REMINDER

ROLE OF EUROPEAN MOBILITY AND ITS IMPACTS
IN NARRATIVES, DEBATES AND EU REFORMS

Evidence of the Determinants of Migration in the EU

WORKING PAPER

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1. Introduction

Free movement is central to the European project, and is arguably the aspect of the European Union that has stimulated the fiercest public and policy debate in in recent years. However, in spite of the visibility of intra-EU migration in public and media narratives, current understandings of why people migrate within the EU are extremely limited. Existing data sources allow insights into the patterns and dynamics of migration between Member States, but this data is not able to explain why people make the migration decisions that lead to the observed trends.[1] As highlighted in a recent review of the literature prepared in the context of the REMINDER project,[2] where studies of the motives underlying contemporary intra-EU migration do exist, they have given disproportionate attention to migration for work. Moreover, existing evidence has focussed mainly on the movements of EU nationals from East to West, from new member states towards EU-15 countries. More recent empirical investigation which has sought to highlight other drivers and types of intra-EU movement have focussed on specific populations and destination countries, with little indication of the wider relevance of such trends. Furthermore, intra-EU mobility has tended to be regarded as the singular movements of EU-nationals – more complex return and onwards mobility, and particularly the secondary movements of third country nationals to other Member States, have so far received little attention.

Given the centrality of intra-EU mobility within policy and to public conceptions of the European Union, there is therefore an urgent need to understand better what drives contemporary flows of intra-EU migrants, and how intra-EU mobility decision-making and trajectories are shaped. Taking as its point of departure the "classic" reasons for migration that dominate current understandings of intra-EU migration – for work, family, education and asylum – this research takes a broad view of mobility across the EU, drawing on in-depth focus group, interview and survey data from different "types" of migrant, collected in five key destination countries (the UK, Spain, Italy, Germany and Sweden). The use of a

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[1] Marchand, K., Fajth, V., Strain, Z., Mahe, C., and Siegel, M. (forthcoming). Patterns of migration in the European Union. Paper prepared as part of the REMINDER project (Deliverable D2.3)

[2] Strey, A., Fajth, V., Mortimer-Dubow, T., and Siegel, M. (2018). Determinants of migration flows in the EU. Paper prepared as part of the REMINDER project (Deliverable D3.1), available at https://www.reminder-project.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/D-3.1-Submitted_28Feb2018_with-cover.pdf

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mixed methods, cross-country comparative perspective, and broad focus across different migrant groups allows this working paper to make an important contribution as one of the first studies to grasp the multiple and diverse factors that motivate mobility flows around the EU.

The study finds that there is rarely one clear "determinant" of an individual's intra-EU migration decision. Motivations for migration and for the choice of destination country are complex and highly interrelated, and individual decisions are often based on a unique combination of factors that may be difficult to separate out and analyse in isolation from one another. The research unpacks what migration for work, study, family and security means in reality for contemporary intra-EU migrants, and explores the relevance of less well understood factors such as lifestyle preferences, political and social dissatisfaction, welfare system advantages, and self-knowledge and personal development. Finally, the research provides valuable insights into the factors that shape the further mobility, and transitions between mobility and immobility, of both EU and non-EU born migrants, showing how decision-making processes and mobility trajectories differ across groups.

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2. Methodology

The data collected for this study came from a mix of focus group discussions, interviews, and surveys, conducted in the five major destination countries (the UK, Spain, Italy, Germany and Sweden) in 2018. The population of interest was defined as individuals who had migrated to one of the five EU destination countries from another country (either EU or non-EU) within the last ten years, in order to represent contemporary trends. Participants should have been at least 18 years old upon arrival in the respective country, in order to exclude those individuals whose mobility was primarily determined by their parents or guardians.

The in-person collection of data (from interviewees and focus group participants) was conducted in a number of cities with large immigrant populations in these five countries (London, Madrid, Barcelona, Stockholm, Utrecht, Berlin [and surroundings], Aachen), where members of the research team were most easily able to reach different migrant groups. In each of the locations, a purposive sampling strategy was used in order to recruit research participants whose migration backgrounds represented a range of EU and non-EU countries of origin, a diverse set of migration motivations, as well as demographic characteristics such as skill level and gender. A total of 42 focus groups were conducted, providing data on 248 research participants. In addition, 53 interviews with migrants were conducted. The majority of focus group participants and interviewees were also asked to fill in a short survey about their migration histories, in order to allow for some supplementary quantitative analysis on the motivations that drive intra-EU mobility among different groups. The survey was also conducted in these target countries not only with focus group and interview participants but also with other people during the qualitative recruitment processes, to gain a larger sample.

A note on definitions

In the present study, we distinguish between migrants from EU and non-EU countries of origin. In the large majority of cases, the country of origin is the country in which a research participant was born. A small number of research participants were born in one country but taken to another country as babies. In these cases, their country of origin was identified as

the country in which the research participant spent their childhood, as it was clear from the focus group discussions and interviews that the research participants identified more strongly with these countries as their "origins".

For convenience and ease of reading, when distinctions are made between EU and non-EU countries, we include the additional member countries of the European Economic Area (EEA) and Switzerland in the EU group, given that citizens of Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland enjoy the same rights to freedom of movement as EU nationals.

In order to explore potential differences between the mobility decision-making of migrants with different skill levels, we define high-skilled migrants as those who have completed tertiary-level education (although we recognize that this definition is not without its drawbacks)[3].

2.1 Qualitative data

The focus group discussions were semi-structured, guided by a list of questions relating to participants' past migration decisions, current migration experience, and future mobility decisions. The group-based format allowed participants to consider and articulate their personal experiences and decision-making in relation to that of others, which helped to capture the diversity, and relative importance, of different motivating factors.

Given the lack of sampling frame, the recruitment of participants was necessarily purposive; it often relied on convenience and snowball methods. The research team's social and professional networks were mobilised to reach out to and invite eligible individuals to participate in interviews and focus groups, who then invited their own friends and acquaintances to participate. Where the research team lacked personal contacts in the country in which fieldwork was conducted, or wanted to reach specific target groups, they relied on cold calling and emailing groups such as: NGOs, charities and migrant associations; language schools; companies and organisations with a high proportion of international staff; university departments and student unions at universities with a high proportion of international staff or students; and embassies and cultural heritage houses. The research

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[3] See for example, Skeldon, R. (2018). High-Skilled Migration and the Limits of Migration Policies. In M. Czaika (Ed.) *High-Skilled Migration: Drivers and Policies* (pp. 48-64). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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team also posted information about the project on social media platforms such as Facebook, and made in-person visits to locations including the offices of organisations such as those listed above, and to libraries, restaurants, and cafes in neighbourhoods with a high concentration of immigrant groups.

Ultimately, this strategy met with a very low response rate – the recipients of the research team's emails and calls often did not reply, or replied to say that they were unable or uninterested in helping with the research. Typically, successful recruitment of participants relied on making contact with particular individuals who were highly motivated to contribute to the research. The research team conducted interviews in addition to the focus groups, because this was often a way to more easily reach a wider range of potential participants. Because many of these interviews were conducted remotely (via Skype or telephone), it was also possible to include in the sample a small number of research participants who had previously migrated to one or more of the five key destination countries, but who, at the time of the interview, were living elsewhere. An overview of the characteristics of qualitative research participants is presented in Table 1, and a more detailed overview of participants' countries of origin can be found in the Appendix (Figures 12 and 13).

Qualitative data collected through focus group discussions and interviews was analysed using Atlas.Ti software. Data was coded according to a coding framework that was developed deductively based on the team's previous literature review,[4] and then revised iteratively, based on an inductive thematic analysis.

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[4] Strey et al. (2018).

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Table 1. Qualitative sample by skill level, gender, country of origin, nationality, and most recent migration

		Germany	Italy	Spain	Sweden	UK	Total
Skill level	(Low-) skilled	4	9	14	5	35	67
	%	*11.76*	*12.33*	*30.43*	*9.8*	*36.08*	*22.26*
	High-skilled	30	54	30	45	61	220
	%	*88.24*	*73.97*	*65.22*	*88.24*	*62.89*	*73.09*
	Unknown	0	10	2	1	1	14
	%		*13.70*	*4.35*	*1.96*	*1.03*	*4.65*
Gender	Female	21	47	19	38	67	192
	%	*61.76*	*64.38*	*41.30*	*74.51*	*69.07*	*63.79*
	Male	13	26	27	13	30	109
	%	*38.24*	*35.62*	*58.70*	*25.49*	*30.93*	*36.21*
Country of origin	EU	13	17	13	20	38	101
	%	*38.24*	*23.29*	*28.26*	*39.22*	*39.18*	*33.55*
	Non-EU	21	56	33	31	59	200
	%	*61.76*	*76.71*	*71.74*	*60.78*	*60.82*	*66.45*
EU nationality	EU nationality	22	30	21	28	62	163
	%	*64.71*	*41.10*	*45.65*	*54.9*	*63.92*	*54.15*
	No EU nationality	12	33	15	23	32	115
	%	*35.29*	*45.21*	*32.61*	*45.10*	*32.99*	*38.21*
	Unknown	0	10	10	0	3	23
	%		13.7	21.74		3.09	7.64
Intra-EU migrant	From within EU	20	25	13	27	56	141
	%	*58.82*	*34.25*	*28.26*	*52.94*	*57.73*	*46.84*
	From outside EU	14	47	33	24	41	159
	%	*41.18*	*64.38*	*71.74*	*47.06*	*42.27*	*52.82*
	Unknown	0	1	0	0	**0**	1
	%		*1.37*				*0.33*
	Total	34	73	46	51	97	301
	%	*100.00*	*100.00*	*100.00*	*100.00*	*100.00*	*100.00*

Note: In the context of focus groups and interviews, in which discussions were less rigidly structured, it was sometimes necessary to make some assmptions about participants' skill level and whether or not they had EU nationality, based on their accounts of their migration and educational/occupational backgrounds. In the case of qualitative research participants, who gave more detailed accounts of their migration histories, intra-EU migrants were counted as those who had moved between EU countries at any point in their lives, rather than just in their most recent migration.

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2.2 Quantitative data

The survey was developed based on the review of the literature on the determinants of migration within the EU conducted within the framework of the REMINDER project.[5] Like the focus group and interview topic guide, it was structured around respondents' i) demographic information; ii) history of previous migrations; iii) motives for their current migration; and iv) future migration intentions.

The survey was distributed both online and in-person, between May and November 2018. The survey was made available to respondents in a variety of European languages (English, Spanish, Italian, German, and Swedish). Again, as no sampling frame was available for this population, the sampling strategy primarily used was convenience sampling, complemented by purposive and snowball sampling. Paper surveys were distributed to focus group participants, as well as to a large number of student migrants in London (whose migration decision-making was given special attention by one member of the research team). Online survey responses were collected using the Qualtrics survey platform. The link to the online version of the survey was posted on Facebook groups and sent to the research team's networks, with the request to share the link with others who matched the criteria. A number of screening questions at the beginning of the survey were designed to screen out respondents who did not meet the eligibility criteria. As the survey was distributed online, and made available on open forums and to potential respondents who were not known to the research team, it is not possible to estimate a response rate.

All surveys were self-administered, but for the in-person distribution of the paper surveys, members of the research team were present and available to answer questions and to help respondents complete the survey, where this was necessary. This was particularly important where focus groups included participants who were not responding in their first language, and who were not necessarily literate in their own first language.

Paper-based surveys were manually entered into the Qualtrics platform used to collect online responses. Manual entering of the paper surveys allowed for careful cleaning of the data and consistency checking. The responses collected online were also manually checked

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[5] Strey, et al. (2018).

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and cleaned. Minor inconsistencies were corrected, and not deemed indicative of a rushed or badly-considered completion of the survey overall as many of the questions were complex and required careful attention or reflection. A total of 409 cleaned survey responses were retained for analysis. Table 2 shows how the sample was distributed across the five countries, and gives an overview of the characteristics of survey respondents in each of the countries. Please see the Appendix for detail on the age groupings and countries of origin of survey respondents (Table 3 and Figures 10 and 11). Descriptive statistics were produced using STATA and Microsoft Excel software.

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Table 2: Survey Sample by skill level, gender, country of origin, nationality, and most recent migration

		Germany	Italy	Spain	Sweden	UK	Total
Skill level	(Low-) skilled	11	8	6	7	60	92
	%	*16.92*	*21.05*	*15.79*	*10.94*	*29.41*	*22.49*
	High-skilled	54	29	31	53	141	308
	%	*83.08*	*76.32*	*81.58*	*82.81*	*69.12*	*75.31*
	No answer	0	1	1	4	3	9
	%	*0.00*	*2.63*	*2.63*	*6.25*	*1.47*	*2.20*
Gender	Female	33	30	20	48	140	271
	%	*50.8*	*79.0*	*52.6*	*75.0*	*69.3*	*66.6*
	Male	30	8	18	16	61	133
	%	*46.2*	*21.0*	*47.4*	*25.0*	*30.2*	*32.7*
	Prefer not to say	2	0	0	0	1	3
	%	*3.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.5*	*0.7*
Country of origin	EU	29	16	19	32	90	186
	%	*44.62*	*42.11*	*50*	*50*	*44.12*	*45.48*
	Non-EU	36	22	19	32	114	223
	%	*55.38*	*57.89*	*50*	*50*	*55.88*	*54.52*
EU nationality	EU nationality	39	19	22	33	117	230
	%	*60*	*50*	*57.89*	*51.56*	*57.35*	*56.23*
	No EU nationality	26	19	16	31	87	179
	%	*40*	*50*	*42.11*	*48.44*	*42.65*	*43.77*
Intra-EU migrant	From within EU	34	18	18	29	101	200
	%	*52.31*	*47.37*	*47.37*	*45.31*	*49.51*	*48.90*
	From outside EU	31	20	20	35	103	209
	%	*47.69*	*52.63*	*52.63*	*54.69*	*50.49*	*51.10*
	Total	65	38	38	64	204	409
	%	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

NOTE: "Intra-EU migrants" have been categorized based on their country of previous residence (e.g. EU or non-EU). This means that respondents who may have migrated within the EU in the past, but whose most recent migration was from outside of the EU to an EU country, will not be categorized as an EU migrant here.

2.3 Limitations

Limited resources meant that data was collected mainly from capital cities and other major cities. As a result, migrants living in other parts of the destination countries (for example in smaller towns and rural areas) – and whose demographic characteristics, migration

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motivations, and experiences may be different from those of migrants living in big cities – are under-represented in this research. Migrants who have no competency in the language of the destination country or in English were also excluded from the sample, because participation in the research process typically relied on some understanding either of the official language of the destination country or of English. Although Spanish was sometimes used in focus groups and interviews as another *lingua franca*, the fact that the research process relied on the common use of these more widely-spoken languages means that it is likely that more recently-arrived, less well-integrated, or less-educated members of the target group are underrepresented in the sample, whilst the highly-skilled and better-integrated are likely to have been over-represented.

The practical challenges of recruiting research participants are likely to have introduced further bias into the sample. Because recruitment largely depended on mobilising the research team's personal networks, and on building relationships with organisations that work with migrant groups, it was very difficult to engage some harder-to-reach migrant groups (such as particular nationality groups and the lower-skilled). Further to this, there were significant barriers to participation – not only language barriers, but also the opportunity costs posed by the time needed to travel to and from and participate in the focus groups, as well as scheduling constraints. Given these barriers, substantial motivation was often required from potential research participants. Due to self-selection on this basis (and perhaps other reasons), the sample includes a much higher proportion of women, the highly-skilled, and the young without children, than would be considered representative of the entire population of interest. In particular, the sample lacks sufficient in-depth data from low-skilled intra-EU migrants, firstly because they were more difficult to recruit, and secondly because language barriers (and potentially other barriers such as lower interest levels and less confidence in engaging with the research) meant that it was harder to collect detailed focus group and interview data from low-skilled groups.

Where focus groups were conducted in the context of regular language classes or other pre-established group sessions (generously facilitated by staff at organisations such as NGOs and language schools) the costs of participation were lower, and the extent of self-selection was therefore also likely to be lower. However, there was still a degree of self-selection into

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these classes; for example, based on migrants' motivation to integrate in the country of destination. In one or two cases, members of a regular class chose not to participate in the research, seemingly due to other demands on their time or because they did not adequately understand or feel comfortable with the research process. Because these classes or groups were typically pre-formed, focus groups conducted in a regular group or class setting sometimes included people who had migrated to the country of destination more than ten years ago, or who had arrived as a child. Whether or not the research team retained the data contributed by these participants in the sample was decided on a case-by-case basis, depending on whether it was judged that the participant's decision-making remained relevant to present conditions. For example, participants who had migrated twenty years ago from poor or conflict-affected third countries that today remain poor or conflict-affected were typically retained in the sample. Retaining the data of participants who had arrived in the country of destination more than ten years ago was also judged in retrospect to add value to our understanding of the potential or actual onwards mobility of third country nationals who arrived in the EU long enough ago to perhaps have access to EU citizenship and rights to freedom of movement and residence.

Lastly, because one member of the research team was conducting further research with student migrants in the UK as a corollary to the main research project, migrants who came to the UK to study at a higher education institute are substantially overrepresented in the sample.

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3. Why people migrate within the EU

Both the quantitative and qualitative data clearly showed that people migrate within the EU for diverse – and very often multiple – reasons. Only a minority of survey respondents said that their most recent migration within the EU was for a single reason. When respondents that had moved within the EU to the country of current residence (194 in total; 164 born in the EU and 30 outside of the EU) were asked for up to three main reasons for this most recent migration, 85 (44%) indicated three main reasons, 67 (35%) provided two main reasons, and only 42 (22%) respondents stated that they only had one reason for their most recent move.

Figure 1 shows which reasons were selected as the first, second and third most important main reasons for survey respondents' most recent migration within the EU, and distinguishes between the relative proportions of EU and non-EU born respondents who selected each reason. Work and study reasons were most commonly selected by respondents born both within and outside of the EU – and have both primary, secondary and tertiary relevance in respondents' decision-making. Work reasons were selected by the largest number of respondents (123), of which 48 selected it as their first main reason (39%), 53 selected it as their second main reason (43%); and 22 selected it as their third main reason (18%). Study reasons were selected by the second largest number of respondents (120) (but this should also be interpreted in light of the high proportion of students who were included in the UK sample). Respondents who selected study as a reason for their migration tended to ascribe it primary importance in their decision-making: 92 (77%) of these 120 respondents selected it as their first main reason, whereas only 21 (18%) selected it as their second main reason, and still fewer (9, or 8%) selected it as their third main reason.

Migrating within the EU to join a partner or family members is also relevant to both EU and non-EU born respondents, and it should be noted that this reason was not always selected by respondents as their first most important reason for migration. 60 respondents selected joining a partner or family as one of their main reasons for migrating, of which 29 (48%) selected it as their first main reason, 22 (37%) selected it as their second main reason, and 9 (15%) selected it as their third main reason. As emerged from focus group and interview discussions, the opportunity to join a partner or family can therefore be of secondary or tertiary importance to many intra-EU migrants, who are as or more motivated to migrate for another reason.

92 respondents selected lifestyle reasons as one of their reasons for migration – most commonly as their second main reason (44, or 48%), although 21 respondents (23%) selected it as their first main reason, and 27 (29%) as their third main reason. The survey data therefore confirms insights from the focus groups and interviews, which found that lifestyle reasons can be a primary reason for intra-EU migration, but that this is more common amongst EU-origin migrants. However, this does not mean that third-country

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origin respondents do not also migrate within the EU for lifestyle reasons – lifestyle was most often selected by non-EU born migrants as their second most important reason for migration.

Among other factors selected by respondents as their top three reasons for migration, political factors and access to social security or health care services were more often of tertiary importance in motivating respondents' intra-EU migration. A total of 9 respondents chose the political sitation in their country of last residence as a reason for their migration: only one as their first main reason, but 3 selected it as their second main reason, and 5 selected it as their third main reason. It is important to note that the political situation in the previous country of residence was only indicated as a reason for migrating by people born in the EU, suggesting that EU-origin migrants may be more sensitive to relative differences in current politics within the EU. More respondents (14) selected better access to social security/healthcare as a reason for their intra-EU migration, of which 1 selected it as their first main reason, 3 selected it as their second main reason, and the large majority (10) as their third main reason. Unfortunately, it is not possible to know more specifically what respondents were referring to when they selected "access to social security/healthcare", and it is worth bearing in mind that they may have been thinking of privately as well as publically-funded benefits and services.

