for happiness with what they have there*. However, based on her experience as a Spanish teacher for foreigners she recognized that those who move *are always the best prepared,* and she *guesses there are people very well prepared who have good connections and are doing great in Spain*. It is worrying how participants (both I2 and I5 –peers who found a job relevant to their studies *were lucky*-) refer to people who succeed in the process of seeking relevant jobs to their qualifications. I3 considers the term brain drain as an *elitist phenomenon: I don't know if the brains that drain are the ablest; all countries could perform better to keep the most valuable people*. She finds it *natural*: *the world is so small and the most curious people have better opportunities to go abroad.* This quote signals the mobile capital this participant owns. On the other hand, the other five participants agree on consider Spain as a country that is losing its potential: *Spain paid for my education and the country is not getting what it invested on me. A researcher thinks:* "a research grant in Spain offers me no stability and no promise of progression. It is disrespectful. Why have I worked that hard? If no one will value my work, I would rather leave" (I5); *it is a pity, all the money the state devotes to education is wasted, and this money will never come back. I don't know, I am not a fortune teller, but regarding the brains that have left Spain, few of them will come back because nothing has been fixed, there is no initiative to boost research or anything meaningful* (I1); *the best –and affluent- people are leaving. The brightest from my year are living abroad, South America, England… Not in Spain* (I4)

Interviewees engaged more in the discussion when, being asked about mobility and migration, two declarations from politicians were read to the participants to reflect on their reactions: the first was from the Secretary of Immigration, Marina del Corral, who claimed in an interview in 2012 that Spanish youth emigrated because of their “adventurous spirit” (Agency, 2012); and the second was made by the Foreign Affairs minister’s -Alfonso Dastis- on the 22nd of December, 2016, clarifying that *the government has not expelled anyone; going abroad enriches you and opens your mind* (Agency, 2016). All participants with the exception of I3 and I6 labelled themselves as migrants. I7 gets angry when she listens to the government considers her as an adventurer: when *these people tell you this kind of things it sounds like a bad joke. I have earned 4 € per hour and worked 14 hours in a row, and thanks to my work and my scholarship I could survive and study. Then, I finished my bachelor and moved to Cardiff to work as a shop assistant to save money because of my adventurous spirit, sure!* Although most of the participants also considered these declarations disrespectful, they reflected more moderately (I5 used to get angry with Spanish politics, *but not anymore*) and they came to the same conclusion: when you leave your country because you cannot make a life there, you are migrating; mobility means to move, be able to move back to the place you come from when you want. That is the reason why they characterize Erasmus as an adventure: your mobile experience has a deadline.

Interviewees were also asked about a controversial political reform –“voto rogado” (begged vote)- that took place in 2011 under the Socialist government. Since January, 2011, Spanish citizens registered in a foreign country do not secure their active participation in election. In order to be able to vote they must apply for the right to vote described by the interviewees as a “safari” (I1). First difficulty is misinformation about the procedure. Second, people have to submit the documentation personally in the consulate, and ballot papers often fail to arrive on time (I4). Although technically it should not prevent any voter from exercising their right, the truth is that low voter turnout overseas has demonstrated that it discourages migrants from voting. In the 2008 national elections –the last elections previous to the reform-, 31.8% of Spanish registered abroad voted; in 2011, once this reform was applied, the percentage decreased to 4.95%; in 2015, 4.73% and in 2016, rose to 6.3% (all these elections were in the national level)[9]. Five of them haven’t registered in order to avoid the complications triggered by registering abroad. I1 managed to vote in all the elections;

[9] http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2016/12/08/actualidad/1481220515_503569.html (Mateo, 2016)

however, she has some critical words for the government: *it is obvious that the overseas vote is always a critical vote for the government because they have expelled us and you won't vote those who have expelled you. We are poor, but not silly*. I4 has a totally different experience: *voting from abroad is very complicated. I only got the ballots once during these 5 years I have been living here. I had to pay 20 € to send the ballot and I never got the money back*. Participants clearly stated that they want the best for their country; that exit doesn't mean to draw back from Spanish concerns. They want instead to exercise at the same time exit and voice, but the government seems to have different plans.

