Master Thesis

Individual motives and structural factors determining German – Dutch labor mobility.

Free movement of persons: fact or fiction?

Master thesis
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Date: 01 November 2010
Foreword
In front of you lies my master thesis for the study Business Administration at the University of Twente in Enschede. This thesis presents my final research project.

I started with the preparation and conduction of this research in April 2010. During my thesis period I have learned much about doing qualitative research. By conducting this research I was able to bring the learned theory about qualitative research into practice.

By means of this report I want to give the reader information about my research. By providing insights on; the background of the research subject, the research method, the literature and theory behind the subject and ultimately the interview results.

Of all readers I expect that they will handle the information that is incorporated in this report discreetly and soundly.

This master thesis is written under the teaching supervision of Dr. Huub Ruel and Dr. Tanja Bondarouk, of the University of Twente. I am grateful for the comments and advice I received from my supervisors.
I would also like to express my gratitude to all respondents kind enough to cooperate in this research. Furthermore I would like to thank my study colleagues for their support and their uplifting criticism.
I am also grateful for the continuous encouragement and support I received from my family and my friends!

‘s-Heerenberg, November 2010

Stéphanie Blokker
**Summery**

After the establishment of the EEC, in 1957, there were several goals to be achieved, the most important of them was: free movement of persons between the EEC member states. One single market could not be achieved while limitations to workforce mobility persisted. On the seventh of February, 1992 the ‘Maastricht’ treaty was signed, the treaty completed the Single Market with the ‘four freedoms’ of: movement of goods, services, people and money.

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**Setting of the research question**

The establishment of the European Union provided the working population with the legal right for mobility. However as the figures from Eurostat show, just the legal right is not enough to support a labor mobility decision, the decision needs to be supported and supplemented with other factors at influence of the labor mobility decision. In order to find out which other factors influenced the labor mobility decision, the following research question is set:

- What are the main motivational factors for German-Dutch labor mobility?

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**The theoretic framework**

In order to answer the research question the theoretic framework of Stalker (1994, 2008) is set as a basic framework. His theory consists out of three constructs, the individual approach, the structural perspective and the network effects. According to Stalker (1994) his human capital approach, named the individual approach considers each commuter as a rational human being who assesses the available destination and chooses the optimum combination, the commuter is expected to make a cost -/ benefit calculation. Next to the rational cost -/ benefit calculation the individual mobility decision is also influenced by individual and household characteristics. The structural perspective sees, according to Stalker (1994, 2008), people’s fate determined ultimately by structures: social, economic and political. Structural factors can be seen as pushing emigrants from their homes and pulling them to their destinations and are represented by a push-pull model, first developed by Lee (1966), and the environmental factors. Furthermore Stalker (1994, 2008) brings forward the fact that individuals or families cannot make decisions independent of the structures in which they find themselves. Nor do structures exist independently of individuals, who themselves help create and reshape their political and economic environment. Mobility networks thus represent according to Stalker (2004) the combination between the individual approach and the structural perspective, because of the synergy between those approach I expect network effects to be mediating on the ultimate mobility decision.

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**Motivational factors for mobility**

By conducting 12 face-to-face interviews data on mobility was gathered. After analyzing these data the conclusion can be research that labor mobility is trough the individual approach, stimulated by household characteristics, individual characteristics and the cost -/ benefit calculation of the individual approach. The most important individual motive is the one, which generates the labor mobility thought, this is the individual push. The initial individual push consists out of the following motives for mobility; educational level, family composition and breadwinner situation. Next to the initial individual motives of influence on the labor mobility decision, there are two other individual motives important in the decision to commute these are; in order of importance; border experience and employment situation.
Next to the former motives named, Bonin et al. (2008), Zimmermann and Zaiceva (2008), Sorm and Terrell (1999) and Lehman et al. (2008) came up with one more individual characteristic expected to be of influence, to be known as age. Age came forward as an mediating variable. This fact was also presented in the theory of Hunt (2000). Because of age persons see the situation differently and also respond differently to the push-/pull factors and the environmental factors presented to them.

Next to the individual motives the structural factors also influence the decision to commute. The most important social factor is: attractive working climate! The other social factors mentioned were all less important, in order of importance these are; good working conditions, bad working conditions, discrimination and bullying. Of the eight economic factors identified, four factors are of little influence on the mobility decision, these are in order of importance; wage differentials, loss of health, education and availability of jobs. There are however four factors that seem to be of great influence on the German-Dutch labor mobility decision, these are; lack of career prospects, career prospects, not enough jobs and higher pay. After discussing the social and economic factors there are two political factors left. Of the two political factors only the pull factor tax and social security laws are important.

After discussing the push- and pull factors derived from Lee (1966) the ‘politics’ factor should also be considered from a structural perspective. Politics deals with policies and unions. These consist of the five environmental factors; unions, industrial, governmental, intergovernmental and inter-institutional policies influencing the decision to commute. Of these only two factors presented to be important in influencing the general mobility decision, these are; intergovernmental policies and most important governmental policies. The governmental policies are related to schooling subsidy, employment, taxes, mortgage interest calculation, competency certification, and the working conditions. The intergovernmental policies mentioned are of particular influence on the German-Dutch labor mobility, are the policies related to social health care and pension.

Next to the individual motives, the mediating factor of age and the structural factors there is one construct that needs to be addressed and that is the network effects. The network effects are divided into four different networks, in order of importance and effect; professional network, employment agencies, friends and family. The effects of family and friends networks were in this research more supportive in nature, whereas the professional network and the employment agency network possessed far greater effects. These effects were truly mediating because they presented an access into working abroad.

Labor mobility: fact or fiction?
Labor mobility can have a major positive impact on reaching the aims of the Lisbon Agenda. Mobility leads to a better match between the demand and supply of skills. Furthermore mobility can counter the negative demographic trends by replacement mobility of young people. Besides economic and demographic aspects, a number of social aspects are strongly connected to mobility, mobility will bring about stronger integration of Europe.

Despite all the presumed positive effects of mobility and the motives and factors supporting mobility, mobility figures are still low. Free movement of persons is at the moment still fiction.
Despite the basic legal right, provided with the setting of the ‘Maastricht treaty’ and the multiple individual motives and structural factors of influence on the labor mobility decision, there are still barriers to the labor mobility decision. The European Union has installed a law to guarantee free movement of persons. The one basic factor the legal right is in place, but the underlying country specific laws are thwarting the one basic law. Some of the negative structural factors are forming barriers for commuting. This fact, makes achieving the Lisbon Strategy of 2000, aimed at making the EU the most competitive economy in the world very difficult.

**Recommendations**

In order to increase the labor mobility figures and achieve the figures laid down in the Lisbon Agenda Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999) state that further conditions need to be met. In order to achieve this several measures need to be taken. These measures will be presented in the form of recommendations.

In setting policies it is important to remember that different groups of commuters respond differently to the implemented policies. In order to make policies effective, it is important to know which mobility flows they stimulate, if they are supported by unions and if these unions have had any influence in establishing certain policies. Furthermore it is important to remember on which commuter the policy has most effect, are these the commuters opted for?

After assessing the former general issues and setting a target population the following (inter-)governmental policies, aimed at lifting the barriers, need to be laid down.

In order to optimize mobility to increase welfare by identifying and mobilizing the economic component of the process the following measures can be taken according to Bonin et al. (2008), Eures and Euregio:

- Strengthening the institutional preconditions of mobility on the labor market
- Developing mobility-friendly educational policies
- Creating effective information and social networks
- Easing mobility barriers stemming from the diversity of national social protection and qualification systems; (EUROPE / EUREGIO)

Next to the inter-governmental European coordinating policies that need to be laid down, an aligned package of governmental policies needs to be enforced. In order to stimulate migration and mobility between Germany and the Netherlands the following subjects need to be addressed in setting the governmental mobility policies:

- The administrative burden of sickness benefit insurances need to be decreased.
- The company pension facilities need to be freely transferable
- The pension ages need to be equalized
- The tax regulations have to become more transparent
- The child support regulations differ over countries within the EU

By implementing these recommendations most barriers will be lifted and mobility will really become unrestricted. Then free mobility of workers will be a fact, because they will no longer be constricted by laws and legislations that provide burdens and blockages.
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1. Introduction
This chapter starts with the presentation of the background from the research topic ‘Individual motives and structural factors determining German-Dutch labor mobility’. The presentation of the background section 1.1, is followed by three sections in which the research setting will be defined, section 1.2 presents the research objectives, section 1.3 the research questions and section 1.4 gives a general research strategy.