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Figure 1: Top three reasons for migration to the current country of residence

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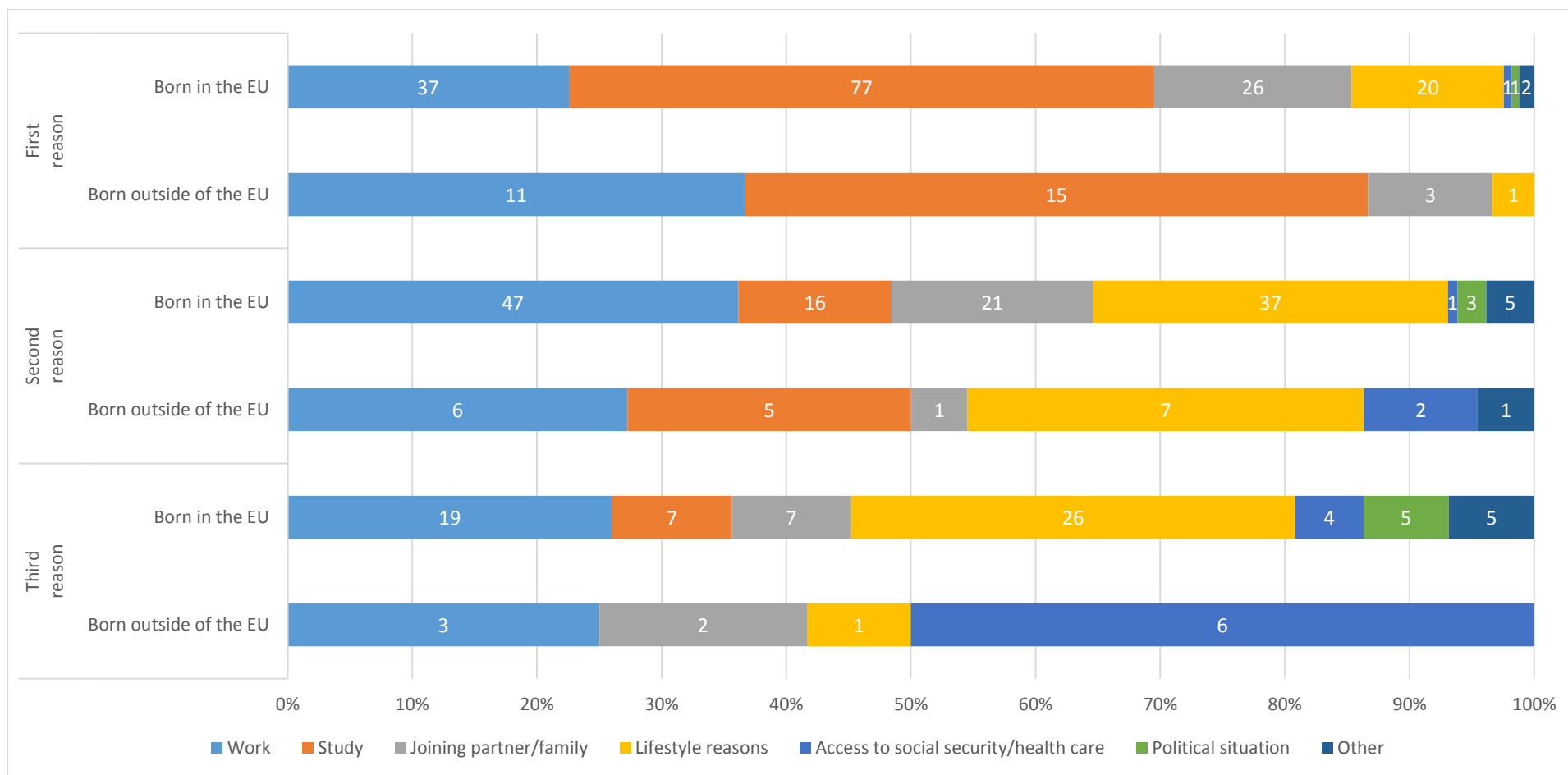
Following this question on their top three most important reasons for migration, survey respondents were asked to specify: i) whether there were conditions in their country of previous residence that motivated their decision to leave (and if so what these were); and ii) whether there were any conditions in the country of destination that motivated them to choose that country as their destination. Only 40% of respondents said that there were specific conditions in their country of previous residence that made them want to leave this country (in other words, 60% of respondents chose to migrate just because the country of destination was more attractive to them, or offered a specific opportunity [for example, a work or study opportunity], or that the destination was where their parter was living). However, a majority of respondents (72%) said that there were conditions in the country of destination that motivated their choice of that country (in other words, only 28% of respondents did not actively choose the country of destination but rather migrated to the country because that was where their partner or family was, or where they were transferred for work, granted asylum or resettled). 31% of respondents said that both conditions in their EU country of previous residence and conditions in the country of destination motivated their migration decision. According to these responses then, intra-EU mobility is driven in larger part by the pursuit of interests and opportunities available in other countries, than by perceived problems or lack experienced in countries of previous residence, although, of course, in many cases these are interrelated.

Where survey respondents indicated that their decision to migrate was motivated by conditions in their country of previous residence, an overview of these responses is given in Figure 2. Respondents were asked to select up to five conditions or factors that motivated their out-migration (from a pre-determined list), and to rank them in order of importance. As Figure 2 shows, economic and work conditions, and a lack of career development and educational opportunities, dominate the choice of first, second and third most important reasons for leaving. However, political factors – such as corruption and a bad political climate – become relevant as commonly-selected third, fourth and fifth most important reasons for leaving, and boredom with the lifestyle or culture was also often chosen by those who gave fourth and fifth most important reasons for leaving.

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Figure 2 Survey respondents' first to fifth most important reasns for leaving their EU country of previous residence

1st Reason N=77
- Other reasons 19%
- Lack of jobs in my sector/at my level 23%
- Bad working conditions in country of last residence 12%
- Lack of relevant educational/training opportunities 18%
- Economic situation in last country of residence 14%
- Low Income in country of last residence 14%

2nd Reason N=68
- Other 21%
- Bad working conditions in country of last residence 23%
- Lack of relevant educational/training opportunities 10%
- Economic situation in country of last residence 19%
- Lack of jobs in my sector/at my level 12%
- Low Income in country of last residence 15%

3rd Reason N=56
- Low Income in country of last residence 18%
- Other 39%
- Bad working conditions in country of last residence 12%
- Lack of jobs in my sector/at my level 13%
- Corruption in country of last residence 9%
- High taxes in country of last residence 9%

4th Reason N=37
- Bad working conditions in country of last residence 13%
- Other 32%
- Low Income in country of last residence 13%
- Corruption in country of last residence 14%
- Boredom with lifestyle/culture in country of last residence 14%
- Bad political climate in country of last residence 14%

5th Reason N=26
- Corruption in country of last residence 19%
- Other 27%
- Boredom with lifestyle/culture in country of last residence 19%
- Bad political climate in country of last residence 12%
- Lack of relevant educational/training opportunities 12%
- Low Income in country of last residence 11%

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Economic reasons
- Bad working conditions in countryof last residence
- Lack of jobs in my sector/at my level
- Economic situation in country of last residence
- Low income in country of last residence
- High taxes in country of last residence
- Others

Educational reasons
- Lack of revelant educational/training opportunities

Political reasons
- Corruption in country of last residence
- Bad political climate in country of last residence

Lifestyle reasons
- Boredom with lifestyle/culture in country of last residence

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In terms of which factors were associated particularly with which countries of previous residence, the non-representative nature of the sample (in this case, in terms of where respondents had moved from) means that it is not possible to directly compare between countries. However, it is illustrative that, where respondents indicated that they had left their country of previous residence due to poor economic conditions and employment opportunities, they had most frequently moved from Italy and Spain – although others had moved from other Southern, Central, and Eastern European countries, and a couple had moved from wealthier Northern and Western European countries (although, in this latter case, it was mostly due to low incomes and/or a lack of jobs available in their sector and at their level). Italy, in particular, was associated with a range of other negative conditions, including a lack of relevant educational or training opportunities, a bad political climate, gender inequality, and corruption. A bad political climate and corruption were also selected by respondents who had moved from a range of mostly Southern, Central, and Eastern European countries. In terms of the relevance of lifestyle conditions, respondents who indicated that they migrated due to boredom with the lifestyle or culture had moved from a particularly diverse range of countries across the EU, which included many Northern and Western European countries (and where respondents indicated dissatisfaction with the climate or natural environment, three out of four had moved from the UK).

Where respondents indicated that they actively chose the country of destination because of the conditions there, an overview of the conditions most commonly selected as the first to fifth most important reasons for choosing that country is provided in Figure 3. According to these survey responses, economic and work-related factors remain very relevant, but are less important in the choice of destination country than they were in motivating the decision to leave a country of previous residence. A wider range of considerations are relevant in repondents' choice of destination country, as shown by the large proportions of considerations grouped together under "other factors". Study opportunities are the most frequently-cited primary reason for choosing a particular destination country (but this may also be due to the large proportion of student migrants in the UK included in the sample). Similarly to the data collected on first, second, and third main reasons for migration, survey respondents commonly ranked study opportunities as their primary reason for choosing the destination country, and rarely as a reason of secondary or lesser importance in the choice

of destination. Following the selection of the most important reason for choosing the destination country, opportunities to learn new languages and have new experiences become highly relevant as respondents' second and third most important reasons. Specific preferences regarding culture and lifestyle become relevant as fourth and fifth most important reasons for the choice of destination, and perceptions that the country of destination suffers from less corruption was commonly selected as a fifth most important reason for chosing that country.

Figure 3. Survey respondents' first to fifth most important reasons for choosing the country of destination

1st Reason N=132
- Other 28%
- Country of destination offered a particular university degree (e.g. bachelor's or master's) 29%
- Better career development opportunities in country of destination 13%
- Higher chance of finding employment 10%
- Country of destination offered a particular post-graduate opportunity 10%
- Higher income in country of destination 10%

2nd Reason N=125
- Other 36%
- Better career development opportunities 17%
- Country of destination offered the opportunity for me to expand my horizons/ have new experiences 17%
- Higher chance of finding employment in country of destination 12%
- Better working conditions (aside from salary) 9%
- To learn the language spoken in the country of destination 9%

3rd Reason N=109
- Other 41%
- Country of destination offered the opportunity for me to expand my horizons/ have new experiences 16%
- To learn the language spoken in the country of destination 15%
- Better career development opportunities 11%
- More attractive culture/lifestyle in country of destination 9%
- Higher chance of finding employment in country of destination 8%

4th Reason N=92
- Other 40%
- Country of destination offered the opportunity for me to expand my horizons/ have new experiences 16%
- To learn the language spoken in the country of destination 14%
- More attractive culture/lifestyle in country of destination 12%
- Higher chance of finding employment in country of destination 11%
- Better working conditions (aside from salary) 7%

5th Reason N=73
- Other 46%
- More attractive culture/lifestyle 16%
- Better career development opportunities 11%
- Higher income in country of destination 9%
- Better working conditions (aside from salary) 10%
- Less corruption in country of destination 8%

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Economic reasons
- Better working conditions (aside from salary)
- Higher income in country of destination
- Higher chance of finding employment in country of destination
- Better career development opportunities in country of destination
- Others

Educational reasons
- Country of destination offered a particular university degree (e.g. bachelor's or master's)
- Country of destination offered a particular post-graduate opportunity
- To learn the language spoken in the country of destination

Political reasons
- Less corruption in country of destination

Lifestyle reasons
- Country of destination offered the opportunity for me to expand my horizons/have new experiences
- More attractive culture/lilfestyle in country of destination

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As regards the countries of destination associated particularly with different conditions, it is again difficult to directly compare between countries because of the limited representativeness of the sample. However, respondents in Germany and the UK most frequently indicated the importance of the employment and educational opportunities (including language-learning) available in these countries, as well as opportunities to expand their horizons and have new experiences. Work and study opportunities were also important for respondents who had chosen to migrate to Spain and Italy, but higher proportions of these respondents indicated the attractions of the Italian and Spanish lifestyles, cultures, climate and natural environments, as well as opportunities to learn the languages and expand their horizons or have new experiences. Respondents frequently indicated that cheaper living costs had attracted them to Spain particularly. Respondents in Sweden indicated the importance of a wide range of factors, including work, education, culture, climate and lifestyle, new experiences and, additionally, better gender equality and less sexuality-based discrimination.

As regards the focus group and interview data, these more in-depth qualitative insights indicated that a single migration decision is often driven by several motivations, and that these different motivations may be interrelated and may reinforce each other such that it becomes difficult to disentangle and isolate the relative importance of each. As one young Italian interviewee put it, her first migration to the UK "*was kind of a lifestyle choice… but also everything else*" (UK_INT03_Italy). As she explained, having completed her undergraduate degree in a provincial part of Italy, migration, whether within Italy or to another country, was the obvious next step if she wanted to find the kind of work that interested her. The decision to migrate to London instead of a bigger Italian city was therefore motivated by the pursuit of opportunities that she felt she would not have had in Italy: opportunities for career development and further study, as well as to experience "*the big city sort of life*," and to be able to do things she felt she would not be able to do in Italy – such as be open about her sexuality, and compete in the labour market on a more equal basis with men (UK_INT03_Italy).

The responses of other qualitative research participants demonstrated that migrating "for work", "for study", or "to join a partner or family" – as migration decisions are typically

recorded – is often a simple shorthand that obscures the true complexity of intra-EU mobility decisions. As an example, at the beginning of an interview a highly-skilled and high-mobile German national said "*I basically moved to other European countries to study or to work*" and then later explained that each of his multiple migration episodes was fundamentally motivated by the belief that taking on new experiences and opportunities is very important for personal growth, and that, moreover, each particular migration choice was determined by a different mix of motivations, in which cultural and lifestyle interests, "wanderlust", economic benefits, and family ties exerted different influences (GE_INT13_Germany).

In the sections below we take as a point of departure the main drivers of intra-EU mobility identified in the literature,[6] nuancing these distinctions and demonstrating the complex ways in which these motivations overlap and interact, as well as offering some emerging insights on other motivations for intra-EU mobility which have so far received little academic attention.

3.1 Mobility within the EU for the purpose of employment

3.1.1 Drivers of the decision to migrate

 and Figure 5 show only the employment-related reasons selected by survey respondents as motivating their decision to leave their EU country of previous residence and migrate to their EU country of current residence. Where survey respondents said that there were conditions in the country of previous residence that motivated their out-migration, employment-related factors were relevant to a similar proportion (approximately 62-63%) of high and low-skilled intra-EU migrants. Similar proportions of both high and low-skilled survey respondents selected each employment-related factor as relevant to their decision to migrate, although the high-skilled were more likely to say that their out-migration was motivated by a lack of jobs in their sector/at their level, and the low skilled were slightly more likely to say that it was the economic situation more generally that influenced their decision. Among the 72% of respondents who said that there were conditions in the

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[6] See Strey et al., (2018).

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country of destination that motivated their choice of that country, employment-related conditions were relevant to 46% of low-skilled migrants, and to only 32% of high-skilled migrants. There were also greater differences between high- and low-skilled groups when it came to selecting the country of destination – higher incomes, and particularly the higher chance of finding employment, were more relevant to low-skilled migrants.

Figure 4. Employment-related reasons that survey respondents selected as their specific reasons for leaving their EU country of previous residence
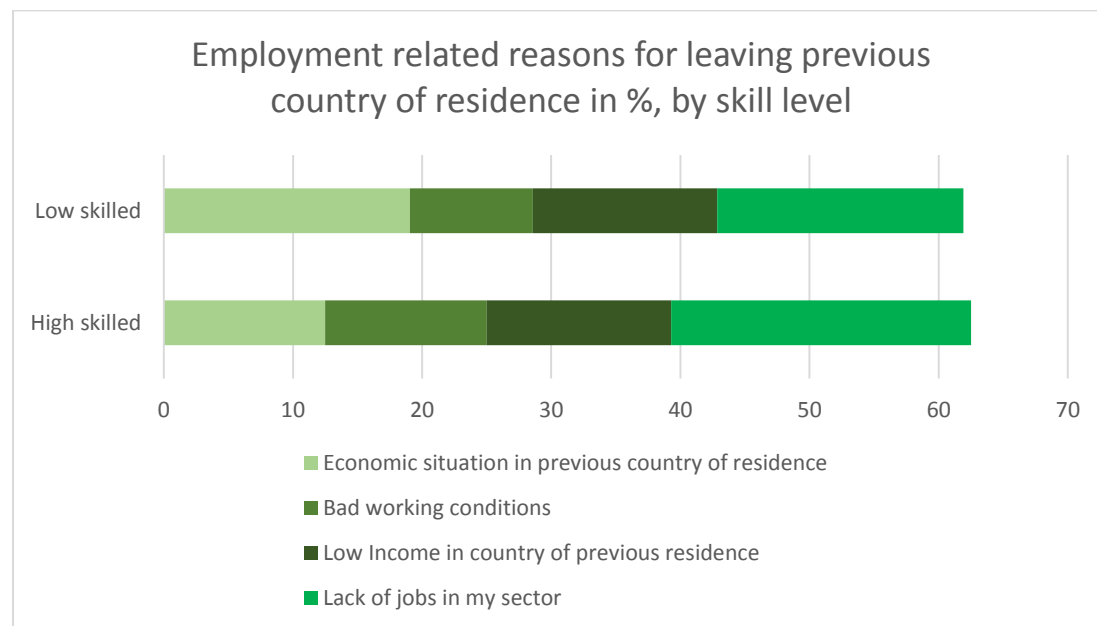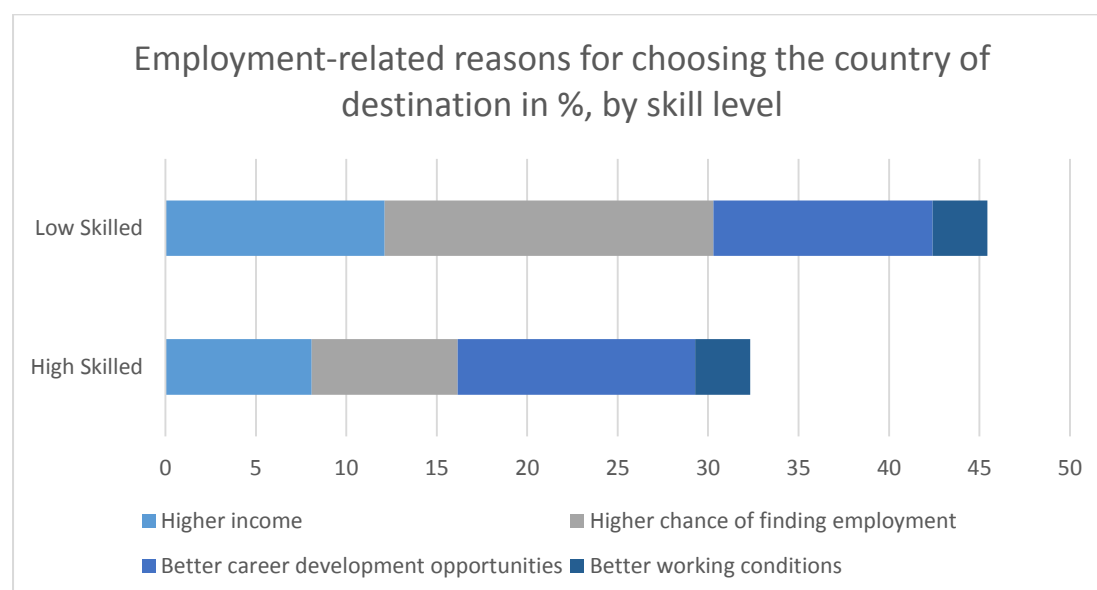
Employment related reasons for leaving previous country of residence in %, by skill level

Legend:
- Economic situation in previous country of residence
- Bad working conditions
- Low Income in country of previous residence
- Lack of jobs in my sector

Figure 5. Employment-related reasons that survey respondents selected as their specific reasons for choosing their EU country of destination

Employment-related reasons for choosing the country of destination in %, by skill level

Legend:
- Higher income
- Higher chance of finding employment
- Better career development opportunities
- Better working conditions

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The qualitative data gathered in interviews and focus groups provided less detail on the specific employment-related reasons that motivated research participants' decision-making; however, this data allowed for a useful exploration of how employment-related motivations intersect with other motivations and wider decision-making processes and mobility trajectories.

Low-skilled qualitative research participants who said that they had migrated within the EU "to work" usually did not specify the precise nature of the work opportunities that they had pursued through migration. However, some participants – particularly those who had migrated from Eastern European countries, or from Southern European countries in the wake of the economic crisis – did emphasise that it was a lack of work opportunities in their countries of previous residence that motivated their out-migration from these countries. In particular, migrants born outside the EU explained that their onwards migration within the EU had been, or would be, motivated primarily by a lack of job prospects (e.g. following the economic crisis), or by a sense of blocked upwards mobility in the labour market due to discrimination or language barriers. Among this group were research participants who had higher education qualifications but who were doing low-skilled work in the country of destination.

As regards participants born within or outside the EU and engaged in high-skilled employment, these migrants often explained that opportunities to take up internships, jobs, and inter-company or inter-organisational transfers were the primary "trigger" for their migration within the EU. For many of these research participants, particularly those working in internationalised professional fields such as academia or research, where the opportunities to pursue one's highly-specialised work are limited, migration is viewed as an almost necessary or natural part of career development.

With regard to future mobility, among students and the highly-skilled from both EU and non-EU origins the largest number of research participants anticipate that work and further study opportunities will be the most important determinant of their future movements – whether within the EU or outside it. For the majority of these research participants, "work opportunities" meant better prospects for professional development and, for some, better salaries. As one focus group participant explained "*it's all down to job opportunities and*

whether I could get something that would further my career at those places, on top of being a really interesting city to live in"(UK_FGP12_NewZealand). Some research participants considered themselves very open to re-migrating for work – indeed, one Chilean focus group participant considered himself "*very rootless*" and therefore willing to pick up and go wherever his work takes him (SP_FGP11_Chile). For others who were more settled in their countries of destination, it would have to be a "*really good job offer*" to make them consider re-migrating (SWE_FGP15_US).

For other qualitative research participants, both high and low-skilled migrants from EU and third countries of origin, including those who do have the right to remain in their EU countries of current residence, it was not necessarily the prospect of a better job, but simply the availability of work at all, that would motivate their onwards migration. This was particularly the case for research participants in Spain and Italy, who preferred to stay where they were, but anticipated that they may face difficulties in finding work that suits them in these countries. However, whilst some of these research participants said that they would migrate onwards if they could not secure a job or found themselves unable to achieve their professional goals in their current EU country of residence, others (mostly third country nationals) were more inclined to simply return to their countries of origin.

3.1.2 Determinants of the choice of destination

The importance of country/city destination varied considerably in the decision-making of migrants who moved for highly-skilled employment opportunities. Sometimes highly-skilled research participants actively chose between different potential work destinations, for example if they had multiple job offers or potential placements; sometimes the choice was simply whether or not to accept a job offer or inter-company or -organisational transfer. Where highly-skilled research participants did actively choose between different potential destinations for work, specific considerations included opportunities for professional development in their field, good salaries, job security, and employment benefits such as sick leave and generous paid parental leave, as well as other cultural or lifestyle factors such as those described in section 3.4. A description of decision-making by an EU national who has worked in four EU countries in the last ten years exemplifies: i) firstly, the much greater extent to which high-skilled migrants can be "choosy" when they work in internationalised,

high-growth sectors such as IT where their skills are in great demand; and ii) secondly, the multiple considerations that come into play when a highly-skilled migrant has the freedom to choose their next country of destination:

So now I am deciding firstly for the country, if I can live in the country based on life quality and feel. And secondly, if there is an international community there. And thirdly, of course, if the companies are interesting and if the salary is good and also if you also have benefits abroad. (GE_INT13_Germany)

Other research participants migrated for a specific job offer which they accepted because the destination country enjoys a prominent position in their particular field of work. For example, a Peruvian national explained that she migrated from Ireland to Germany because her husband was offered a job in a world-leading research centre, which the couple considered a particularly good opportunity for career development based on their understanding that Germany invests far more in the relevant area of scientific research than Ireland does. As she and many other highly-skilled research participants explained, for individuals with highly specialised professional expertise and interests, the choice of potential work destinations is limited by the relatively small number of places where they can advance in their chosen fields. For this reason, some highly-skilled research participants did not actively choose their country of destination. As one Bulgarian national who had moved to Rome for an internship explained:

[…] it was mainly motivated because the organization, which was a European organization, just happened to be based in Padma in Italy, so my choice was motivated by this rather than by a desire to live in or relocate to Italy. (IT_FGP46_Bulgaria)

Similarly, a Swiss national clarified that when she re-migrated to the UK "*it was specifically for this job, it was the first one I found, so it wasn't the UK in particular it was more [name of organization] that drew me here*" (UK_FGP07_Switzerland).