6.4 UiO Experience

Regarding master student experience at the University of Oslo, different opinions were expressed. The main reason to choose UiO is its location: it is placed on the capital of Norway; however, I5 also made this choice due to the prestige of the university: *it was a success being accepted at UiO, I came from the 40th university in Spain to the 100th best university in the world* (…) *I mean, it has 2 Nobel prizes.* I6 wanted to apply to Bergen, but the deadline was much earlier and she didn't manage to submit the documents on time. I1, who also took the bachelor at UiO, defines her experience as positive; nevertheless she finds a big difference between teachers' performance at bachelor and master level regarding methodologies. I2 is quite dissatisfied with her master and how little teachers involve in teaching and the poor feedback they provide. However, she is doing a philosophy course for PhD students and she is pleased with it. I3 characterizes the Norwegian higher education system as similar to the US in terms of requisites and what it is expected from you. So far she is satisfied with the master. I4 highlights competition towards getting accepted to the master: *there were only 10 or 12 places so they were very demanding concerning the grades*. She considers the master to be much more serious than in Spain, so are classes and exams. Besides, they value way more the individual work. The emphasis on autonomy is shared with I6 and I7, who shows her satisfaction with the university using the following words: *here I have autonomy: you are offered more freedom and they let you being critic*. She underlines how committed and enthusiastic the departmental staff is: *it is beautiful to see people valuing you and your work.*

One surprising finding of the study is the low number of Spanish master students at the UiO. There are no significant changes in the number during the last 13 years, as table 4 shows. Therefore we could conclude that the rapid increase of the Spanish community is not mirrored in this higher education institution. The researcher didn't research on Spanish bachelor given that it was considered unlikely to pursue a bachelor in Norwegian, so she assumed that the number was low as well. Some suggestions about this matter are made in next chapter.

7 Conclusive Comments

At the beginning of this thesis (Chapter 1), the main research problem driving this study was presented:

- HOW HAS THE FINANCIAL CRISIS OF 2008 CHANGED STUDENT MIGRATION PATTERNS OF SPANISH STUDENTS?

And more accurate:

- HOW HAS THE ECONOMIC CRISIS INFLUENCED THE DECISION TO MIGRATE TO NORWAY AND ATTEND A MASTER AT THE UiO AMONG SPANISH GRADUATES?

Further, the following subresearch questions were operationalised throughout these pages:

- To what extent is the financial crisis seen as a *push* factor?
- How has the crisis affected the process of building their lives?
- How do graduate Spanish students studying in Norway cope with their experience abroad?

We can conclude that our participants have internalized the 2008 financial crisis as a turning point in their lives that definitely worked as a push factor when deciding to migrate. They are aware that, although the crisis has hit harder those who have achieved lower levels of education and more jobs are now taken by HE graduates, university degrees are no more lifejackets that provide graduates with a cure against precariousness and unemployment. While the number of young people who are investing in HE is increasing, its rewards are becoming more unevenly distributed as the relationship between education, jobs and entitlements is being reconfigured. Participants point out temporariness and overqualification as the main characteristics of the Spanish graduate job market; besides, some participants point that they weren't even paid when it comes to the traineeship (the Spanish are the worst paid within the EU and only 40% of students receive some form of financial compensation for their work (OECD, 2016)). These features that shape lives are the main reasons signaled by the interviewees that have pushed them away from Spain. On that basis, they have decided to build their future away from their home country and their families due to the impossibility to carry what they have experienced as a “regular life” –that is, a life where precariousness and uncertainty are not cornerstones.

