



FUTURE MIGRATION
SCENARIOS FOR EUROPE

Summary

Drivers and Trajectories of Migration to Europe



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Drivers and Trajectories of Migration to Europe

CASE STUDY REPORTS

[TUNISIA](#)

[IRAQ](#)

[SENEGAL](#)

[UKRAINE](#)

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Content of the reports

This reports are drawn up on the basis of a research carried out in four case studies namely: Iraq, Senegal, Tunisia and Ukraine between 2020 and 2021 and it is one of the outputs of the research project FUME. The objective of the reports is twofold:

- to illustrate the main environmental, demographic, socio-cultural, economic and geopolitical characteristics and patterns that from international through regional to the local level shape the internal and international migration trajectories from four investigated case studies;
- to analyse the results collected during the research undertaken in the chosen four case studies, where in total 119 in-depth interviews to potential migrants and 17 semi-structured interviews (Iraqi, Senegal, Tunisia) and one focus group (Ukraine) with key-experts on migration issues were carried out.

While the context of analysis has been examined through the interviews to key-experts of different professional background (academic scholars; representatives of national and international institutions; members of humanitarian organizations or association of the third sector), the majority of the interviews were aimed at collecting the experiences of migrants or “would-be migrants” to Europe. These latter interviewees were according to their different periods of arrival to the main cities from rural or secondary urban areas: “newcomers” (settled in the last 5 years), “long stayers” (settled from 5 up to 10 years) and “settled migrants” (over 10 years). The presentation of research results aims at discussing the qualitative evidence and harmonizes the analytical observations between results of the research carried in four case studies Iraq, Senegal, Tunisia and Ukraine.

The reports are structured around five parts. After the introductory part comes the presentation of the main theoretical and methodical approaches adopted. The remaining part of the report is divided into five main parts - four parts of the report are devoted to the presentation of results of four case studies and the last one provides comparative input on drivers of migration (both internal and international). Each of case study parts is organised around chapters which provide an updated overview of the country including following dimensions:

- objectives and justifications of each of the case study;
- environmental characteristics;
- main changes occurred at national and regional level in relation to the mobility dynamics of the population;
- demographic description of the past and current situation of the population with particular attention to the major trends that will likely influence the composition of the future demographic patterns;
- presentation of the socio-cultural features shaping the composition and profile of the case studies' population including the role of education and the social networks (e.g. family ties, religious, cultural, migration networks) and the socio-cultural roots of the propensity to move;
- the economic context of case study narrowing down the attention to the regional patterns of development;
- brief overview of political context;
- the main migration policies implemented at national level and aimed at addressing internal mobility and international mobility towards the European Union;
- the analysis of the information provided by respondents - the potential migrants as well as the key-experts.

Theoretical framework

One of the most important theories of migration that explain causes of migration is the theory of push and pull factors developed by Everett Lee (1966). According to this theory migrants are driven by various factors linked to the origin areas such as conflicts, instability, insufficient resources, unemployment or degradation of the environment. On the other hand, they are attracted to the destination areas by different factors such as employment possibilities, political stability, better access to resources, infrastructure, the education system and even better climate. Lee, as many others, were influenced by the "Laws of Migration" formulated by Ernst Georg Ravenstein (1885). According to these 'laws' migration can be characterised by several characteristics and regularities. According to some of them 1) the majority of migrants move only on a short distance and those proceeding long distances generally choose one of the great centres of commerce and industry; 2) migration is taken by steps and most common example is migration of rural population to small towns, then cities, the great centres of commerce and industry, and finally abroad; 3) females appear to predominate among short-journey migrants – this, however, currently seems to be accurate just for some regions and situations; 4) an increase in the means of locomotion and a development of manufactures and commerce have led to an increase of migration, what nowadays, however, it is not only about the access to means of transport and commerce, but also to the new information technologies such as the Internet, television, safe money transfer, 5) finally he indicated economic motive as a dominant one, creating much bigger volume of migrants, than any other reason (bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion) (Lee, 1966, p. 48).

