Article

Nostalgic, Converted, or Cosmopolitan: Typology of Young Spanish Migrants

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Abstract
The high unemployment rate that is affecting Spain in recent years, along with the consolidation of labour market insecurity, have generated great changes in social behaviour, with a prominent tendency for young people to leave the country. With the aim of understanding, from the point of view of these new migrants, how their migration processes and sociocultural integration in their host countries are, this article follows the procedures of the Grounded Theory to analyse the discourses obtained through a discussion group and 41 in-depth interviews with young Spanish migrants while they were living abroad, during the period 2010–2015. The strength of this research lies in its construction of an empirical model consisting of three procedural categories: nostalgic adaptation, converted adaptation and cosmopolitan adaptation. These categories allow us to explain how the perception of young people about their home and host societies changes, as well as how their sociocultural adaptation to the new context is affected by the conducts and behaviours inherent to said perception.

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1. Introduction

The great, global, economic crisis that arose in the sphere of international finance in 2008 has damaged several spheres of the young Spaniards' social reality (mainly their working environment), thus aggravating even more their already delicate conditions and pushing them to a situation of chronic insecurity and unemployment. This decline in social conditions and quality of life for young people has greatly transformed their social patterns, especially with the emergence of a migration trend affecting mostly those with a higher level of education (Domínguez-Mujica, Díaz-Hernández, & Parreño-Castellano, 2016). This trend is reflected in recent years in the sharp increase in Spanish youth (16–34 years old) emigration, which reached significant numbers during the period 2010–2015 (see Figure 1).

As reflected in Figure 1, this dramatic context pushed thousands of young people to emigrate seeking to overcome the unstable environment to which they were doomed in Spain, where they adapted their vital projects to insecure jobs and ways of life, unable to achieve a consolidated professional identity which allowed them to pursue their own life projects (Bessant, Farthing, & Watts, 2017; Standing, 2013). This way, during the most critical years of the economic recession, this new
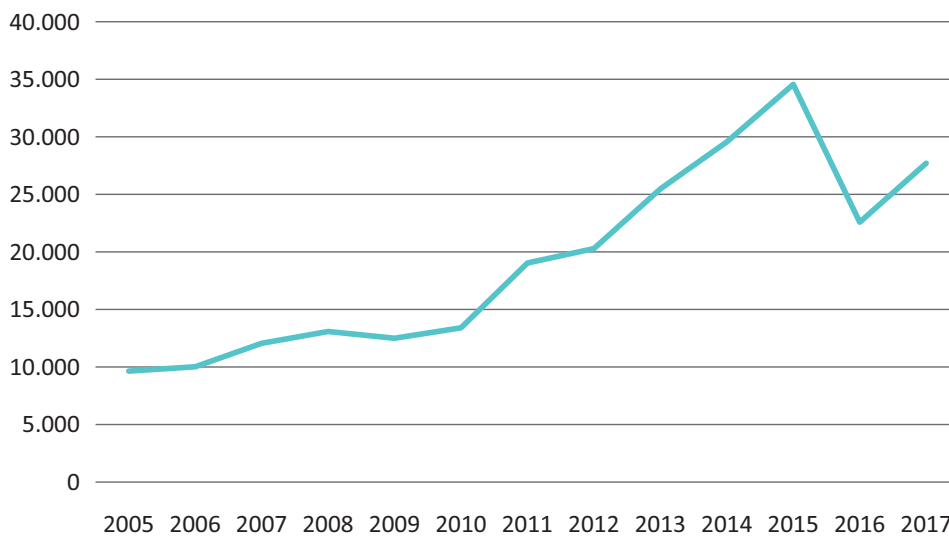
Figure 1. Spanish youth (16–34 years old) emigration during the period 2005–2017. Compiled by the authors based on data from the Residential Variation Statistics of the National Statistics Institute of Spain (INE, 2017).

