

Return Intention Outcomes of Forced Migrants

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Abstract

Why do some forced migrants intend to remain in their new location, while others plan to return? The study is based on in-depth interviews and focus groups with forced migrants from South Asia in Greece in 2017 and collected 423 responses to open-ended questions from Ukrainian refugees in Germany in 2022. Through qualitative analysis and the aspiration-capability theoretical framework, the researchers identified the main return intention outcomes. They added to the analysis two main dimensions of coping with cultural trauma: place (direct or indirect return to origin-country or culture) and time (permanent or temporal). For Ukrainian refugees, return intention outcomes are defined by the image of their country of origin and the temporality of their status. For forced migrants from South Asia, returning intention outcomes are connected to risky and often illegal ways of reaching the EU, their asylum status, and their attempt to recreate their cultural practices in the destination country. Therefore, the findings of the study help develop an understanding of the study of forced migration under the agenda of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030 of the United Nations. It would encourage researchers, policymakers and academicians to further research in the area of forced migration and refugees.

Keywords: *Forced migration; Ukraine; Pakistan; Bangladesh; return intention*

1. Introduction

The European Union experienced a few waves of forced migrants. Those waves differ in origin and destination countries, social-demographic profiles, and macro and micro displacement factors. The main research question of the article is why some forced migrants intend to remain in the destination country. In contrast, others plan to transfer to another country or return to their origin. In this paper, we described two separate cases of forced migrants to the EU based on 12 in-depth interviews and 14 focus groups with forced migrants from South Asia (Pakistan, Bangladesh) conducted in 2017 in Athens and 423 qualitative responses from Ukrainian refugees gathered in 2022 in Germany to identify factors and outcomes of return intention.

Between February 2022 and 2024, about 1.3 million Ukrainians arrived in Germany under the special EU Temporary Protection Directive. This wave of forced migrants consists mostly of women and children. Such a large profile of refugees is due to restrictions from the Ukrainian side for men to leave the country and a 90-day visa-free policy to enter the EU (even before the war).

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Irregular migration from Pakistan and Bangladesh to Greece started in the 1970s because of political and economic instability in Bangladesh and Pakistan. A large number of Pakistan and Bangladesh migrants come to Greece irregularly, crossing either the Aegean or the borders in the North of Greece and applying for a status of asylum. In Greece, the ethnic network of undocumented Pakistan and Bangladesh plays a role of a pull factor for moving, finding jobs as well as providing socio-economic and psychological support. The majority of these forced migrants have any option to return to their origin- country but often have the intention to transfer to another country in Europe. The Profile of migrants from Pakistan and Bangladesh is male-dominated and dominated by young age groups (Broersma & Lazarescu, 2009).

We have no intention to compare those two cases but rather to show different perspectives on return intention. At the same time, we should mention that.

The aspiration-capability framework to analyze the return intention of forced migrants was presented and described: involuntary non-return, return, voluntary non-return, acquiescent non-return and temporary (not) return. The methodology of data collection, coding, and analysis was presented, followed by a discussion of the findings in two sections to discuss the findings in two sections. First, the Ukrainian case in Germany which is characterized by a strong intention to return, the temporality of legal status in the EU, and displacement, as well as a positive image and emotional engagement with the country of origin, needs further examination. Second, the Pakistan/Bangladesh case in Greece described no intention and no capability to return caused by illegal, often dangerous cross border, intention to transfer to another European country.

The theoretical and empirical model of the return intention of forced migrants within the aspiration-capability framework is described. The intention to return is tracked through connections to the country of origin: patriotism, home, empathy for the country and people, loss, desire to help the country, war experience (insecurity, uncertainty), and wish for a better life. The return intention is linked with the cultural trauma's coping and its two dimensions: place (direct return to the origin country or indirect by reconstructing cultural practices in the destination country) and time (permanent or temporary stay in the destination country).

Thus the contribution to the sociology of forced migration studies is made: the return intention was analyzed based on two separated and different cases of forced migration, that allows to indicate high connections with the country of origin and cultural trauma because of displacement, that transformed into different practices and ways of re-building those connections depended on will and capability to return as well as on place and time dimensions.

2. Return intention in terms of aspiration-capability framework

While there are papers (Gmelch, 1980; Cassarino, 2004; Hagan and Wassink, 2020; Adda *et. al.*, 2022), that intended to give theoretical and empirical overviews on return migration, the number of those who researched on return of forced migrants are limited.