In a couple of other cases, highly-skilled research participants (with EU nationality) migrated within the EU without a firm work offer but because they considered the country of

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destination to have a well-developed sector around their field of interest, in which they could find interesting work and develop professionally:

> *Yes, in Germany I moved because of the theatres. Because I am an opera singer and Germany has a quarter of the whole globe, the whole world's, theatres* [sic]. *Germany. And then another, the music of course, now* [sic]. *The composers and the language. Because German is also an important language for opera.* (GE_FGP08_Peru)

Where survey respondents indicated that they had considered migrating to another EU country (i.e. as an alternative destination to the country in which they were currently living), Germany, in particular, but also the Netherlands and Switzerland, were most frequently cited as the EU countries respondents had considered for employment reasons. Likewise, Germany was particularly attractive to qualitative research participants who were looking for work, and in some cases also thinking about their children's future opportunities, at the point of migrating within the EU.

Low-skilled qualitative research participants who had moved within the EU primarily for employment did not explain in much detail their choice of destination country. Where low-skilled migrants did offer some detail on their decision-making regarding choice of destination, existing networks and network effects played a determining role. For example, one Polish national who had migrated to Italy a couple of years after Poland's accession to the EU in order to "*get some money and get back to Poland*" explained that "*my mum and my cousin were already here so they looked for a job for me to do here*" (IT_FGP56_Poland). In the case of secondary movers who migrated onwards from Italy and Spain to the UK following the economic crisis and associated rise in unemployment, their choice of destination seemed to be based on where they thought there were more job opportunities for them.

There was also some discussion among Latin American secondary movers (both low- and high-skilled, but who had been in engaged in low-skilled work in Spain) that their choice of the UK as their next destination country was based on an understanding that the UK labour market is relatively open and un-discriminating such that, if they learned to speak English

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well and worked hard, they could achieve their work objectives. For example, one Colombian focus group participant explained that "*I chose this country because it set the country freedom, and give many opportunities, don't matter where you come [from]* [sic]" (UK_FGP72_ Colombia). Other low-skilled focus group participants, from EU and non-EU countries of origins, explained that they were further motivated to migrate to the UK from Spain and Italy because they understood the UK labour market to be more flexible in terms of opportunities to work part-time, set one's own hours, and combine work and study.

Finally, non-EU origin migrants who had undertaken secondary movements from Spain and Italy to the UK in order to find work also emphasized that their choice of the UK was based on their desire to learn English. It was, however, not always clear whether they were learning English in order to expand their set of marketable skills, or in order to deploy their existing skills in the UK labour market. A couple of the women in this group of secondary movers also explained that an important consideration for them was to give their children the opportunity to learn English.

In a few cases, and as indicated by the survey data presented in Figure 4 and Figure 5, income differentials played an important role in the decision-making of migrants engaged in both high- and low-skilled work. A couple of research participants could be described as "target earners", having left their Eastern European countries of origin around a decade ago with the intention to earn and save money in the country of destination before returning. For example, one Romanian graduate wanted to earn money to pay for her master's programme back in Romania – although she also framed her migration to Spain as the pursuit of "*adventure*", as did a low-skilled Polish national, who similarly intended to use her savings to finance her future studies in Poland. However, other research participants who had migrated more recently to their EU countries of destination did not commonly describe a "target earner" strategy but rather, as explained in Section 4.1, migrated without a firm idea of how long they would stay in the country of destination.

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3.2 Mobility within the EU for family and love reasons

Love

Some focus group participants (both men and woman, high-skilled and low-skilled, and from both EU and non-EU countries of origin) migrated within the EU to accompany or to join a partner in another country. In some cases, the partner's migration was primarily to accompany their spouse – for example, some research participants migrated because they chose to prioritise their partner's careers at that point in time, rather than because they themselves particularly wanted to move to the country of destination. As one Peruvian woman explained, she migrated onwards from Spain to Sweden because her husband had been offered a very good work opportunity in Sweden, and "*it came to a moment where we had to decide whether to stay together or whether to go our own separate ways. [...] And I agreed to come here [...and close my business in Spain...] because I had to prioritise my family*" (SWE_FGP09_Peru). In other cases, the accompanying partner's decision to migrate may be also based on their interest in living in the country of destination for other reasons (for example, work or study opportunities, new experiences, or a change of lifestyle), and may be part of a shared decision to jointly pursue opportunities abroad. For example, a young Irish national explained that she moved to Sweden with her Swedish partner because, as her partner had moved to Ireland to be with her there for the last few years, it was "her turn" to migrate. She also highlighted, however, that she had always wanted live in another country, and that she was happy to come to Sweden because she felt that it offered her better professional opportunities than Ireland. For many young, highly-skilled EU nationals, in particular, international mobility is already an assumed part of their lifestyle and career development, meaning that, while romantic relationships certainly have a determining influence on mobility decisions, it is rare that such research participants migrated "for love" only. Rather, a romantic partnership seemed more often to work in conjunction with other factors to induce a previously immobile EU national to mobility, or to prompt the further mobility of an already-mobile individual.

Family reasons

The distinction between migrating for love and for family reasons was not necessarily obvious (or relevant) in cases where migrants had moved countries to join their partners

with their children, or perhaps with a view to having children. Focus group discussions and interviews provided only a handful of cases in which migrants had moved between countries for specifically family-related reasons. One focus group participant from Moldova explained that she had migated onwards from Italy to the UK in order to join her son and help look after her grandchildren. Another Italian focus group participant explained that her decision to move to the UK was partly a joint decision with her ex-husband to raise their children together when he moved for work. A few younger research participants explained that their migration decisions had been at least partly motivated by a desire to join parents and siblings in other EU countries or to move with them, or in one case to help look after a sick family member. An older EU national explained that his continual and circular mobility in recent years was driven by the need to balance his career with his role as care-giver to his sick mother. As mentioned previously, a couple of migrants from third country origins also explained their decision to migrate onwards to the UK from other EU countries as partly motivated by a desire to give their children the opportunity to learn or improve their English.

Two EU national interviewees explained that they had returned to the EU from third countries at the point that they or their partner was expecting a child. One of these interviewees also explained that her onwards migration within the EU was motivated by the need to achieve stablity as a family unit: she returned to the Netherlands from Latin America with her third country-national husband as a result of her pregnancy and their shared decision that having the baby in the EU would be better in terms of security and the child's opportunities. They then migrated from the Netherlands to Germany because they were advised that it would be easier to obtain permanent residency for her husband there (the requirements of the Dutch immigration regime would have been difficult for the couple to fulfil while they were expecting).

3.3 Mobility within the EU for the purpose of study

3.3.1 Drivers of the decision to migrate

Focus group discussions highlighted that intra-EU migration for study reasons can involve many different motivations. A large number of research participants had migrated, or planned to migrate onwards, within the EU for a higher education degree (degree mobility).

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Others had migrated, or planned to migrate again, as part of shorter-term study exchange programmes (e.g. ERASMUS) that are commonly offered to students undertaking higher education degrees in the EU (credit mobility). Migrating in order to study the language of the destination country was also frequently reported by research participants, particularly by participants in Spain and Italy. In many cases, individual migrants had already migrated for two or three types of study experience, with the initial shorter study migration experiences (e.g. for a language course or ERASMUS) often influencing subsequent migration decisions.

As regards degree mobility, sometimes the decision to undertake a higher education degree in another EU country was driven by dissatisfaction with the education system in the country of previous residence, for example in terms of dislike of the educational or teaching style, or limited choice of universities or degree options.

Some interviewees and focus group participants were considering their longer-term career prospects when they made the choice to study in a specific country. For example, students studying at both undergraduate and postgraduate level discussed how they chose to study in the UK in order to improve their access to the UK labour market. For an Italian student who initially studied at undergraduate level in the UK, gaining access to the UK labour market was a strategic decision prompted by the barriers she anticipated she would face in the Italian labour market:

> "*And I think, a lot for me was about career opportunities. Just because, I think I've mentioned it before, in Italy it's not great at the moment, and I knew that once I graduated I would have been 21, and trying to find a job at the age of 21 with just a three-year undergraduate degree would have been so hard in Italy. [...] So my idea was [...] I thought I'd just make it easier by coming to the UK. I knew then moving down to London was going to open more opportunities.*" (UK_FGP09_Switzerland)

In a number of cases, interviewees and focus group participants emphasised the extent to which their decision to study a degree abroad was largely determined by the fact that that was "*the expected path*" (FGP_FGP08_Switzerland). This was particularly the case among

students who had gone to international schools, where they were directly and indirectly encouraged to apply for foreign universities (the UK, alongside the U.S. and Canada, enjoys a particular advantage in attracting student migrants from such backgrounds). Students at international schools are not only influenced by their peers and school advisors – focus group participants and interviewees also made particular reference to the role their parents had played in pre-disposing them to international mobility. One student whose family had always been internationally mobile reflected on the choices her parents had made to broaden her horizons and enable her future mobility:

> *"They wouldn't have sent me to the international school if they had wanted me to stay in Switzerland and go to a Swiss university and get a job there and everything."* (UK_FGP08_Switzerland)

Similarly, a focus group participant from Italy said that her parents had decided to send her to an international school because it "*would just open up more horizons afterwards*" (UK_FGP9_Italy), and an interviewee who had gone to an international school in France cited her parents as encouraging her that "*it's always good to go abroad*" (UK_INT05_France).

Outside of the specific context of international schools, a wider culture of youth mobility motivates other students' decisions to study in other EU countries, particularly for ERASMUS or other study exchanges, but also for full degree programmes and for language-learning. Focus group discussions amongst participants who had migrated to participate in an ERASMUS or other study abroad scheme suggested that, for young people in the EU, such opportunities are a self-evident reason for migration – given the chance to participate in an exchange programme abroad, the question for young students in the EU becomes why they would choose to remain in the country of current residence. For EU-born migrants, degree mobility can also be motivated primarily by the desire for new environments and experiences. As one research participant explained, the opportunity to do a master's elsewhere in the EU country simply provided the structure through which to act on her sense of "wanderlust":

For me, well, it was for the studies. I was studying psychology in Lisbon and the excuse to go out of Portugal was to finish my studies in another country. I chose Barcelona – in reality I just wanted to have the experience of living in another country. (SP_FGP29_Portugal)

Motivations relating to the exploration of new environments and cultures are therefore not only of secondary importance to highly-skilled intra-EU migrants pursuing study opportunities abroad. Moreover, neither should they necessarily be seen as separate from the pursuit of study or career goals – for a couple of research participants, exposure to different cultures, people, systems, and ideas through migration is an important part of their education and career development.

For young EU nationals disposed to international mobility, the decision to migrate for a degree or exchange programme therefore does not necessarily imply an active preference for the educational opportunities available in another EU country compared to those available in their country of residence. Rather, studying abroad may represent an opportunity or structure through which to achieve other personal goals which can only be achieved through migration. Besides the pursuit of new experiences and environments, for some EU nationals studying abroad offered a convenient way of joining a romantic partner or close family members from whom they had been separated. The often inter-related motivations that underpin student migration within the EU was demonstrated particularly in the account of one German national studying in the UK. This focus group participant was already intending to study a master's programme following completion of her bachelor's degree, but she also wanted to join her partner in the UK for at least the duration of his PhD programme, and so she chose to study her master's in the UK because: i) the course she chose supported her own longer-term career development goals; ii) studying in the UK meant she could join her partner at least in the short-term; and iii) she considered that studying a master's in the UK would better prepare her for successfully integrating into the UK labour market, which was important if she wanted to be with her partner in the UK in the longer term (UK_FGP53_Germany).

Outside of the structure of formal degree and study exchange programmes, a number of EU national research participants explained that they had undertaken short-term migration

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experiences in order to learn a new language (and which often turned into longer-term migration experiences, or inspired further migration episodes in the country of destination, for example as ERASMUS students later on). This was often purely for the love of the language, or for the love of language-learning, rather than for any more instrumental reason. Language-learning may mean participation in a formal course, or it may mean more informal learning alongside work. As a British interviewee in Barcelona explained:

> *I came to live… not really to work. If there is the need to work, I work. In principle it was more for learning languages. […] For me it was more like a cultural thing. I just wanted to live in another country, learn languages, work is a necessity, not a reason to come here* (SP_INT08_UK).

Finally, education and personal growth may also be motivating factors in the movement of low-skilled migrants. A Nigerian woman provided an example of this: she had firstly migrated to Italy and then on to the UK because she perceived the UK as a good environment in which to make up for the lack of schooling she received in Nigeria:

> *Now I have the opportunity in Europe, so let me just carry on to see if I can be able to do it so that I can fit into the society so that I can be able to help my children and help myself. Because education is the key* (UK_FGP42_Nigeria).

3.3.2 Determinants of the choice of destination

As regards the choice of destination for higher education, the EU countries most frequently considered by qualitative and quantitative research participants as attractive destinations were Germany, France, the Netherlands and the UK. In terms of what factors were most important in their decision-making, language was mentioned as a primary consideration for the majority of research participants. Most often student migrants' decision-making is based on where they can study in a language that they already have learnt at an advanced level – this might be the country's official language, or it may be that the language of instruction in the university environment is different to that spoken more widely in the country/city, as in the case of students who pursued their education in Barcelona, Rome, and Stockolm. Universities in the UK, or in other countries but offering courses in English, have an advantage in attracting mobile EU students. This is not only because English is

commonly learned as a second language, but also because student migrants may wish to improve and demonstrate their English language competency to potential employers by obtaining an English-language qualification. But some research participants also indicated that their choice of country was based on their wish to improve their skills in other EU languages such as Italian, French or Spanish, or because they had already studied the language spoken in the country of destination (e.g. German) and had some proficiency in it.

Besides language, accessibility in terms of bureaucratic requirements and the costs of study were also important in determining students' choices of higher education destination. Unsuprisingly, Sweden's free education system was discussed as a particular advantage by research participants who had migrated to Sweden to study. The UK was considered prohibitely expensive by many of the research participants who had instead chosen to study in Germany, although other research participants who were comparing the costs of study in the UK to non-EU study destinations such as the U.S. and Canada looked upon the UK favourably in this regard.

When considering potential destinations for higher education, interviewees and focus group participants were attracted by the reputation of the specific universities they were applying to, both because they wanted to access high quality education in the fields they were interested in, and also because degrees from prestigious universities were considered to add value to their resumes. Research participants also made their migration decisions based on the availability of courses which particularly suited their academic interests and/or career goals. Often this was due to the specialised focus and content, and/or structure and length of the courses they were looking at. For example, a Polish graduate student made a choice between the UK and the Netherlands because these were the countries she identified as offering the specific graduate diploma which she needed to quickly fill a gap in her knowledge and skills in order to then do a PhD.

Other interviewees and focus group participants had in mind specific sectors they were interested in working in after studying, and were therefore attracted to a particular study destination because of the career development opportunities available there in these sectors. For example, an interviewee from Poland who had always wanted to work in trading explained that: "*London is the European hub for trading, so it's pretty much the best*

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place where you can end up, if you want to be a trader" (UK_INT06_Poland). Gaining access to the UK labour market, and building up experience as a trader in London, was therefore a strategic decision that would then open up doors to working as a trader elsewhere in the world. Other research participants studying tourism and international relations chose Italy and Rome respectively, specifically because of the large tourism industry and exposure to international organisations and NGOs.

In terms of the location-specific cultural or lifestyle attractions that may influence student migrants' choice of destination, the UK was attractive to many research participants for the cultural or social opportunities that it was thought to offer. Interviewees and focus group participants mentioned that they "just liked the idea of living in the UK" or "really liked London". For some focus group participants, the appeal was specific to London, as a "vibrant" and "intercultural" or "world" city. Other research participants in Spain and Italy chose to study in these countries because they were attracted by Southern European culture, lifestyle, and related perceived advantages such as climate and food.

As regards ERASMUS students specifically, cultural interest, local amenities, and the attractiveness of a particular lifestyle are often highly influential in determining the choice of destination for ERASMUS students, who typically consider the scheme an opportunity for fun, excitement, personal growth, and non-formal education (e.g. language learning). Nonetheless, and similarly to degree migrants, ERASMUS students may also give significant weight to the characteristics of the higher education institution, available courses, and related place-based career-development opportunities, as well as practical concerns such as living costs, when choosing between different potential destinations.

For current and potential PhD candidates, cultural and lifestyle considerations were less relevant to the choice of destination country. The decision-making of research participants who had migrated, or were planning to migrate, for a PhD position in the EU focused on the specific research opportunities available to them in terms of the specific topic of research, the potential supervisor and team, and available funding and resources. Differences in the way in which PhDs are structured in different EU countries were also highlighted by a couple of research participants, who demonstrated different preferences. A German PhD candidate

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preferred the way in which, in the UK, PhD candidates are considered students, and are therefore given greater freedom to experiment and learn:

So I went to the UK, or to the English PhD system, why I actually chose it [was] because I thought I have that freedom again to learn as a student because you're not technically an employee, but a PhD student. And that comes with a lot of freedom in terms of learning, in terms of workshop seminars and everything (UK_FGP50_Germany)*.*

Conversely, a secondary but important factor for a Dutch national who migrated to do her PhD in Sweden was that, unlike in the UK, where PhD candidates are considered students and only provided with a stipend, in Sweden PhD candidates are considered full employees and given full benefits such as salary, pension contributions, annual leave etc.

3.4 Mobility within Europe for lifestyle reasons

3.4.1 Drivers of the decision to migrate

As evidenced in the survey data (see Figures 1-3), and to some extent already discussed in the previous sections on employment and study migration (Sections 3.1 and 3.3), lifestyle and related cultural and quality of life advantages, as well as a sense of wanderlust and the desire for new experiences, are extremely important in explaining intra-EU mobility, particularly – but not only – among the EU-born. A significant proportion (12%) of the EU-born survey respondents listed "lifestyle" as their primary reason for migration within the EU, and larger numbers of both EU and non-EU born intra-EU migrants indicated that lifestyle reasons had been their second or third reasons for migration (

Figure 1). Where survey respondents were asked to specify what factors had motivated their choice of destination country, 46% of the intra-EU migrants who responded to this survey question said that the opportunity to expand their horizons or have new experiences had motivated their choice of destination country. Of these, 7% selected this motivation as their first most important reason for choosing the country of destination, 34% selected it as their second most important reason, 28% their third most important reason, 25% their fourth most important reason, and 7% their fifth most important reason. Generally, the pursuit of new experiences and broadened horizons was slightly more important to survey respondents than specific preferences for certain cultures or lifestyles, but this may also be due to the large proportion of student migrants represented in the sample. A "more attractive lifestyle/culture" was selected by 36% of the intra-EU migrants who responded to this question, and there was a fairly even split in terms of the weight it was given by these respondents: 21% selected it as their first most important reason for choosing the country of destination, 11% selected it as their second most important reason, 21% as their third most important reason, 23% as their fourth most important reason, and another 23% as their fifth most important reason.

Data collected through focus group discussions and interviews further emphasised the importance of both types of motivation, both as a reason to migrate, and as important considerations in making the choice of destination country. This qualitative data also provided useful detail on how intra-EU mobility for lifestyle reasons can encompass a range of different motivations, at different stages of life.

As indicated in section 3.3 on student migration, the mobility decisions of younger EU nationals in particular may be motivated primarily by a sense of wanderlust – a desire for immersion in new environments, cultures, and experiences, rather than the pursuit of a culture or lifestyle that they already know they prefer. The in-depth qualitative data collected further demonstrated that this appetite for new experiences often underpinned what was ostensibly a decision to migrate for work or study. As one Italian focus group participant explained, he migrated to Sweden:

> *[…] because after the graduation I was looking for some position in university, as a PhD student but more for starting a new life experience, I wanted to come out*

from Italy and learn a new language and meet people, […] the PhD was kind of
[an] excuse to find another place [sic] (SWE_FGP02_Italy).

Although research participants commonly discussed their desire as students or recent graduates to experience new cultures and environments, it should be noted that migrating for new experiences, cultures, and lifestyles is not only the privilege of the highly-skilled or the young. A young low-skilled Greek interviewee in Sweden expressed the same desire for new experiences: "*I had a good life in Greece, not perfect but good. I was kind of bored, I wanted to see something different to challenge myself*" (SWE_INT08_Greece). As another example, an older Polish migrant decided she was not yet ready for retirement and was convinced by her friend, and by what she already knew from having holidayed, to migrate to Italy and find a new job there: "*I knew that there was good weather and good food. So, I said okay, I go, I have nothing to lose. I did not come for the money but to have a good time*" (IT_FGP57_Poland).

Some intra-EU migrants migrate not for new experiences and environments, but rather for what they consider a higher quality of life, based on their preference for a certain culture or lifestyle. Preferences for another culture or lifestyle may also be based on a lack of integration or adaptation to the culture, lifestyle, or environment of intra-EU migrants' country of current residence. In some cases, difficulties around integration can motivate a return migration. For example, one research participant explained the trade-off she had to make in terms of the better economic conditions available in other EU countries, and her more subjective sense of wellbeing, based on enjoyment of culture and lifestyle and social ties, in her country of origin. She decided to leave her good and secure job in Austria in order to return to Italy where, despite anticipating that it would be more difficult to achieve job security, she explained that:

[…] my free time was a nightmare because despite I had many plans I felt so
lonely and also alienated from society because I was not integrated, not speaking
German. I felt outsider. So I really felt very uncomfortable [sic]*.* (IT_FGP19)

In other cases, dissatisfaction with lifestyle motivates onwards, rather than return, movement. For a highly-skilled third country national and his family, their lack of integration

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and adaptation to life in Sweden motivated their onwards migration to Southern Europe, which entailed a similar trade-off to that made by the Italian migrant discussed above:

> *Sweden is a very advanced country and has also good living conditions. But the weather in Sweden is very, very cold. In winter, from November to May, it is always below zero, minus 15 or minus 20 degrees. In the winter the sky is always dark, so that is an environment that is not good for health. Especially for my family, and for my wife because when I go to work I'm in the office with colleagues but my wife stays always home alone. So, in that dark period maybe she would become a bit sad. So I asked my [employer] for permission to move me to another place* […]. (IT_FGP49_Taiwan)

3.4.2 Determinants of the choice of destination

Even where cultural and lifestyle factors were not the primary motivation for research participants' migration decisions, they often played a role in determining the choice of destination for migrants who moved within the EU primarily for work or study. Specific factors that research participants considered when assessing cultural or lifestyle aspects of potential destination countries included: climate (both warmer and colder, according to individual preferences), the physical environment (both the built environment and countryside), people and atmosphere (in terms of social interactions and cultural norms), pace of life and work-life balance, cuisine, history, cheaper cost of living, and access to activities and amenities. It is perhaps worth noting that, while in some cases research participants were drawn to countries where the lifestyle and culture were different to those that they were used to in their country of origin, others sought out cultures and lifestyles that were similar to what they were used to back home.