Spanish emigration—also known as neo-Hispanic migration (Domingo, Sabater, & Ortega, 2014)—was consolidated and reached very high figures. Although this migration trend decreased a bit from 2015 on, said decrease was more apparent than real and the trend reached again high figures in 2017, as shown in the graph. However, unlike what occurred in the past, current Spanish migration is mainly composed of young people with higher education (Santos, 2013). This could be explained by the obsolete Spanish productive framework, with its excessive emphasis on sectors such as tourism and construction, meagre investment in research, development, innovation and cutting-edge technology, ineffective industry positioning, and a large increase in job insecurity—which was already critical in past decades but right now is largely normalised as an inherent component of the Spanish labour market (Pochmann, 2011). Thus, all these dramatic aspects affecting young people have become essential explanatory factors in the new Spanish emigration.

One of the aspects of young migration is the effect that it causes in their protagonists' identity and perception. This way, given the growing interdependence and how easy it is to communicate in global society, these 'new migrants' participate in a plurality of social spaces: they are in contact, via Internet, with family, friends, fellow compatriot migrants, young people from other countries, natives from the host country, etc. All of that affects their perceptions, fears and hopes, since there is a confrontation between their previous social experience and the new reality they face in the multiple contexts they access after emigrating. This makes them develop various adaptation processes which are constructed, deconstructed or reconstructed depending on their interaction with their new social spaces and the new obstacles they face. These processes are very recent, hence the need for new explanatory models allowing to recognise and explain them, which is the primary goal of this research.

2. Theoretical Framework

In order to explain how coming into contact with the host society transforms the perception and behaviour of young migrants, we followed the principles of the bidimensional models of acculturation, especially Berry's (1997) model. This model explains the acculturation process based on (1) whether the immigrants consider to be of value maintaining their cultural heritage in the new society, and (2) whether they consider the new cultural patterns so important as to adopt them. Thus, the positive or negative answer to those two independent dimensions gives four possible acculturation strategies: integration (maintain and adopt), assimilation (not maintaining but adopting), separation (maintaining but not adopting) and marginalisation (neither maintaining nor adopting). Besides, it is also worth mentioning the Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM; Navas & Rojas, 2010; Rania, Rebora, Migliorini, & Navas, 2019; Zarsa & Sobrino, 2007), which improves the scope of Berry's by considering that: (1) the acculturation process affects both the immigrants and the natives of the host society; (2) it depends on the country of origin; (3) it is influenced by psychosocial and sociodemographic variables; (4) it presents a real and an ideal plane of acculturation; and, most important of all, (5) there is no one single acculturation strategy, but they depend on the various domains in which the interaction takes place (family relationships, religious beliefs and customs, work relationships, etc.), so different options can be preferred and adopted at the same time.

Besides the aforementioned acculturation models, another extremely relevant concept for explaining the changes that young migrants' identities and perceptions undergo during their migration processes is that of transnational social spaces (Pries, 1998). Thus, based on this concept, the understanding of the migration process as a phenomenon leading migrants to a complete assim-

ilation and/or acculturation, is overcome. Said concept highlights that the migrants develop their perceptions in open, heterogeneous, hybrid spaces in which individual and group identities are composed of several segments such as local identity, ethnic identity, national identity, or cosmopolitan identity (Pries, 1998, p. 118).

3. Methodology

3.1. Participants

With the aim of understanding migration processes and the adaptation of young Spaniards that emigrated during the period 2010–2015, we carried out 41 in-depth interviews to young Spanish migrants whose ages ranged from 18 to 35. They all had university degrees and arrived their host countries during the period above mentioned (see Tables 1 and 2). Moreover, we established a discussion group. This way, we aimed at establishing a significant profile of young, qualified Spaniards living abroad, focusing more on the possession of a degree than on the job carried out, so we would not exclude such important profiles as the ones of the people that have lost social and financial status.

3.2. Procedure

The program Skype was used for the first 31 interviews, since the interviewees were living outside Spain (in Uzbekistan, United Kingdom, Switzerland, Japan, etc.). These interviews were recorded using Call Graph and transcribed word by word for later analysis. The 10 latter interviews (along with the discussion group) were done in person at the Alberto Hurtado University of Chile, in a room accommodated for that purpose, during a research stay carried out between March and June 2016. We made contact with the participants through some platforms for young emigrated Spaniards, such as Marea Granate. We used as well the so-called snowball sampling approach, in which we asked the interviewees to help us identifying other possible participants with characteristics which could be relevant for our research (Noy, 2008; Valles, 2003).