Papers focused on the return decision of forced migrants are highly valuable and present a deep analysis of one of the most difficult aspects of the migration cycle. Voluntary return of forced migrants was in focus of Stefanovic research team and is related to integration factors (age, time, permanent job, and language knowledge), home factors (positive memories), social capital factors (trust in family, community activism, extent of community return) (Stefanovic 2015).



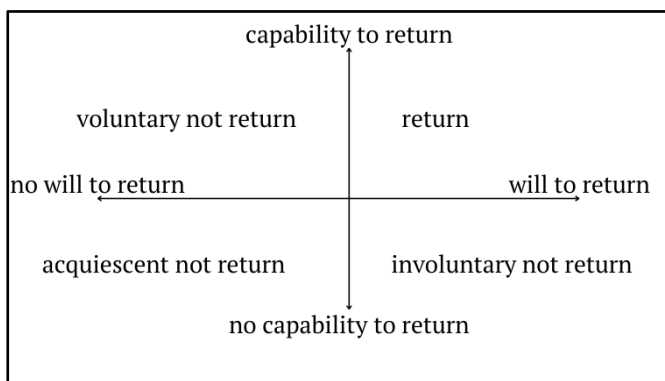
No-voluntary return is described in a study of rejected asylum seekers and argues that “such return can only become sustainable when returnees are provided with possibilities to become re-embedded in terms of economic, social network, and psychosocial dimensions” (Ruben et al. 2009). Researchers on forced displaced people in Bosnia named home, security, nationalism, social capital and socio-economic hypothesis to return (Metivier et al., 2018).

This research revealed the main factors of forced migrants’ return, but at the same time, there is still a gap in achieving a comprehensive understanding of return intention outcomes. The research focused on those who returned, while those who stayed remained outside the focus of the study. Thus the main difference in the presented article is that our research objects are forced migrants who stayed at the moment of research in their destination countries.

The ideal theoretical basis for such analysis is the aspiration-capability framework, where “Migration *aspirations* are a function of people’s general life aspirations and perceived geographical opportunity structures. Migration *capabilities* are contingent on positive (“freedom to”) and negative (“freedom from”) liberties” (De Haas, 2021).

Our two separate cases of forced migrants are intended to provide a comprehensive view of return intentions, as presented in our data findings, which are linked to home countries’ images and coping strategies with cultural trauma. In the discussion section, the framework outcomes will be described within empirical cases to give different perspectives on return intentions and suggest even more options than those four main (voluntary not return, return, acquiescent not return, involuntary not return)(Figure 1) by adding the dimensions of place and time (Figure 3).

Figure 1. Return intention in terms of aspiration-capability framework: main outcomes



Source: compiled by the authors on the basis of aspiration-capability framework (Haas)

There are already several research papers on Ukrainian refugees in Germany with a focus on war (im) mobility (Karimi and Byelikova, 2024), re-identification because of cultural trauma (Byelikova, 2024), detailed description of demographic, educational, linguistic, occupational, and social characteristics of Ukrainians in Germany (Brücker et al. 2023). At the same time because of the temporality of legal status, on the one hand, and war continuing, on the other hand, understanding the return intention of refugees has become a topical issue.

In the case of forced migration from Pakistan and Bangladesh to Greece, existing research papers are focused on the patterns of contemporary migration from Pakistan to Europe in terms of their legality or illegality (Yousef, 2013), the regulation of irregular migration and

asylum-seeking in Greece (Maroufof & Kouki, 2017), economic factors and wish for a better life (Taukeer, 2022), and the multidimensional precarity of Bangladeshi migrants living in Greece (Fratsea & Papadopoulos, 2021). One of the papers describes return migration as an integration failure (Bhattib & Ullahc, 2017). At the same time the object of that research was those who returned home, so, only one return outcome - volunteer return is explained, while others are in question, and to understand those we need to look at those who were at the moment of research staying in Greece.

3. Methodology

Argument and objective

Based on the above concise analysis of the related review of literature, the major argument of this research paper is based on trying in-depth analysis of the return intention of forced migrants and filling the gap of review of literature in the area of refugees' related study. Therefore, the objective of this research paper is focused on to find out the facts of the process, determinants and consequences of return intention of forced migrants in the case of Ukrainian and South Asian refugees in the perspective of retrospective to prospective manner of the study design.