1.1 Background
After the establishment of the EEC, in 1957, there were several goals to be achieved, the most important of them was: free movement of persons between the EEC member states. Eventually what already had become true for capital, goods and services had to become true for people. One single market could not be achieved while limitations to workforce mobility persisted. On the seventh of February, 1992 the ‘Maastricht’ treaty was signed and enforced on the first of November, 1993 establishing the European Union (EU). Free movement of workers could be found in article 39 of the ‘Maastricht treaty’. The treaty completed the Single Market with the ‘four freedoms' of: movement of goods, services, people and money.

Free movement of workers is according to Bonin et al. (2008) and Tassinopoulos and Werner (1998) essential for the creation of an area without internal frontiers, and for the strengthening of economic and social cohesion as well as active European citizenship. Labor mobility flows can have a major positive economic effect by bringing about growth in the country with labor deficits and prosperity in the country with labor surplus. Hence, the diffusion of skills through occupational and geographic mobility is a central factor to enhance the productive capacity of companies and put regions or national economies on a higher growth path. Taking a social perspective, geographical mobility has the potential of fostering social-cultural integration in the European Union, and strengthening European identity and inter-cultural networks.

As a result of the falling borders within the European Union and the continuing globalization, labor mobility and migration within Europe are increasing ever since the introduction of the ‘Maastricht treaty. Despite these and other efforts made by the European Union to enable and stimulate movement of the working population, that the data from Eurostat reveal that overall mobility in the European Union remains modest. Currently only about 2% of all workers in the EU are employed in another member state.

Although the overall mobility rate in the European Union is modest, there are areas within this Union, in which labor mobility is increasing. One of these areas is the Dutch-German border area. Within the Dutch-German border area the amount of companies that employ non-foreign labor workers is growing. Labor mobility from the German border area to the Dutch border area and vice versa is a common phenomenon.

The establishment of the European Union provided the working population with the one basic motivational factor for labor mobility and migration, the legal right. However as the figures from Eurostat show, just the legal right is not enough to support a labor mobility decision. The legal right needs to be supported and supplemented with other factors influencing the labor migration or mobility decision.

Migration is life and progress – permanence is stagnation (Ernst Georg Ravenstein)
The theory of Stalker (1994, 2008) suggests that there are two main approaches to analyze the factors influencing labor migration decisions, these are individual and structural. The individual approach considers each migrant as a rational human being who assesses the available destinations and chooses the optimum combination. The structural perspective sees people's fate determined ultimately by the circumstances they face. Combining the two approaches enables us to answer the question of 'Why do people commute?', because according to Stalker (2008) individuals cannot make decisions independent of structures, nor do structures exist independent of individuals. This research aims at investigating the factors that influence the labor mobility decision. The objectives of this research are set out in the next section.

1.2 Objectives
The establishment of the ‘Maastricht treaty’ in 1993 provided EU-citizens with one basic factor, to enable labor mobility and migration, the legal right. But nowadays overall mobility rates between European countries are still low, slightly over 2%. This figure suggests that the legal right alone is not enough to support a labor mobility decision. In order to control and eventually stimulate labor mobility and migration between Germany and the Netherlands, it is important to investigate the individual motives and structural factors influencing the German-Dutch labor mobility decision. In order to answer the question: ‘What motives and factors are causing German-Dutch labor mobility?’ objectives have to be laid down.

The first objective of this research is to present a complete and synoptic picture of the individual approach, the individual motives for labor mobility, from Germany to the Netherlands. If the German and/or Dutch governments and employers need to stimulate and influence the labor mobility flows, doing so by just influencing the individual factors will prove to be in-effective.

Therefore a second objective needs to be achieved. The second objective of this research will be to present a complete and synoptic picture of the structural perspective and the structural factors influencing the labor mobility decision. Stalker’s (1994, 2008) structural perspective sees people’s fate determined ultimately by structures; social, economic and political that shapes their lives.

The structural perspective is built on Everett Lee’s theory of migration (1966), this theory divides factors causing migration into two groups: push factors and pull factors. Push and pull factors are those factors that either forcefully push people into migration or attract them to an area. However just summing up the push and pull factors stated by Lee will not be enough. As Stalker mentioned in his articles and books, people’s fate is determined by structures, within these structures there are several important factors. These structural factors are more complex then the already known list of push and pull factors Lee designed. In order to gain a broader understanding of Stalkers theory, it’s not only important to gain knowledge about the push pull theory but also about the other structural factors of influence on the labor mobility decision. These factors consist of the so called environmental factors, which could be divided into five categories; unions, industrial, governmental, intergovernmental and inter-institutional policies influencing the decision to migrate or commute.

After setting these two key objectives, the actual research question will be presented in the next section.
1.3 Research question
The setting of the research objectives resulted in the following research question:

- What are the main motivational factors for German-Dutch labor mobility?

This research aims to contribute to the general understanding of the motivational factors for labor mobility. These motivational factors consist of the individual motives and structural factors stimulating German-Dutch labor mobility. Generally the research results should present findings on the; individual motives, structural perspectives and network effects, that will help to explain the common phenomenon of labor mobility and eventually migration between Germany and the Netherlands and will increase the understanding of the motives for mobility. In these, the research will focus on the mobility from Germany to the Netherlands.

By increasing the understanding of the mobility motives, it will become easier for government and business managers to act upon factors influencing mobility and migration decisions and flows. In order to answer the research question and thus reach the aimed research results a research strategy needs to be set, this strategy will be addressed in the next section.

1.4 Research strategy
In order to support the research design with a basic foundation and direction, a research strategy is set. The research strategy will follow a deductive approach; a theoretic framework will be developed prior to the data collecting stage.

This research is set up as follows: chapter 1 is presenting the starting point of the research; the background and general research setting. Chapter 2 contains the literature review, which defines the keywords and explores the constructs to arrive at a research framework. Because of the desire to capture as much literature as possible focusing on migration and labor mobility, and to provide enough textured and rich review of motivational factors, it was opted for a narrative rather than a systematic review method, using an iterative approach to finding new literature. Next, to the literature review a research method, to collect primary data which will be presented in chapter 3. This research method is set in order to obtain the knowledge necessary for answering the research questions and meeting the key objectives. The results of the conducted research and the analysis of the primary data will be presented in chapter 4 Findings. Finally, chapter 5, will be the last and concluding chapter, presenting the discussion, conclusion, recommendations, contribution and reflection.
2. Literature review
The second chapter is based on the articles read. A systematic oversight of the articles read and the constructs that the articles address can be found in Appendix 1. This chapter will start with section 2.1, an introduction on the basic foundations of migration theory. This introduction will be followed by section 2.2, a presentation of the facts and figures on German-Dutch migration and mobility. Section 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 will each discuss a construct important for the building of the theoretic framework. Finally, section 2.6 will present the theoretic framework based on the migration and mobility theory read.

2.1 Basic foundation of ‘Migration Theory’
Migration theory exists because it is a crucial task of demographers to explain why people migrate. When demographers are able to explain why migration takes place, they can also predict future migration and mobility flows. Theories of migration are thus important because they can set a framework that helps to understand population movements within their wider political and economic context.

2.1.1 The subjects discussed in ‘Migration Theory’
Although the subject of migration is addressed in many studies and researches, comprehensive theory about migration is unattainable. There is much difference in the opinions about migration theory, and the ‘why’ of migration. The first factor responsible for the difference in opinions is that: the research field of migration theory is wide spread between different academic disciplines, such as; sociology, economics, anthropology and law. The second factor responsible for the difference in opinion is that the approach to migration differs in many theories. The difference in focus leads to different opinions. Another remarkable fact within migration theory is that migration literature in general does not make a clear distinction between the terms mobility and migration. In some cases they are even used synonymously! Nevertheless the two terms mean two different things and should according to Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999) be differentiated as follows; ‘What should be understood by the term mobility of workers is in general any movement of labor from one region to another. Spatial movement with a simultaneous change of residence is migration. If spatial movement of labor does not involve change of residence we speak of commuters.’

The subject of labor mobility is less intensively researched as migration theory. Several studies on the topic of labor mobility are available such as Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999), Zaiceva and Zimmermann (2008) and Bonin et al. (2008). Migration theory has many links with labor mobility; the main difference is the change of residence. Labor migration theory will because of the many similarities also be applicable to labor mobility. However, the parts of the labor migration theory connected with a change of residence have to be kept out of the analysis and the theoretic framework on labor mobility.