These 'laws' of migration were formulated by Ravenstein on the basis of the internal migration patterns in England. We assume, following Lee (1966), within our research that internal migration takes place by steps from less developed (rural) areas and secondary urban localities to the urban centres, and from there, under certain conditions it proceeds to international destinations. In our selection we focus on those who migrated previously to an urban centre. Finally, we are going to verify how the access to the new technologies (e.g. use of social media through mobile phones or over the internet) facilitates access to information on different options of migration. This influences the decision whether to migrate and the destination of the migration. More recent migration theories observed that different persons given the same factors make different migratory decisions: whereas a minority emigrates the majority will usually not consider moving. Therefore, it is important to investigate the decision-making practices that drive potential migrants to leave our case study countries as well as the motivations and propensities driving many people to stay in their country of origin (Carling and Collins 2018; Schewel, 2015; 2019; Schewel and Fransen 2020). According to a survey conducted by Gallup World Poll, while globally 21.4% of the surveyed population expresses a wish to migrate to another country, only 1.1% of the population actually prepares to move. These data suggest that the desire to move abroad representing the aspirations to improve one's own living conditions due to life dissatisfaction, does not necessarily imply a concrete intention to migrate or an ability to do so, leading for many people to a condition of "involuntary immobility" (Carling, 2002).

In the examination of the migratory decision-making processes the concept of "involuntary immobility" lays at the basis of the elaboration of the so-called aspiration/ability model (Carling 2002). A refinement of the aspiration/ability model was put forward by de Haas, who suggested the adoption of the term 'capability' instead of 'ability' to analyse how conditions of immobility relate to development. Whereas in the aspiration/ability model the ability refers mainly to the potentialities of prospective migrants, the aspirations/capabilities framework considers migration processes as "an intrinsic part of broader processes of social transformation" (de Haas, 2014: 4) where 'capabilities' refer to diverse aspects of well-being and "the capability to migrate is a valuable freedom in its own right, regardless of people's preferences for staying or leaving" (Carling & Schewel, 2018: 957). Overall, although it is not a new analytical framework (Portes, McLeod & Parker 1978), Carling's model has drawn the attention on the importance of scrutinising empirically the dimension of immobility as the flip side of the same coin: mobility and immobility as mutually constitutive and reinforcing components (Carling, 2014; Gaibazzi 2015).

As noted by de Haas the "concept of migration aspirations expands the notion of migratory agency into the subjective realm" (2014: 23). To understand migration, it is necessary to analyse the causes and the ways people develop their ambitions to migrate. This suggests seeing aspirations not as inherently individualistic expressions but rather as the "social grounding of individual desire" (Ray, 2006: 209). Along with gender, aspects of the life course (age) and the educational level, the determining forces that may lead to the concrete decision to migrate form a complex process depending on a multitude of factors. They primarily pertain to and are shaped by the household context, the family dynamics, the extension of networks, as well as the formal and informal social groups to which the individual belongs. This context often determines the socio-economic status of the individuals as well as the social and financial resources available for a migratory project as well as the information about preferable migration trajectories and destination countries or specific areas. The understanding of the drivers and patterns of migration implies taking into account the role of migrants' family as agents, the migrants' estimation of the costs and benefits of moving to alternative international locations, the migration networks or the effects triggered by the migration policies implemented (Massey et al., 1993).

We also consider the possibility to view migration as a consequence of environmental changes and limitations which reduce income from agriculture and force people to look for additional sources of income, also through the process of migration. Migration of a family member may provide financial resources for the process of adaptation. Migration may allow for the realisation of pertinent adaptation measures that allow for long-term adjustment of economic strategies reducing emigration pressure in the future (Geddes, 2015; Sobczak-Szelc and Fekih, 2020).

Migration is a result of intertwined multiple processes. To underline the complexity of factors influencing migration, researchers in migration studies distinguish political, demographic, economic, social and environmental factors, and ask how those elements have changed to push inhabitants of one area to emigrate (Castles and Miller, 2009). Those types of factors, depending on the link to either origin, transit or destination areas or the one enabling or restricting migration, can be further divided into three groups:

- (1) factors linked to the migrant's area of departure or origin (e.g. lack of employment, infrastructure, resources, environmental change, political instability, conflicts, migratory tradition, etc.)
- (2) factors related to the migrant's destination or arrival area (e.g. job availability, access to infrastructure, resources, cultural proximity, etc.)
- (3) other factors facilitating or restricting migration such as migration networks, the personal characteristics of migrants (age, gender, qualifications, social capital, etc.), migration policies, means of transport, economic links, socio-economic exchanges. cultural, etc. (Bilgili, 2015; Bounouh and Gsir, 2017, p. 18).