Sampling and data collection technique

Our findings are based on 12 in-depth interviews and 14 focus groups with forced migrants from South Asia, specifically Pakistan and Bangladesh, conducted in 2017 in Athens, and 423 qualitative responses of Ukrainian refugees gathered in 2022 in Germany.

Those are two separate cases of forced migrants to the EU, and that is why we had no intention to compare them, instead to give different perspectives and complex understanding of different outcomes of the intention to return to the origin country. Additionally, we were interested in how return intention outcomes are connected with the image of the origin country and culture in coping with cultural trauma (because of movement).

Our principal investigator, who is of Indian background, used an ethnographic method to reach South Asian forced migrants with the help of snowball and accidental sampling until data saturation was achieved regarding the intentions of these migrants returning home. The primary data were collected through in-depth and focus group interviews among forced South Asian migrants in a Roti-Boti Pakistani restaurant, metro station, and parks at Omonia Square in Athens in August 2017. The primary data are analyzed by narratives, descriptions of their way to the EU, current life situation, and connections to the origin country, as well as the intention to return.

The case of Ukrainian refugees is described based on survey data collected by an investigator of Ukrainian background in Germany in June 2022, with a sample size of 423, using Google Forms, an online questionnaire tool. Invitations to participate were distributed through Ukrainian refugee groups on social networks- Telegram and Facebook. Telegram and Facebook are widely used communication platforms in Ukraine, and they also serve as hubs for refugees in Germany, with nearly every city having its own groups.

In the survey title and link, it was explicitly stated that the author did not gather any personal information and that participation was both anonymous and voluntary. The survey was conducted in Ukrainian, the language of the target audience. The questionnaire comprised



nine questions, including four measuring components of national identity; three describing respondents' profiles (gender, age, location); and two open-ended questions aimed at understanding the living circumstances of Ukrainian refugees in Germany.

The response rate to open-ended questions was unexpectedly high, with 99% of respondents texting their answers. In those open-ended answers, Ukraine was mentioned more than 100 times; which allows us to construct its image through the lenses of our respondents.

Table 1. Demographic description of participants in Greece and Germany

Destination Country	Origin country	Gender	Age	Family status
Greece	Pakistan,	female:10	under 25: 50	single/families with dependents
	Bangladesh	males : 140	26-45 : 60 over 46: 40	
Germany	Ukraine	female: 372	under 25: 80	single/families with dependents
		male: 47	26-45 : 279	
		other: 4	over 46: 64	

Data analysis technique

We analyzed both qualitative data gathered with in-depth interviews and focus groups, as well as open-ended survey data within the aspiration-capability framework presented in Figure 1. Below we describe these findings separately from the Ukrainian case and, the South Asian case, with a focus on different return intention outcomes. The aspiration capability framework provides a space to track different groups of forced migrants according to their intention to return.

The context of research is limited to the exact time and place; therefore, the data gathered in June 2022 in Germany and August 2017 in Greece reflects the situation for forced migrants at that moment. The longer FM stayed, the more the situation may have changed.

4. Result and Analysis

Intention to return: Ukrainian case

Within the aspiration-capability framework, we will describe macro and micro factors impacting the intention to return.

The main macro factors are 1) cross-border policy and 2) immigration policy. The cross-border policy between Ukraine and the EU is regulated by a visa-free agreement allowing 90 days of stay within 180 days. The profile of forced migrants, (90% are women and children) is caused by restrictions on the majority of men between 18 and 60 years old to leave the country.

Forced migrants from Ukraine in Germany received legal status under the Temporary Protection Directive and it currently is valid up to March 2025.

The main micro factors are capability and aspiration (will) to return. The capability to return for forced migrants is mostly defined by security reasons; at the same time, as the war has not ended, people try to find compromises with themselves between no capability and a strong will to return. By December 2023, according to the UN Refugee Agency (UN Refugee Agency, 2023), almost 4.5 million have already returned to their usual residences both from abroad and internal displacement. This decision could be connected to individual capacities