The core analytical framework on the migration decision goes back to the human capital model of Sjaastad (1962) and Becker (1964). A more recent human capital theory is of Stalker (1994, 2008). This approach to migration theory is called the individual approach. According to Stalker (1994) this human capital approach considers each migrant as a rational human being who assesses the available destination and chooses the optimum combination. An extension of the individual approach is to consider migration as a group or family choice.
Theories and reviews on the migration decision can be found in Borjas (1999a, b.), Chiswick (1999), and Bauer and Zimmermann (1999).

With respect to the individual factors that influence the decision to migrate, studies distinguish also two other aspects of migration. Stalker (1994, 2008) presents the structural perspective and Martin (2003), Avato (2009) and Stalker (2008) bring forward the aspect of network effects.

The structural perspective consists out of social, political and economical structures. These three structures are represented by a push-pull model and the environmental factors. According to Stalker (2008) and Lee (1966) pull factors are those factors which attract an individual, and push factors are those which act to repel the individual. But not all social, cultural and political structures represented in the structural perspective can be captured or covered by the push-pull model as Lee knows it. This is why the structural perspective of Stalker is enlarged with environmental factors. O'Rourke and Sinnott (2006), argue that countries can adopt different policies in order to stimulate or deflate migration. The policies represent the political structure within the structural perspective.

After discussing the structural perspective, Stalker (2008), Massey et al. (1993) and Avato (2009) came up with one other special factor: network effects. These effects are caused by mobility networks. According to Stalker (1994) network effects are the result of combining the individual approach with the structural perspective and are of influence on the ultimate mobility decision. Established migrants networks play an important role in the migration decision of individuals, by reducing psychic and legal migration costs. According to Avato (2009) networks influence migration patterns, as they establish links between respective countries and reduce migration costs. Massey et al. (1993) state that networks constitute a key channel trough which international migration affects sending and receiving countries.

2.1.2 Conclusion on the basic foundations of migration theory
Migration theory exists because it is important for demographers to explain why people migrate. Although the subject of migration is addressed in many studies and researches, comprehensive theory is still unattainable. When looking at migration theory it can be concluded that labor migration theory will because of the many similarities between migration and mobility, also the theory will be applicable to labor mobility. However, the parts of the labor migration theory connected with a change of residence have to be kept out of the analysis and the literature framework on labor mobility. The literature framework will be based on the model of Stalker (1994, 2008). Stalker (1994, 2008) brings forward the individual approach, structural perspective and the aspect of network effects in order to explain the migration decision. In order to build the theoretical framework the constructs; individual approach, structural perspective and network effects need to be assessed. The next section will, present the facts and figures on German-Dutch labor migration. The general description of facts and figures takes place in order to create an even broader base for the understanding of labor mobility between Germany and the Netherlands.
2.2 Figures and facts on German-Dutch migration and mobility
The Netherlands have a rich history of migration and mobility. Starting with the immigration of refugees in WW I and followed by the immigration of Jewish people before WW II. However, after WW II the reasons for immigration changed, wars and threats where no longer the main driving forces behind the immigration decisions. The rebuilding of the Netherlands brought fast growth of economic and social welfare, what lead to the birth of a new phenomenon for the Netherlands, ‘immigration of a labor force’. The new immigrants arrived in the Netherlands with the promise of work.

2.2.1 Facts on German-Dutch labor mobility and migration
Since the Netherlands stimulated labor migration in the 50’s, labor immigration policies were changed, immigration became restricted. Even when the European Union was established in 1993 and free movement of persons became a fact, the Netherlands still persisted on keeping intact their anti immigration policies. As table 2.1 shows, the Dutch boarders where until 2006 according to Bonin et al. (2008) not entirely open for free movement of persons. Germany restricted free movement of labor even longer, until April 2009!

The discussion of Bonin et al (2008) and Avato (2009) about geographic mobility has shown that, all things considered, the current level of mobility in the EU is too low considering the net benefits of migration for the economy and the society. Puhani, (1999) sums up the prima facie evidence on migration flows in Europe, and doing that it seems clear that mobility in European nation states falls below mobility in other nation states, as mobility between European nation states is much lower than within them.

### Table 2.1 Restrictions on Workers from EU and non EU- Member States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry of EU-8 workers</th>
<th>Entry of EU-8 workers</th>
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<tr>
<td>May 2004 to April 2006</td>
<td>May 2006 to April 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Restricted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Restricted</td>
</tr>
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</table>

(Bonin et al. 2008)

With the former facts in mind, the figures regarding German and Dutch labor migration and mobility will be presented.

2.2.2 The history of German- Dutch labor mobility
The mobility from Germany to the Netherlands has for years remained only a small percentage, from 1965 till 1985 mobility hardly grew and stabilized around 1000 people, as can be seen in table 2.2. From 1985 till 1995 the amount of commuters was growing slowly. At the end of the last century mobility grew explosively. According to the WODC (2009) Germany was, in the period 2000 till 2007, the most important country of origin for immigrants and commuters moving to, or working in the Netherlands.
2.2.3 Figures on German-Dutch labor mobility and migration

Labor migration figures in the European Union remain low. About 2% of all workers in the EU are employed in another member state. Considering the migration figures, there are a few countries, under which Germany that rank lower on every type of geographic mobility. According to Bonin et al. (2008) just improving the readiness to move in the low ranking countries (Spain, Germany and Italy) would increase the share of the European population with an intention to move by roughly one percentage point. The average regional mobility rate of the total population in the EU countries was 1% in 2006, it’s between 1.0 and 1.5% for Belgium and Germany, for the Netherlands regional mobility rates are around 2%. The average commuting rate for the EU countries in 2006 was 7.3%. Belgium shows the highest regional commuting rate of (21.7%) followed by the Netherlands (13.3%) and Germany (11.9%). According to Harris and Todaro (1970), Hatton and Williamson (1998) and Massey et al. (1993) the unemployment rates of specific countries will be of influence on migration and mobility patterns and thus the labor mobility decision. The country with the lowest unemployment rate in the EU is the Netherlands. Bonin et al. (2008) observed large imbalances in the unemployment rates between Germany, the Benelux and surrounding states, with Germany having an unemployment rate about 4.5 percentage points higher than the Netherlands.

2.2.4 Demographic characteristics of German-Dutch commuters

The commuters, living in Germany and working in the Netherlands, consist according to Corpelijn (2009) for 77 % out of men and for 23% out of women. The rates are different for commuters, without the Dutch nationality, and consists out of 79% men and only 21 % women. The average age of the German commuters was in September 2008, 40 years. Half of the commuting population is older than forty, half is younger. When looking at the age partitioning from the commuting population, the over fourties represent the largest part, 29% of the population.
2.2.5 Conclusion on the facts and figures of German-Dutch labor migration and mobility

Since the 50’s the Netherlands have changed their migration policies several times. From non-restricted labor migration in the 50’s, too restricted migration in the late 60’s. Since 2006 migration and mobility from the other EU 8 nations is non-restricted. Despite the non-restricted migration and mobility, mobility figures in the European Union remain low. The average regional mobility rate of the total population in the EU countries was 1% in 2006, it’s between 1.0 and 1.5% for Belgium and Germany, for the Netherlands regional mobility rates are around 2%

When looking at the figures on migration, the expectancy is that some of them will be of influence on the labor mobility decision, for example; gender and unemployment rates. The figures of Corpelijn (2009) suggest that males are more attracted to working in a foreign country, 79% of the commuters consist of men and 21% of women. Harris and Todaro (1970), Hatton and Williamson (1998) and Massey et al. (1993) state that employment rates are of influence on the migration decision. The country with the lowest unemployment rate in the EU is the Netherlands, with Germany having an unemployment rate about 4.5 percentage points higher than the Netherlands.

After presenting the facts and figures on German-Dutch migration and mobility, the next section will describe and discuss the individual approach.
2.3 Individual approach

Each migrant, according to Stalker (1994), faces different circumstances and has different motivations; poverty, adventure, calculation or desperation. People uproot themselves to work in foreign lands with all kinds of hopes and plans.

2.3.1. Human capital approach

Stalkers (1994, 2008), individual approach considers each migrant as a rational human being who assesses the available destinations and chooses the optimum combination of: wage rates, job security and costs of travel. This individual approach is also known as a human capital approach since each person can be considered as the product from a series of investments. Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999) state that human capital consists of the income-producing skills, knowledge, and experience embodied within individuals.