The study reveals that brain drain, as well as professional emigration, is a reality in our participants’ lives. As part of the so-called millennial generation, they also believe they should do what their parents did even though the economic realities have changed drastically. Participants pose the lack of quality opportunities in Spain and the consequent anomie (corruption, lack of investment in education) as the main reasons to migrate. They see Norway as the perfect place to take advantage of their time and gain academic benefit, therefore coping positively with their experience abroad. Their aspirations were linked to self-development, both personally and academically. It is true that they possess what Murphy-Lejeune calls mobile capital, a kind of personality that could be characterized as adventurous and risk-taking, more energetic and enterprising than those who were “loyal” to Spain. They want their work to be recognized, they have a high achievement motivation. However, we came to the conclusion that the crisis has modified the type of people who move/migrate: participants show dissatisfaction for being away from the family. They all value the significant pay-offs they gained from mobility (personal, academic and professional); but, except for two participants, they regret not being close to their relatives, and claim that if they had the conditions they enjoy in Norway they wouldn’t migrate, they would be “mobile”. Exit and voice do overlap in our participants’ lives. The lack of investment in R&D and the feeling that the government doesn’t take any responsibility for highly-skilled youngsters push them to look for a future beyond the Spanish borders. In this regard, Spanish authorities should improve the employability and quality of jobs for young people whose skills are highly developed and deserve to “be able to choose” –as one participant define the difference between being mobile or migrant- whether to stay or leave their country.

Furthermore, consequences of neoliberalism are seen in the participants. There is an imperative to maximize time (students must not be idle; instead, they should use their time doing something worth wile) and its subsequent guilt that racked subjects who fail to do so. These unwritten expectations are thought for a particular kind of student who has time to undertake the array of activities that complement his/her training, negating the presence of other responsibilities that constrain this capacity. Difficulties to complement family and labour lives and the need to have a part time job during their studies were mentioned as hurdles to have the desired career.

Suggestions to Stakeholders

The greater the excess of supply in quantitative and qualitative terms, the greater the emigration, and Norway is taking advantage of that. The Spanish community in Norway has gone from being anecdotic to become a not-that-small growing community. Hence we can conclude that Spanish migration in Norway is a phenomenon to take into account for further research, especially because migrants from southern European countries are the ones who better respond to the market needs of the north; they are highly-skilled migrants so their relevance regarding economic research is high. However, the number of students that attend graduate education at UiO is still low, and it has not experienced any significant change during the last decade in spite of the impact of the crisis. The author considers that this topic deserves particular attention given that, once they complete the master, they are likely to stay in Norway due to the difference in opportunities among both countries. For example, the minister of education could work on strengthening the ties between Spanish and Norwegian universities, promoting mobility at undergraduate level. One example could be the Erasmus grants. Two out of the seven participants spent their Erasmus in Norway: these experiences were crucial when they decided to migrate to Norway. The number of Spanish Erasmus students has increased from 200 in the 2003/2004[10] academic year to 588 in 2013/2014[11], as the annual reports of data and figures of the Spanish University System show. Although the growth rate is higher than any other Scandinavian country, the number is still lower than Finland (959), Sweden (934), and Denmark (742). The promotion of Norway as a destination country in previous stages of education could enhance the likelihood of attracting Spanish graduate students to Norwegian higher education institutions.

Limitations of the Study

The reader might miss points that he/she expected to find along these pages. Here a theory-driven qualitative content analysis has been carried out, and that is the reason why the

[10] https://www.mecd.gob.es/dms/mecd/servicios-al-ciudadano-mecd/estadisticas/educacion/universitaria/estadisticas-informes-documentum/datos-generales/datos-05-06-pdf.pdf (MECD, 2006)
[11] https://www.mecd.gob.es/dms/mecd/servicios-al-ciudadano-mecd/estadisticas/educacion/universitaria/datos-cifras/datos-y-cifras-SUE-2015-16-web-.pdf (MECD, 2016)

conceptual framework is heavily developed. However, limitations of time prevent the author from making a more profound research about the phenomenon. Given the dimensions of the work studied here, as well as its open character, fewer limitations of time would lead to a more comprehensive thesis. Nevertheless it is the researcher's hope to have expressed with sufficient clarity her ideas and the ways through which she has done her investigation.

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