3.3. Data Analysis

We analysed the data using the Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), a method that offers several procedures very useful for ordering information and developing analytic categories which reveal the most relevant patterns in the data. We used the program Atlas.Ti6 for the creation and management of several codes to which we applied the constant comparative method, which consists in searching similarities and differences between the events within the data (Carrero, Soriano, & Trinidad, 2012). This way, we established three procedural categories which, like the RAEM (Navas & Rojas, 2010) and the concept of transnational social spaces developed by Pries (1998), allowed us to explain the changes that occurred in the perception and subjectivities of those young migrants: converted adaptation (exaltation of the 'here and now'), nostalgic adaptation (exaltation of the 'there and then') and cosmopolitan adaptation (in which the cultural patterns from their country of origin are mixed together with those of the new society). For more details on the explanatory power of this three-dimensional model, see Tables A1 and A2 in the Appendix.

4. Results

4.1. Construction of Young Migrants' Subjectivities

The vital spaces that young migrants perceive during the process of adapting to the host society are not static, but they are defined and redefined depending on the socio-cultural situations the migrants experience throughout the various stages of the migration cycle. This way, several ways of experiencing the migration processes take place, and the subjectivities are developed and modified depending on how the conflicts between the expectations the migrants cherish at the beginning and what they really experience later are resolved. Other factors are the socioeconomic status achieved, the language barrier, or how the host society sees them.

In this regard, their perception ranges from emphasising the present (converted adaptation) to emphasising the past (nostalgic adaptation), with a possible representation halfway between the past they lived in and the present they are living at the moment. The latter scenario could result either in the adoption of acculturation strategies where assimilation prevails or in the use of strategies with a mix of assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation. This is due to the emergence of several spaces linked to the migration process (communication with peer groups from their country of origin via the ICTs, connection with peer groups from their host country, relationship with the family, etc.), where the young emigrant may adopt various strategies and behaviours (and maybe reach a cosmopolitan adaptation).

4.2. Frustration and Pessimism within the Spanish Context: Emergence of Converted Subjectivities

Before setting off the migration process, young people were influenced in Spain by a context of pessimism marked by unemployment, political corruption and the lack of a future. Thus, this nefarious context fostered the development of converted subjectivities among them, a phobia of their home environment, characterised by a hatred for the Spanish society, which they identify to corruption, insecurity, frustration and uncertainty. This way, they see their space of origin as a 'no-place' for socially or professionally developing themselves. This makes them to establish the discourse that not setting off the migration process or coming back home would be a failure, a

Table 1. Profiles of the interviewees.

Gender	Age	Academic degree	Profession	Host country	Months abroad
Male	35	Mining Engineering	Sales manager	Uzbekistan	73
Female	31	Master of Pharmacy	Pharmacy manager	United Kingdom	49
Male	25	Civil Engineering	Construction manager	Switzerland	15
Female	29	Master of Art History	Researcher	Japan	25
Female	32	Master of Pedagogy	Language teacher	United Kingdom	36
Female	30	Market Research and Techniques	Business analyst	United Kingdom	32
Male	35	Master of Economic Sciences	Country manager	Uzbekistan	35
Female	26	Bachelor of Social Work	Dishwasher	United Kingdom	17
Male	31	Master of Pharmacy	Stockman	United Kingdom	25
Female	31	Master of Laws	Cook	Finland	35
Male	32	Bachelor of Business Sciences	Travel agent	Hungary	14
Female	28	Master of Sociology	Cake Shop saleswoman	United Kingdom	60
Female	25	Master of Anthropology	Cleaner	Germany	27
Female	27	Architecture	Architect	Austria	38
Male	28	Master of Philosophy	Cook	Finland	19
Male	27	Master of Economic Sciences	Accountant	United Kingdom	37
Female	35	Building Engineering	Building inspector	U.S.A.	24
Male	35	PhD in Biology	Researcher	Bolivia	14
Female	33	Industrial Engineering	Researcher	Germany	19
Female	25	Bachelor of Sociology	Cleaner	France	21
Male	34	Master of Political Sciences	Professor	France	37
Female	26	Bachelor of Pedagogy	Professor	Germany	36
Female	33	Master of Psychology	Human Resources manager	United Kingdom	26
Female	29	Master of Laws	Cleaner	Germany	48
Female	30	Master of Psychology	Researcher	United Kingdom	36
Female	32	Master of Sociology	Sociologist	United Kingdom	49
Male	29	Architecture	Professor	Finland	60
Male	35	Building Engineering	Construction manager	United Kingdom	38
Male	27	Bachelor of Social Work	Social worker	Germany	27
Male	35	Industrial Engineering	Project engineer	Germany	50
Male	31	Building Engineering	Architect	U.S.A.	38
Female	30	Master of Geology	Hydrogeologist	Chile	49
Male	29	Architecture	Project technician	Chile	27
Male	31	Bachelor of Social Work	Social worker	Chile	25
Female	29	Master of Psychology	Researcher	Chile	12
Female	32	Master of Sociology	Social worker	Chile	14
Male	27	Master of Economic Sciences	Entrepreneur	Chile	35
Female	29	Master of Geology	Geologist	Chile	40
Female	29	Master of Pedagogy	Professor	Chile	16
Male	30	Master of Sociology	Researcher	Chile	14
Male	31	Architecture	Project manager	Chile	22