Many research participants said that multicultural or international environments held a particular attraction for them. For example, research participants were drawn to London as an "intercultural" or "world" city, and to Berlin and Barcelona as particularly cosmopolitan cities. For some highly-skilled and highly-mobile research participants, the presence of an international community emerged as a key condition for selecting potential future destinations. As one focus group participant explained, this is because other internationals make it easier to integrate into a new environment:

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Because when you move abroad at first, I have to say, it is not easy to make contacts [...] it is important that there is an international community in a country so you can find a connection and start new relationships (GE_INT13_Germany).

In terms of country differences across the case studies explored in this research, London, Berlin, and Stockholm were favoured by research participants who wanted to experience the buzz of a bigger, exciting city. This includes both high-skilled and low-skilled workers – for example, a young man born in Brazil, who grew up in Italy and who decided not to go to university, chose instead to move to the UK "*because I wanted to live a more interesting, exciting life. You know, Italy was a bit boring. Especially when you are at that age that you just want to experience new things*" (SWE_INT01_Brazil).

On the other hand, a large number of research participants explained that they had migrated, or planned to migrate, at the point that they had had enough of the demanding lifestyles associated with large, high-velocity cities such as London and Paris. For example, a Romanian national left London and returned to Spain because she considered London a "*jungle*" in terms of her work and social life, and missed the lighter, more easy-going lifestyle she had known previously in Spain (SP_FGP24_Romania).

Spain and Italy were therefore both favoured by migrants who had migrated, or wanted to migrate onwards, for a more relaxed mentality and pace of life, and a warmer, more welcoming social environment. For example, a Bulgarian migrant and her husband were planning to leave the UK and go to Spain because, even though they expected their earnings to decrease in Spain, they were sick of the long working hours and commutes in London and wanted to have more time as a family together.

Although there were no retirement or "sunset" migrants[7] included in our sample of focus group participants and interviewees (likely due to only sampling in large cities), it is interesting to note that retirement aspirations among non-EU born participants echoed observed trends among retirement-age EU citizens. For example, a Colombian focus group participant in the UK said that he would like to move back to Spain for better weather and a better lifestyle in his retirement, adding "*like the British people do,*

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[7] See Strey, et al. (2018).

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no?"(UK_FGP79_Colombia). Similarly, reflecting on his longer-term mobility, a highly-skilled Peruvian migrant settled in Germany said that he would only consider further migration to return to Peru or "*if we're really old and retirees to Portugal or something* [sic]. *As all German pensioners do*" (GE_FGP01_Peru).

Finally, research participants in Sweden emphasised the attractions of Sweden's work culture, in terms of supporting a healthy work-life balance. In one case, an architect explained that she prioritised work-life balance over professional development when choosing to come to Sweden – had she been more ambitious, she said she would have chosen another country where the opportunities to develop in her professional field are more advanced.

3.5 Mobility within Europe for other reasons

3.5.1 The welfare system

As also found in the survey responses (Figure 1), interviewees and focus group participants rarely cited access to social security as a primary motivation for migration within the EU. The exceptions to this were a few highly-skilled migrants who could be characterised as having experienced greater precarity in their countries of previous residence. For example, an internationally-mobile, highly-skilled worker from Ukraine who, following the political and economic turmoil in Ukraine, decided to settle indefinitely in the EU, paid special attention to the social security and pension systems in the different EU countries to which she could migrate. Similarly, a high-skilled Swedish migrant chose to return to Sweden for the security that she was aware that she lacked in other EU countries:

> *Well I think like when you just starting your career and when you're younger then you don't have the same ideas about welfare and about what's important. […] and it's just like now when I'm in my thirties I realize that I don't really have that much pension savings and I think like here everything is, like you pay a lot of taxes – really high taxes – but you also get a sense of protection if you fall ill or if you need hospital if you need treatment, everything like that, […] so for me now that I'm getting older and more sort of comfortable in my career I think*

that's like one of my top criteria for choosing where to live (SWE_FGP03_Sweden).

It should be noted that, where social security was discussed in the context of motivations for intra-EU migration, research participants focused on policies to protect and support workers (such as sick leave, parental leave and pension schemes), and which might be privately regulated and provided rather than state benefits to which they would be entitled without working (such as unemployment benefits).The advantages of different social policies and social security systems may have been taken into consideration among low-skilled migrants too, but this was not made explicit except in one case (where the research participant also focussed on working conditions and the benefits associated with employment rather than unemployment).

When directly asked whether any policies regarding access to services and welfare benefits had affected their intra-EU migration decisions, research participants generally had little to say. Occasionally, research participants specified that, at the point of migrating, they had not been aware of their rights to access, for example, tax credits and housing benefits, and that they had come to work in the country of destination and therefore paid their taxes like anyone else. One Colombian focus group participant in the UK expressed particular frustration with public narratives that frame migrants as taking unfair advantage of the welfare system:

> *Yeah the thing now is that many people think, I'm not sure which nationalities are to mind, I don't care to be honest, but they say that we as immigrants, we came here for [welfare benefits]. I don't know why they are a bit upset for that, but you, if you get that right to receive some benefits, why not? What's your problem? So we are working and paying our taxes, so what's the problem?* [sic] (UK_FGP77_Colombia)

Across the five case countries studied, the UK, Germany, Italy and Spain were rarely mentioned in discussions of social security and social policy among intra-EU migrants. However, discussions with research participants who had migrated to Sweden indicated that these intra-EU migrants had paid particular attention to the advantages of the Swedish

labour market in terms of employment conditions and benefits, particularly pension schemes and parental leave. For example, a highly-skilled migrant from the Ukraine explained that, given the opportunity to re-migrate within the EU as part of an inter-company transfer, her choice of Sweden was primarily determined by her sense that Sweden's welfare system, as well as economic and political stability, offered her the most secure future.

3.5.2   Other economic factors and opportunities

Beyond social security systems, intra-EU migrants described how their migration decisions were also based on the pursuit of a stable, secure future in broader terms. For example, a highly-skilled Ecuadorian national said that she and her partner were concerned about Spain's economic stability, and were therefore looking to re-migrate, either to a Nordic EU country, or outside of the EU, rather than settle in Spain.

Among the five case countries explored in this research, Sweden clearly emerged as the favoured destination country for a secure quality of life. Policies in place in Sweden were discussed at length by qualitative research participants, who mentioned in particular government policies and social norms to support family life, and the relative accessibility of the housing market for first-time buyers. More broadly, focus group discussions in Sweden highlighted a sense among research participants that Sweden's well-regulated labour market, housing market, economy, and political system offers a secure and stable future, which gives them the confidence to put down roots there. In a couple of cases, internationally-mobile Swedes had returned to Sweden for these reasons. Likewise, a couple of research participants had paid attention to the good family policies and economic prospects available to them and their children in Germany when they took the decision to migrate there from other EU countries.

In contrast, a large number of students and highly-skilled migrants who took part in focus group discussions and interviews in the UK, or who had previously lived in the UK, discussed the high costs of living, and limited prospects for buying property, as an important reason to leave the UK. Many of these research participants were actively comparing rents and property prices in London with other places in Europe that they were familiar with or had heard about. One Peruvian migrant with EU nationality said that the expense of living in

London, and the impact this had on her quality of life, had influenced her decision to migrate onwards to Germany to continue her PhD.

3.5.3 Political dissatisfaction and social tensions

Research participants from both EU and non-EU countries of origin discussed political and social developments, and in particular the rise of xenophobia and the far right, as a reason for migration, although only one person said that they had actually already migrated onwards within the EU for this reason – for the rest, they discussed their future intentions or likely decisions. In the case of a couple of migrants from Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East, it was their direct experience of racism (in Finland, Germany, Spain and Italy) that had already motivated, or would motivate their migration.

For others, who might not be the obvious targets of racial discrimination, their explanations of how political developments might affect their decision-making focussed more on their ideological opposition to far-right ideologies. As one French national living in Spain explained:

> *We are seeing movement of the extreme right in Europe,… Brexit, Italy… if we start to have a political panorama going to the extremes, I would consider moving so that my son has other values than those* (SP_INT05_France)

Similarly, a Portuguese national living in Sweden anticipated that:

> *[…] if the extreme right would gain more power and […] if now they would change a lot of policies regarding migration and refugees and all this welcoming to like to new people and new citizens, […] if that would change, maybe I would also change my ideas of staying here for a longer term* (SWE_FGP05_Portugal).

It is worth noting that, for some research participants, increasing xenophobia was considered a European phenomenon, which might therefore motivate their migration outside of the EU rather than to another EU country.

In the UK, the decision to leave the EU was discussed as a source of anger, disappointment, and insecurity by a large number of highly-skilled research participants, both EU and non-EU

nationals. Beyond the insecurity regarding future immigration policy and the related bueaucratic barriers to staying, as well as the potential economic consequences for the country (which had already motivated a couple of research participants to seek, and accept, jobs in other EU and non-EU countries), many of these research participants presented their ideological opposition to Brexit as a factor that might on its own, or in conjunction with other motives, push them to leave the UK.

For young EU nationals, in particular, their resistance to staying in the UK on a visa was a matter of principle, based on the value they placed on free movement within the EU:

> *I don't want to stay here and have to live on a visa. I mean, it sounds spoiled and entitled but it's like, I'm a European citizen – I'm not doing this!* (UK_FGP06_Germany).

> *[…it's] more like the principle in a way, I think. I would feel that I came to the UK on the premise that I would be able to live here without having to apply for visas, and that the rules of the game were changed whilst I was here, and for reasons that I disagree with* (UK_FGP08_Switzerland)

These and other research participants also expressed discomfort with the political direction in which they felt the UK was heading, which they said might potentially push them to leave the UK, even if they were legally able to stay. For others, Brexit had broken their affective ties to and sense of belonging in the UK: many research participants said that they were reluctant to live in and contribute to a country in which they felt unwanted and unwelcome, and where they no longer felt at home.

Similarly, in Barcelona, a couple of EU national research participants mentioned that growing Catalonian nationalism might trigger their out-migration, because of both the economic effects on the country, and because they were opposed to nationalism and feeling increasingly unwelcome as foreigners in Catalonia.

3.5.4 A return to roots

Focus group participants explained that their personal or family ties to a country of destination exerted an emotional pull which influenced their decision to migrate there. For

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example, a high-skilled migrant from Argentina, who had previously been living in the UK, migrated onwards to Italy primarily because of a work opportunity offered to him there, but also "*a bit because of my roots*", as his parents were Italian and he had Italian citizenship (IT_FGP07_Argentina). Similarly, a focus group participant who had moved from France to the UK for her master's degree explained that "*choosing to come to the UK was also to do with…. I'm half British, I'd never actually lived in the UK so it was kind of way to come back to my family roots, in a sense*" (UK_FGP28_France).

3.5.5 Freedom of movement within the EU

For a number of young, highly-skilled EU-nationals who had grown up with the principle of free movement, the opportunity to take advantage of their rights to free movement within the EU was reason enough to migrate. As one Italian national said, he came to the UK firstly because he was offered a job but:

> *[…] the second reason is because I could! You know, it was very easy for me – I got on a plane, moved here, and I could do that in two years to another European country if I wanted to, so it would be stupid not to take this opportunity. Well that's what I, and also my partner, thought.* (UK_FGP02_Italy)

Another young German student explained that he expected to re-migrate to another EU country at least once more in his life:

> *Just because I really want to use the options we have as European citizens to move around freely and to experience other countries. Yes, so, as long as I'm young and not fixed to a specific place, I really want to make use of it* (UK_FGP48_Germany)

For others, free movement within the EU was not necessarily a primary motivation to migrate, but was considered important in their mobility decision-making, given the ways in which free movement, and the legal and administrative structures to support it, lowers the costs of migration, making it much easier to migrate within the EU than to third countries. As a young French national stated, his decision to migrate to Italy to learn Italian, as well as for the history and the food, was also based on the fact that "*it's a place where I can move*

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to without any problems because I'm a European citizen, so no bureaucracy, unlike moving to Latin America for example or somewhere else" (IT_INT01_France).

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4. The longer-term mobility trajectories of migrants in the EU

4.1 Initial plans

4.1.1 Migrants from EU countries of origin

Only a minority of research participants from EU countries of origin arrived in the country of destination with a firm idea of their future mobility plans, and fewer still expected to stay in the country of destination in the long term. A couple of EU nationals whose migration decisions were driven mainly by lifestyle preferences or to join a partner said that they came to settle indefinitely in the country of destination. A much larger number expected to return to their countries of origin at the end of their or their partner's period of study, internship, or fixed-term work contract. It was not always clear why research participants expected to return to their countries of origin. Besides the couple of Eastern Europeans who came to Italy as target earners around a decade prior (and who subsequently stayed on), a couple of other EU nationals mentioned that they had a partner or a job to return to, or the rest of their study programme to complete (in the case of ERASMUS students). Otherwise, it seemed that, for EU nationals, who have the freedom to move easily within the EU, there was simply no expectation that their stay in the destination country should be permanent. As one young Swedish woman explained, "*I guess it was just never our intention to stay in the UK for life. It is just this thing, you go there, you try it out and then you come back*" (SWE_FGP24_Sweden).

Although the expectation of return to an EU country of origin does not preclude the idea of further migration in the future, a large majority of EU-origin migrants had plans that were more open-ended in the short term. Highly-skilled EU migrants who moved to the country for a new work opportunity, as well as for a new environment and experiences, often said that they had no particular plans for how long they wanted to stay. As one Italian focus group participant explained "*my idea when I moved was to be here for a period and then assess*" (UK_FGP01_Italy). A German national who moved from the Netherlands to the UK with her family because they wanted "*a change*" reflected that "*from the beginning I could never answer that question that people always ask you: 'For how long are you planning to*

stay?', 'when are you moving back?'. I just don't know" (UK_FGP05_Germany). Similarly, for a young entrepreneur from France, migrating to the UK for a business opportunity was a risk that he planned to assess periodically with his team:

> *[…] it was very short term [planning] in the beginning, and, obviously, you know, with the flexibility we have in Europe, I knew that if things didn't work out here I could go back to France, or, potentially back to Canada. So I was considering those as Plan Bs*" (UK_FGP14_France).

Low-skilled EU-origin migrants, who also migrated within the EU for both work opportunities and a change of lifestyle, explained that when they arrived in their country of destination, they were equally undecided regarding the length of their stay, and planned just to see how it went.

As regards student migrants from EU countries of origin, these participants generally had little idea of what they would do beyond the duration of their degree or PhD programme. One student only knew that she did not want to return to her country of origin; another only knew that she would prefer to migrate onwards than stay in the country of study. Sometimes students migrated with the idea that they might like to stay in the country of destination post-study, but were just testing the waters and waiting to see what opportunities would come up. This was particularly the case among student migrants who chose to study in the UK with their longer-term professional development in mind, and who therefore wanted to spend a few years in the UK in order to jumpstart their careers, before migrating onwards. As one French national who was interested in the London-based tech start-up scene explained:

> *I wanted to complete my degree and maybe start a job here, because compared to home it's easier to start a career here. So that was my idea, we'll see if I stick to it, or if it's easier to just stay here. But yeah, maybe up to five years, but no longer, definitely* (UK_FGP28_France).

4.1.2 Migrants from non-EU countries of origin

In general, the migration decisions of migrants from non-EU countries of origin were less open-ended, or made with longer time-horizons in mind, than those of EU-origin migrants.

Some groups of non-EU origin migrants came to the EU with the intention of staying in the long-term, or forever. Such groups included participants who migrated to the EU to join a partner with EU-nationality or who had a long-term work contract in the EU. Non-EU migrants who had, or had immediate access to, EU nationality or a special long-term visa based on ancestry or historical links, also often expected to stay in the country of destination longer-term or indefinitely. Focus group participants (both high and low skilled) who had left their non-EU countries of origin due to the conflict and insecurity they faced there were particularly firm in their intentions to stay in the long-term. For these participants, securing permanent residence was a particular concern. A couple of high-skilled migrants from the Ukraine and Turkey who had left these countries because of recent political and economic developments said they were open to further migration in the future, but first wanted to stay in their country of destination (Sweden) at least until they had obtained permanent residence, which would give them some stability and security going forwards.

Other groups of non-EU origin research participants expected to return to their countries of origin after a short or fixed-term stay in the EU country of destination. This was the case for two research participants who did have EU nationality and who came to their EU countries of destination with the idea of staying in the short-term to explore and experience the culture and lifestyle before returning to their countries of origin. Return intentions were, however, more common among third-country nationals who did not have EU citizenship and who came to the EU country of destination for a study programme or fixed-term work contract. In the case of third country national student migrants, their initial plans to return was sometimes linked to their motives for studying abroad, as they considered that obtaining a qualification from the university and country of destination would improve their career prospects back in their country of origin: as one student from Argentina explained, "*my priority was to obtain a good diploma to then reincorporate [into] the system in Argentina*" (SP_FGP30_Argentina). Two students from Japan and China who were studying in the UK further explained that they had not given much thought to the idea of staying in the UK to work after graduating because they considered their chances of sucessfully integrating into the UK labour market very low, due to cultural and linguistic barriers and visa difficulties.

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In some other cases, however, non-EU origin research participants did not have any firm initial plans. This was the case for a few student migrants without EU nationality (and one with EU nationality), who were unsure of where their further study or career opportunities would take them after their initial study programme. This was largely because these students were thinking about pursuing doctoral studies, or an international career, or, in the case of one Albanian national, because they did not see a future for themselves in their country of origin. There were also a couple of non-EU origin migrants who did not have EU nationality and who came to the country of destination for their own or their partner's fixed-term high-skilled work contracts. These participants did not have a firm idea of how long they would end up staying in the country of destination and most were open to migrating onto other countries in the future.

Lastly, the research found limited evidence that migrants from non-EU countries and without EU nationality make deliberate use of the relatively easy access into one EU country in order to then migrate onwards to another EU country. The few research participants who did describe such initial intentions included both high and low-skilled migrants. For one architecture student from the U.S., doing his master's in the UK offered a "*way into staying in Europe for longer*"– after graduating in the UK he hoped to stay on in the UK or in another EU country in order to gain exposure to the European architectural profession (UK_INT02_US). A couple of migrants from North Africa explained that they came to Italy with the intention of migrating onwards, but all had arrived in the EU more than a decade ago. Focus group discussions and interviews with more recently arrived asylum-seekers and migrants who had left their non-EU countries of origin (in Sub-Saharan Africa, the main refugee-producing countries in the Middle East, as well as Latin America) due to physical and/or economic insecurity found little evidence of immediate onward mobility intentions. Rather, these research participants expressed confidence that, if they were able to successfully develop sustainable livelihoods and integrate into the countries of destination, they would like to remain there.

4.2 The future prospect of return

Whether or not returning to a country of origin featured in research participants' initial plans for the more immediate future, the prospect of returning, sooner or later, to a country of origin was often discussed by research participants from both EU and non-EU countries. In contrast, there were others for whom the prospect of return was only a remote, or entirely undesired, possibility.

Return to third countries of origin
Research participants from non-EU countries commonly aspired to return to their countries of origin at some point in the future. This included many Latin American research participants who had come to Spain around 20 years ago with the intention to return after a couple of years. Mostly, current aspirations to return seemed to be based on a longing for "home"and for family and friends, and because that is where they would prefer to start a family of their own. In the case of a couple of highly-skilled third country nationals, their ambitions to return home were also based on the desire to engage politically in their country of origin. More commonly, however, focus group participants and interviewees from third counties of origin planned to return to their countries of origin at the point that they retire, seeing the duration of their migration experience in the country of destination as coinciding with their working life. This was particularly important to low-skilled migrants from African countries of origin, who did not look forward to the prospect of growing old in their countries of current residence (Italy and the UK), because they anticipated financial difficulties and a lack of care and support. As one Ghanaian focus group participant explained:

> As a foreigner, I have to rent from privates and rent is always high and doesn't allow you to live decently. If one is young and work is ok, but if you are old, no. That's why once I stop working I go back to my home country because I can at least live decently. But my kids won't go back, they would come for holiday and that's it, but I don't see my future here. I always think about going back. I go back to be free and live in my own way (IT_FGP67_Ghana).

However, in some cases the desire to return seemed to be more of a distant hope than a concrete plan – particularly where the migrant specified that their return would depend on conditions in the country of origin changing significantly, for example, to bring about the end of conflict or violence or a change of political regime. Other qualitative research participants highlighted the practical barriers to their return. A focus group participant who had migrated to Spain with his family as a child reflected on what he had observed among his parents' cohort who had arrived in Spain 15-20 years ago:

> *I think, for most of us here, it's usual to say "I go to Spain, I work for 1 year, 2 years and then I go back". But then the papers issue is complicated. Most of us here we are, we were, undocumented. So going back is very complicated.* (SP_FGP09_Ecuador)

For another Latin American migrant who had obtained Spanish nationality, the barriers were financial:

> *For me, it's impossible I go back to Ecuador. I am thinking of my pension. In Ecuador I would never have the pension I have here. So this is a factor. I am saving up for pensions here. So once I take it I will enjoy my pension maybe in Ecuador as a holiday* [sic] (SP_FGP16_Ecuador)

Other migrants from third countries of origin said that they had no aspirations to return to their countries of origin. This was typically the case where migrants had endured particular hardships in their countries of origin which had motivated their emigration, for example in terms of conflict, physical insecurity, a lack of economic resources, a lack of basic public services, or political corruption or persecution, or where they were opposed to the current political situation in their countries of origin.

Return to EU countries of origin

A few research participants planned to return to their EU countries of origin upon completion of a short-term work contract, or as a "Plan B" if they were unsuccessful in finding a job in their current country of residence. A couple of others who had followed their partners to the country of destination for a fixed term work contract or study programme were looking forward to returning to their countries of origin because that is

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where their own jobs or career development opportunities remained. One Romanian focus group participant had no concrete plans to return, but expressed that she might be drawn back to Romania by policy incentives to support returnee start-ups, which she would be interested in doing "*to help the economy of my country*".