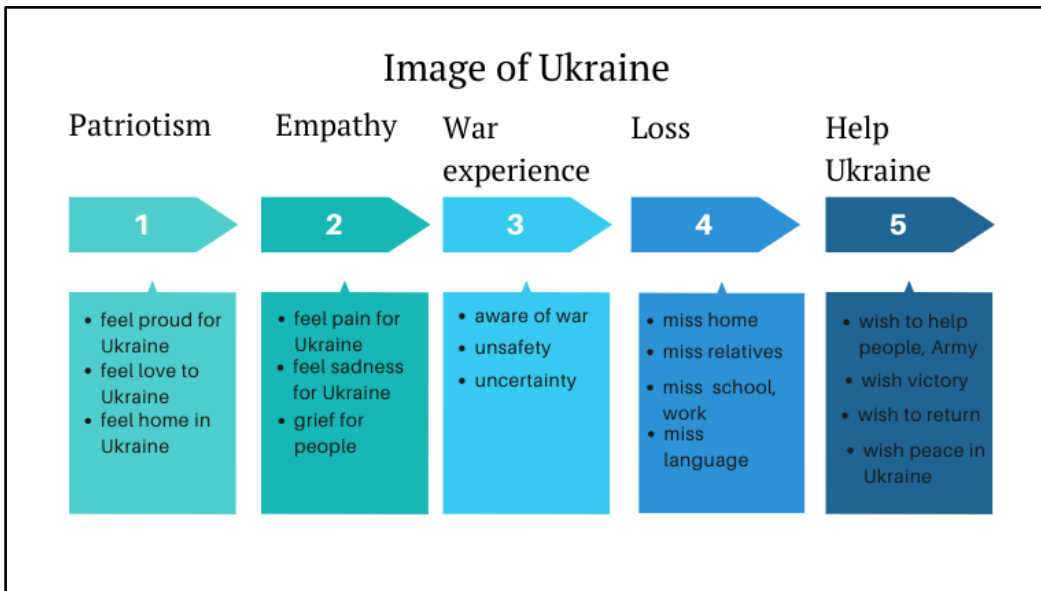
(age, gender, language knowledge, education/work), family capacities (family reunion, children), and structural capacities (secure enough).

Strong will to return is visible in respondents' answers and connected to emotional links with Ukraine, which leads to our decision to study the image of Ukraine to understand return intention.

The survey's responses that include the word "Ukraine" were analyzed using the MAXQDA software, manually coded the qualitative answers following a grounded-theory approach to content analysis. The goal was to construct the image of the home country, Ukraine, accordingly.

Figure 2. Shows main components that emerged from data analysis

Figure 2. Main components of Image of Ukraine emerged from respondent's answers to open-ended questions



Source: compiled on the basis of own research

As reflected in Figure 1, one of the main components of "Ukraine" Image is patriotism which is visible as a pride for the country, sense of belonging and strong emotional attachment such as love, as well as feeling home.

Answers that help to understand patriotism:

"I love Ukraine very much. I want to go home".

"It is so hard to be away from Ukraine and feel pain for it."

"Understanding that Ukraine is the best country and we are not there".

"Understanding that I am no longer in my native Ukraine".

"I feel pride in our land and people, and I really miss my homeland."



Empathy is traced through sharing pain and sadness with the country and feeling grief for all Ukrainians who lost their home, relatives, and before-war lives.

Several answers from respondents that illustrate empathy:

“News and information about crimes in Ukraine. Being far from home, not having the ability to protect loved ones, and understanding that people die every day can be overwhelming experiences. Children are left without parents and a home. It hurts deeply to see all this and understand what it is. I don’t feel close to Europe because, by all my criteria, Ukraine is better; it is calmer and more convenient to live there. Worry for relatives and friends in Ukraine”.

“I am feeling anxiety for Ukraine, for those who stayed there. And the fact that I can’t change anything”.

“To live outside of Ukraine and not empathize with our land in its sorrow. Worrying about the situation in Ukraine”.

“Anxiety for the homeland, yearning for Ukraine, for the native city, pain”.

War experience is often mentioned in the answers and is one of the strongest associations with Ukraine. It is connected with insecurity and uncertainty.

Answers that illustrate the war experience of Ukrainians:

“I feel the inability to return home at any moment because my everyday life there is under threat. The realization is that abroad, people live as if there is no war. They are foreigners who couldn’t care less about the war, Ukraine, or the fate of human lives. The impossibility of embracing my loved ones. My psychological state is extremely fragile and unstable, varying greatly even within a single day”.

“Uncertainty in Ukraine. Uncertainty about returning to Ukraine or making every effort to stay abroad”.