Within this perspective, mixed motivations of the individual at the outset and shifting motivations along the migration trajectory prove the difficulty of categorising individual international migrants in an absolute way as forced or voluntary migrant, as economic migrant or as asylum seeker etc., whereas the distinctions between irregular versus regular migration is based on the legal system of the area where the migrant lives. Although it is acknowledged the difference between voluntary or forced migration, it has been kept into account that this dichotomy includes a wide range of movements and also its forms and motives are very heterogeneous. International migrations are not conceived necessarily as a one-way transnational process, nor as a clearly defined and permanent action based on a decision, but rather as trajectories subject to interruptions, transition phases and continuous adjustments.

Methodology and sources

The first phase of the research project was focused on desk research, with the use of secondary data analysis based on censuses, population registers and surveys, as well as existing literature. Through desk research we gathered comprehensive information about socio-economic, cultural, demographic, and environmental potential factors influencing the decision for internal and international migrations, as well as a choice of trajectories and final destinations of international migrants.

In order to provide a consistent background for new insights regarding the drivers of international migration and the factors shaping migration trajectories toward Europe, qualitative stocktaking and data analysis have been carried out. This part consisted of the collection and analytical elaboration of existing knowledge on the motivations and the decision-making factors of migration within the framework of the political and socio-cultural transformations in thematic study areas. The desk research informed the in-depth interviews and allowed for specification of adequate selection criteria for each case study.

During the second phase, through qualitative semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews, we elicited the socio-cultural, economic, political, environmental, and personal determinants in order to (1) understand how they influence aspirations and intentions and, as a consequence, decisions of migrants (of both further migrating and staying) and to (2) grasp the complexity of interactions among the factors mentioned above. Migrants and non-migrants are both protagonists of the multidimensional decision process that leads to emigration.

The interviewees received an interview scenario aimed at carrying out open questions with potential migrants or members of their kin network. Through open questions the informants were stimulated to discuss and reflect on their biographic experience as well as to describe their perceptions and ideas on some topics. The interviewees were identified on the basis of specific selection criteria aimed at ensuring representativeness with respect to important characteristics of significantly differentiate population, such as: gender, professional, educational, ethical features as well as the diverse complexities of the migration trajectories to the chosen urban areas and the average patterns of the international migrant' profile. Additionally, an interview scenario/guideline was developed to carry out a selected number of interviews with migration experts. The guideline has been built on two types of questions: (1) questions directed to assess the knowledge of the expert on specific topics; (2) questions directed to demand for analytical opinions on specific interpretation of the reality (statement to comment).

The interviews were carried out in chosen cities of countries of origin: Iraq (Duhok and Zakho), Senegal (Dakar), Ukraine (Kyiv) and Tunisia (Sousse). The aforementioned cities were chosen since they constitute key internal and external migration spaces in the analysed contexts and represent four different regions East Europe - Ukraine, MiddleEast - Iraq, North Africa - Tunisia and West Africa- Senegal. The urban neighbourhoods and quarters, conceived as "socio-cultural places of relations and exchanges" have emerged as significant determinants of global migration trajectories. For long time the urban contexts have functioned as significant "starting points" and "stepping stones" to destinations abroad for many potential international migrants coming from villages and small towns (for Senegal: Sinatti 2008; Melly 2010). Thus, the aspirations and motivations to migrate could be nonetheless related to the understanding of the role played by the experience of living in an urban environment such as Sousse or Dakar, that often embody an ill-defined "European or Western way of life".