Table 2. Profiles of the participants in the discussion group.

Gender	Age	Academic degree	Profession	Host country	Months abroad
Female	25	Master of Laws	Social assistance worker	Chile	14
Female	34	Master of Laws	Lawyer	Chile	25
Male	33	Master of History	Chief of social services	Chile	59
Female	29	Master of Geography	Social worker	Chile	34
Female	32	Master of Psychology	Professor	Chile	31
Male	30	Architecture	Construction manager	Chile	42
Male	28	Architecture	Professor	Chile	51

renunciation of the vital possibilities that, in their opinion, leaving the Spanish environment gives them, as explained by the emigrants themselves:

> I made the decision of leaving Spain because I was in a terrible psychological state, I was depressed, it was impossible for me to find a job and become independent. So, the idea of emigrating grew stronger, until I had no choice but to leave. (Graduate in Sociology, United Kingdom)

> The financial situation in Spain was awful for everybody, it was impossible to find a job, I realised I had no future, I was fed up, it was a very frustrating environment. (Graduate in Psychology, United Kingdom)

This subjectivity of repulsion towards the country of origin is common among young people even before they are determined to emigrate, and its emergence and later consolidation is due to the insecurity environment they interact with. As a result, the search for a stable vital project and becoming independent from the family by getting a stable job become the main factors for setting off the migration process:

> Every Spaniard I meet has a university degree, too, and they all have emigrated for the same reasons as I did: because, back in Spain, they were unable to find a job that fulfilled some minimum requirements to make a living. All of us want that, achieving some stability in our lives. (Graduate in Business Sciences, Hungary)

These migration factors are also strengthened by the expectations the migrants got in their society of origin, usually related to labour improvements such as better working conditions and higher salaries than those in Spain. Said expectations emerge in the collective imagination of young people through their interaction with other emigrants and the distorted information given by the mass media (Torres, 2014). Thus, the experience of other migrants, sometimes exaggerated as a defensive mechanism—in order to hide the loss of social status in the host country—and the insufficient information on the true conditions of migrants in their host countries shown by the media—with Germany and United Kingdom as archetypes of 'havens' for qualified young people—make the expectations put in the migration project to be very high:

> After reading the information given in some forums and watching Spanish television, I had a very good impression of Germany but, when you live here, you realise that it's not as good as they say. People think that it's easy to find a good job and make money fast, but it's just crazy coming here empty-handed just because of what you hear from outside. (Industrial engineer, Germany)

This way, the subjectivity acquired in the Spanish context makes young people to idealise the future even without a first-hand experience, making it a utopia and turning the present into a dystopia they must flee from.