For many refugees, mentions of Ukraine are related to different types of loss: missing home and relatives, missing daily routines such as hobbies, favorite job, school, activities, life before the war, native culture (language, way of communicating with people, familiar environment) and many others.

Respondents mentioned in their answers different kinds of loss:

“Loneliness, certain health issues, absence of physical presence of loved ones, lack of Ukrainian-speaking communication in everyday life, constant fear for relatives, as my city holds the defense of the entire south of Ukraine and it’s very dangerous and intense there”.

“I feel sorrow for the current situation in Ukraine. I had to give up everything that I felt and had in Ukraine. I had my business, my life was active, and fulfilled, but now it just exists”.

“Feeling unprotected, they were left without friends and part of the family in Ukraine. Not all people in Europe are welcoming to migrants. And it’s very painful to lose a job and not be able to provide myself with my favorite job, so I feel extremely vulnerable”.

“To realize that I have nowhere to return home to Ukraine...My relatives, friends, and colleagues are under fire, and I can’t help them. A feeling of “zeroing out”, loss of one’s own life, dreams, plans, future...”

“I miss the native language my soul remains in Ukraine. It is extremely hard to accept this: the feeling that you made a mistake coming here, the thoughts that all your close ones stayed in Ukraine (family is generally in the occupied territory), and the desire to return to your native city (born in one city, but Kharkiv became

native for the soul). It's difficult because the mentality is different here, you feel like a stranger... very sad and painful, but you have a deep belief that you will return soon".

The Help Ukraine topic reflects the desire to help the country's people through donations; volunteer help, organizing humanitarian aid, and purchase of military equipment, uniforms, and cars. This help is seen as a step to achieve victory in the war, to let Ukrainians return to their country and live in peace.

Answers that help to understand the Help Ukraine topic:

"I am focused on the thought of how to return to Ukraine, how to do something worthwhile for Ukraine".

"I want to convey that they understand that I didn't come here for their social system and that I want to live at home in a free peaceful Ukraine. I hope for the better, that this cruel war will soon end, and upon returning home, I wish all the residents of Ukraine will no longer hear sirens, there will be peace, calm, and joy".

Victory of Ukraine! My return home. Search for effective ways to help Ukraine from abroad"

"The thought that you are not in Ukraine and cannot help is troubling. Find a way to provide help to relatives and friends who remain in the occupied territories (e.g., Kherson). Despite the provision of large humanitarian aid, there is still a sense of guilt".

The conducted analysis of the Ukrainian Refugees case shows:

- i. There is a strong connection between the image of the country of origin, Ukraine, and the intention to return. Patriotism, empathy (to homeland and people) and loss form powerful emotional connections.
- ii. The majority of Ukrainian refugees consider their stay in Germany temporary. At the same time, we can assume that a longer stay and integration into local communities could influence the formation of new emotional ties to the destination country and, accordingly, could influence the return decision, especially for the youngest refugees.
- iii. Ukrainians living abroad remain Ukrainians and are a powerful resource to help Ukraine.

How does that intention to return change or not change with time? According to the latest representative UNDP data gathered in January-February 2024 (UNDP, 2024), the majority of Ukrainian refugees still plan to return: 6% plan to return within the next 12 months, 59% hope to return one day, 24% are undecided about returning in the future, and 11% have no plans to return.

Such a big intention to return even after two years of being abroad, first of all, is related to the intention of family reunion (majority of refugee women (77 %) fled to Germany without a partner, 48 % with minor children, and 12 % with a partner and minor children - Brucker, 2023). Other intentions push factors to return are age (older people are less likely to stay - Brucker 2023), the temporality of legal status, and complexities with integration. Patriotism, home, and social capital could be added to pull factors.

Forced migrants from South Asia on return to home: knock to closed door

Based on the collected data from interviews and focus groups, we will aim to describe our respondents from Pakistan and Bangladesh. It is observed that the process of undocumented



forced migration from South Asian countries to Greece was led by push and pulls factors where the push factors were associated with the problems of socio-economic and political instability in South Asia while the pull factors were associated with “glamour” of life in European countries and opportunities of good-paid jobs. Usually, their way from Pakistan and Bangladesh to Greece was organized with the help of a human trafficking network and these migrants used to pay from \$ 15,000 to 25,000 for migration from Pakistan to Greece via the border of Iran and Turkey.