Determinants of migration - a comparative approach

The aim of the FUME project is not only to examine migration trajectories and how duration of residence in the city influences the decisions related to further migration but also to and differences between four case studies, namely: Duhok and Zakho in Iraq, Dakar in Senegal, Sousse in Tunisia and Kyiv in Ukraine. The analysis was conducted following the framework created using findings from the Delphi study on determinants of migration done in Work Package 3 of FUME project. The information presented in the table is based only on the results of the interview carried out in total with 119 in-depth interviews with migrants and 22 in-depth interviews with experts. A summary of this comparative analysis will be given below.

Our analysis shows there are significant differences in the role of factors of migration between the case studies. Moreover, their significance changes over time. *Population growth and demand for education* were chosen as two factors of **demographic dimension**. The first of them seems not to be a direct determinant of migration. The decision is more related to insufficient access to resources, services and job opportunities rather than the perception of population growth as such. More interesting is the role of demand for education which seems to influence both the motivation to move and its direction.

Regarding the **economic dimension**, the supply of skilled jobs, demand for low skilled jobs, economic growth differences between origin and destination and wage differences between origin and destination were chosen for comparative analysis. The analysis shows that the labour-market mismatch or the possibility to find a job that fits education and qualifications play an important role in creating migration behaviour in three investigated case studies (Ukraine, Iraq and Tunisia). In Senegal, where migration is dominated by low skilled migrants, this aspect was less important. The remaining aspects of demand for low-skilled jobs, development and wage differences between regions were indicated as important factors everywhere.

Separate attention was given to the **environmental dimension**. Climate change was hardly indicated as a factor influencing migration. In the case of Senegal, such a term was too abstract for interviewees to give an opinion about its influence on migration decisions. More attention was given to limited access to environmental resources such as water - in case of drought (climate-related) or limited access to its underground resources (case of Tunisia). The interviewees also were aware that an increase in extreme weather events, especially in the future, such as drought, may deteriorate living conditions and income from agriculture, especially in the areas where it is the main source of income. In Tunisia and Ukraine air pollution either radioactive or from industrial activities was mentioned as a factor influencing decisions on migration.

With regards to the **governance dimension**, the *pro- vs anti-immigration policies* seem to play an important role in creating migration trajectories. In Ukraine, introduction of visa-free movement to EU countries goes in parallel with the lack of narratives about irregular migration among our interviewees. In Iraq, Senegal and Tunisia, strong border control seems to influence the need to look for new ways to enter the EU such as irregular migration or migration of minors who can not be forcibly returned. Political stability was an important factor in both internal and international migration in two cases: Iraq and Ukraine, where military conflicts were mentioned as the dominant factor in the time of military activity. In the case of Tunisia, political stability was not mentioned. This situation, however, may change in the near future due to the evolution of the political situation after the suspension of the parliament and the government on 25 of July 2021. Further, observation is needed.

Societal dimension as a group of factors presents more differentiated material. For instance, *social networks* are an important source of knowledge of employment opportunities. In many cases, it plays a role in the initial phase of migration (help with accommodation, etc.). Most of all, however, it influences the choice of destination. Perception of the social welfare system, tolerance and gender equality is strongly rooted in the cultural background of interviewees. As far as in Tunisia and Iraq women emancipation plays an important role and interviewees reflected that in cities or in Europe possibilities of work or independence for women are better, in Ukraine this aspect was not mentioned. Also the perception of the attractiveness of the EU lifestyle is not obvious and depends on the cultural background and information promoted by other migrants. The closer the culture is to the European one, or its promotion through repatriated migrants and social media is stronger, the more pronounced is a perception that Europe is an eldorado for migrants who seek a combination of safety, economic opportunities, freedom, human rights protection, social and health.

To summarise looking at investigated case studies, the role of factors that influence the migration scenario is different. It depends not only on the multi relation between factors themselves, but their role may change depending on cultural, geographical and historical background which may be different in different regions. Therefore creation of future migration scenarios should not be created holistically but individually for particular regions.