4.3. Longing for the 'There and Then': From Converted to Nostalgic Subjectivities

Once the arrival in the host country takes place, the reconstruction process of the migrants' perceptions and subjectivities, as well as that of the discourses they are based on, begins. This way, a converted subjectivity may evolve to a nostalgic one as a result of young migrants coming into conflict with the new cultural and/or socio-economic circumstances they find in the host country. Thus, said circumstances, along with the more or less shocking experiences they entail, tend to make young people to perceive themselves as divided between two worlds: the original and the new one, full of obstacles and troubles. This often makes them to long for the environment of security inherent to the family and primary social ties that they lost when they left their country. This way, a nostalgic perception, in which the near past (the 'there and then') is emphasised as a way of protecting oneself from the adaptive stress produced by the arrival at a new society, is developed:

> Back in Spain, I had a very large group of friends. I miss my previous social life. Just after arriving here I was aware of all that I had left behind: friends, family….It's hard for me to live without them. Now, in retrospect, I see all that I have lost. (Civil engineer, Switzerland)

As explained by Trigo (2000), what happens here is that migrants, after experiencing the loss of the place left behind, tend to bond with the host society trying not to assimilate to it, but identifying themselves with the community of origin, which they idealise and begin to miss. This way, a profound alteration of the social and individual affinities of the young emigrants takes place, faced as they are with barriers such as social exclusion, the clash with the new culture, or not speaking the language. This usually means that, despite the distance, at the beginning of the migration process, in their minds they remain attached to their origins, which is why they try to create and reproduce, in their new environment, an immediate context similar to the one they felt forced to abandon:

> Here in Uzbekistan we have created a group of Spanish emigrants for doing cultural activities, having Spanish meals, watching movies, celebrating typical Spanish festivities….It truly helps us to feel at home and preserve our traditions, so that our children can know them. (Mining engineer, Uzbekistan)

As shown in that speech marked by nostalgic subjectivity, the young migrant tends to identify with other emigrated Spaniards who would conform to the endogroup.

The acculturation strategy is not to adopt the customs of the majority, host society, but to look for protection in that endogroup, in which they try to preserve Spanish traditions (they opt for the 'separation' acculturation strategy). According to Entrena-Durán (2012), it is a process within the symbolic-cultural dimension, in which young migrants tend to reproduce, in a new environment, the customs typical of the Spanish way of life, thus taking place a re-territorialisation of said customs.

One of the reasons that favour the development of these nostalgic subjectivities involving refuge among fellow emigrated Spaniards would be social marginalisation by the natives of the new society, which is frequently due to difficulties learning the new language:

I have felt rejected for being an immigrant, for example when I wanted to present a complaint in a shop. When they notice you speak in a different dialect, there's always the one that says, 'more and more Spaniards keep coming here, more foreigners, this is no longer what it used to be.' These situations make you think about a lot of things. (Graduated in Anthropology, Germany)

These obstacles are frequent at the beginning of the migration process and during the first stage of the adaptation to the new society, where the majority culture, through continuous contact, both directly and indirectly, causes changes in the original cultural patterns of young migrants (at the same time that the migrants influence the natives), thus setting off different acculturation strategies. The clash with these initial barriers will be essential in the reconstruction of the young emigrants' perceptions and, likewise, will condition the possible return to Spain.

4.4. Reinforcement of Nostalgic Subjectivities and Its Effect on the Possibility of Returning Home

All emigrants 'reinvent' themselves throughout the migration cycle depending on the circumstances surrounding their arrival, on the conflict between what they expected before leaving Spain and the context they actually found in their host countries, as well as on how they perceive said new context. This adaptation process is essential for the development of previous subjectivities and the possibility of returning home. There is a range of contextual factors affecting young migrants' perceptions and subjectivities that, unless they are overcome during the adaptation stage, may result in the development of a great exaltation of the past (nostalgic adaptation) and going back to Spain. Some factors worth mentioning are: getting an under-qualified job, thus suffering a decrease in social status; not succeeding in learning the language; problems adapting to the climatic conditions in the host country; or perceiving discrimination by the host society.

Working for a long period in an under-qualified, underpaid job means that the decision to emigrate has led to a degradation of status. This causes an internal grief derived from the conflict between the hopes they cherished before leaving Spain and what the migrant actually experiences in the host country, which in turn tends to increase nostalgic subjectivity and, therefore, the idealisation of the 'there and then' as a defensive mechanism against the frustration caused by the new environment.

Likewise, the language barrier, as we have previously discussed, is a great obstacle for social insertion due to the exclusion it causes. The process of adapting to the new society implies appropriate language skills, which help reducing the inclination towards nostalgic subjectivity and exaltation of the past, that is to say, it helps avoiding the tendency to construct a safe environment with primary links with an endogroup consisting basically of other emigrated Spaniards. Conversely, not overcoming the language barrier often entails a consolidation of nostalgic behaviours and discourses (nostalgic adaptation).