For the most part, where return (at some later stage) was envisaged by EU-origin research participants, it was due to the importance of family and cultural ties. The largest number of research participants from EU countries of origin wanted to return to their countries of origin to be with family and friends. It was interesting that, even among young and highly-mobile EU-origin migrants who were well-integrated in their countries of current residence and who saw themselves as being mobile in the future, their sense of belonging to their countries of origin exerted a strong pull on them. For example, for one young woman, whose parents were from different EU countries and who had spent many years in the UK where her family was also based, the fact that she felt most at home in France was an important reason to go back at some stage:

> *[…] because that's where I grew up so I kind of have ties to the country, although I'm not ready to move back there yet […] I mean, the French culture is the culture I know best because I grew up there and I associate with it a lot in terms of food, language, education, culture, history etc.* (UK_FGP29_France)

Similarly, a German national who was just finishing her undergraduate degree in the UK explained that, although she perhaps felt more accustomed to life as a young adult in London than in Germany, she would never feel as entirely at home in the UK as she would in Germany:

> *[…] in the long-run, I'd feel more comfortable living in Germany […] Because I can communicate in English, but I think it will never be like my mother tongue like German. And although I think London is such a cultural… like very diverse city, but there are always instances, like things that are like "oh, yeah, yeah, you're not from here, how would you know?" or "oh yeah, you don't know this expression." So I think once I want to settle I want to fully feel like I live there* (UK_FGP49_Germany)

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In terms of the timelines that EU-origin migrants imagined for their return, they expressed less fixed ideas. In contrast to research participants from third countries of origin, who often conceived of their retirement as the natural point at which to return, only a couple of EU-origin migrants (from Greece and Poland) saw themselves returning to their countries of origin as retirees. Return for retirement would not necessarily be a permanent move – one Polish migrant living in Italy suggested that in their retirement, she and her husband's mobility would likely be circular: "*maybe, when my husband retires, we go to Poland. Then maybe come back a bit here and stay a bit here and a bit in Poland*." Others, like research participants from non-EU countries, anticipated that they would return at the point that their parents or other family members were elderly and needed their care. More generally, however, the return plans of EU-origin migrants were more flexible – many research participants from high-income Northern European countries simply saw themselves returning to their countries of origin at a later stage of their working lives when they wanted a higher quality of life, or to "settle down". Research participants who had already returned, or who were intending to return, for such reasons, sometimes made explicit reference to the higher quality of social security and public services available in their countries of origin (e.g. Sweden and German), and which they were reluctant to forego if they settled elsewhere.

Unique to the EU-origin research participants was the idea that return would be an intermediate stop-over, rather than indefinite end-point, in their mobility trajectories. These research participants saw themselves as highly-mobile, but considered it important to come back to their countries of origin (before re-migrating) in order to maintain a sense of connection with home. As one young German who had migrated within the EU many times and who spoke multiple languages explained: "*I love to go away but come back. I need that idea, or plan of coming back because of family, I think, because of my roots*" (SWE_FGP21_Germany). Similarly, after finishing both her undergraduate and master's degrees in London, a young French national decided to return to Paris at least for a while in order to re-establish her ties there:

> *I feel like I had to prove to my family – my brother and my mum who were still in Paris – that I could come back. Because my sister, for example, she went to study*

in the U.S., and she never came back – she's been there for like ten years now and she's married to an American and stuff. And I think I just wanted to show them like "look, I was away for five years but I'm coming back!" (UK_INT05_France).

For one German national who had been highly mobile in the last decade, returning to Germany was important not only for family reasons, but also because he considered it administratively easier to maintain a base in Germany than attempt to navigate and integrate completely into a foreign system.

There were other EU-origin research participants, however, for whom the prospect of return had little appeal. These research participants tended to be opposed to the current politics of their country of origin, or to the prevailing societal norms and values. Where political factors were most important, the possibility of return was not necessarily dismissed entirely. As one Hungarian focus group participant in Italy explained: "*I am not very keen on returning to Hungary mainly because of the current political situation, I do not really see myself there at the moment*" (IT_FGP48_Hungary). However, for others for whom social factors were more relevant, and which could not be expected to change very quickly, return was a more remote possibility: "*I would never go back to Germany because I think the values don't fit me – it's like very conservative*" (SWE_FGP17_Germany). This was also the case for research participants who had no plans to return because they felt that their country of origin held little interest for them in terms of culture and lifestyle or other personal attachments.

A couple of other research participants may have felt emotional attachments to their country of origin, but considered themselves unlikely to return because of a lack of career prospects, or expected difficulties re-integrating into the labour market, in the country of orign. Similarly, others (particularly those from Southern European countries now living in Northern Europe) felt that, even though in some ways they might like to return to their countries of origin, they anticipated that they would struggle to re-adapt to the way of life and mentality in their countries of origin. In terms of specific differences, a couple of highly-skilled research participants from Italy and Portugal explained that, having experienced Sweden's better practices around gender equality and environmentalism, it would be hard not to be frustrated by lower standards in their countries of origin.

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It is also worth noting that, for a couple of the Latin American focus group participants who obtained Spanish citizenship in Spain before re-migrating onto the UK, Spain, rather than their countries of origin, was discussed as the country that they might or would like to return to once they have achieved their work-related objectives in the UK.

4.3 Factors that affect migrants' continued mobility

Regardless of whether migrants arrived in their EU country of destination (from an EU or non-EU country of previous residence) with a firm idea of how long they would stay, the qualitative and quantitive data on research participants' current thinking highlights their substantial uncertainty regarding their future mobility or immobility. When asked whether they had concrete plans to re-migrate within the next 12 months, few respondents said yes – approximately 85% of all respondents, whether high or low skilled, born inside or outside of the EU, had no concrete plans to re-migrate within the next 12 months (see Figure 6). However, when asked whether they plan to re-migrate within the next five years (and given the option to say that they do not know or are undecided), respondents who planned to stay in the country of current residence represented the minority across all groups (see Figure 7). With regard to differences between groups, low-skilled respondents were considerably more likely to intend to stay in the country of destination for at least the next five years, whilst high-skilled respondents had more open-ended plans – 48% were unsure or said that they did not know where they would be in five years. Respondents born in EU-countries also indicated more open-ended plans: EU-born respondents were around half as likely as non-EU born respondents to say that they were planning to stay in the country of current residence (21% versus 41%).

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Figure 6. Proportion of survey respondents with concrete intentions to re-migrate within the next 12 months, by skill level and country of birth
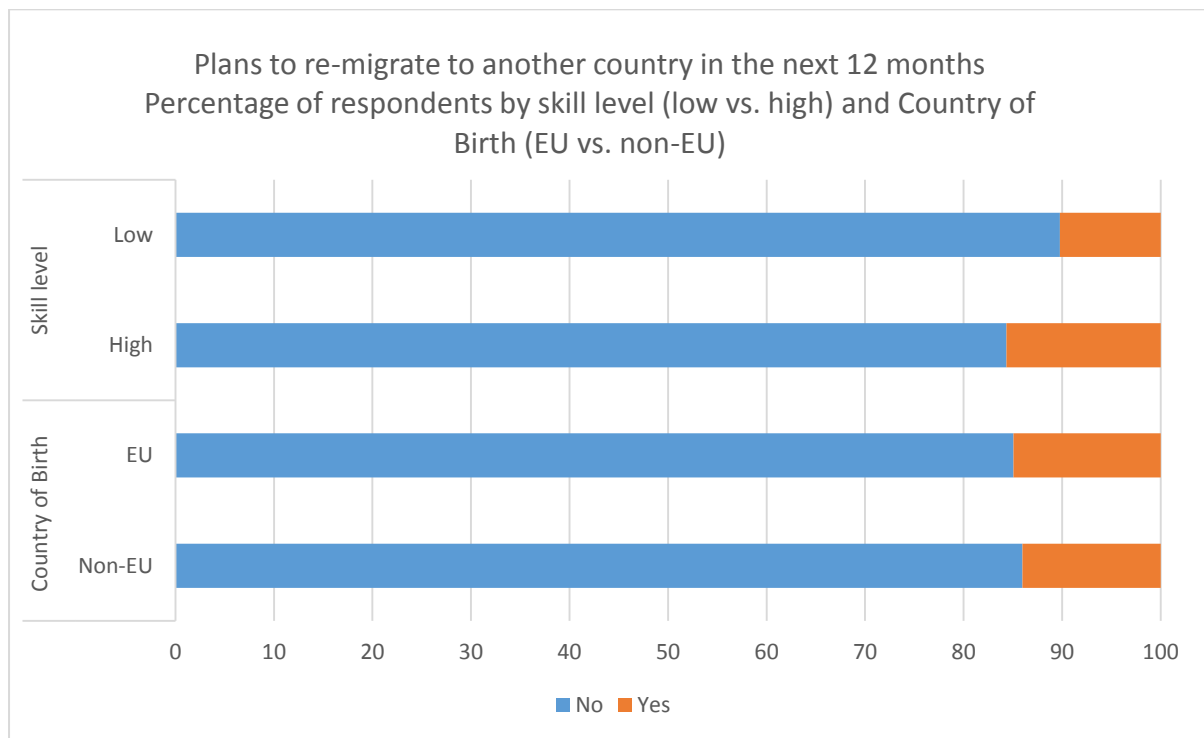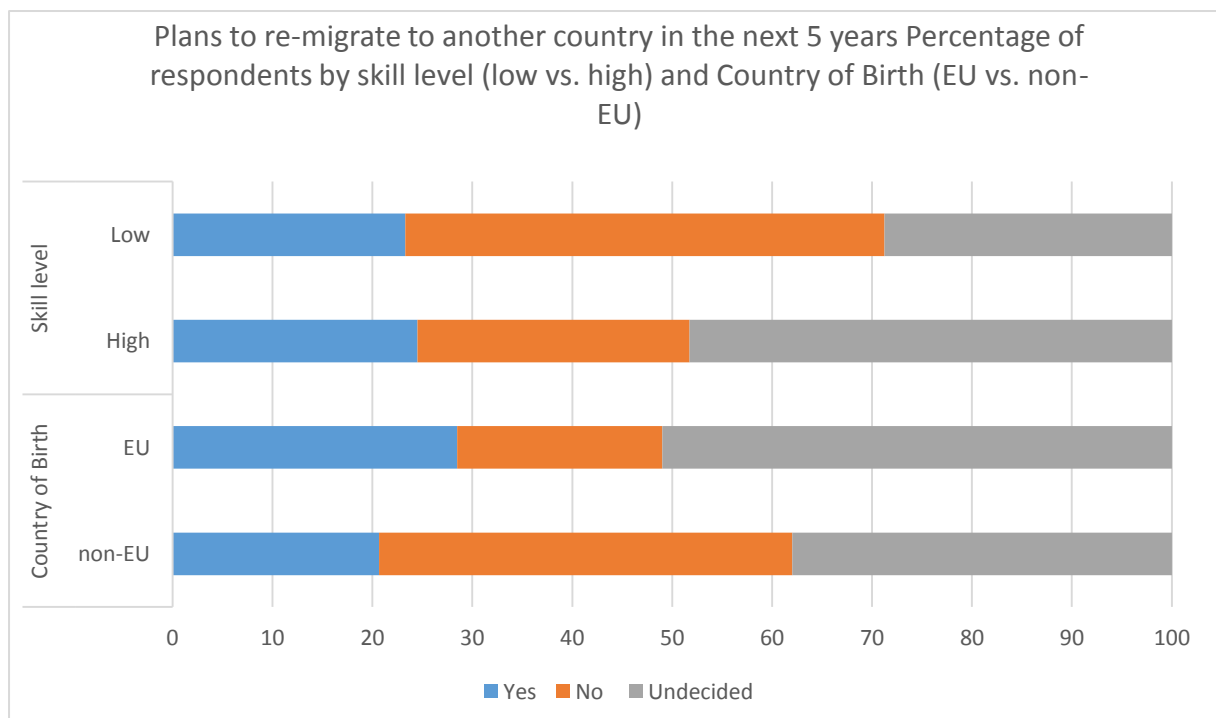
Plans to re-migrate to another country in the next 12 months
Percentage of respondents by skill level (low vs. high) and Country of Birth (EU vs. non-EU)

Figure 7. Survey respondents' intentions to stay or to re-migrate within the next five years, by skill level and country of birth

Plans to re-migrate to another country in the next 5 years Percentage of respondents by skill level (low vs. high) and Country of Birth (EU vs. non-EU)

As regards those respondents who indicated that they were planning to migrate again within the next five years, the most commonly-cited reason was for work. Respondents who

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were intending to migrate for work (36%) were planning to migrate to a range of EU and non-EU destinations: the U.S. and Canada featured among the five most commonly-indicated countries of destination, and the most frequently-cited EU countries were Germany, the UK, Denmark, France and the Netherlands. After work, lifestyle was the most frequent reason for future migration (18% of respondents); these respondents cited a diverse range of EU and non-EU countries as their countries of intended destination, which included the U.S. and Australia and a variety of different EU countries, the most popular of which were Spain, France and Germany (but the numerical differences were small). Joining family or a romantic partner was the third most commonly-cited reason for migrating within the next five years (15% of respondents), and study was selected by a similar proportion of the respondents who answered this question (14%). English-speaking non-EU destinations (the U.S., Canada and Australia) were popular intended destinations among those intending to migrate for study reasons, and Germany was the most popular EU destination, but a variety of other (mostly Northern and Western European) EU countries were also selected by respondents. Much smaller proportions of respondents said that they were intending to migrate for better access to social security/healthcare (5%), or due to the political situation in their country of current residence (4%). Where respondents in these last two groups were planning to migrate to another EU country, there was no clear trends in terms of where they were currently living and intending to go – although two out of three of the respondents who were planning to migrate within the EU due to political factors were currently living in the UK.

Given the generally high degree of uncertainty among intra-EU migrants, the in-depth qualitative data collected demonstrates the diverse ways in which migrants' mobility behaviour changes, often in ways that individual migrants did not foresee. The paragraphs below provide some indication of the ways in which different factors impact migrants' mobility and immobility.

4.3.1 Work and study opportunities

The continued mobility of many research participants – both from non-EU and EU countries of origin – was frequently determined by the emergence of job or study opportunities which made it possible or desirable to stay in the country of destination. At the point of arriving in

the destination, some migrants may have given conscious thought to finding work in the country of destination. In other cases, however, the experience of living, and particularly studying, in the country or city of destination can bring to the individual's attention the work opportunities available to them in that place, leading them to continue further studies or pursue work opportunities there. In the case of students, especially, there is some element of path dependency, as familiarity with and integration into the higher education system – and perhaps also the labour market – in the country of destination made it relatively more straightforward for research participants to continue their professional development there (for example, applying for a master's after an undergraduate course).

At the same time, international students may become more aware of the relative difficulties or drawbacks of pursuing their career in their country of origin. For example, one Romanian student migrant in Italy explained that she did not want to return to the corruption and nepotism on which she felt her job prospects would depend in Romania. A couple of research participants who had studied in the UK did apply for jobs in their countries of previous residence, but found that studying in another country had actually disadvantaged them in the labour market back "home", and that it was therefore better to stay in the UK. For example, for one interviewee who had done her undergraduate degree in London, it was her own discomfort and lack of familiarity with the work environment in Poland:

> *[…] my only professional experience and knowledge of the job market that I've ever had is in the UK now, and after three years of studying you're quite detached from what's happening in your home country, so, um… I was going back, and having a look, I even applied for a few things but I just felt so unfamiliar with the whole system, I never used… obviously I'm native in the Polish language but I'd never used it in business situations, so I found myself completely unable to go through interviews in Polish […] So that was an additional barrier to going back* (UK_FGP12_Poland)

For another interviewee who studied at a highly prestigious university in the UK, the barrier was that his UK qualifications were not as widely recognised in his home country:

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[…] it's easier to get a job in the UK if you have a UK degree, because everyone is like "oh, I know this degree". Whereas if you go abroad, for example back in the Czech Republic, I have to always like validate my education through the ministries and all that stuff, it's complicated. And here it's just much easier. (UK_FGP53_CzechRepublic).

Finally, self-employment in particular can also disincentivise further mobility, because of the importance of co-location for building and maintaining professional networks, and the fact that professional reputations are not necessarily easily transferred between countries. As one young entrepreneur explained:

For me short term, like in the next five year window, I guess it's a lot about the business, how the company is going, where our clients are. I mean, we're obviously kind of tied to this client base that we have now, you want to be … physical proximity is still very important, even in this day and age. So, I mean, that's short term what's keeping me here (UK_FGP14_France)

4.3.2 Love

Focus group and interview discussions demonstrated that migrants' later mobility is also often strongly influenced by romantic relationships. In one case, a young Dutch national met her boyfriend during a short-term migration experience and subsequently returned to be with him. However, more commonly, new relationships act as a brake on migrants' future mobility: a number of research participants (both high and low skilled and from EU and non-EU countries of origin) who did not migrate with long-term plans to stay in the EU country of destination found themselves staying in the longer-term because they met someone with whom they wanted to be in a relationship. It is worth noting however, that while for some people falling in love may be the decisive factor on which their decision to stay in the country hinges, in other cases it seemed from research participants' accounts that falling in love and entering into a relationship was rather part of a broader process of putting down roots in that country, but which nonetheless makes the prospect of migrating out of that country a more remote possibility. Sometimes an individual's migratory stay in a country becomes longer-term not because they meet someone there, but rather because their existing partner migrates to join them there, thus making it easier to stay.

In other cases, research participants continuing mobility was affected by the end of a relationship. Two focus group participants mentioned that, having broken up with or becoming estranged from their boyfriends who were back in their countries of origin, they were freer to stay in the country of destination. The end of a relationship can also induce further migration: having completed her undergraduate and master's degrees in the UK, a French national decided to take advantage of a recent break-up in order to be mobile within the EU:

> *[…] also I was single … and I hadn't been single in a lot time, and I felt like I wasn't tied to anyone in that way, and I should like take the opportunity to go back to Paris and like, be able to start something here, in Paris, without feeling like I was attached to anyone somewhere else.*" (UK_INT05_France)

Sometimes a couple's future mobility becomes constrained, not because one of them does not want to re-migrate, but because migrating as a couple can be more difficult due to legal restrictions, language barriers, or concerns regarding the sustainability of a relationship under new pressures. For example, one interviewee who had already left the UK emphasised the interrelated pulls of her romantic relationship and friendship networks. She explained that, even though she felt "*done with London*", she was strongly considering moving back, firstly to join her partner, and also because, given that she already had a large network of friends, there would be less pressure on her and on the relationship compared to how she might feel if she and her partner migrated to a new country (UK_INT5_France). For this and another former student, both of whom have partners who are themselves international migrants from non-EU countries, their mobility as couples is limited by visa regimes and language barriers. As one focus group participant explained:

> *In my case I got my life more complicated during the study, because I fell in love with one of my coursemates and we married here in the UK. And we both use English as our language we have in common, but my first language is obviously Italian and her first language is Indonesian, so the UK becomes somehow a neutral country, in between the other two* [sic] (UK_FGP32_Italy).

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In terms of visa regimes, these former students and their third-country national partners were attracted to other countries but were reluctant to leave the UK because they felt they had already invested so much in the processes for obtaining visas and permanent residency in the UK, and did not want to start from scratch in another country. As the Italian focus group participant explained, meeting the requirements for his wife's visa had been "*a real nightmare*" but it would be "*even worse to go back to Italy and start from zero*", particularly because he felt that the UK visa requirements and regulations were at least clearer than in Italy (UK_FGP32_Italy).

In more hypothetical discussions of their likely future mobility decision-making, a large number of research participants from both EU and non-EU countries of origin anticipated that their romantic relationships would play a determining role. In accordance with the data collected on research participants' past migration decisions, focus group participants and interviewees who were not currently in a relationship anticipated that if they met someone they wanted to be with in the longer term, this might change their mobility trajectories. Similarly, those who were already in relationships anticipated that their partner's preferences were likely to affect their decision-making. Some research participants considered themselves to be willing to move wherever their partner goes; others anticipated that any future migration would be the result of negotiation and compromise. Among highly-skilled and highly-mobile couples who expected to migrate again, there was further evidence that some partners take it "in turn" to decide on their next country of destination. For example, as one Polish national who had already migrated multiple times both within and outside of the EU explained:

> *I think that for me it's more about finding a balance with my life partner – where he wants to go next because, since I was the one dragging him places before, now it's his turn to choose. I think it's common, if you want to build a strong partnership you need to give the lead to the other person* (UK_FGP10_Poland).

4.3.3 Family

Discussions about how research participants' mobility plans had changed over time, and how they anticipated their mobility decisions to change over time, showed that family considerations were likely to play an increasingly important role in decision-making. Very

commonly, although migration may only be conceived as a temporary stay, and even if one or both parents would like to re-migrate within the EU, having children in the country of destination, or wanting to have children in the near future, roots a parent or couple in the country of destination for the longer-term. Migrants from third countries of origin in particular discussed how having children in the country of destination makes it harder to imagine re-migrating or returning to their country of origin.

Where research participants gave more in-depth explanations of how their children affected their continued mobility, they most often described their reluctance to uproot their children who were settled and integrated in the country of destination. Some focus group participants also reported that their children were themselves actively opposed to re-migrating or returning to their or their parents' country of origin because they are happy, have a sense of belonging, and see their futures in the country of destination. The mobility decision-making of new (and particularly single) mothers from third countries of origin may also be affected by cultural or social factors. In one case a new single mother chose to migrate onwards from Germany to the UK in order to raise her baby independently and free of her own mother's judgement; in another case, a young single mother was advised by her family to stay in the UK because she would face stigma if she returned to China.

There may also be specific advantages to the country of destination which make parents less willing to migrate with their children (besides the more obvious economic, political, and physical insecurity that motivated some parents to leave poor and/or conflict-affected countries of origin). For example, one focus group participant from the U.S. said it was important to her to keep her children close to their grandparents in Italy, and also that it seemed to her that Italy was a better place to bring up young children because of the better quality of food, the better work-life balance for parents, and the more relaxed parenting culture.

However, other considerations related to children's upbringing and opportunities may weigh in favour of re-migrating, and these details were discussed particularly by high-skilled migrants from high-income countries, both EU and non-EU. Such considerations included the quality of education, natural environment, government policy to support young familites, quality of life, and societal structure. Where such considerations were given

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attention by migrants from non-EU countries of origin, their intentions were to return to their countries of origin (or the countries in which they grew up) at the point of starting a family. Migrants from EU countries of origin, on the other hand, were also open to migrating onwards at the point of starting a family. While some research participants who were born in or grew up in EU countries considered returning "home" to start a family, others indicated that they might migrate onwards to other EU countries which they considered particularly good for raising a family. In terms of country differences, research participants in London were particularly concerned that the UK (or London specifically) would not provide the right environment for bringing up children (because of the pressured lifestyle, relative unaffordability of property and childcare, and social stratification), and research participants in Sweden were particularly sensitive to the fact that staying in Sweden, or migrating back to Sweden, would be a good family decision, based on government policy and a culture of supporting family life.

With consideration for older generations, a diverse range of migrants from both EU and third countries of origin anticipated that they may decide to return to their countries of origin at the point that their parents need their care. However, a couple of the research participants from third countries of origin clarified that, should they return for this reason, it would not necessarily be indefinitely, but rather temporarily or back and forth. One Danish couple had already returned to Denmark from Germany in order to look after their parents, despite being settled in Germany:

> *[...] but suddenly our parents got old, or were getting older, and started to need a lot of help. So we thought "okay, now it is actually time to pick up and go home, to go back to Denmark". You know, if the parents were fine or whatever, we would have stayed* (GE_INT14_Denmark).