Table 1. Determinants of migration in the comparative perspective

Key driver	Country case study		Iraq	Senegal	Tunisia
	Ukraine				
Demography					
Population growth	Ukraine has been experiencing population decline since the 1990s. It is therefore not perceived as a key driver of contemporary migration.	Population growth, which is a result of natural increase and increasing inflow of IDPs and refugees, adds extra pressure on the existing educational and health capabilities as well as on the labour market. Newly arrived refugees are willing to work at lower wages than local causing the newly graduated to explore options for moving abroad	This driver is difficult to measure since individuals are not feeling the pressure of population growth. Perhaps lack of opportunities?		The demographic transition is complete, but share of young population over total population is still growing, creating pressures on the labour market. Limited access to resources such as agricultural land, makes income from agriculture insufficient. Facing a lack of other opportunities people are leaving.
Demand for education	Regarding internal migration flows, education comes second as the most important driver of migration after the economic ones. There is a lot of interest in receiving higher education abroad, usually in the EU. Poland is particularly popular in this regard because of the close distance, lower costs than in Western Europe and - for Ukrainians with Polish roots - opportunities for free tertiary level education.	Educational opportunities abroad are included in a package with employment and human rights, which make European destinations attractive	Differentiated profile of migrants concerning EU country of destination (more frequently educated and skilled in France, unskilled and low educated in Italy and France). The attractiveness of EU educational opportunities. Most potential migrants have only basic education (koranic school). We observe a lack of economic resources to express the demand for education.		Education is perceived as a way towards a better life. It is also one of the important reasons behind internal migrations linked also with economic and cultural reasons.
Economy					
Supply of skilled job	The supply of skilled jobs in the capital - and some other large cities - is an important driver for internal migrants. It is linked with increasing aspirations for career and self-development among the younger generation.	Better work for young graduates opportunities as well as a rise in the level of salary may dissuade many potential migrants to stay in Iraq, especially those with skills that are needed elsewhere. The increased educational facilities imply a rise in the number of graduates and highly educated people that struggle to find work in an underdeveloped private sector and an over-crowded public sector.	No, because migration is rather characterized by low-skilled migrants. A mismatch between required job profiles in Europe and available skills provided by potential migrants.		Tunisia, as all other Arab Mediterranean countries, is a unique case where unemployment rates increase with the level of education - and are highest for graduates, in particular for female ones. It will lower international migration if educated people in Tunisia find adequate job opportunities, current education - labour market mismatch increase aspirations for international migrations.
Demand for low skilled jobs	There are many forms of low-skilled migrations both inside Ukraine and abroad. Unemployment and lack of work opportunities in origin places make people look for any kind of work, often with the help of family and social networks.	Migrants, especially refugees from Syria arriving in the KR- are willing to accept low-paid wages. Wages dumping affects locals (including long stayers, settled and newcomers).	Yes, migration is rather characterized by low-skilled migrants. Awareness of job availability in the wide informal sector (e.g. Italy).		Some of these low skilled jobs are being performed by migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa. There is an increasing number of them who treat Tunisia not only as a transit but also destination country.