Most economic literature on migration agrees on the main driving force for migration, the difference in net returns between sending and receiving countries. In Radu’s (2008) standard economic analysis, the migration decision is explained as the result from an individual cost-benefit calculation, whereby a forward looking migrant seeks to maximize his or her expected well-being over a time horizon by means of labor migration. The seminal model for analyzing labor migration was expounded by Sjaastad, (1962) as a case of seeking the highest return to one’s human capital. Many migration models have according to Yezer and Thurston (1976) a thin base of theoretical support and are difficult to relate to the microeconomic theory. An exception is this approach taken by Sjaastad.

According to Radu (2008) Harris and Todaro (1970), Hatton and Williamson (1998) and Massey et al. (1993) individual actors decide to migrate if their expected discounted net returns from moving to an alternative location are positive, so cost must be lower than benefits. Costs associated with migration vary and may include the actual migration costs, pycological costs resulting from leaving the home country and family, adjustment costs in the host country or risks underlying migration decisions. Also the physical distance between two locations affects the migration costs according to Mayda (2005, 2008). The further away the two locations, the higher the monetary travel costs for the initial move. Remote destinations may also discourage migration because they require longer travel time and thus higher foregone earnings. Linguistic and cultural similarities on the other hand, are likely to reduce the magnitude of migration costs, by improving the transferability of individual skills from one place to the other.

These facts are also presented in the border experience theory of Gieles (2009). Furthermore according to Stalker (1994, 2008) an extension of the individual view is to consider migration as a group or a family choice, as a means of spreading the risk. Stark and Bloom (1985) and Stark (1991) call this strategy risk diversification.

Next to the rational cost-benefit calculation the individual migration decision is also influenced by other factors. These factors are non-pecuniary and could be directly related to the individual, these factors are their individual and household characteristics. The following writers discuss the most relevant individual and household characteristics and give an overview of examples documented by vast empirical literature; Bonin et al. (2008), Zimmermann and Zaiceva (2008), Sorm and Terrell(1999) and Lehman et al.(2008).
Important characteristics are: education, marital status, gender and age. Individuals with higher education should exhibit a higher migration probability, because higher education reduces the risks of migration through a higher ability to collect and process information. Married individuals and those with children are expected to have lower willingness to migrate because of the psychological costs of separating them from their family. Gender effects also help explain mobility. Women have a 0.8 percentage point smaller propensity to move within their country, and a 0.7 percentage point smaller propensity to move internationally, than a man. Younger individuals express a higher willingness to migrate, since the time to reap the expected returns from migration is longer for them. According to Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999) the likelihood of migration should decrease with age, reflecting the smaller expected lifetime gain from moving for older people.

2.3.2 The individual approach on labor mobility
Looking at the individual approach to labor migration, it is to be expected that the labor mobility decision has an increased affinity to the individual approach and the cost-/benefit calculation and individual and household characteristics.

The labor mobility decision can and probably will be explained as the result of the individual cost-benefit calculation. Individual rational actors decide to commute if their expected discounted net returns from mobility to an alternative location are positive. Costs associated with mobility will also vary and may include the actual commuting costs, adjustment costs in the host country or the underlying risks of the labor mobility decision and psychological costs. Although the psychological costs will not involve leaving family and friends, according to Gielis (2009) the costs might result from ‘the border experience’. This experience can be defined as follows: the commuter has to live with a dual frame of reference; this dual frame of reference creates a constant experience of differences between the country of origin and the newly chosen country of residence. According to Mayda (2005, 2008) the physical distance between two locations affects the migration costs. Probably this will also be true for the mobility costs, because longer travel time is required and thus higher foregone earnings. Furthermore the individual and household characteristics also influence the cost-/benefits calculation. When looking at the individual and household characteristics Bonin et al. (2008), Zimmermann and Zaičeva (2008) and Lehman et al. (2008) discussed the most relevant individual and household characteristics for mobility are expected to be: age, gender and education.

In short, it will be likely that the individual approach for migration also holds for mobility. Although several individual and household characteristics might have a different effect on the mobility decision as on the migration decision, because there will be no simultaneous change of residence.

Next to the individual approach, the structural perspective also needs to be discussed. The next section will address the terms pushing and pulling and the theory behind those terms, because those terms play an important role in the development and the setting of the structural perspective.
2.4 Structural perspective
The structural perspective sees, according to Stalker (1994, 2008), people’s fate determined ultimately by structures: social, economic and political. Political factors, are on government intervenes in the economy; these can be done through tax policies, laws, trade restrictions etc. Economic factors include economic growth, interest rates, exchange rates, inflation rates etc. Social factors include the cultural aspects and include: health consciousness, career attitudes and emphasis on safety. These social, political and economic structures shape their lives. Structural factors can be seen as pushing emigrants from their homes and pulling them to their destinations.

2.4.1 Pushing vs. pulling
Approximately one hundred years ago the geographer Ernst Ravenstein reported his ‘Laws of migration’, since then many theorists have followed in Ravenstein’s footsteps. Everett Lee reformulated Ravenstein’s theory and came up with what we call ‘The push vs. pull model’. The push-pull model on which Stalker based his structural perspective was originally derived from Lee’s migration theory, in which Lee identified different factor types affecting the process of migration. Lee's push-pull theory divides factors causing migrations into two groups: push and pull factors. Push factors are the factors that are negatively affecting a person’s meaning about the country that one lives in, these factors push migrant out. Pull factors are the elements that attract one to another area. Lehman et al. (2008) state that the factors in the international environment are mainly pull factors such as; a higher salary and better working conditions. The national environment comprises both push/pull factors such as the general political climate, social stability, war and crime.

According to Lee (1966), the push and pull factors at origin and destination country co-shape the size and direction of migration. According to Sandra Ma, (2000) it is because Lee’s theory and hypothesis helped to restore an analytical emphasis in migration research, that his theoretical framework has since then been used extensively to investigate the spatial, temporal and causal factors in migration.

The push-pull model is apparently able to incorporate a lot of economic and social factors that play a role in migration decision making. However the model as known by Lee does not give an inexhaustible list of factors. The perspective of Stalker goes beyond the factors named by Lee. Stalker is striving for a more complete structural view. So next to the factors of Lee other factors could be of influence on the structural perspective as Stalker designed it. One very important set of factors can be added to the push-pull model, the environmental factors consist of; unions, industrial, governmental, intergovernmental and inter-institutional policies influencing the decision to migrate or commute. According to De Haas (2008) and Bauer and Zimmermann (1998), it is because of the apparent ability to integrate other theoretical insights, that it has been frequently suggested that a general view on labour migration could be best achieved using a push-pull framework, in combination with other theories.

Furthermore, Mayda (2006) found evidence for the fact that both sets of factors, economic and non-economic, are important in the push-pull model.
In a wide range of countries, attitudes towards migration appear to be related to the non-economic factors as; labor market conditions, security and cultural considerations.
An extensive list of possible push- and pull factors for labor migration, following the suggestions from Lee (1996), Arslan et al. (2008), Bonin et al. (2008), Tassinopoulos and Werner (1998), Egger and Radulescu (2008), Puhani (1999) and Lehman et al. (2008), can be found in table 2.1, Appendix 2.

All the investigations on push and pull factors of migration, indicate according to Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999) that a major determinant is the differential in economic development and hence earning opportunities. There is according to Bonin et al. (2008) potential for migration if there are push factors in one country and pull factors in another. Demand pull and supply push factors can be compared to battery poles: both minus and plus are necessary to get started. However even if push and pull factors are in place, not constraint migration, can only take place, if further conditions are met. These conditions are according to the theory of Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999): transparency, information and the lifting off barriers.

2.4.2 Push and pull factors for labor mobility

As written before the structural perspective sees, according to Stalker (1994, 2008), people’s fate determined ultimately by structures: social, economic and political, that shape their lives. These structures can be seen as pushing emigrants from their homes and pulling them to their destinations. Stalker’s (2008) structural perspective will also hold for the labor mobility decision. Structural factors can be pushing the commuter from working in their own country, to pulling them into working abroad. There is a potential for mobility if there are push factors in one country and pull factors in another.

The structural perspective on labor mobility will be selective; the labor mobility decision will be influenced by the individual commuter characteristics. This is because people respond differently to plus and minus factors in the local labor market and the labor market abroad. That is why ultimately the structural perspective and the individual approach need to be combined.

Table 2.2, Appendix 2 gives a list of possible push- and pull factors for the labor mobility decision. This table is a restricted version of table 2.1, because some factors will not hold for the labor mobility decision, because people do not change their residence but only their working country. Looking at table 2.2, the conclusion can be reached, that some environmental factors are not listed in the push-pull model as developed by Lee. When looking at the environmental factors, there’s one general subject worth mentioning and that is the policies.