Another aspect hindering proper adaptation is climate, an element which is primarily noted by those that have emigrated to cold, cloudy environments such as Finland. Such climate may affect those migrants' emotional and psychological state, given that they come from the sunny environment of Spain:

Winter here is long and hard, and lots of people get depressed. Winter normally lasts for eight months of near absolute darkness; you may not see the sun for weeks, which is very hard; it affects you psychologically so much. (Graduate in Laws, Finland)

Finally, another of the main elements affecting the subjectivity of young emigrants (along with the quality of the work found and how it affects social status), is the image that the host country has of Spain. Thus, if that image is negative, it causes young migrants to have difficulties when it comes to perceiving and presenting themselves in the new environment (Goffman, 1959). The sum of these factors may lead to an extreme nostalgic subjectivity, which may in turn favour returning home, since this discourse mythicises the previous life in Spain, thus idealizing the possible return.

4.5. Maladjustment to the Society of Origin: Idealisation of the 'Here and Now' or Mutation to Cosmopolitan Subjectivity

The process of acceptance, confrontation and overcoming the obstacles typical of the first stages implied that the young people we interviewed experienced a maladjustment to their society of origin more easily. This entails an alteration in the cultural referents nurturing the subjectivity itself, which is restructured and relocated in the new migratory space. This process may reach its maximum level after the migrant has experienced a long stage (6 to 7 years) in the host country. This stage may lead to a high degree of disconnection with Spanish way of life and cultural patterns so much so that, when emi-

grants return occasionally, they use to feel confused and out of place:

> When I have returned to Spain, I have felt strange in my own country, as an immigrant, you know? I had a strange feeling and was all the time saying things like 'ow, I want to go home, people here speak so loud, why do I have to hear what my neighbours say?' I felt very German, you know? (Graduate in Anthropology, Germany)

In this process, something we have called 'cosmopolitan adaptation' in the present article, may develop. This is characterised by presenting a subjectivity that is formed not only by the origin-host belonging dichotomy, but also by the diverse spaces in which the emigrants' relational everyday life takes place (relationship with family and friends living in Spain via Internet, with other migrants, with compatriots, with natives of the host country, etc.). In this case, we would be before what the RAEM (Navas & Rojas, 2010) explains as the use of different acculturation strategies depending on the space in which the interaction takes place. This causes that, sometimes, migrants don't perceive themselves as belonging to just one place, but to multiple spaces:

> When you live in countries like United Kingdom, for example, all the friends you make over the years are from many other countries, with a lot of cultural variety, and you end up adapting to almost everyone. Then you influence those people and they influence you; your identity ends up becoming something global and cosmopolitan. (Graduate in Pedagogy, United Kingdom)

This way, a new subjectivity emerges, characterised by a deterritorialisation not only geographical, but also mental, and by the shaping of a new referential imaginary. According to that imaginary, the migrants see themselves as somewhat that simultaneously forms part of two realities: that of their country of origin and that of the new life scenario of the host country, which is perceived as more open and cosmopolitan, in that it has many different social spaces with which it is possible to identify (Appadurai, 1996; Tomlinson, 1999). This causes, with some frequency, a sense of perplexity and what may be considered an identity crisis:

> Sometimes you wonder where you really are from, and you realise that you are neither from one place nor another, and also that you don't know where you will be tomorrow. (Graduate in Philosophy, Finland)

This extract of an interview shows a sense of loss of roots, of not being linked in identity or culture to any specific place, of not having a definite space-time coordinate. This favours a situation very apt for the development of a sense of normative disorientation and/or a lack of solid behavioural references. However, when this feeling is successfully overcome, cosmopolitan behaviours and subjectivities are more reinforced. Another aspect of the migrant's subjectivity is 'short-term living,' something that is undoubtedly closely related to the fact that the migrant has abandoned the more or less stable and predictable daily social environment configured by his family and friends, as well as with the aforementioned feeling of lack of solid references that said abandonment has intensified:

> Nowadays there is no long-term future, I have learned to think in the short term. I will never know if I'm going to be here for two years, five years, ten years….I do not know. What I do know is that I don't want to stay in London my whole life, I know that for sure. (Graduate in Sociology, United Kingdom)