These migrants were mentally and physically harassed by the human trafficking network in which agents demanded extra fees for their support in the process of crossing the border of Turkey and Greece. They faced significant pain and humiliation throughout the entire Donki/Donkey route of migration. They reached their unidentified destination in Greece, completing three to four long journeys of migration across the “barbed wire” on international borders: first between Bangladesh and India, then India and Pakistan, Pakistan and Iran, Iran and Turkey, and finally Turkey and Greece.

Therefore, the nature of undocumented forced migration from Pakistan and Bangladesh was one-way migration where there was no option to return to home, but at the same time regarding possibility to transfer to another European country.

Our respondents mentioned that they had no thoughts about returning to their country of origin because they were satisfied with their status as asylum seekers under the provisions of UNHCR in European countries. Some typical cases of forced migrants from Pakistan/Bangladesh in Greece were identified during the research.

Amjad (all names are changed) and his friends consider that returning to their country of origin is unlikely to occur. He is a 34-year-old man from Pakistan who illegally migrated to Greece with the help of a human trafficking network and paid \$15,000 to the agent. He also said that he faced socio-economic hurdles and psychological panic during the entire three-month-long journey of illegal migration. He and his friends were humiliated and harassed by human trafficking agents in every stage of migration. Furthermore, they were trapped in undocumented migration without documents, it is impossible to identify them, and the procedure for receiving asylum status is long.

Mohammed is a 39-year-old undocumented forced migrant from Bangladesh. He said that he migrated as a group of 15 forced migrants with hopes for a better life in European countries. He paid \$20,000 to agents of the human trafficking network for undocumented migration from Bangladesh through India, Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey, to Greece. He also said that he was granted asylum in Greece and worked as a manual labourer in the cotton textile industry in Athens. Mohammed was satisfied with his socio-economic status because he earned 50 Euros per day in Athens. He was not interested in returning to Bangladesh because, in his view, such a return could never occur in reality. He used to think only about establishing himself in Europe for a better individual life, leaving behind family members in their village in Bangladesh whom he supported with money.

Shiraz is a 42-year-old undocumented migrant from Bangladesh who was unemployed in Athens. He said that he worked as a taxi driver in Saudi Arabia, but Kafeel, the sponsor, mentally and physically harassed Shiraz, retained his passport and withheld his salary. Therefore, Shiraz found himself in a very precarious condition, but he did not submit a case in labour court against his Kafeel because he was trapped in the network of human trafficking

agents in Saudi Arabia. He said that a human trafficking agent gave him a proposal for illegal migration toward European countries through Donkey routes of migration. Shiraz paid \$20,000 to human trafficking agents to facilitate illegal migration from Saudi Arabia to Greece via the border of Iran and Turkey. His journey takes two and a half months, trudging through forests, deserts, and valleys, riding on containers, and migrating by boat in rivers and seas. Shiraz was arrested by Greek police for illegal entry into Greece and jailed for three years. Shiraz submitted a file seeking the status of asylum and regarding living in an asylum camp in Athens. He could never return to Bangladesh because he failed to prove his national identity to the immigration authority of Greece. Shiraz and his friends were looking for a way to migrate to Britain due to better economic conditions compared to Greece,

Based on the research data, it should be mentioned that the view of asylum migrants was quite positive about their status in Athens, also they did not think about returning to their country because of the illegal and dangerous way to the EU, poor economic conditions in home, in such circumstances return is seen as a failure. Thus, the process of forced migration from Pakistan/Bangladesh is usually a one-way migration with no hope of looking back.

Conducted analysis of the Pakistan/Bangladesh forced migrants case shows:

- i. Undocumented forced migrants from Pakistan/Bangladesh in Greece moved for a better life by applying for asylum status. Their way to the EU was dangerous and illegal, full of socio-economic and psychological challenges.
- ii. They declared no intention of returning to their country of origin due to a strong desire for a better life in Europe (as a possibility for themselves and their families in Pakistan/Bangladesh), legal barriers, and psychological barriers where returning will be seen as a failure.
- iii. Mentioned the wish to transfer to another European country in search of better living conditions and work opportunities.

5. Discussion

What are the factors that influence return intention outcomes under forced migration conditions? Based on 423 responses from Ukrainian refugees and 150 Pakistan and Bangladesh refugees in Germany and Greece, we find that the image and culture of the origin countries, as well as the individual's capability, will combine to produce different return intention outcomes. Figure 3 presents our empirical findings based on the aspirations-capabilities framework.