4.3.4 Lifestyle

Research participants from EU countries of origin (or who had grown up in EU countries and had EU nationality) also anticipated that, besides the family-related considerations discussed above, later on in their working lives the relative importance of lifestyle and quality of life – and their preference for certain kinds of lifestyles – would change. This was exemplified by one low-skilled interviewee who explained that, at the age of eighteen, he

migrated from Italy to London "*to live a more interesting, exciting life*". Then, after a couple years of working in London he felt that he had got what he had come for in terms of "*living, learning [...] meeting different people*" and getting "*a certain amount of knowledge only London gives you*", so he decided to migrate onwards with his girlfriend to Stockholm for a less tiring, stressful lifestyle (SWE_INT01_Brazil).

Other highly-skilled EU-origin research participants, whose past mobility decisions had primarily been about furthering their education and professional development, said that they were planning to prioritise lifestyle and quality of life in future mobility decisions, which could either bring them back to their countries of origin or onto new countries. This was particularly the case for EU-origin migrants who had come to the UK for higher education and for their early career development. For example, as one Polish young professional explained:

> *I feel that London is a great place when you're young, but after some time when you want to settle down and when you start thinking about moving on with your life, I guess I would rather be based… I don't really see London as my final destination, in a way, I just feel it's part of my journey. And yeah, it would be nice to live in a place that's more quiet, I think, that's more relaxed, balanced. As opposed to London which is a very fast-moving city, where everything is being done in a rush* (UK_INT06_Poland).

4.3.5 Integration and ties to the country of destination

By far the most common reason for formerly mobile research participants' subsequent immobility was simply their adaptation to and integration in the country of destination. Research participants discussed different aspects of this process, and for some it seemed to be about an active preference for and emotional attachment to the place of destination, while others seemed to simply "get used to" life in the destination country.

Satisfaction and enjoyment

A large number of research participants who were planning to stay in their EU country of current residence were actively happy with their quality of life. This was true for both high- and low-skilled migrants, and for migrants from both EU and non-EU countries of origin,

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although there were some differences in terms of the aspects of quality of life that these groups emphasised. Low-skilled migrants from third countries of origin more often mentioned the paramount importance of the tranquility and security they had achieved relative to their countries of origin, and the better opportunities available to them and their children in the country of destination. For an asylum-seeker in the UK, it was particularly important that in the UK she could express her sexuality openly without fear of persecution.

A group of recently-arrived asylum-seekers in Italy stressed that their satisfaction with life in Italy was based less on the opportunities and quality of life available to them in Italy relative to other potential destination countries, but rather on their gratitude for what Italy has given them. As one young Guinean said "*For me Italy has helped me so much that I want to do school here, study here – Italy has helped me in so many things, so I stay here*" (IT_FGP17_Guinea). Similarly, his compariot explained:

> *In my opinion, I want to remain here indefinitely. When I arrived in the country, they gave me the three necessities of life which is food, clothing and shelter. So if that is the case then I will stay in this country for what the government has done to me. I do not want to go to Malta, Spain or other places. I like the country, I like the people of the country and I like Rome, it is all right. I would like to build a life here* (IT_FGP18_Guinea).

Similarly, a couple of asylum seekers in the UK, who had not actively chosen the UK over other countries when they left their countries of previous residence due to persecution, were not considering onwards migration, and some expressed their appreciation for what they saw as the country's liberal and tolerant values.

Both low and high-skilled migrants from EU and third countries of origin also said they enjoyed the culture and lifestyle in the country of destination. Students, in particular, often decided that they wanted to stay on in the country of study because they enjoyed life there. A couple of high-skilled migrants from third-country origins specified that they valued the prevailing societal norms and values in the country of destination. Some high-skilled migrants from third countries of origin also expressed an active preference for life in their country of current residence over that of other EU countries. For example, some focus

group participants in Italy described how they were happy and comfortable with the Italian culture and climate and would not want to live in colder Northern European countries. A few highly skilled migrants in Sweden – both EU origin and non-EU origin – emphasised that they were aware of the particularly high quality of life and security in Sweden that would be difficult to match if they re-migrated elsewhere in the EU.

There were, however, a couple of research participants – both EU and non-EU origin – who decided to re-migrate within the EU because they found that they did not enjoy, or could not adapt to, the EU country to which they had migrated. In the case of a highly-mobile French national, enjoyment or adaptation to life in the destination country was considered in relation to stage of life and career development. This focus group participant explained that he had moved to Brussels with the intention to stay in the longer-term and develop a career there, but then he found that Brussels was not a place where he wanted to settle down immediately, and so he chose onwards mobility:

> *[…] when I was [in Brussels] I didn't feel that that was something I wanted to do right now, straight away. I felt that I wanted to experience other things before, I guess, […] before coming back to Belgium* (UK_FGP29_France).

In a couple of cases, third country nationals had returned to their countries of origin, only to find that they were unable to reintegrate successfully – they had become too accustomed to a different culture and way of life, and so returned to the EU. This was also the case for an older Polish woman who had moved to Italy quite spontaneously to work and "*have a good time*" and who found that her experience in Italy had changed how she relates to Polish culture and lifestyle. Having returned to Poland because she "*felt strange*" in Italy, she found that, even though she could not adapt to some aspects of life in Italy (primarily the disorganization), neither was she happy with life in Poland. She returned to Italy and explained: "*I do not want to go back to Poland. Because it seems to me that life in Poland is very sad, I come here and I feel 80% Italian*" (IT_FGP57_Poland).

Putting down roots

A large number of research participants – both high and low-skilled, from EU and non-EU countries of origin – explained that, although they might like the idea of living somewhere

else or returning to their country of origin, they had ties to their country of current residence – in terms of family, friends, work, and property ownership – that rooted them there. For example, a Polish national living in Germany explained that he planned to stay in Germany because "*for me it was the feeling to have arrived. I am here, I have my friends, I have spent the best days of my youth here and so it is my home, my house*" (GE_FGP13_Poland). This focus group participant had also spent a shorter time living in Norway, which he judged to be even better than Germany in terms of the stability and security offered by the Noregian economy and welfare state, but these advantages were not strong enough to make him choose to stay in Norway because "*I don't have any roots in Norway, I don't have a social network, and so I decided to come back [to Germany]*".

Similarly, a highly-skilled Portugese national living in Spain explained that for her, her personal relationships matter more than economic or work opportunities:

> *I would really need to get an amazing opportunity in another EU country to really go and move there. But I'm not looking for those opportunities. I prioritise the emotional links, kinships, the network I built here. I am very comfortable here.* (SP_FGP29_Portugal)

As one Latin American focus group participant who came to Spain as a child explained, family reunification can strongly cement migrants' rootedness in a country of destination:

> *Speaking for my parents, we come here to work and save money, typically, and then you go back home. But finally the whole family came to Spain and we made our little space here. We are planted here and we do not go back* (SP_FGP15_Ecuador).

For other research participants, particularly third-country nationals, the investments that they had already made in terms of integrating into their current country of residence disincentivised further mobility. Such investments included the time and effort spent learning a new language and way of life, and rebuilding their careers or businesses. These investments were mostly discussed by third country nationals who decided to leave their countries of origin because of the conflict or insecurity that they faced there, but the costs of learning a new language were also highlighted by research participants whose emigration

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was based less on dissatisfaction with the conditions in their country of origin, and more on the pursuit of opportunities abroad.

As one man from El Salvador explained:

> *I think that for us it's also, well we left everything, we had our own business in our country and we sold everything and we came here in order to start a life here and we are investing lots of time in learning the Swedish language.* (SWE_FGP08_ElSalvador)

A Syrian refugee in Sweden expressed similar dismay at the prospect of re-migrating:

> *Yeah, because when I came to Sweden I started from zero, so when you […] have to move to another country you have to start again, so it's very hard* (SWE_FGP27_Syria)

4.3.6 Particular sources of uncertainty affecting migrants' continued mobility

Immigration policy

Despite their commitment to building a new life in the EU, migrants from non-EU countries discussed the fact that their future mobility is to some extent out of their hands, given that their ability to stay legally in their EU countries of destination was dependent on decisions that would be made by immigration officials at some point in the future. This was a source of particular frustration for migrants who had recently arrived in their EU countries of destination in search of a more secure future, and whose efforts to learn the language, the culture, the system, and to integrate into the labour market or develop successful businesses, would come to nothing if they were in the future informed that they would not be granted permanent residence.

EU nationals living in the UK had also started to worry about their future rights in the country. For some, this just meant anticipating bureaucratic hurdles that might be complicated and frustrating to fulfil, and that they might not be motivated to bother with. Others, however, felt more anxious, and said that, whatever agreement was reached, their feelings of vulnerability as migrants in the UK might disincentivise them staying longer. As one highly-skilled Polish national explained, uncertainty around Brexit meant that she was

less willing to invest in building a life in the UK: "*because obviously [...] I don't want to tie myself with a thirty-forty year mortgage without knowing if I'll be able to have a job here, stay in a job, get a permanent residency, things like tha*t" (UK_FGP12_Poland). In the other direction, Brexit uncertainty had also motivated a couple of highly-skilled EU nationals to migrate to the EU more quickly than they otherwise might. A couple of British nationals living in other EU countries were also concerned about their rights to remain in their countries of current residence, and one had applied for German citizenship as a preventative measure.

As previously mentioned, a couple of highly-skilled research participants from third countries of origin explained that they may consider migrating again in the future, but that they were firstly concerned to stay in their countries of current residence for the number of years necessary to obtain citizenship in that country, in order to avoid future insecurity regarding their rights to remain. One of these focus group participants explained that her choice of Sweden was in part based on her understanding that the process for obtaining permanent residence in Sweden was relatively straightforward (although she now believes that she was misinformed about this process). Similarly, a highly-skilled Mexican national who came to the UK to study and had stayed to work explained how sensitive his future mobility would be to any changes in immigration policy:

> *[...] if there was a country in Europe with good economic stability and social security [and] safety, that makes the visa process less painful than others, or less than in the UK, then I will definitely consider it. Because it would definitely be on the top of my list of things to consider [in taking] a decision [...] As a migrant, I keep an eye on these policies all the time ... every few weeks I check whether there are any modifications that could make my life easier, or sometimes even worse* (UK_INT09_Mexico)

Economic and political change

Another source of particular uncertainty for migrants from non-EU countries was political and social changes in both their countries of origin, and their countries of current residence. A couple of research particpants from Turkey, Syria, and the Ukraine mentioned that their future mobility decisions would depend on changes in the political environment in their

countries of origin. However, there was evidence that political and economic change was also starting to affect the mobility decision-making of EU nationals. For example, a British man living in Germany explained that:

> *The political situation in the UK changed quite a lot and that kind of put me off returning back to the UK. Like, you know, there was the whole austerity politics that was happening there and with the Tory government, I don't know, it was just not so attractive to return there really* (GE_INT12_UK).

Likewise, a couple of other research participants mentioned that their future mobility decision-making would be sensitive to economic changes within the EU. One focus group participant specified that the length of stay in Spain, where he was currently settled, would depend on Spain's political and economic prospects. Research participants in the UK were particularly aware of potential economic changes following the UK's withdrawal from the EU. As one focus group participant explained, the lack of stability in the UK relative to other countries would help to motivate her future migration:

> *[…] and I think in terms of the uncertainty of what's going to happen in the next few years like, economically, employment-wise, etc… , that also creates this extra incentive to maybe settle down in a country where you have a bit more clarity and at least you know what's going to happen in the next like five-ten-fifteen years* (UK_FGP29_France).

4.3.7 Reflections on the prospect of future mobility

Highly-skilled research participants reflected that their future mobility decisions were likely to involve balancing – or making a trade-off between – different considerations. Some anticipated that they would be caught between career development (as opposed to purely economic) and quality of life considerations. For example, an Italian national who had lived in multiple countries within and outside of the EU explained that, in making his next mobility decision, he was highly motivated to return to a more Southern European country because he missed the lifestyle, but that, were a particularly good career opportunity to come along, this might diminish the importance of his lifestyle preferences:

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So the thing is either I find a very, very prestigious, good position in a super very good university, [in which case] I might move pretty much anywhere in the world. Or, otherwise if it must be just… let's say a medium-normal position, I would rather be in some Southern [European] countries [sic]. (UK_INT20_Italy)

Another EU national was optimistic that he could achieve both: "*For me [the basis of future mobility decisions] would be both career opportunities and trying to reconcile those with quality of life. So… if I can have both, then it will be an easy decision*" (UK_FGP29_France). It is notable that, for these two EU-origin high-skilled migrants, finding the right balance between factors might involve onwards mobility rather than a return to the country of origin, whereas for a high-skilled migrant from outside the EU, prioritising quality of life meant a return home:

For me it's a constant balance between career development and improvement which I can really only do here, or New York or Brussels – I mean there are really very few cities to which you can move to do our kind of jobs – versus family ties (UK_FGP02_Australia).

Other highly-skilled research participants explained that, notwithstanding the economic opportunities and high quality of life available to them in the other countries (EU and non-EU) in which they had lived or were living, they had felt alienated by their lack of ties, or lack of a sense of belonging, in these countries. A Peruvian national in Germany felt highly conflicted regarding the prospect of remaining in Germany where she has a high quality of life and reliable social security, given her sense that she would be much happier and at peace if she moved to a more Southern country (either within or outside of the EU) with a better climate and stronger sense of community. Similarly, an Italian national who had lived both within and outside of the EU explained that his future mobility decisions:

[…] will be based on two elements. Surely, finding a job, but also what I have been looking for years: a balance. […] I need to live in a place where I feel I belong. Perhaps this is the reason why I found the life in Russia difficult. I was living well there but the link to my past wasn't there (IT_FGP01_Italy).

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5. The nature of migrants' mobility decision-making

5.1 Sources of information used in mobility decision-making

The way in which intra-EU migrants make mobility decisions often depends on their awareness and understanding of potential destination countries. Few participants discussed the research that they had done prior to migrating to a particular destination country – for EU nationals, in particular, it seemed that they took for granted certain structures and systems, and expected to find out the rest upon arrival.

However, where intra-EU migrants did make their choice to migrate to the country of destination based on what they knew of the country, this awareness of, and attraction to, the country of destination was most commonly obtained through previous travel for work, for holidays, or for short-term stays as language students or exchange students. A smaller number of research participants explained that their interest in, and attraction to, the country of destination was based on cultural exports from that country, for example in the form of literature and films. For example, one German national explained that her fascination with Sweden started:

> *[…] with Astrid Lindgren. […] I read all her books and I am a really huge fan, I mean, this may sound a bit stupid but it is like this. I also read her books that are not for children, she did more than children books. So I really got into her as a person. And I have travelled to Sweden before, and I really love the country and the culture. And I really got this idea that I wanted to be more than a tourist here (SWE-FGP21_Germany).*

Similarly, a British national reflected that his enjoyment of studying German at school led to his choice to study German at university-level, which is how he developed a relationship with the country and the desire to live there.

Only one intra-EU migrant made explicit reference to media narratives that can affect potential migrants' view of a country (in this case, media coverage which highlights the top-ranking positions of Nordic countries in terms of quality of life). However, it can reasonably be assumed that other research participants – particularly those who made

their decisions based on cultural and lifestyle considerations – were influenced by commonly-held beliefs about what life is like in other EU countries. In a number of other cases, and as discussed further below, intra-EU migrants said that they made their migration decisions on the advice of friends and family members who were already living in, or had travelled to, the country or city of destination.

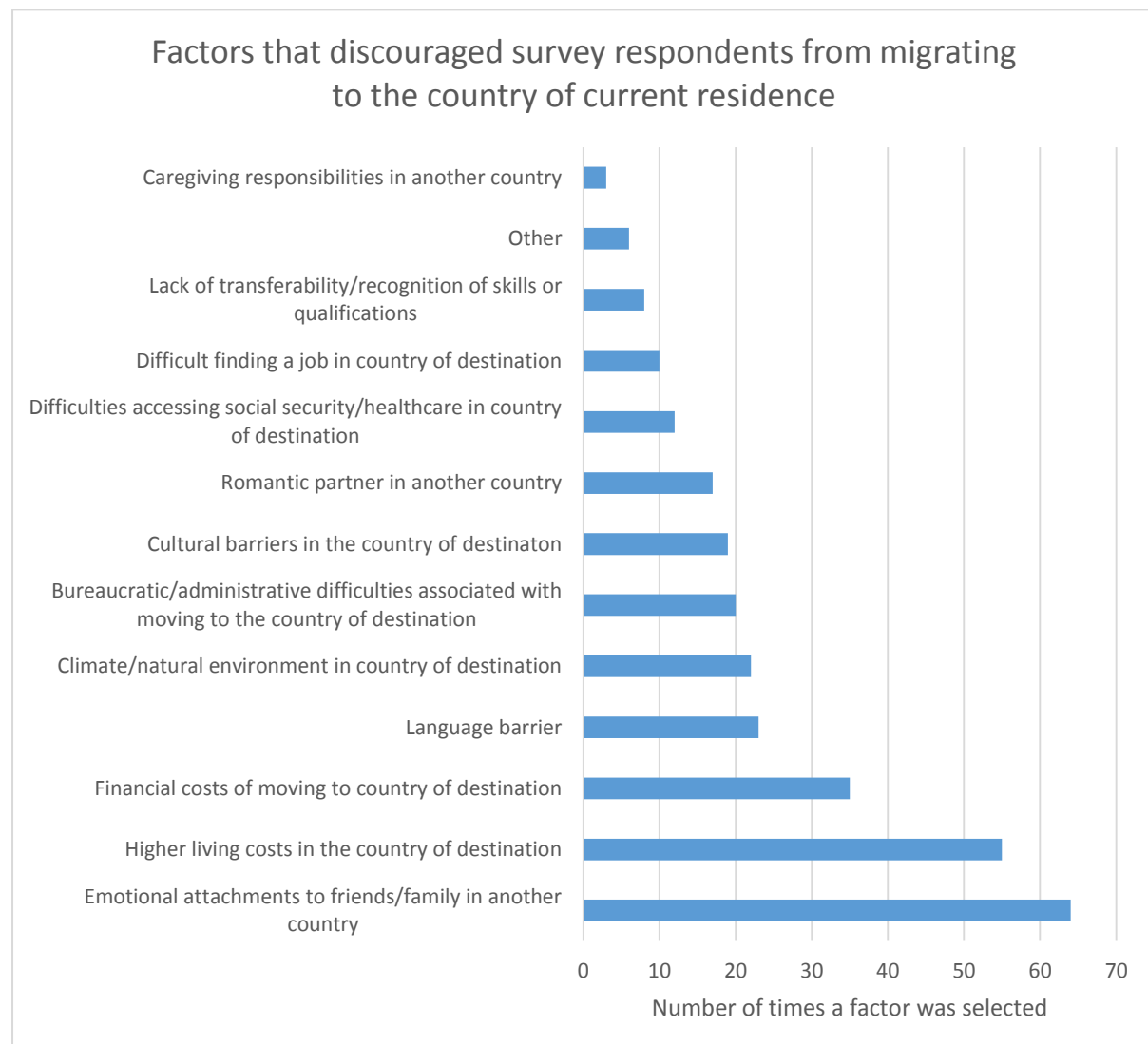### 5.2 (Non-legal) facilitators of and barriers to intra-EU mobility

Barriers

Research participants frequently discussed the barriers and challenges they faced living in the country of destination. However, the only barrier (other than legal barriers, for example regarding visa requirements) that commonly influenced research participants' decision-making *pre-departure*, and which led them to decide against migrating to a particular country of destination, were language barriers. Other barriers mentioned by qualitative research participants included the cost of living in the country of destination and, for a couple of others, the weather (which tended to pre-dispose migrants against migrating to Northern European countries). Survey respondents were asked to comment on why they had decided against migrating to other countries that they had considered as alternative destinations to the country in which they were currently living. The factors that these respondents most frequently cited as the obstacles which had led them to choose the country of current residence instead were, similarly: language barriers, followed by the perceived lack of employment opportunities and high costs of living in the countries considered, as well as difficulties getting a visa. Some respondents who were migrating for study opportunities were also prevented from migrating to other country destinations that they had considered because they did not receive offers to study the courses for which they had applied there.

Survey respondents were also asked to select from a pre-determined list the factors that had discouraged them from migrating to the country of current residence (see Figure 8). It should be noted, however, that, given that respondents had ultimately migrated to these countries in which they were currently living, these factors may have weighed on their decision-making but were clearly not strong enough to make them decide against migrating there. By far the most frequently cited factor was emotional attachments to family and

friends in another country, followed by the financial costs of migration (both in terms of re-locating, and the costs of living in the country of destination). Qualitative research participants sometimes mentioned their attachments to friends and family in their country of previous residence as making them reluctant to move, but again, these ties did not actually stop them from migrating.

Figure 8. Frequency of factors cited by survey respondents as having discouraged them from migrating to the country of current residence

Factors that discouraged survey respondents from migrating to the country of current residence

Caregiving responsibilities in another country

Other

Lack of transferability/recognition of skills or qualifications

Difficult finding a job in country of destination

Difficulties accessing social security/healthcare in country of destination

Romantic partner in another country

Cultural barriers in the country of destinaton

Bureaucratic/administrative difficulties associated with moving to the country of destination

Climate/natural environment in country of destination

Language barrier

Financial costs of moving to country of destination

Higher living costs in the country of destination

Emotional attachments to friends/family in another country

Number of times a factor was selected

Facilitators

Research participants' accounts of their decision-making showed that the greatest facilitator of their intra-EU mobility were the networks that they had, in terms of family and friends in the country, and often city, of destination. This was true for both high- and low-skilled migrants, but these networks were discussed more frequently by migrants from EU

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countries of origin than migrants from non-EU countries of origin. Friends and family in the destination country played a crucial role in participants' decision-making, often by making them aware of the opportunities available in the country of destination, encouraging them to join them there, lowering the informational costs of migration, providing a sense of security, and opening up their homes for migrants to stay in upon arrival, whether temporarily or in the longer-term. In some cases, research participants only considered migrating to the country of destination because they had a friend or family member there – they did not consider migrating to any other countries, and sometimes the idea of migrating had not even occurred to them until the idea of joining their friend or family member arose.

Another enabler of mobility was discussed in particular by some focus group participants in the UK, who, as EU nationals and former student migrants, shared similar migration backgrounds. These research participants were in strong agreement that participation in the ERASMUS scheme had prompted their continued international mobility, by showing them that moving to a different country was something that they could do relatively easily, and that they enjoyed, thus giving them the confidence to undertake future migration episodes (for example as master's students). One participant emphasised in particular that the "safe framework" of the ERASMUS scheme was important because:

> *[…] especially when you're really young, you know, you have the support of the university, you have all the structures, so you know there won't be any trouble really, it's fine, you won't be on your own. And so, having a helping hand for the first time you move abroad was really, really helpful. And then, as [the other participants] said, it made me realise it's actually easy – and it becomes an addiction* (UK_FGP29_France).