One cannot affirm that a long stage in the host country inevitably leads to this 'migrant subjectivity,' since certain aspects may favour a strategy of adaptation to the host society through an idealisation of the present, thus generating a more converse perception (phobia towards the origins). This may happen in those—generally scarce—cases in which, after having emigrated, there is a significant improvement in socioeconomic status, which means that some of the migrants affected by said improvement tend to set themselves apart from their situation of origin or that of their Spanish compatriots, upon noticing the worse socio-economic position of many of the latter in the host society:

> I've been here so long and I'm so British, I do not like to get along with Spaniards; they're lazy, they're content to be here washing dishes; that way it's hard to get where I have managed to be. (Graduate in Pharmacy, United Kingdom)

In this discourse an attitude similar to that of the 'syndrome of the new rich' (Veredas, 1999) is observed. That is, in those cases in which the emigrants achieve in the host country a social status in line with their level of education, a transformation in their system of values and their self-perception may occur, so that they may end up highlighting the qualities of the new social class to which they belong after their job advancement.

However, something both the converse subjectivity and what we have called cosmopolitan subjectivity share is that they have been configured after a long period living in the host society, which has favoured a process of maladjustment to the Spanish culture and has eliminated almost all possibility of return from the discourses constructed by migrants presenting one of those identities:

> There is a limit; the Spaniard who has consecutively spent more than six or seven years abroad, six years in a row, six or seven, for that Spaniard it's already difficult, that one Spaniard stays there; that's what

happened to me; you form a family and you have no choice but to stay. (Graduate in History, Chile)

Thus, confronting and overcoming the obstacles typical of the early stages of the migration process as well as the first cultural conflict after arriving in the host country entails a process of maladjustment to the way of life typical of the society of origin, which in turn use to make the migration a 'no-return' one.

5. Conclusion

During the migration process, young people confront various situations that affect their perceptions and adaptation strategies. The idea of emigrating emerges in an adverse context that hampers the development of a stable life project, a context in which youth emigration becomes part of the social imaginary as a way of escaping from the tragic effects of the economic crisis. Interactions with this scenario foster a subjectivity fuelled by a converted discourse (hatred for the Spanish environment), especially if someone lacks two elements essential for the transition to adult life: a life project of their own and a stable job as a means for carrying out said project. Thus, these two factors become the main elements that explain recent migrations of qualified people.

Subsequently, once the contact with the new culture takes place, said converted subjectivity begins to be reconstructed, mainly due to the loss of primary social referents and relationships (peer group, family) and to the difficulty to overcome migration obstacles (language barrier, cultural shock, discrimination, etc.). This prompts emigrants to redirect their perception towards nostalgia as a way of searching for a social environment similar to that left behind. Overcoming said migration obstacles will be key for the reconstruction of the subjectivities and the possible return. That way, failure would entail an extreme longing that would increase the possibility of returning home (nostalgic adaptation), whereas success would lead to a process of maladjustment to the way of life in the society of origin.

This process would begin after a long period living in the host society, which would cause a continuous maladjustment to Spanish culture, thus emerging an identity crisis due to having a lot of new social referents and spaces to identify with (attainment of the cosmopolitan and/or migrant subjectivity). In this stage, the subjectivity may be redefined depending on the social prestige achieved in the host society. Thus, obtaining a job in line with the emigrant's qualification (fulfilled migratory expectations) and with a high salary could favour converted adaptation as a defence of the new social position achieved and as a way of identifying with (or comparing to) the new culture. We cannot forget that these adaptation strategies and/or subjectivity redefinition are not typologies which remain constant through time, but they are constantly reconstructed because of the social interaction that takes place in the contexts typical of the migration process.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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![COGITATIO]

Appendix

Table A1. Young migrants' typology.