Table 2. Return intentions of forced migrants from Ukraine and Pakistan/Bangladesh

	Ukrainian case in Germany	Pakistan/Bangladesh case in Greece
macro factors: 1)cross border policy 2)immigration policy	1)visa-free (90 days) entrance, direct borders with Poland, Moldova, Slovakia, Romania, Hungary, Russia, Belarus. Limitation to leave for certain military obligated groups. 2) temporality of legal status	1)illegal, often dangerous cross border 2) asylum seekers
capability to return	individual capacities (age, gender, language knowledge, education/work, family reunion, children)	individual capacities (no possibility about return to their families in because of unidentified geo-nation identity in Greece and psychological reason- fear of failure)
will to return (connection to origin-country)	image of origin- country (patriotism, home, empathy to country and people, loss, help Ukraine), war experience (unsafety, uncertainty)	help to origin- country (to family members who stayed there), unsafe experiences about home
return intentions outcomes	-involuntary not return (most common) -return -voluntary not return -acquiescent not return +temporary (not) return	-acquiescent not return (most common) -temporary settlement in Greece with hopes of forward migration in another European country for better life
return intention and coping with cultural trauma: two dimensions	1)place: <i>direct</i> (return to origin- culture)/ indirect (reconstruction of origin culture abroad) 2) time: permanent/ <i>temporal</i>	1)place: direct (return to origin culture)/ <i>indirect</i> (reconstruction of origin culture abroad) 2) time: <i>permanent/ temporal</i>

Within the aspirations-capabilities framework 4 main return intention outcomes are possible: voluntary no return, return, acquiescent not return, involuntary not return. Analysing the case, we added one more option - a temporary (not) return that is needed to reflect such options as: 1) a temporary stay caused by the temporal legal status of Ukrainians in the EU, 2) a temporary return to the origin country (which is unusual and uncommon for previously forced migrants), but possible because of the entrance policy to the EU for Ukrainians. According to the transnational approach to migration, people prepare for their future return to origin countries by making periodical and regular visits to stay connected with their communities and families (Cassarino, 2004).

Let's examine these outcomes in detail.

Majority of Ukrainian cases could be described as *involuntary not return* -

That means people consider they cannot return because of war and its consequences, such as lack of safety, loss of a house, occupation of the city etc. At the same time, people have a strong will to return when the situation normalizes and the war ends. Such feelings of being forced to live in a place you were not planning to live and having no clarity of how long it will take lead to uncertainty, unclarity, and complicated emotional state.

Some people decide to return and take all those risks of insecurity, daily alarms, and attacks. Such decisions reflect a priority to living their lives in their home, with their families, friends, and jobs. They are connected to individual situations and readiness to take risks. Return to Ukraine could be permanent, conditional, or temporary. The term 'conditional' refers to

people choosing priorities to stay or leave - for example, returning to a certain region they consider less safe, or the possibility of moving again if the situation becomes worse.

Separate case - *temporal visits*. Such visits could be dictated by legal necessities: the death of relatives or juridical cases requiring presence; emotional necessities to see spouses or to let children see their father; and care responsibilities: taking care of elderly parents or relatives after operations or due to old age. In Ukraine, mostly women are taking care of dependents.

Some people, usually well-integrated, made the decision not to return voluntarily. In such cases, they have often received other legal statuses, such as a blue card or working/student visa, and they are no longer refugees. It can be assumed, that this is more common among men who don't want to return to Ukraine because of the obligation to fight.

Finally, some people lack both the will and the capability to return: this characterizes acquiescence in not returning. No will to return is quite rare among Ukrainian refugees, and could be caused by diverse reasons - from the absence of patriotism to material reasons such as - having no place to return, loss of everything and that is why decision to build a new life elsewhere.

The majority of Pakistan/Bangladesh cases could be described as *acquiescent not returning* because of the absence of both will and capabilities to return. Their no capability to return caused by the unidentified geo-nation identity and illegal way to Greece. Their unwillingness to return is connected to a wish for a better life in Europe, where returning will be seen as a failure of their expectations.