Key driver	Country case study	Iraq	Senegal	Tunisia
Economic growth differences between origin and destination	Ukraine Regional Human Development Index for Ukraine shows discrepancies between regions. The most migrant-sending regions (excluding those occupied by Russia) are at the bottom of the ranking (either in low-middle or low groups of development). The capital city which attracts the most internal migrants ranks 1.	There is an imbalance between different Iraqi regions. The KR-I has been a reference in terms of economic growth and urbanization attracting not only persecuted Kurds from other governorates outside KR-I but also Arabs.	Bilateral policies (EU-Senegal) affect the survival or increase the exploitation of some economic sectors (e.g. fisheries). Potential migrants express this concept more in the way of existing economic opportunities. There is growing inequality of opportunities between Dakar and other regions but in general between the west coast and inner Senegal. Dakar polarizes the main economic activities.	It is very important in internal movements. There are inequalities between regions with more opportunities in the coastal areas. It is further extrapolated in international movements. Those who do not find their chances in coastal areas look for further options abroad either in Europe or in Canada or in the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council.
Wage differences between origin and destination	The low level of salary was given as an important factor in leaving one's place of origin. In the capital, the opportunities for higher earnings are much more common. In many provinces, especially in rural areas and smaller towns, average salaries are often too small to cover daily expenses.	Wages differences are not merely the reason but job opportunities, which is replacing security as the main driver of migration	Underemployment is also increased by perceptions of the wage differential. Potential migrants express this concept more in the way of existing economic opportunities.	In regard to internal migration it is not so much wage differences, but more job opportunities in different regions which are different paid and there is also different security of income. Contrary, low salary was given as one of the reasons to leave Tunisia for international migration.
Environment				
Climate change	The topic of climate change did not appear in our research as a driver of migration. It may, however, change in the future as Ukraine - and mostly the agricultural sector - is projected to be vulnerable to droughts, heatwaves, seasonal floods and other impacts of climate change. Environmental disaster caused by the Chernobyl nuclear power plant failure was in the past one a major reason for the internal migrations. Several other nuclear power plants are operating in the country.	Water shortage may be a key future migration driver due to the decision of neighboring countries to cut water sources. The Kalar river has basically already been turned off. Iran only allows a certain amount of water. That is the case for the Tigris and basically, anything that originates from Turkey (e.g. in Rojava, Erdogan turned off the water and people were dying in the summer for lack of water). Water shortage will affect fishing and irrigation possibilities.	Not clearly to be assessed/measurable. Climate change is a concept too abstract.	Environmental changes (e.g. limitations in access to water resources and land as well as pollution) were mentioned by some of our interviewees as additional reasons that pushed them to search for work outside of their places of origin.
Weather	There may be lots of risks related to weather changes in the near future, but since we did not have farmers among respondents it was not presented as a factor influencing migration decisions.	Drought and lack of rainfall alone may not be the only driver but if it is combined with water shortage from river sources being cut by Turkey and Iran, this could considerably affect the livelihoods of KR-I inhabitants in the years to come.	Yields in agriculture (dominance of rain-fed agriculture in Senegal) depend on the weather. So the irregularity of rainfall led families to decide to favour the emigration of children. Existing land would not allow the survival of large families.	Other research indicates that heatwaves can decrease harvest (for instance of dates).

Key driver		Country case study		Senegal		Tunisia	
Ukraine		Iraq		Senegal		Tunisia	
Governance							
Pro-vs anti-immigration policies	The introduction of the visa-free regime for Ukrainian citizens in 2017 has had an impact on international migration to European Union countries. Hence, irregular migration narratives are almost absent in the collected materials.	There is an increased effort to control and reinforce the control at the border between Iraq and Turkey and neighbouring countries.	Fostering the increase of (un)accompanied minor migrants. Fostering the informal aspect of migration routes. No direct effect on potential migrants.	Tunisian government and civil society are reluctant to adopt legislation on immigration (tackling inter alia the issues of international protection) fearing that it may only contribute to the externalization of the EU border control.			
Political stability and conflicts	Political factors emerged as migration drivers after 2014 in relation to Russia's occupation of Crimea and armed conflict in the eastern regions of Ukraine (Donbas region). Following those events, Ukraine has encountered a mass population exodus from the aforementioned regions to the state-controlled territories. Thus a significant number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) has emerged.	The traditional driver of migration in Iraq is political instability and sectarian violence. Ethnic and religious minorities such as the Kurds have been subject to persecution in other regions and cities. As an example, we can mention the attacks on Kurds in Baghdad and more recently the invasion in 2014 of Mosul by Daesh. Despite the relative safety of KR_I, this will still remain a major driver of migration in the future.	In Senegal, this aspect is difficult to observe.	In Tunisia, it was not observed, but after the suspension by the president of the parliament and the government (de facto a coup d'état) of 25 July 2021, the situation can change. Further observation is needed.			
Society							
Social welfare systems	For internal migrants that was not the main reason, they gave explanations of their motives. It is a much more important factor for international migration from Ukraine especially to the EU.	This was mentioned as an aspect that made Europe more attractive. It was also mentioned that for young unemployed graduates, there is no clear policy from the Iraqi government to assist them. There is overall a lack of trust in the State as an institution.	Difficult to isolate the effect of this concept. Potential migrants are more interested in earning money.	Yes, it was mentioned as an advantage that in European countries the welfare system is better.			
Social Networks	Social networks, including friends, colleagues, relatives, are an important source of knowledge of employment opportunities. Also play a role in the initial phase of migration (help with accommodation, etc.). Social media groups connecting migrants from a particular place are increasingly used by potential migrants. Social networks have impacted internal and international migration to a large degree.	Social networks are important in the sense that they provide potential migrants stories about the danger of illegal migrants. They are also a vehicle of positive perception of Europe and other Western countries as a dream place to live.	Importance of the supporting role of religious networks (brotherhood), despite decreasing a greater ability to exchange information and to know about opportunities in contexts of destinations thanks to easy access to social media. Importance of the family.	A social network is a very strong factor influencing both decision and direction of both internal and international migration.			