The structural perspective, is therefore, not only represented by the extensive push-pull list originally derived from Lee (1966), but also by other environmental factors not captured in that model. In order to get a complete and concise picture of the structural perspective, the subject of policies will be addressed next.

2.4.3 Politics

After discussing the push and pull factors originally stated by Lee and also, part of the structural perspective developed by Stalker, it is now time to look at the factor ‘politics’ from the structural perspective. Politics or environmental factors deal with; unions, industrial, governmental, intergovernmental and inter-institutional policies.
Governments develop special policies on labor mobility, although not all policies set by the government are meant to influence labor mobility. Some policies are set to influence non-mobility related factors, but might have unwished or unforeseen side effects, that could influence mobility. Policies on labor mobility might be designed to repeal or attract people and are set to influence the decision to stay or move in the form of pushing people out or pulling people in. There is a wide range of possible migration and mobility policies, policies can range from allowing no migration at all, too allowing most types of migration. According to Hanson (2009), countries can achieve a higher level of welfare by reducing trade barriers than they could by succumbing to the unilateral incentive to improve their terms of trade through the application of tariffs. Labor trade barriers can also be introduced, because of political pressure from groups that are affected by immigration. The most recent trends in labor migration policies can be seen in Figure 2.1.

![Figure 2.1 Trends in Migration Policies](Boeri and Bucker, 2004)

Mobility policies are often closely related to other governmental policies. Caviedes and Candidate (2006), state that national migration regimes are generally comprised of several policy systems; asylum and refugee policy, family reunion programs and labor migration. The mobility policies are not set up independently, but are integrated with the more general policies. For example: tax, tariff and trade rules, investment policies and agricultural policy.

### 2.4.4 European migration and mobility policies

The European Union has few immigration restrictions within it, if any. Any citizen or resident of the signatory nations EU15 (with the possible exception of new member states) may move and seek work anywhere within the EU.

In response to the various concerns about the economic prospects of the European Union, the European Community has been implementing different political strategies. Recently the Lisbon Agenda, which aims at making Europe by 2010 the most competitive and dynamic knowledge based economy in the world, capable of sustainable growth, was designed. Next to this initiative the organizations Eures and Euregio are also investigating possible measures that can be taken to increase mobility.
2.4.5 German and Dutch migration and mobility policies
Next to the measures taken by the European Union, countries within the EU, are also free to develop part of their own migration and mobility strategies. The current German labor migration policies are according to Laubental (2008) characterized by ambivalent and conflicting tendencies. Since the year 2000 a need for a pro-active management of labor migration is generally acknowledged, but policy initiatives still remain cautious and are informed by the long prevailing leitmotiv of German migration policy that Germany is not an immigration country. However the passing of a new law in 2005, officially acknowledged the need for labor migration, the general attitude was still rather restrictive. Policy makers, where pushing for more reforms in the field. This has lead to several legislative changes between 2005 and 2009 and in 2009 the “Law for the management of labor migration” (Arbeitsmigrationssteuerungsgesetz) came into force.

The Dutch labor mobility policies are according to Taselaar (2006), following the European policies and are set up to foresee the specific needs of the Netherlands. In 2001 the Dutch government thought it was not necessary to change migration and mobility policies, although they realized that some procedures within the current policies could be more flexible. The Dutch government was in 2001 still convinced that far reaching changes in migration and mobility policies was unnecessary. In 2006 the opinions where different. Under the influence of the changing economic situation, the battle for brains and the aging Dutch population, the government came to realize that the policies previously developed no longer applied to the current situation. In order to come up with new policies, a policy memorandum was written. This memorandum was the start of a new set of Dutch migration and mobility policies.

2.4.6. Conclusion on the structural perspective
Stalker’s (1994, 2008) structural perspective also holds for the labor mobility decision. Commuters can be pushed from working in their home country and pulled into working abroad. There is potential for mobility if there are push factors in one country and pull factors in another. The environmental factors of Stalker’s model also hold for the labor mobility decision and consist of; unions, industrial, governmental, intergovernmental and inter-institutional policies influencing the decision to commute.

The policies that are set can influence the decision to commute in both ways. Policies can present a push or a pull. However, not all policies set by the government are meant to influence labor mobility. Some policies are set to influence non-mobility related factors, might have unwished or unforeseen side effects, these side effects can also influence mobility.

Next to the individual factors discussed in section 2.3 and the structural perspective, section 2.4. Mobility decisions are also influenced by network effects. The following section is about networks or in this case mobility networks. What are networks, and what effect do they have according to literature on the mobility decision?
2.5 Network effects
Stalker (1994, 2008) brings forward the fact that individuals or families cannot make decisions independent of the structures in which they find themselves. Nor do structures exist independently of individuals, who themselves help create and reshape their political and economic environment. Migration or mobility networks represent the combination between the individual approach and the structural perspective.

2.5.1. Migration networks
Migration networks support the immigrant in multiple ways. First, Hanson, (2009) suggests that employers primarily use informal networks to find workers. Massey et al. (1993) suggest that employers rely on their employees to recruit friends and relatives from source countries. Secondly the immigrant relies on its migration network for the basic knowledge en knowhow. The mere existence of network and chain migration significantly alleviates the risks and accelerates movement. Ethnic networks provide migrants with valuable information about jobs and access to local labor markets. Thereby, according to Zimmermann (2005), Zaiceva and Zimmermann (2008) and Mayda, (2005 & 2006) the availability of a migration network is likely to reduce migration costs and stimulate the individual migration decision in a positive way.

According to Massey (1993), migration networks are made up of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas. They work through kinship, friendship and shared community origin. Radu (2008) states that individual behavior depends on the choices made by the members of a reference group, and externalities across individuals determine the populations general behavior. Positive social externalities of migration networks exist following Bonin et al. (2008) if the utility of newly arrived immigrants and previous immigrants grows in response to an increase in the number of newcomers. Chiswick (2006) estimates the value of this factor by estimating the compensating wage differentials arising when members of an ethnic group move from communities with a stronger ethnic network to communities with a weaker ethnic network. This result points to a positive value of the ethnic network.

The facilitating role of such “family and friends networks” makes according to Massey et al. (1993) migration notoriously difficult for governments to control. Network connections are a form of social capital that people draw upon to gain access to employment abroad. Besides material and human capital, social capital is a third crucial migration resource in enabling and inspiring people to migrate.

2.5.2 Conclusion on mobility networks
The effect of networks on mobility will be approximately the same as on migration, although housing costs will not decline because of network effects. So the absolute effect on the costs involved in the labor mobility decision will decline less than they would have done in the migration decision, where simultaneous change of residence would have taken place.

Migration or in this case mobility networks are the last topic to be discussed before building and sketching the theoretical framework on labor mobility. In the next section the theoretic framework will be presented.
2.6 Theoretical framework

On the basis of the former sections the following theoretic framework is built. This framework will contain dependent and in-dependent variables. The dependent variable, the mobility decision is related to all the factors and variables described in the former sections, but not all three variables; individual motives, structural factors and network effects are independent factors influencing the mobility decision.

The mobility decision will be directly influenced by the individual approach and the structural perspective.

It is to be expected that the decision to commute will be a direct result of the individual cost-benefit analysis made in the individual approach. The individual approach is described in section 2.3; here the approach is described as rational. However, in order to constitute the framework the individual approach needs to be one of bounded rationality. This is because, the individual decision-maker is limited in the capacity to formulate and solve problems. The individual handles the situation with a simplified model of it. This simplified model is their personal view on the situation. This view is subjective and might lack some issues or give certain issues more value. The individual approach will be thus a model of bounded rationality, because of the fact that every individual lives by the painted conception of reality.

The mobility decision will also be directly influenced by the structural perspective addressed in section 2.4. This structural perspective is pushing out or pulling in commuters. This structural perspective consists out of macro and meso factors. Whereas the individual approach consists out of the micro factors and is based on the individual motives the structural perspective is mainly based on institutional factors. These institutional factors strike three structural areas: social, economic and politic and are based on the push pull model of Lee, however to describe this perspective only naming the factors defined by Lee and others will not be enough. Next to the push-pull framework the environmental factors also need to be mentioned. The environmental factors are also responsible for the pushing in and pulling out of the commuters, but are not all translatable to the short stated factors indicated by Lee. When looking at for instance; tax rating policies, that is are policies that can be short stated, indicated by Lee and of direct influence on the mobility decision.

When looking at the framework one can see that the individual approach and the structural perspective almost come together before they connect with the dependent variable: the mobility decision. This is done on purpose, in order to highlight the fact that Stalker (2008) mentioned, that the individual approach and the structural perspective ultimately need to be combined.