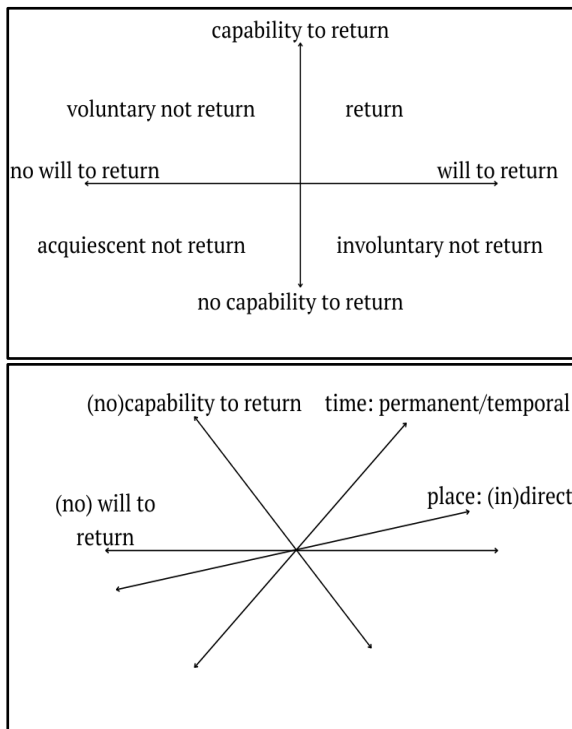
In addition, it has been found that there is a significant presence of South Asian migrants in Greece.

It is observed that they developed their South Asian culture in Athens through diversified linguistic and dialectic patterns like Urdu (Pakistan) and Bangla (Bangladesh), every day practices like South Asian cuisines, restaurants, music, movies, and digital news channels. These consequences minimized the psychological distance between Greece and South Asia and developed a form of emotional attachment with South Asia in the environment of Greece. Therefore, forced migrants express their intention not to return home through an indirect return to their own culture built in Athens.

Forced migrants, no matter their exact return intention outcome, forced migrants experienced double cultural trauma, because of war and moving abroad. "The process of moving abroad is accompanied by disruption of habitual social connections and causes restoration of those connections" (Byelikova&Lisitsa, 2003). Return intention is a common reaction of forced migrants to cultural trauma, (consequence of forced displacement) as a way of normalising and returning to the culture of the country of origin.



Figure 3. Aspirations-capabilities framework (left side) with the addition of place and time dimensions (right side)



Connection to origin-country and origin-culture usually is very strong in both Ukrainian and Pakistan/Bangladesh cases, but because of temporary or permanent inability to return people created different coping strategies with cultural trauma depending on main dimensions: place and time.

Place dimension has two main possibilities: direct (return to origin culture via returning to the origin country) and indirect (reconstruction of origin culture abroad). This indirect way is a very popular strategy to rebuild and experience everyday cultural practices such as national food and clothes, communication spaces like cafes and restaurants, and music, language, and traditions within diaspora, or other communities.

The time dimension also has two main possibilities: permanent (permanent stay and permanent return both give the feeling of clarity and certainty) and temporal (temporal stay or temporal return both lead to uncertainty, unclearness, and hard planning).

Temporality gives a new focus on forced migrants coping strategies. Ukrainian refugees are the first to receive temporary protection. This temporality, on the one hand, maintains an internal readiness to return; on the other hand, it influences their current life and complicates the integration processes. This is due to a lack of motivation: if they do not stay here, why make a great effort to learn the language, find a job, and so on?

A lot of Pakistan/Bangladesh forced migrants, also consider their stay in Greece temporary because they intend to move to another European country.

Further research could study the dynamics of return intention with time spent in destination countries, as well as intention to change destination countries.

Concluding remarks and recommended policies

Based on the above result and discussion part, it can be concluded that there is an emerging scenario of the political crisis of forced migration of Ukrainians from Ukraine to Germany and South Asia (Pakistan and Bangladesh) to Greece in the context of the political and economic function of forced migration. Therefore, it can be also realized that the function of both types of migration is reciprocally connected in the framework of refugees-related policies of the EU. In these consequences, it can be also concluded that the Ukrainian case of return intention was so positive among Ukrainian refugees compared to the negative aspect of return intention among South Asian refugees because South Asian refugees did not have any option to return to their homeland instead of forward migration within the boundary of EU. In the case of the return intention of Ukrainian refugees, Ukrainian refugees showed their desire to return to Ukraine with hopes of sustaining compared to the struggle of the existence of South Asian refugees in Europe. Therefore, it can be recommended that there is a need to conduct a depth study about refugee-related study in the framework of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030 of the United Nations for better enhancement of human rights issues of refugees on a global level.

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