More than just proving to participants how easy it is to be mobile within the EU, the ERASMUS scheme also changed the way these research participants relate to geographies outside their own country of origin. As one young Italian explained:

> *for a twenty years old person, having that kind of boost of confidence of living abroad, and making some sort of family, or very strong ties with other European friends, is so, so powerful. And it definitely influenced me a lot in many other*

decisions that I took in the future. And especially after that experience, the way I
thought to Europe and the way I thought to my own country was totally different.
It totally reshaped the boundaries of the way I thought to moving decisions and it
expanded a lot, so for me it was really very important [sic] (UK_FGP32_Italy).

5.3 The cumulative effect of mobility on an individual's decision-making

The cumulative experience of migration episodes seemed to have very different effects on different research participants in our sample. There were no obvious differences between the effects on third country nationals and EU-origin migrants, except in the case of third country nationals who had come to the UK in order to escape conflict and insecurity in their countries of origin, and who, as discussed earlier, were commonly very reluctant to migrate onwards. Among research participants whose migration decisions were more voluntary, there were also no clear differences in terms of age or stage of life. Some research participants found, like the former ERASMUS students discussed above, that an initial migration episode gives them the confidence and desire to migrate again. For example, a UK national who did not undertake her first migration experience within the structure of ERASMUS, but rather to join her boyfriend while he completed his studies in Sweden, reflected that she was now motivated to try living in other EU countries:

> *I think now that I've done it once, for quite an extended period, it feels really*
> *weird to me that I hadn't ever lived anywhere else, I feel, I feel like it does change*
> *you a little bit. […] it changes the way you think about your own country, about*
> *how you feel about where you fit in the world as a nation and yeah I don't like…*
> *looking back now I wouldn't have liked the idea of being someone who would*
> *have always lived in the country where I was born* (SWE_INT07_UK).

For an older Peruvian national, who had also followed her partner to Sweden, her onwards migration from Spain had not sparked in her a desire for further mobility, but she explained that "*when you learn to live in a country which is not your own, then moving again around the world becomes very easy*" (SWE_FGP11_Peru).

On the other hand, others expressed a sense of great weariness at the prospect of re-migrating, due to the costs involved in terms of leaving friends and having to make new

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ones, possibly having to learn a new language, integrating into and navigating a new environment, as well as the expense and logistical difficulties of physically re-locating. For these reasons, some focus group participants, who had been highly mobile in previous years, discussed their decision or wish to settle somewhere for at least a few years or indefinitely. As one young Moldovan national put it, "*I think no [there are no other countries she would like to go to]. I've been in enough countries already for my age*" (IT_FGP35_Moldova).

5.4 Mobility decision-making as difficult to predict

Whilst some research participants were able to clearly articulate the multiple and interrelated factors that had motivated their past migration decisions, in the case of a number of other focus group participants and interviewees it was very difficult to identify what exactly had driven their decision to migrate and choice of destination. Sometimes the logic of prior mobility decision-making was not even clear to the migrants themselves. For example, an Italian national who had stayed on in Germany reflected that:

> *I wanted to stay longer and then I disconnected with my ex-boyfriend. He was back and I stayed here and I do not know. I'm here right now. I thought about leaving, but I stayed here. Who knows?* [sic] (GE_FGP02_Italy).

A decision taken in the past may no longer make sense to a migrant in the present. Reflecting on his recent return from France, an Italian national explained

> *I came back here last year, I am still wondering why… I would have liked to stay there. I said to myself "Ok, I come back for summer, because my contract has expired anyway, and then I look for another job and come back to Lyon"* (IT_FGP01_Italy).

Whilst some intra-EU migrants have clear motivations for migrating, and consciously and periodically reflect on these to see whether the logic of their decision-making still holds true, other research participants, both from EU and non-EU countries of origin, deliberately rejected long-term thinking and planning. For example, one intra-EU migrant originally from

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Macedonia explained that she cannot even engage with strategizing as regards, for example, policies on access to permanent residence because:

I never plan so much of the future because I have realized that you cannot. It is impossible because everything that I have planned so far, my plans have changed all of a sudden and I took a different direction (GE_INT11_Macedonia).

As evidence of the often obscure and even capricious nature of mobility decision-making, a number of research participants changed their minds or contradicted themselves in the course of giving an account of their past and likely future mobility decision-making. For example, a low-skilled migrant who had been living in Spain for many years complained bitterly about the economic conditions there and said that if he could, he would leave. He subsequently said that he chooses to stay in Spain because "*it's very familiar and tranquil here. I stay here just for that reason*" (SP_FGP01_Bolivia).

Sometimes research participants were aware of the unpredictability of their own decision-making. For example, a Dutch national explained that both her own and her partner's decisions to migrate to Sweden were quite spontaneous and unexpected by either of them. She then explained quite firmly that if they migrate again it will be to settle indefinitely, before acknowledging that it is very possible that an opportunity or idea will come up that completely changes their minds and preferences. As further proof of the changeability of these apparently firm ideas, a Peruvian woman said that when she decided to migrate onwards from Finland to Germany:

I made a decision and it was really clear when I decided in that moment, when I move again I will stay fixed in any place. So I just thought, I will move there and I will grow old there. That is, that was the decision. But things change in the meantime and I am not more in that set of mind [sic] (GE_FGP08_Peru).

5.5 EU nationals' relationship with mobility

A large number of younger, high-skilled research participants from EU countries of origin commonly saw themselves as open to re-migration, if not as continually mobile. For example, a young Belgian national suspected that, even though she really enjoyed and

valued the Swedish culture and lifestyle, and was considering staying on post-study, she might simply get restless after a while: "[…] *and I really like travelling and so I might get bored just living here my whole life*" (SWE_INT03_Belgium). These young, high-skilled EU nationals' relationship with mobility was sometimes based on their international upbringing – for example, one Italian national who had lived and grown up in multiple countries in their youth and early adult life explained that "*I don't really see a life that is fixed in one place, one city, one country*" (IT_FGP20_Italy). Others were looking forward to a life of continual international mobility because they were aiming for an international career, for example within a UN agency. An appetite for exploration, as opposed to a wish to follow in the footsteps of others, was striking not only among students and recent graduates but also among those with more established careers:

> *I'm just open to anything. I mean obviously having travelled on holiday there are places which are particularly interesting but I don't want to limit myself to what I know already, I think it would be more interesting to actually find new places as well* (UK_FGP07_Switzerland).

Such research participants who were motivated to explore and experience new cultures and environments framed their mobility as a kind of lifestyle choice, or even as a kind of ideological or moral imperative. For example, two young German students expressed their belief that mobility is crucial for personal development:

> *I think the short-term migration thing is really important, and even if you in the end decide to return home, it's the experiences you've made that can be really useful, and really, I don't know, help you in so many areas, be it personal life, be it professional life. And I think that's really important just generally and I think that will guide me wherever I will go later on* (UK_FGP48_Germany)

> *[…] it's very important to see other parts of the world, just to see what makes other people tick, what do they think about your culture, for example, as well, and to see how… just to get a feeling of how to understand them* (UK_FGP51_Germany).

5.6 The significance of staying within Europe or the EU

Many research participants considered themselves internationally mobile, not necessarily making a distinction between mobility within the EU and outside of the EU. However, for a number of research participants from EU countries of origin – and for a smaller number of migrants from third countries of origin – the idea of remaining within Europe, and within the EU specially in come cases, was meaningful.

Where EU-origin migrants reflected that they preferred to limit their mobility to Europe, or the EU specifically, their decision-making focused on accessibility-issues, for the most part, whether geographical or psychic. For some, physical proximity to their countries of origin, and to their family, friends, or romantic partner, was important. Unsuprisingly, the relative administrative and bureaucratic ease of migrating within the EU was discussed, and further to this, for some research participants, staying within the EU lowered the informational and integration costs of migrating, because they could assume some degree of familiarity with the system and culture in other EU countries. As one focus group participant explained:

> *I feel like as long as, you know, I live somewhere in the EU, it's to a certain extent the same, it doesn't really matter so much. Leaving the EU would be more of a committing decision* (UK_FGP52_CzechRepublic).

A similar sentiment was shared by a French national who reflected that her choice of the UK for higher education over Canada also came down to a sense of physic (as well as logistical) accessibility and familiarity:

> *I feel very, very European and I think maybe like it wasn't a conscious decision when I came to the UK to think that I was staying in Europe but like, when I think about it now, I think that was super important to me. Even though the UK wasn't even in the Schengen area and like, not using the Euro and stuff, and maybe it didn't really feel like you were in Europe as much as other European countries, […] it was still something like a unity that I enjoyed, and also being with people that were European. […] I guess it kind of comes back to that decision of not wanting to go to Canada – it was like, yeah, the UK is still close, but there was something common and not too radical about it* (UK_INT05_France).

For other EU nationals, particularly those who had lived in non-EU countries, they were attached to European democratic and liberal values, and to the principle (and practical benefits) of the welfare systems and public services such as healthcare and public transportation that they were accustomed to in the EU countries in which they had lived.

Fewer research participants from non-EU countries of origin made a distinction between migrating within and outside of the EU, or Europe. Where they did, their reasons were sometimes similar to those of EU-origin migrants – two interviewees had family in Europe that they wanted to stay close to, and one third country national who had obtained EU citizenship wanted, like some migrants from EU countries of origin, to make use of her right to freedom of movement within the EU. Others wanted to remain in the EU because they valued the democratic political systems, transparency, and protection of human rights, as well as the physical security and political stability that they could not assume in their countries of origin. One young Canadian wanted to stay within Europe simply because he enjoyed the opportunities to travel easily between different countries for tourism.

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6. Conclusion

The drivers of intra-EU migration

The complexity and inter-relatedness of motivations that drive mobility

This study has illustrated that intra-EU mobility decisions are typically based on multiple motivations; there is rarely a single "determinant" of an individual's intra-EU migration decision. Moreover, the considerations that shape intra-EU mobility can be highly diverse, and challenge conventional understandings of migration as largely determined by work and family. Rather, educational and career development opportunities, the desire for new experiences and challenges, preferences for particular cultures, lifestyles, political systems and social norms, and the pursuit of self-knowledge, are highly relevant in many intra-EU migrants' mobility decisions. The relevance, and relative weight, of different factors in an individual migrant's mobility decision-making is also liable to change across the course of the individual's life: once mobility has been undertaken, new considerations may gain prominence in determining further mobility decision-making, whilst the original reasons for a particular migration decision may have diminished or have no further relevance.

Beyond considering the plurality of factors that can motivate a decision to migrate within the EU, understandings of contemporary intra-EU mobility must also take into account the ways in which different factors combine and interact to determine a migration decision. The European Union is a highly globalized economic and social environment, within which EU nationals have unique opportunities to move freely. Describing migration as being simply "for work", "for study", or "to join a partner or family" – as migration decisions are typically categorised in administrative data – fails to grasp the ways in which internationalized higher education and labour markets interact with contemporary mobility cultures (whether among the young and restless, or older pleasure-seekers) and with individual preferences regarding family and romantic relationships, work, climate, culture, politics and more. In this context, the prospect of work or study in another country, for example, is not necessarily the reason to migrate, but rather provides a convenient opportunity or structure through which to pursue other objectives or aspirations that can be achieved through migration.

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In terms of how academic and policymaker communities should understand mobility decisions within the EU, it is therefore important to emphasise that what may be framed as the "reason" for an individual's migration may obscure the multiple and interrelated motivations that underpin a migration decision. In order to better understand this complexity, it may be useful to unpack intra-EU mobility decision-making as: firstly, the individual's decision to migrate; and secondly, the choice of destination country. Sometimes, these two decisions are quite distinct, and both decisions may be based on multiple considerations. Moreover, the factors that are prioritised in the choice of destination may not be those that drove the decision to migrate – for example, this is often the case for individuals who leave their countries of current residence for work or study opportunities abroad and who then have different potential destinations to choose from. In contrast, in cases where the decision to migrate is strongly determined by personal relationships or by career development opportunities in the context of highly specialised, internationalised fields, the decision to migrate and the choice of country are often one and the same - there may only be the decision to migrate, without an active choice of country.

Nonetheless, scholars and policymakers should guard against over-confidence in identifying and isolating the relative importance of the different individual factors that may combine to influence a mobility decision. This is in part due to the sheer complexity of intra-EU mobility decision-making, which warrants careful academic attention, and also because intra-EU migrants themselves do not necessarily understand or find it easy to explain their own mobility behavior. Focus groups and interview discussions conducted in the course of this research project amply demonstrated the often unclear, unexpected and unpredictable nature of research participants' mobility decisions. Policymakers should therefore be wary of explanations of intra-EU mobility decisions as the outcome of rational cost-benefit analysis that can be explained and generalised without due regard for the significance of individual character traits, values, feelings and aspirations, and how these may change over time and based on new experiences.

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Findings related to specific motivational factors

Notwithstanding the complex, and sometimes obscure, nature of intra-EU mobility decision-making, this study has contributed significant substance and nuance to existing understandings of the factors that motivate intra-EU mobility, and that also shape transitions between mobility and immobility. As regards the economic factors that have until now dominated academic discussions of intra-EU mobility, the research was limited by the under-representation of low-skilled groups. However, even with this limitation, both the quantitative and qualitative data provided evidence that where intra-EU low-skilled migrants decide to leave because of a lack of jobs or low salaries in their country of previous residence, these decisions are often also based on aspirations which are not strictly economic – such as better or more flexible working conditions and educational opportunities. Among the highly-skilled, it was clear that migrating "for work" was not necessarily purely an economic decision. Rather, migrating to take up a work opportunity in another country may be a necessary or assumed aspect of some career paths, or may provide the means through which to join a partner or experience a new culture or lifestyle in another country.

Similarly, this study has added depth to current understandings of "love" or "family" migration – the other type of migration more commonly discussed in the existing literature. As regards family migration – conventionally understood to be the migration of nuclear family members for family reunification or formation in a country in which at least one family member already lives – the in-depth qualitative data has contributed to a growing understanding of the greater diversity and complexity of familial relationships and considerations that may play a role in the intra-EU mobility of individuals and family groups, and which may involve family members outside of the nuclear core.[8] Firstly, people do not only migrate within the EU to join their nuclear family in another EU country, or to start a family where their partner is living elsewhere in the EU. Families may migrate together to a new destination country which they consider offers greater opportunities at the family rather than individual level. These opportunities are not necessarily only economic, but can also mean a preferred lifestyle or environment, educational opportunities, or, in the case of

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[8] Bailey, A. and Boyle, P. (2004). 'Untying and retying family migration in the New Europe'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(2), 229-241.

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mixed EU-national/third country national families, more accessible legal rights to live together as a family. Starting a family may not only imply a return movement but also onwards movements (and may be undertaken by single parents as well as couples). The mobility or immobility of parents may be determined by former, rather than current, romantic relationships, as in the case of divorced or separated parents who wish to ensure that both parents are directly involved in their children's upbringing. Moreover, it is not only parents who migrate to join their partners or children. Grandparents and adult children migrate with or to join family members in other EU countries – and not only due to caregiving responsibilities, but sometimes simply to preserve family integrity and ties. Nonetheless, caregiving emerged as an important theme in this study – with research participants explaining past migration decisions, but more commonly anticipating future migration decisions, as determined by their need to be close to, and provide care for, ageing parents. This finding confirms the importance of caregiving responsibilities as a driver of intra-EU migration (as well as return to non-EU countries of origin), and as a phenomenon overlooked both by scholars and policymakers.[9] The nature of care-migration should be further explored through research, and policymakers concerned by the challenges of an ageing population might look to facilitate the re-integration and maximise the potential benefits of inflows of working-age people returning to care for elderly family members and others.

Focussing on the role of romantic partnerships specifically, the present study has also confirmed the role of intra-EU mobility in the formation of romantic partnerships and, in the other direction, of love as an important driver of intra-EU mobility. The research findings have moreover added important nuance to how romantic partnerships may influence mobility decision-making: the prevailing notion that one partner (typically a woman, with lower earnings potential) migrates to join or follow the other is challenged by a wealth of data showing firstly that men also migrate to join or accompany their partners, and that joining a romantic partner is not necessarily the primary motivation for a migration decision but may rather work in conjunction with, or reinforce, other motivations such as the pursuit of study, work, lifestyle opportunities or new experiences and environments. The theory of

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[9] Ackers, L. (2004). 'Citizenship, migration and the valuation of care in the European Union'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(2), 373–396

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the "tied mover" – according to which one partner is beholden to the other partner's locational preferences if the net gain for the couple (usually determined by earnings) outweighs the costs of migration to the individual "tied mover"[10] – should be further developed in light of accounts given by young, highly-skilled EU nationals who assume mobility as a way of life and who therefore "take it in turns" to determine their joint mobility decisions as a shared life project rather than as the maximisation of the economic returns to the family unit. Indeed, this study suggests that, particularly for young and highly-skilled EU nationals, migrating "as lovers" may be more apt as a description than migrating "for love".

With regard to student migration, this research has provided an overview of the different ways in which intra-EU migrants pursue educational objectives, which include not only migration for higher education degrees and exchange programmes, but also for learning the language of the destination country, whether formally or informally. Although language-learning (particularly in the case of English) may be pursued as a means of securing a competitive advantage in the labour market, learning new languages seems also to form part of a larger (mainly youth) culture of personal development, exposure to different cultures and experiences, and the formation of intercultural identities. The role of language-learning as a motivation for migration pursued outside of formal study programmes has not, as far as the authors are aware, received particular recognition in the existing literature. More generally, however, the qualitative data explored in this paper, which shows that intra-EU migrants often choose to study abroad in order to join a partner, open up future career opportunities, or experience a new culture, lifestyle or environment, contributes to an emerging body of literature which argues that student migration should not be seen as categorically distinct from other types of migration, but rather in relation to students' multiple identities as (actual or potential) workers, citizens of other countries, romantic partners, family members, tourists and, in some cases, asylum seekers and refugees.[11]

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[10] Mincer, J. (1978). 'Family Migration Decisions'. *Journal of Political Economy*, 86(5), 749-773

[11] See, for example, King, R. (2002). 'Towards a New Map of European Migration'. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 8, 89-106; King, R., & Raghuram, P. (2013).' International Student Migration: Mapping the Field and New Research Agendas'. *Population, Space and Place*, 19(2), 127–137; Raghuram, P. (2013). 'Theorising the Spaces of Student Migration'. *Population, Space and Place*, 19, 138-154

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Beyond these "classic" reasons for migration in the EU context, this study has contributed substance and nuance to our understanding of other motivations for intra-EU migration that have only recently started to receive scholarly attention. In particular, the research has highlighted the important role of lifestyle considerations and aspirations in determining not only the choice of destination, but also, in many cases, the decision to migrate. The study findings have, moreover, highlighted the need for careful analytic distinction between those who migrate for a preferred lifestyle, culture, or environment, and those who act on their sense of "wanderlust" – often picking countries which hold a particular appeal for them, but motivated fundamentally by the pursuit of "newness". The research findings have therefore helped to expand current understandings of lifestyle migration as primarily the privilege of Northern European retirees. Although "wanderlust" seems more common among young EU-nationals, who have a particular relationship with mobility as a way of life or even moral imperative, interest in or preferences for other cultures, lifestyles, and environments can be the determining motivation for intra-EU migrants across age groups, and among both the low and high skilled, EU- and non-EU born. Accordingly, different countries (or cities) hold different appeals for different kinds of lifestyle migrants, who may, moreover, migrate in different geographical directions for different kinds of lifestyles and experiences at different stages of their lives. Lifestyle migration may also be undertaken in response to prior mobility decisions, where the migrant has failed to enjoy, adapt to, or integrate sufficiently into the country of destination. This is not to say that traditional "retirement migration" or "sunset migration" is not relevant to our understanding of lifestyle migration within the EU – indeed, this study has suggested that third-country nationals who have settled in the EU may follow Britsish and Germans citizens in seeking a more pleasurable retirement in Southern European countries.

As regards the "welfare magnet hypothesis", the study is limited by the small proportion of low-skilled migrants who participated in the research, but both the qualitative and quantitative data collected add weight to the existing evidence in showing that access to social security or healthcare services is not a primary motivation for intra-EU migration. However, policymakers may be interested to note that the relative advantages and disadvantages of different social policies and social security systems did factor into the decision-making of the highly-skilled and already mobile, whose international work

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opportunities afforded them the luxury of being able to more carefully choose between different potential destination countries. Social security and the quality of public services such as healthcare were also described as important determinants of the actual or future return movements of migrants from Sweden and Germany, who were aware that they were unlikely to find similar standards of welfare and support in other countries.

Beyond social security, other aspects of migrants' economic security and wellbeing emerged as important considerations for the highly-skilled. Perhaps against the background of the economic crisis and related political and economic developments, which have increased the sense of precarity experienced by younger generations, some highly-skilled migrants expressed their concern to settle in EU countries which they felt offered economic stability and the opportunity to invest in property and put down secure roots. As regards other social developments, highly-skilled couples whose mobility decisions must take into account dual careers seem to pay particular attention to policies that support family life. Finally, there was some indication from a couple of non-EU born migrants that their direct experience of racism and discrimination had motivated their onwards migration within the EU, and others, including the EU-born, suggested that increasing xenophobia and populist politics – even if they themselves were not directly affected by it – might be enough to motivate their future migration. In the context of political developments such as Brexit, and the increasing influence of the far right in many European countries, future research should explore whether such intentions are likely to translate into actual behaviour, and what the relative importance of such social and political concerns are in determining migration decisions.

Moreover, the study has brought to light other motivations for intra-EU mobility that have not yet, as far as the authors are aware, received scholarly attention. Qualitative research participants demonstrated that free movement in the EU can be a reason in and of itself to migrate within the EU, not only through formal structures such as ERASMUS, but also among post-study, highly-skilled EU nationals. For such migrants, intra-EU mobility decisions are less the result of rational cost-benefit analysis based on push and pull factors, but rather shaped by a particular relationship with mobility which conceives of mobility as a way of life, or even a moral imperative, given aspirations for personal growth and fulfilment.

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Intra-EU mobility trajectories and decision-making

In addition to exploring the nature of different motivations for intra-EU mobility, this study has made a substantial contibution to current understandings of how intra-EU mobility trajectories are shaped, drawing out, where possible, distinctions between the decision-making of EU-born and non-EU migrants.

EU origin migrants

It is clear from the research that intra-EU movements can rarely be framed as migration "strategies" – most intra-EU migrants have quite open-ended plans. EU nationals, in particular, tend to engage with only short-term timeframes, suggesting that freedom of movement within the EU removes some of the pressure to engage in long-term planning, and allows these migrants greater flexibility to improvise as they go along. Not only students and recent graduates, but also highly-skilled EU nationals who move with their partners or families to take up work opportunities, seem largely to be "playing it by ear". Less data was collected from low-skilled, EU-national intra-EU migrants, but those who did comment on their initial plans explained similarly that when they arrived in their country of destination, they were planning to just see how it went.