Another special future in the framework is the presence of ‘network effects or mobility networks’. In section 2.5, network effects are addressed. Network effects represent according to Stalker (1994) a fusion between the individual approach and the structural perspective. Because of the importance of the network effects on the mobility decision, the network effects will no longer be connected with only one of the independent variables, but contain aspects of both approaches. In order to grasp a better understanding of the network effects, the factor is named explicitly in the framework and will be part of the factors addressed in the interviews.
The expectancy is that mobility networks as a combination of the individual and structural perspective can be seen as a mediating factor.

After setting the theoretic framework, chapter 3 will introduce the methodology. The describing and setting off the methodology is necessary, in order to enable collection of the data needed for this research and the answering of the thesis question.
3 Methodology

The third chapter presents the research methodology. First a general description of the research strategy and the research design will be presented in section 3.1. Next in 3.2 the goals of the research will be discussed followed by 3.3 the determination of the sample and the sample size.

3.1 Interview methodology

This research is predominantly of an explanatory nature as it aims to explain which factors; network effect, the mediating variable and individual motives and structural factors, the independent variables, determine labor mobility, the dependent variable. The research design will be qualitative in nature; this is because it provides the best chance of gaining a deeper knowledge of the factors supporting labor mobility from Germany to the Netherlands.

The main research method will be the face-to-face semi-structured interview. In order to get the information needed to answer the research questions, a semi-structured personal interview will be conducted. These semi-structured interviews will be conducted on the basis of a standardized interview list. The list can be found in Appendix 3 and will contain a general introduction on; the subject, the rights, confidentiality etc, an oversight of all subjects that need to be addressed and an oversight on the questions that need to be answered. After conducting and documenting the interviews they will be qualitatively analyzed to gain more knowledge about the ‘why’ of mobility.

In the next section the goals of the research will be discussed. These goals must be obtainable with the chosen research method.

3.2 Research goals

This research aims to contribute to the general understanding of the motivational factors; individual motives, structural factors and mediating variables, stimulating German-Dutch labor mobility. The research is aimed at resulting in findings that will help to explain the common phenomenon of labor mobility and eventual migration between Germany and the Netherlands and will increase the understanding of the motives for mobility. By increasing the understanding of the mobility motives, it will become easier for the governments, employers and business managers to act upon; factors influencing mobility decisions and flows.

This research will be based on the two key objectives. These key objectives will investigate the motives for labor mobility, from Germany to the Netherlands. The first key objective is to present both a comprehensive and at the same time concise picture of individual approach and the second is to do the same for the structural perspective.

When looking at the constructs presented it is in the interest of the sending and receiving countries to understand the factors that determine the decision of individuals on labor mobility. Understanding these determinants may help to; match, supply, demand, predict and influence the mobility flows.
There is however one disadvantage in trying to understand these factors, that is, that according to Zaiceva and Zimmermann (1998), studying labor mobility in Europe is difficult, because of the following reasons: mobility is low and difficult to observe, it cannot be measured by country surveys, commuters are not followed and there are no data sets available. Some of these problems can be solved by measuring labor intentions instead of actual labor mobility. The research of ‘individual motives and structural factors determining German–Dutch labor mobility’ will therefore focus on the intentions for labor mobility. Its aim is to discuss the reasons why the individual commuters are inclined to make the labor mobility decision.

The focus population of this research will be; the foreign German commuters working in the Dutch border area. A sample of respondents will be selected out of this population. In the next section the sample and sample size will be determined.

3.3 Determination of the sample and sample size
There are two main components in determining whom to interview. The first is deciding what kind of people to interview. Who will be the target population of this particular research? The second decision to make is on how many people need to be interviewed, in other words the sample size needs to be set.

The target population needs to be set according to the characteristics necessary for the data collection of this particular research.
This research is on individual motivations and structural factors on German-Dutch labor mobility. This specifically indicates that the research should be carried out on German commuters who work in the Netherlands. In order to be sure that the sample will be representative of the target population the sample needs to have at least the following characteristics:

- Foreign Germans, living in the Emmericher / Klever region
- Living in Germany for more than 4 days a week
- Working in the Netherlands for more than 60%
- Age between 16 and 65 (working population)

Statisticians know that a small, representative sample will reflect the group from which it is drawn. The larger the sample, the more precisely it reflects the target group. The rate of improvement in the precision decreases as your sample size increases. The decision of the sample size is not only based on a calculation but also on factors such as: time available, budget and necessary degree of precision. The sample size should be according to static calculation N=17. When setting the N of the research it is however important to keep in mind what kind of research is conducted. In this case it’s a qualitative research.
When setting the N of the research it important to keep in mind what kind of research is conducted. In this case it’s a qualitative research. Saunders et al. (2009) suggest that when conducting qualitative research, non-probability sampling is the more logical sampling form. This form of sampling is thus no longer statistical, and the sample size does therefore not have to be significant for statistical research, but should depend on the research questions, objectives and on the need to find out what will be useful and credible.

Validity, understanding and insights that will be gained have more to do with the data collection and analyzing skills than with the sample size. When adjusting for the factors just mentioned, Saunders et al. (2009) suggest that in a research were the aim is to understand commonalities within a fairly homogenous groups, 12 in-depth interviews should be sufficient. For this particular research N will be set at 12.

After presenting the methodology that should enable sufficient data to be collected, the next chapter will outline how the semi-structured interviews were analyzed and will present the findings resulting from the analysis.
4 Findings

Chapter 4 ‘Findings’ is based on the 12 interviews conducted; an oversight of the interviewee’s can be found in Appendix 5. This chapter is set up as follows: section 4.1, describes the analysis of the data. The following section 4.2, presents the findings on the individual approach, section 4.3 presents the found data on the structural perspective. The presentation of structural factors is followed by a presentation of the findings on the network effects, section 4.4. The final paragraph section 4.5 contains a short summery of the findings.

4.1 Data analysis

Since little research has been done, on the subject of this thesis, the research method used remains exploratory in nature. The field research in Germany took place during August and September 2010. The 12 respondents were identified using snowball sampling and previous contacts developed at my work place in the Dutch border area. The in-depth interviews were held with the commuters living in Germany in the two appointed cities; Kleve and Emmerich, their age varied between 21 and 61 and just over half the sample were men. The interviewee’s could be divided into three groups < 35 Young (N=5), middle age 35-45 (N=4) and older >45 (N=3). The composition of the sample is thus specific to the purpose owing to the sampling strategy applied. All information on persons or companies which could have identified the individual interviewees has been made anonymous for use in this master thesis.

The interviewee’s were questioned about their motives for mobility. The interview data was transcribed, answers about mobility motives were then aligned with the constructs presented in the theoretical framework, and categorized. The subject of the German working situation is disregarded; the answers to these questions provide supportive data, enabling the researcher to build a concise picture of the particular situation of the interviewee.

A comparison was made of all the respondents and their answers in order to identify similarities and differences. After comparing the similarities and differences, a mind map was designed in order to identify patterns and connections within and between categories. After laying down these patterns, the data interpretation is finished and brought together. The results of the data analysis is reviewed in the next three sections. These sections connect the statements of the theoretic framework, which is mainly based on migration theory to the empirical evidence on mobility generated by interviewing the respondents.
4.2 Individual motives for labor migration

In order to present the individual approach on labor migration, a few subjects need to be considered. The first two subjects are the factors that are directly related to the individual. These are the individual and household characteristics. Bonin et al. (2008), Zimmermann and Zaiceva (2008), Sorm and Terrell (1999) and Lehman et al. (2008) state that important characteristics are: age, gender and education. The next subject to be discussed is the cost-/benefit calculation explained by Sjaastad (1962) and Radu (2008).

Ultimately the data collection and analysis is aimed at answering the following question in relation with the individual approach on labor mobility:

* ‘What individual motives are of influence on the German-Dutch labor mobility decision?’ *

4.2.1. Individual characteristics

The following individual characteristics are to be found in the literature review; age, gender and education.

When looking at the figures on migration and mobility, the expectancy is that gender will be of influence on the labor mobility decision. Gender was however never directly mentioned in the interviews, the commuters did not seem to have considered the fact that gender could be of influence on their decision to commute. Furthermore the interviewed group of commuters as a whole did not reflect the figures, presented by Corpelijn (2009), about commuting percentages per gender category. Looking at the figures of Corpelijn (2009) gender directly influences the actual mobility decision, men have a bigger chance of commuting, the difference in participation percentage is 58%. The average German-Dutch labor mobility flow consisted out of 79% men and only 21% women. The interview group as sampled for this research consisted out of 58% (N=7) men and 42% (N=5) women. The difference was only 16%, this difference could be neglected on the basis of labor force participation. The labor force participation of women is always lower than that of men. According to E-quality, the labor force participation of women was in 2008 65%, that of men 76%.