Key driver	Country case study	Iraq	Senegal	Tunisia
Multiculturalism, tolerance vs intolerance	Ukraine In some cases, for people from rural areas or small towns, the atmosphere of big cities with a perceived wider level of freedom and tolerance play a role. The religious freedoms are very important for members of religious minorities fleeing occupied territories where numerous organisations are banned and their members face persecution (e.g. Jehova Witnesses or members of Hizb ut-Tahrir)	As explained earlier, the main driver of migration in Iraq is intolerance and violence against Kurds, Yazidis, Christian Shia and Sunnis muslims.	ND	ND
Gender equality	This factor does not seem to play important role in internal and external mobility	The Kurdish families live collectively and family is a very important value in KR-I. Women are still under the umbrella of their husbands or their fathers for those who are yet to be married. However, interviewees mentioned that opportunities for women to be educated and work increase when they migrate from rural are to the main cities of KR-I (e.g. Dukok and Zakho)	ND	Although Tunisia is one of the most liberal Arab countries the roles of women especially in the rural areas are strongly influenced by patriarchy and traditional values. Some of the women treat education as an excuse to leave their places of origin.
Attractiveness of EU lifestyle	For some groups of the younger generation, especially the highly skilled professionals it may play a role.	Information from return or repatriated migrants as well as social media has contributed to the perception of Europe as an eldorado for migrants who seek a combination of safety, economic opportunities, freedom, human rights protection, social and health protection	The use of social media has a direct influence in increasing the attractiveness of the EU lifestyle. Especially the economic opportunities, not so much the lifestyle since this is not what the potential migrants aspire to.	Rather no. Migrants are aware of the differences between European and Tunisian lifestyles and the need for integration.
Cross-dimensions				
Differences by the level of education	There is a wide perception among the Ukrainian population that the general standards of education in the EU are higher. Additionally, the problem of corruption in the educational sector remains unresolved.	The level of education is relevant when it comes to migrants leaving KR-I to go abroad. These migrants are not the poorest and the least educated because it requires a certain amount of wealth to pay for the trip. Additionally, for talented civil servants, the volatility of government salaries (meaning you can suddenly not receive your salary if the Iraqi government does not pay salary to the KR-I government) makes some envisage the possibility of migrating to Europe where there is more assurance about their earnings.	We observed little differences regarding the level of education of potential migrants, so it is difficult to judge.	The level of education influences more the way how potential migrants are willing to reach Europe, less the willingness as such, as all of the respondents are willing to migrate.

Key driver	Country case study	Iraq	Senegal	Tunisia
Differences by gender	Ukraine Not relevant	ND	Most potential migrants interviewed are men so no differences by gender can be observed.	Due to the cultural limitations of the independent functioning of women, many of them use education as an excuse and/or opportunity to leave.
Key drivers not identified by experts, but from case studies			We observe the importance for the potential migrants to reach social achievements with the migratory project (e.g. marriage that requires a dowry).	
Environmental change	ND	As mentioned above, water shortage due to a cut in river sources from neighbouring countries combined with recurring drought may act as key determinants for future migration.	As mentioned above: the importance of weather conditions for assuring livelihood through agriculture.	Yes. The pollution of the environment as well as decreased access to water influence positively migration also as an adaptation strategy (in case of need of money for agriculture/new water resources development)
Limited access to resources	Economic resources are the key things for migrants.	Yes. As mentioned above, those who migrate are not among the poorest. Migration requires resources and for most people who attempt it, it is not necessarily because they were hungry. So resources are central, and the lack of them keep most young people aspiring to migrate locked down in the KR-I where the lack of work opportunities is a growing concern	Financial resources at the individual and family levels are essential.	As mentioned above population growth causes limited access to resources such as agricultural land, and makes income from agriculture insufficient, facing a lack of other opportunities people are leaving. But limited access to water resources which limit possibilities to develop agriculture also plays a role.