The mobility decision-making of EU-origin migrants is therefore more flexible and open to re-assessment and evolution, and therefore also seems to be more sensitive to shifts in the relative importance of different factors at different stages of life. Whilst migrants from non-EU countries of origin did describe plans to re-migrate at specific points in their lives, these tended to be more straightforward return plans triggered by clear milestones such as having children, needing to care for their parents, or retiring themselves. In contrast, for migrants from EU countries of origin, or who had grown up in the EU and had EU nationality, the changes in their mobility behavior seemed more nuanced and complex, responding to other factors such as stage of career development, personal development, and ebbs and flows in their appetite for adventure. Moreover, for EU nationals, such life-course considerations could motivate onwards mobility as well as return movements.

The lack of firm mobility plans, at least in the short-term, may be to do with the lower costs of intra-EU migration for EU nationals, but for the young and highly-skilled it may also be to

do with their relation to mobility – in terms of seeing mobility as an assumed characteristic of their career and/or personal development. However, an important and perhaps counter-intuitive finding is that, although young, highly-skilled EU-origin migrants frequently see themselves as highly-mobile (whether in the shorter or longer term), they often maintain strong relationships with their country of origin, either as the country in which they plan to eventually settle down (perhaps following further migration experiences), or as the country to which they wish to come back periodically in between different migration episodes.

With regard to potential return movements to EU countries of origin, there are multiple factors that may motivate or disincentivise return migration, and which may be more or less relevant to different countries of origin. Beyond the afore-mentioned importance of care responsibilities (which was discussed by migrants from a range of EU countries), and return for higher quality social security and public services (more relevant for Swedish and German nationals), the country of origin's social and political environment, in particular, seems to have an important role in determining return decisions. Some migrants (particularly German nationals) expressed a strong urge to eventually return to their country of origin in order to enjoy proximity to their friends and family, and a sense of belonging. In contrast, migrants may be reluctant to return home if they observe political developments in their country of origin which they do not sympathize with, and particularly if their experience of living in another country changes their preferences and priorities – for example, in terms of social and political norms such as gender equality. These political or social considerations may not have been particularly important in motivating out-migration from these countries, but become increasingly important in determining return decisions, as migrants become accustomed to particular standards and norms and anticipate difficulties or frustrations adapting to life "back home".

It is perhaps not helpful to suggest that EU countries of origin which wish to incentive the return of their student and highly-skilled emigrants focus on changing social or political norms in their countries. However, given the importance of the presence of an international environment and community for the highly-mobile, a first step might be to create "international hubs" – for example by attracting other migrants (both natives and from other countries of origin) and international companies, which might provide the kind of

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cosmopolitan environment which could help to bridge and lessen the shock of emigrants' return to countries of origin. Furthermore, with specific regard to incentivizing the return of student migrants and recent graduates, countries of origin should pay attention to facilitating the reintegration of their nationals back into the labour market, as this was highlighted as an area of difficulty for some student migrants who had considered or even applied for jobs in their countries of origin upon graduating. Countries of origin should not only support the recognition of foreign-obtained skills and qualifications by employers in these countries, but should also consider promoting inter-cultural awareness and understanding specifically geared to these migrants' successful integration in the professional environment. For example, this could mean offering highly-attractive work placement or similar professional experiences for students during the course of their university degrees (e.g. over the summer holidays). Such schemes might help international students to maintain contact with the country of origin, and build professional networks as well as an understanding of the labour market and the opportunities for them to leverage their skills towards success in the labour market back home. These policy measures should not come into effect only at the end of a student's university degree, by which time they may feel too embedded, both socially and professionally, in the country of study.

Third country origin migrants

This study has contributed to filling a particular gap in the literature regarding the onward mobility of third country nationals within the EU. The research found limited evidence that migrants from non-EU countries and without EU nationality make deliberate use of the relatively easy access into one EU country in order to then migrate onwards to another EU country. In particular, the low-skilled and those whose migration to Europe was motivated primarily by economic or physical insecurity in their countries of origin tend to be more inclined to stay in their first EU country of destination, provided they have the opportunity to work. With regard to recent in-flows of asylum-seekers, policymakers should therefore consider that onwards mobility is less likely if new arrivals are supported to build sustainable livelihoods that meet their economic needs and satisfy their aspirations – rather than relying on welfare benefits. Assuming that policymakers wish to support recent arrivals to integrate socially and economically and to make contributions to the host society in the longer-term, it will therefore be important to provide support for language-learning and for

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successful integration into the wage labour market or in self-employment. However, such support interventions are much more likely to be effective if new arrivals feel confident that they will be allowed to remain in the country of destination long enough to see the return on their investment of time and effort – insecurity regarding the right to remain is likely to disincentivise efforts to invest in integrating and building a new life in the country of destination.

Where onward mobility was observed in third country-origin migrants' past or prospective migration decisions, there were two different groups of secondary movers. Onward movements among third country nationals who were engaged in low-skilled jobs were mostly driven by rising unemployment in their countries of first arrival (Italy and Spain) following the economic crisis. It may be interesting for policymakers to note that countries such as Spain may experience future return flows of non-EU origin migrants (particularly, Latin Americans) who left Spain in the wake of the economic crisis, but who maintain an emotional connection to Spain and who might be motivated to return there if structural conditions or their individual circumstances and preferences change. As regards the onwards mobility of third-country national students and highly-skilled workers, their decision-making more closely approximates the mobility decision-making of highly-skilled EU nationals in terms of their greater openness to further mobility for career opportunities or quality of life/lifestyle reasons. However, third country nationals are in practice incentivized to stay where they can most quickly access permanent residence status, and they seem less predisposed to onwards mobility for the sake of new experiences and broadened horizons.

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Appendix

Descriptive statistics: Quantitative data

Table 3. Age of survey respondents

		Germany	Italy	Spain	Sweden	UK	Total
Age group	18 - 20	49	19	23	45	177	313
	%	75.4	50	60.5	70.3	86.8	76.5
	21 25	7	5	5	8	11	36
	%	10.8	13.2	13.2	12.5	5.4	8.8
	26 - 30	3	4	4	5	5	21
	%	4.6	10.5	10.5	7.8	2.5	5.1
	31 – 35	2	1	3	5	3	14
	%	3.1	2.6	7.9	7.8	1.5	3.4
	36 – 40	1	0	2	1	1	5
	%	1.5	0	5.3	1.6	0.5	1.2
	41 – 45	2	6	0	0	0	8
	%	3.1	15.8	0	0	0	2
	46 – 50	0	1	0	0	2	3
	%	0	2.6	0	0	1	0.7
	51 – 55	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0	0	0	0	0	0
	56 – 60	0	1	0	0	0	1
	%	0	2.6	0	0	0	0.2
	61 and over	1	1	1	0	5	8
		1.5	2.6	2.6	0	2.5	2
	Total		38	38	64	204	409
	%		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

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Figure 9. Countries of origin for EU-origin survey respondents

Survey respondents' countries of birth
(EU countries including EFTA)

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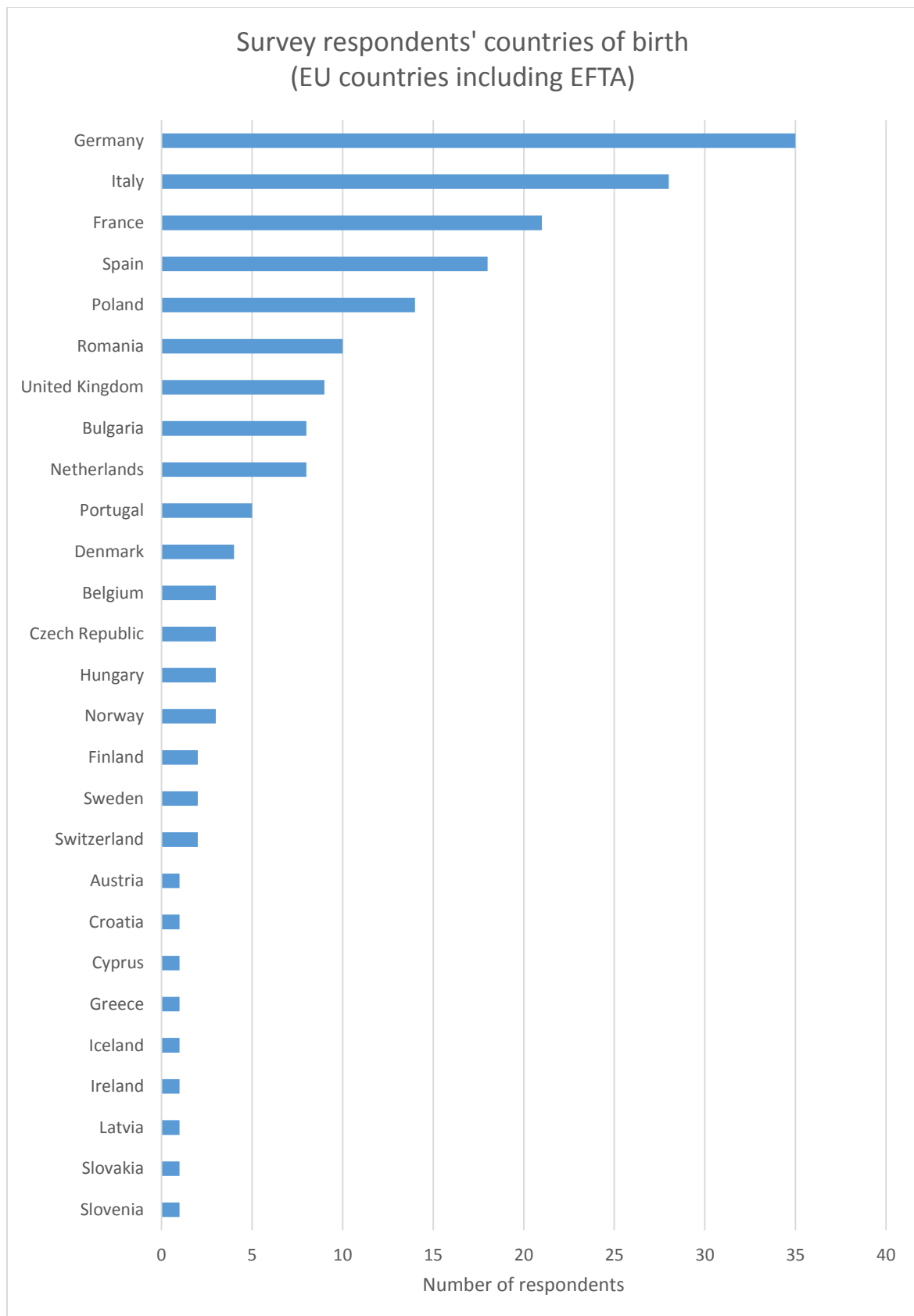
Figure 10. Countries of origin for non-EU origin survey respondents

Survey respondents' non-EU countries of birth
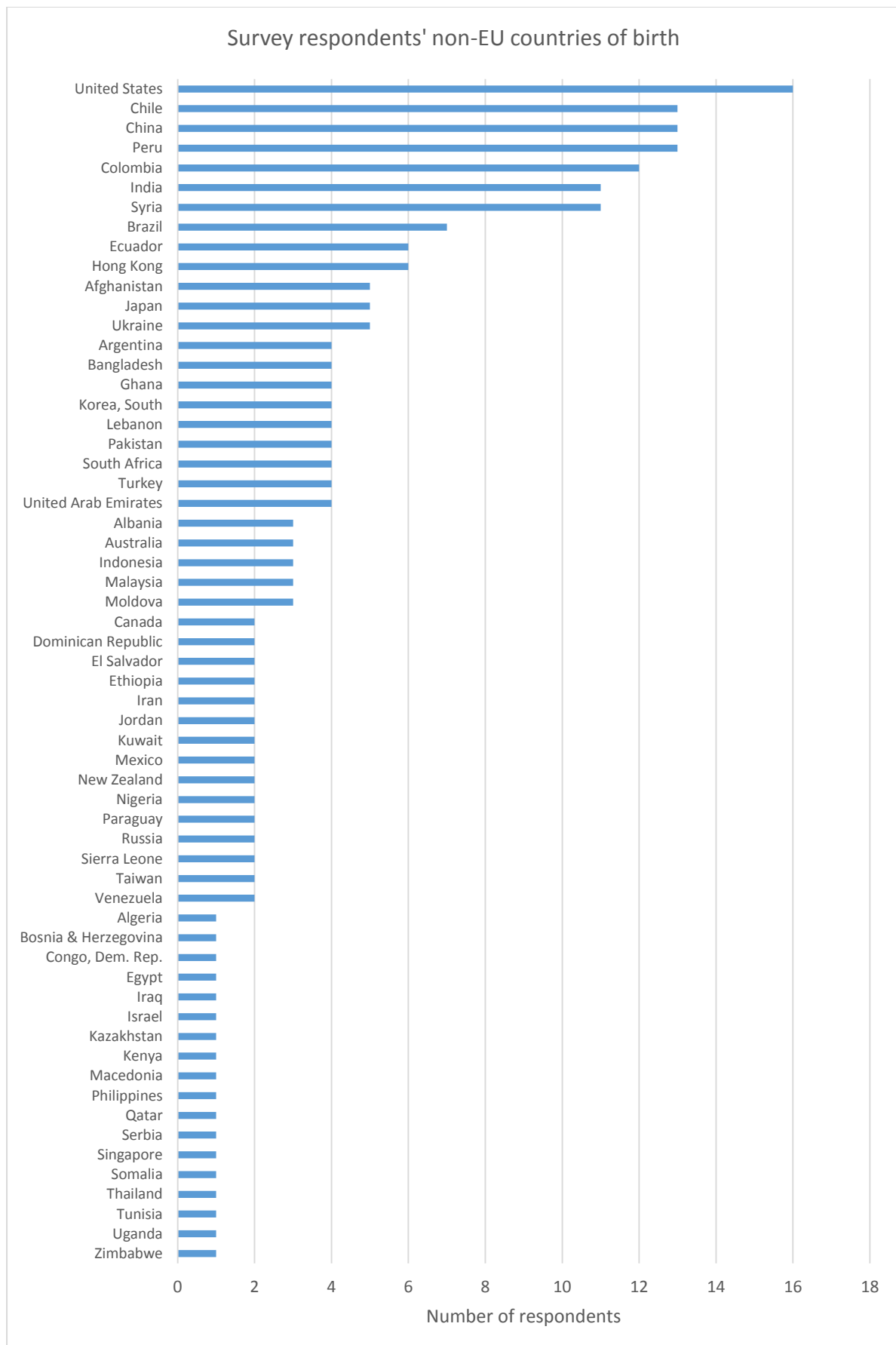
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Descriptive statistics: Qualitative data

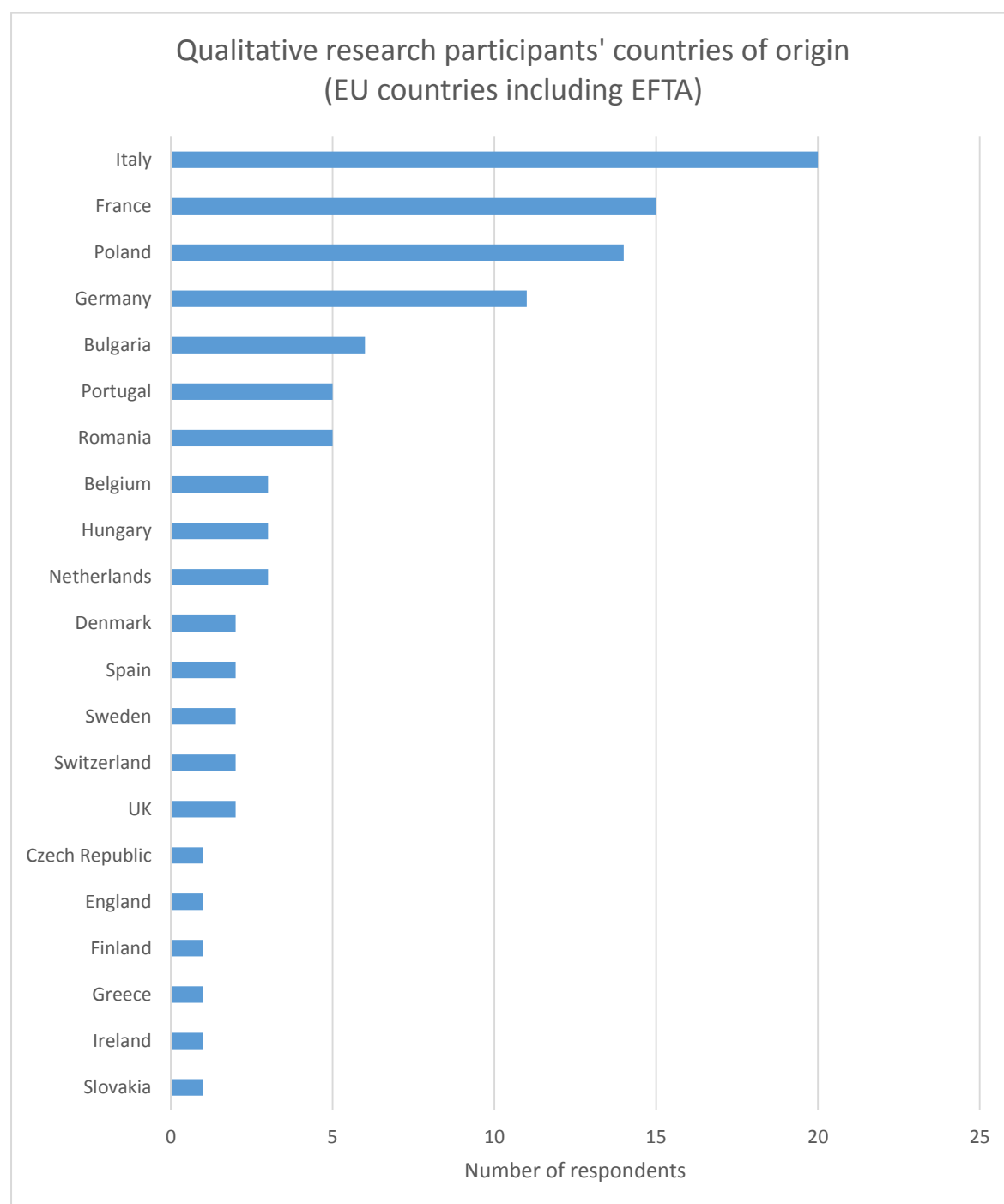*Figure 11. Countries of origin for EU-origin qualitative research participants*

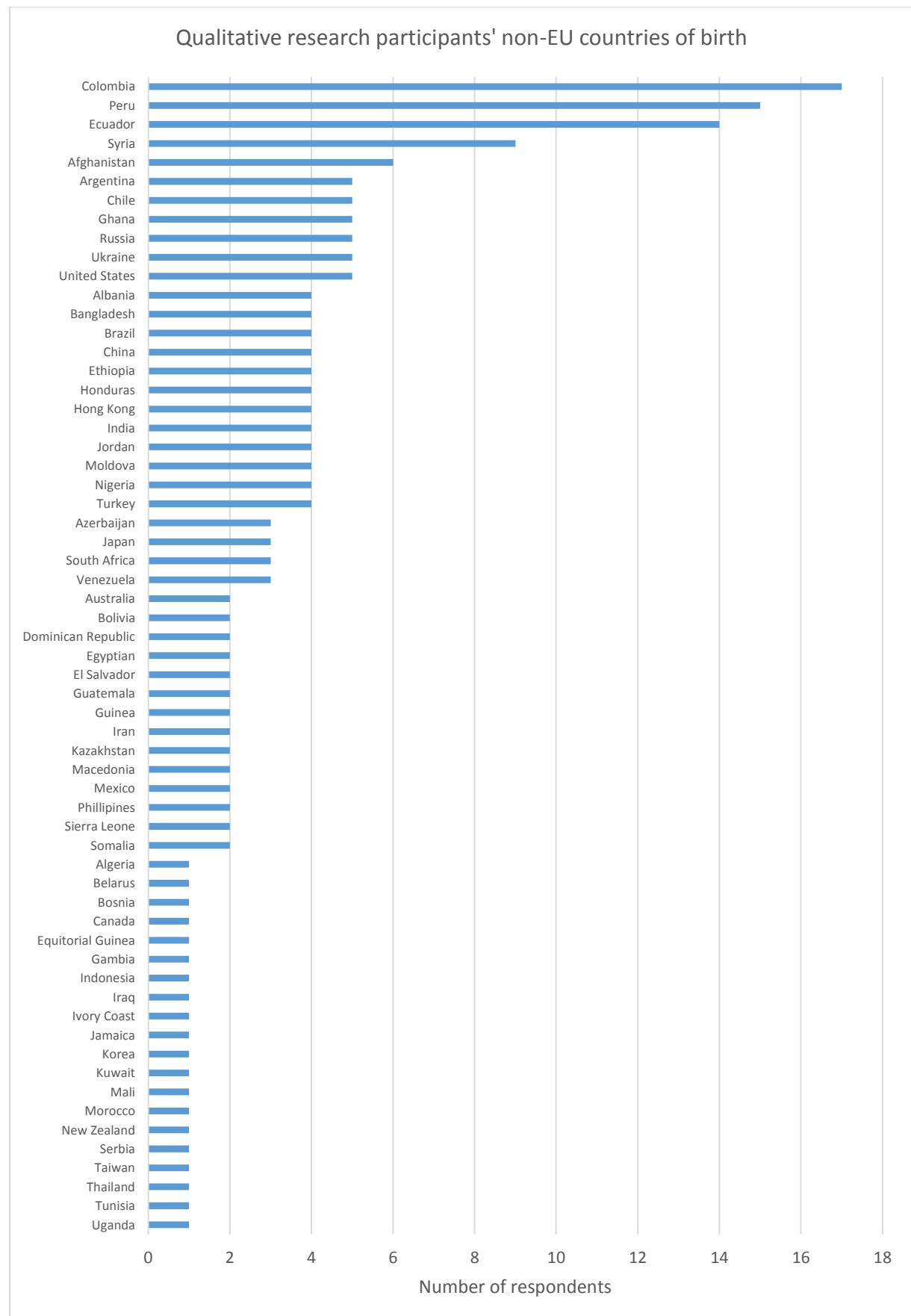Qualitative research participants' countries of origin
(EU countries including EFTA)

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Figure 12. Countries of origin for non-EU origin qualitative research participants

Qualitative research participants' non-EU countries of birth

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ROLE OF EUROPEAN MOBILITY AND ITS IMPACTS IN NARRATIVES, DEBATES AND EU REFORMS

The REMINDER project is exploring the economic, social, institutional and policy factors that have shaped the impacts of free movement in the EU and public debates about it.

The project is coordinated from COMPAS and includes participation from 14 consortium partners in 9 countries accross Europe.

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