	Converted adaptation (focus on the 'here and now')	Nostalgic adaptation (focus on the 'there and then')	Cosmopolitan adaptation: Between two worlds
Discourses supporting the different subjectivities	Young people who assimilate the predominant culture of discomfort and frustration of the current Spanish context. They embrace the negative values of their discourses and take the social discomfort they perceive to an extreme	Young people halfway between two realities. Even though they are physically abroad, they are still psychologically rooted in their origins. They present a critical attitude towards the Spanish context although they don't channel it in the form of a phobia, but they show nostalgia for some aspects of the Spanish culture.	Young people living in the host country for a long time, which makes them feel between two realities. They show some tie to their country of origin, but feel uncomfortable when they return due to the maladjustment process they have undergone.
Modification of identity loyalties	They identify with the outgroup composed of the natives of the host country. They are distant to the ingroup of their original Spanish society. In their discourses, they try to see themselves as citizens of the host country.	They identify to the ingroup composed of other Spanish emigrants. It's a defence against the great obstacles they find when integrating themselves into the new society.	They use to identify to people from other countries who share some characteristics with them and face similar obstacles: young people with a high education level who have emigrated looking for jobs that match said education level.
Adaptation to host country	Their adaptation strategy is trying to avoid contact with other Spanish emigrants within their peer group while trying to quickly adapt to local customs.	They use to adopt a 'separation' acculturation strategy. Their peer group use to be composed of other Spanish emigrants. They try to keep and reproduce the Spanish customs within said group.	A hybrid and heterogeneous perception has been developed in their subjectivities, so they use to show some empathy for other cultures. Their peer group use to be composed of other Spanish emigrants, as well as of young people from other countries and from the host country.
Perception of the possible return	The idea of the no-return is present in the discourse of this group, since for them, going back to Spain is having failed in their intention of developing a stable life project in the host country.	For this group of young people, returning is essential, since they keep strong ties to their country of origin. They think of returning very frequently, although they use to postpone that project due mainly to the context of economic crisis that is affecting Spain.	This group does not see the return as something definitive. They have lived a long time outside their country of origin, so they are maladjusted to that way of life. Thus, when they return from time to time, they feel disoriented and don't find their own space.

Table A2. Modification of subjectivities throughout the different stages of the migration process.

Emergence of the migration discourse	Arrival to the host country: Dealing with migration barriers	Maladjustment to origin: reinforcement of converted subjectivity or mutation into hybrid subjectivity
Context		
The dishearting context of the Spanish society, marked by unemployment, job insecurity and political corruption, has lead young people to pessimism and frustration due to their inability to achieve stable life projects. This makes them to see emigrating as the way of escaping an adverse and hostile environment.	The initial clash with the host society makes young immigrants to feel between two worlds. Although they are not physically in Spain, they remain mentally attached to their spaces of origin. Thus, they try to find and reproduce an immediate environment similar to the one the left behind.	After a long stage in the host society (approximately 5–6 years), a process of maladjustment to the origins begins. This makes an inner conflict emerge in the heart of the immigrant. This may lead to a reinforcement of the converted attitude (not coming to terms with the past) or into a hybrid subjectivity (acceptance of all the times and spaces of the migration process). In both cases, a maladjustment to the Spanish way of life occurs.
Reconstruction of the migrants' subjectivities		
Young people develop a converted discourse (exaltation of the present). They feel phobia or hatred towards Spain since they perceive a lack of future and an inability to establish a stable life project. Moreover, expectations over the migration increase during this stage due to the distorted information given by the media and to conversations with other migrants.	In this case, young people redefine their converted attitude into nostalgic subjectivity. This is due to the emergence of obstacles typical of the first stages of the migration process (language barrier, cultural shock, feeling lonely). This causes a loss of the previous comfort zone, with family, constant social relations, and surely being aware of their vital spaces. All of this causes uncertainty for the modification of various social referents.	In this case, young people redefine their converted attitude into nostalgic subjectivity. This is due to the emergence of obstacles typical of the first stages of the migration process (language barrier, cultural shock, feeling lonely). This causes a loss of the previous comfort zone, with family, constant social relations, and surely being aware of their vital spaces. All of this causes uncertainty for the modification of various social referents.
Influence on the possible return to Spain		
During this stage of the migration process, young people see the return to Spain as failure in developing stable life project.	One of two possible scenarios may occur: either the development of extreme nostalgic subjectivity leading to returning to Spain, or successfully overcoming the migratory obstacles and starting the maladjustment to the society of origin.	During the last stage of the migration process, a definitive return to the homeland is not considered, due to the maladjustment to the Spanish way of life as well as to the emergence of key factors for the no-return, such as achieving a stable job, having a partner or starting a family.