Education, as being an individual characteristic representing the educational level of the individual, is mentioned by nine of the interviewees. This could indicate that the personal educational level is of greater influence on the mobility decision. The jobs available in the Netherlands presented according to the respondents a reason to consider mobility. The available Dutch jobs were, on the basis of their educational level, presenting them with more career opportunities, challenges, freedom and strategic authority in comparison with the available jobs in Germany. As one of the interviewee’s stated:

‘I have had a lot of different functions and opportunities, but never encountered a function in Germany that could give me on the basis of my education, the same freedom and satisfaction as that you can find in functions across the border. The most important fact in considering the function in the Netherlands was its quality and freedom.’
Seven of the respondents that mentioned their personal educational level as an important motive for labor mobility, stated that; on the basis of their current educational level it was impossible to find a suitable job in Germany. The most frequent comment in regard to this was:

‘Employers in the Netherlands take the person themselves and their specific skills into consideration as well as their diplomas. In Germany having the specifically required diploma is more important, than having the proper skills or personal characteristics.’

The educational level is therefore an influence on the labor mobility decision, it also influences the cost-/benefit calculation. It is believed to be easier to find a decent and proper job, in the Netherlands, no matter what level of education. Furthermore the changes at a higher scaled job are believed to be better, which will lead to higher scaled future earnings.

Age was mentioned by four out of twelve interviewee’s; as a factor influencing the labor mobility decision. Age could lead to two very different options for looking at a particular situation. Age was for the two ‘younger’ interviewees who mentioned it, a factor to jump into working abroad. As one of them explained to me;

‘I’m young, I want to work and what do I have to lose?’

The two ‘older’ interviewees were influenced by age in a different way. They were more risk averse, considering more pro’s and cons of labor mobility in order to get a clear picture of their situation. They did not only mention their household characteristics in these considerations, but also their emotional relation with the new employer. One of them stated:

‘At my age one is not taking risks, I have a family to support, but I knew the boss personally, I trust him, know him in different situations.’

These statements suggest that age cannot be seen as a separate individual motive on the labor mobility decision; age could be seen as a mediating motive. According to Stalker (1994) this mediating effect could be expected since he stated that the individual commuter characteristics will influence the ultimate labor decision through the individual motives and structural factors.

In addition to the three former motives mentioned, there is one more motive of influence to the labor mobility decision that is not mentioned in the literature. This motive is the individual employment condition and is related to the working situation of the individual, is the individual currently employed or unemployed? Four of the respondents gave their unemployment as a direct reason for looking over the border. As stated by two respondents:

‘I could not find a job in Germany and decided to look in the Netherlands’.

After discussing the individual characteristics that influenced the mobility decision, the conclusion can be reached that four out of twelve pointed to the employment situation and that nine out of twelve pointed to the educational level as an important individual motive that influenced the cost / benefit calculation. The two other factors did not directly influence the labor mobility decision, gender has no influence what so ever on the mobility decision and the age factor does influence the mobility decision, but as a mediating factor, because it apparently influences the way people look at their situation and environment.
4.2.2 Household characteristics

Next to the *individual characteristics*, the *household characteristics* also (Hc) influence the labor mobility decision. In the literature review, only one Hc is explicitly named, this is the marital status.

In the interviews, household characteristics are mentioned in four of the twelve cases as a reason contributing to the mobility decision. Through categorizing two household characteristics are discovered; family composition and breadwinner situation. Marital status is categorized under the family composition.

The first important factor influencing the labor mobility decision was family composition; this factor is mentioned by two respondents. Family composition means; the composition of a household in which one is residing during the timeframe of the mobility decision. When looking at the family composition, divorce and childbirth were the main reasons to consider mobility. One of the respondents mentioned the following about the influence of childbirth on his labor mobility decision:

‘I decided to go work abroad, because I wanted to spend more time with my family and I wanted to see my newborn grow up!’

Because of the changed family composition, mobility was considered. However next to the timeframe this factor was explicitly mentioned, it also came boiling to the surface less explicitly, by indicating the factors that cause the psychological burden in the mobility decision. The factor family composition can present itself because of the influence on household characteristics as well as on the psychological burden a motive that can strongly influence the cost-/benefit calculation.

The second important factor for the mobility decision is the breadwinner situation, in two of the twelve cases this is mentioned as a direct reason to consider labor mobility. Breadwinner situation means, the person in the family who provides the main portion of the family income. When looking at the statements made by two of the interviewee’s, it appears that their situations were basically the same. In both situations the partitioning of the income surplus changed. In case one, the wife got sick so the husband became the breadwinner, whereas in case two the husband got sick and the wife became the breadwinner. In both cases the change of breadwinner situation provided the initial step in considering working abroad. As one stated:

‘My husband became ill, this meant a change in the financial situation, and the sickness benefit was not supportive so I had to become the breadwinner.’

Having discussed the *household characteristics* of influence on the mobility decision, it becomes clear that there are two factors that significantly influence the labor mobility decision. The factors: family composition (two out of twelve) and breadwinner situation (two out of twelve) are giving input to the individual cost-/benefit calculation. Looking at the individual and household characteristics the conclusion can be reached that four factors are of influence on the cost-/benefit calculation. These are; educational level (nine out of twelve), employment situation (four out of twelve), family composition (two out of twelve) and breadwinner situation (two out of twelve).
4.2.3. Cost/-benefit calculation

Other factors, not directly related to individual or household characteristics, of influence to the cost/-benefit calculation mentioned in the interviews are all related to the border experience (BE).

The factors of language and culture can either be categorized as a benefit or a cost. Three of the commuters have a Dutch background and are thus glad to be in the Netherlands, one of the respondents gave the following comment, related to her background:

‘I was born in Germany and have Dutch/Ge German parents, so on an emotional level, I got the feeling of coming home when I crossed the border, I’m returning to my own culture, can speak Dutch and celebrate the Dutch holidays.’

Next to the ones who benefit from the language and culture differences, there are also respondents who see the differences in language and culture between Germany and the Netherlands as costs. Seven of the respondents gave comments that can be categorized as language and cultural burdens. A comment heard in six out of these seven cases is that the Dutch language presents a bottleneck, the respondents do not speak Dutch at all, or only a little. The language difficulties could according to five of the respondents lead to social isolation and in two of the seven cases negative discrimination is predicted to be a result of the language burden. Next to the language burden there is also a cultural burden, this burden is expected by two of the twelve respondents. The respondents who brought the cultural burden forward, are both of the >45 group. According to them, as a result of the German-Dutch history a cultural burden is to be expected.

The third factor important to the BE is the traveling time. Six of the respondents said that working in the Netherlands is expected to lead to longer travelling times. In relation to travelling time the factor of family composition was mentioned by four of the six respondents with children. They pointed out that their expected travelling time would be longer than it would be if they worked closer to home in Germany or if they lived closer to their working place in the Netherlands. The expected longer travelling time resulted according to the respondents in less family time; less family time resulted in another negative point being added to the psychological burden.

The fourth factor is separation between working- and the country of residence. Three out of nine respondents considered the fact that they see the Netherlands just as a working country. Because of this fact, crossing the border automatically means going to work and speaking Dutch. According to them this represents a psychological burden.

When looking at the border experience theory the conclusion is, that nine out of twelve persons interviewed, indicated that this was a factor that influenced their decision making. These indications are all linked to the fact of living and working in two different countries; language problems, cultural difference, positive vs. negative discrimination, social seclusion and balance between working -/-country of residence.

Considering the fact that not only the individual but also the environment is of influence to the ultimate decision, the structural perspective needs to be considered as an additional cost/-benefit calculation. The next section will present the factors of the structural perspective influencing the labor mobility decision.
4.3 Structural factors influencing labor mobility

The structural perspective is one of the constructs presented in the literature framework, section 2.6. This perspective consists of three structures: social, economic and political. In order to create a complete and synoptic picture of all structural factors that influence the labor mobility decision the structural perspective is not only represented by three structures and the push-pull factors but also by five environmental factors these are; unions, industrial policies, governmental policies, inter-governmental policies and inter-institutional policies.