Source: *Own elaboration (2021)*

About the FUME project

The Horizon 2020 project "Future migration scenarios for Europe" (FUME) focuses on understanding the patterns, motivations and modalities of migration at multiple geographical scales, from international through regional to the local level, and on imagining possible futures scenarios of migration to Europe. Understanding the drivers of migration, and people's motivation to migrate is a precondition for making projections of future migration patterns.

The analysis focuses on the examination of the demographic trends in the countries of origin and destination, migration propensity, income, employment and livelihood opportunities, the demand for and supply of labour market, as well as environmental challenges that may shape future migrant movement patterns in Europe. Thus, FUME supports planning and policy-making processes at many levels by formulating integrated and coherent visions of how migration to and within Europe might evolve. The project develops the mid-term (by 2030) scenarios and long-term (by 2050) scenarios on migration to the EU by using official data from statistical offices, conducting qualitative interviews in sending and receiving locations, by using social media platforms used by migrants and an open-source scenario-based simulation tool.

Local circumstances play a major role in the migration process, from the decision to migrate through the transit process up to the settlement in the destination countries. Nearly all international migrants generally move to the largest cities in destination countries, either directly, or after one or more internal moves. This is also the case across Europe, where population growth in many cities can be largely attributed to an influx of migrants. At the same time, in countries of origin the largest cities often function as gateways to destinations abroad. Many potential migrants in villages and small towns in origin countries first move to these larger cities before leaving their country. Cities, therefore, both in countries of origin and destination, are significant determinants of global migration and small-scale local knowledge on migration is necessary to avoid misleading results associated with the limitations arising from the use of global or national patterns only.

Consequently, a major aspect of the scope and approach of the Future Migration Scenarios for Europe project is to look at specific case areas, combined with an overall analysis of migration patterns within and between these, to create scenarios for how migration may evolve in Europe.

In this perspective, the project analyses differences between *low-skilled* and *high-skilled* migration, as well as the *gender* dimension and *age* of migration. The study develops its analysis in a broad frame of main drivers of migration: geopolitical (e.g. global legal environment, quality of governance, political stability, rule of law), environmental (e.g. temperatures, flooding, cyclones, droughts, yield crop), socio-cultural and economic (e.g. income, employment, segregation and inequality, societal openness), and demographic (e.g. population change, ageing, educational attainment, urbanization). This approach provides a deeper understanding of how migration processes work and how particular factors interact to influence the decision to migrate or to stay.

The project explores a set of regional migration and population scenarios for four European cities: Copenhagen (Northern-European capital with large Middle-Eastern migrant communities); Amsterdam (Western-European city with centuries of immigration history); Rome (Southern-European capital with large Eastern-European and Asian migrant communities); Cracow (Eastern-European city with a recent inflow of East-European migrants from non-EU countries). Also, in countries of origin, the largest cities often function as gateways to destinations abroad. Many potential migrants in villages and small towns first move to these larger cities before leaving their country. In particular, the project explores the following research field: Ukraine (a new origin country of immigration to EU from Eastern Europe), Tunisia (a migration North-African transit country with a long tradition of migration to EU countries), Senegal (one of the main Sub-Saharan origin countries of migration), and Iraq (a Middle East origin country).

In these local case studies the project investigates socio-cultural (gender and generational factors, transnational relations, role of professionals, ethnic or religious networks) and economic factors (e.g., income, unemployment rates, housing prices), political factors (e.g., security, type of political regime, potential suppression of minorities), environmental factors (e.g., threats to the livelihood of families because of environmental change or scarce resources, conflict as a consequence of scarce resources), as well as individual and collective factors (e.g., personal and family motivations to migrate, relationships in potential transit countries and countries of destination).