The data collection and analysis of all these structural factors is aimed at answering the following question in relation with the structural perspective on labor mobility:

* ‘Which factors of the structural perspective are of influence in the labor mobility decision?’*

4.3.1. Push and pull factors

The categorized interview data, presented a clear set of push and pull factors, that are, according to the interviewed commuters, of influence in the labor mobility decision. Next to the categorized push and pull factors some useful indications were given on the environmental factors of influence on the structural perspective.

According to the literature the push-pull model is able to incorporate many economic and social factors that play a role in mobility decision making, the factors will be divided into three structures: social, economic and political. The identified push and pull factors are represented in Table 4.1.

| Table 4.1 Push- and Pull factors for German-Dutch labor mobility |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| **Push factors** | **N=** | **Pull factors** | **N=** |
| Social factors | | | |
| Bullying | 1 | More experience with employment agencies | 1 |
| Discrimination | 2 | Attractive working climate | 8 |
| Bad working climate | 2 | Good working conditions | 3 |
| Economical factors | | | |
| Wealth decrease | 2 | Career prospects | 8 |
| Lack of career prospects | 8 | Education | 3 |
| Not enough jobs | 5 | Higher pay | 5 |
| Wage differentials | 2 | Availability of jobs | 2 |
| Political factors | | | |
| Tax rates | 2 | Tax and social security laws | 6 |

In Table 4.1, the following social factors are mentioned: bad working conditions, bullying, discrimination, good working conditions, attractive working climate and more experience with employment agencies.

It is clear that the most important social factor is an attractive working climate! In eight out of twelve cases an attractive working climate is mentioned as a social pull factor.
The working climate in the Netherlands would appear more attractive because the respondents believe that; Dutch people are: livelier, more open, less formal; there is more freedom of opinion, less hierarchy and there is two way communication.

In three of the twelve cases better working conditions were mentioned as a structural pull factor. This factor was not mentioned by the two who mentioned the bad working conditions. The three respondents who mentioned the good working conditions gave the following reasons; the tighter Dutch environmental and working conditions legislation. Two interviewee’s pointed to the air extraction systems which are obligatory in the Netherlands whereas only one respondent mentioned the regulation of working hours as a better working condition.

In two out of twelve cases bad working conditions were mentioned as a push factor, this is according to the interviewee’s the result of the formal authoritarian structures, where centralization and one-way communication are the standard. The factors of bullying and discrimination seem closely connected to the bad working conditions, the respondents who mentioned bad working conditions also reported the discrimination, and the bullying. Bullying is mentioned in one of the cases whereas discrimination in two of the cases.

Next to the push and pull factors directly related to the working climate and conditions, there’s one other social pull factor mentioned, that’s the factor of more experienced employment agencies. The following statement was made by one of the respondents clarifying this pull factor:

‘Ten years ago the Dutch employment agencies were better developed and more trustworthy than their German counterparts who were just starting up. I preferred working for a Dutch employment agency because they had more experience, knew what they were doing and had more contacts.’

There are eight economic factors identified in Table 4.1. The factors are; not enough jobs in combination with the availability of jobs, lack of career prospects and career prospects, higher pay in combination with wage differentials and education and loss of wealth.

The first push factor mentioned is: not enough jobs. This factor is expected to be influenced by the unemployment levels. The figures on migration and mobility presented in section 2.2 pointed to the difference in unemployment levels between Germany and the Netherlands. The unemployment level in Germany is 4.5 times higher! If the theory is correct the factor of not enough jobs should be mentioned in multiple cases. Looking at the interview results this phenomenon is indeed indentified as being influential. Five out of the twelve respondents pointed to the unemployment figures by presenting the lack of available jobs as a motive for labor mobility. According to the respondents there are fewer jobs available in Germany than in the Netherlands. A comment often heard is;

‘There are just too few jobs for too many people!’

The first pull factor that is opposed to the former factor is availability of jobs. This factor is mentioned by two of the respondents. The respondents state that they were motivated for mobility because of the presence and quality of the available jobs.

As mentioned by one of the respondents:

‘In Germany one can’t find a job, and certainly not the jobs that are available in the Netherlands, in Germany all the good jobs are already filled or filled before a word gets out.’
The second push identified after categorizing the interview data is lack of career prospects. Eight of the respondents stated that there is a lack of career prospects in Germany. The following comments are frequently heard;

‘In Germany one cannot get a good job without a diploma or certificate.’
‘In Germany you do not get the chance to climb up the ladder.’
‘In Germany you can only do exactly what you have studied for’.

All these comments indicate that in Germany people get pushed out by a lack of growing opportunities. Eight of the respondent felt that in Germany they would not be able to grow in their function or their working knowledge. Without a factor opposed to the push factor lack of career prospects, mobility would not be triggered.

The opposed pull factor is career prospects. This factor is mentioned in eight of the cases. The respondents all presented a clear statement which could clarify the high number of responses. They stated that; ‘In the Netherlands the career prospects are just better’.

This is according to the respondents due to the fact that in the Netherlands people are looking at competencies rather than at diplomas. So if you do not have the right diplomas but you have the right character and you have the right competencies, career growth is possible. Furthermore the Dutch secondary labor agreements are believed to aim at personal growth and are supported by the fact that organizations in the Netherlands are believed to be more decentralized than the Germans.

The third push identified is wage differentials. Wage differentials do not play a big role in pushing; it is mentioned in only two of twelve cases. That this would be a low ranking factor was already expected by Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999), according to them, if the income is above the poverty line and reaches a socially acceptable level, the income threshold for mobility is bound to be high. So in the case of German-Dutch mobility the wage differentials were not enough to cause a very large push. Although the push on wage differentials was small, the interview results indicate that the pull of higher pay is far bigger. Five of the twelve respondents mentioned higher pay as a factor of importance.

The last economic push identified in table 4.1 is wealth decrease. This factor is mentioned in only two cases and seems only to apply to the older respondents searching for personal rather than financial enrichment, salary is nice, but at the end of the day they preferred a job in which they could accelerate, a job that would really enable them to make use of all their capabilities built up during their working life. They felt that because of a lack of personal enrichment their wealth was declining. This factor presented for them a motive for mobility.

Opposed to this factor is the pull factor education. This factor is mentioned in three of the cases. These three respondents are all categorized under the middle aged group. They were pulled into working abroad because the educational options were expected to be better on the other side of the border. They state that the change of working country meant for them better education, more working experience and better changes in the future. Furthermore the Dutch employers were expected to be more flexible when it came to combining study and work. As one of the respondents stated:

‘In the Netherlands employers are willing to give you a solid education, while at the same time supporting you at work and being as flexible as possible.’
Looking at the eight economic factors it can be seen that some factors are of little influence on the mobility decision, these are; wage differentials, loss of health, education and availability of jobs. There are however four factors that seem of great influence on the German-Dutch labor mobility decision, these are; not enough jobs, lack of career prospects, career prospects and higher pay.

After discussing the social and economic factors there are two political factors left to be discussed, one is identified as push factors, one as a pull. Both factors are connected with taxes. The push factor, the tax rate, was mentioned by two of the twelve respondents. This factor influences the part-time workers due to the fact that most employers offer jobs on a €400, basis. This appears to be due to tax advantages for the employees. According to the respondents part-time jobs above the € 400, basis are hard to find and if you find a job tax rates are go up excessively. Tax and social security laws are mentioned by six of the twelve respondents. Apparently the tax related laws in the Netherlands are more beneficial than in Germany. As beneficial factors, the mortgage tax laws were mentioned, just as the health care laws.

Having discussed all the push and pull factors, the following factors are of great influence on the mobility decision; attractive work climate, not enough jobs, lack of career prospects, career prospects, higher pay and tax and social security laws.

4.3.2 Politics

After discussing the push and pull factors derived from Lee (1966), but also part of the structural perspective developed by Stalker (2008), it is now time to look at the factor ‘politics’ from the structural perspective. Politics deal with policies and unions. These consist of the five environmental factors; unions, industrial, governmental, intergovernmental and inter-institutional policies influencing the decision to migrate or commute.

Of the five environmental factors two are not mentioned at all, these are; unions and inter-institutional policies. The three factors that were mentioned in the gathered data were industrial policies, intergovernmental policies and the most important was governmental policies. The industrial policies were mentioned by two of the respondents. These policies are related to the transport and metal industry.

The intergovernmental policies are mentioned by seven out of the twelve interviewee’s. There were two policies indicated to be of particular influence on the German-Dutch labor mobility, these are; the policies related to the intergovernmental social health care and the intergovernmental pension laws and transfers. The most important policies however are still the governmental policies. These are mentioned in ten out of the twelve interviews. The mentioned policies are related to schooling subsidy, employment, taxes, mortgage interest calculation, competency certification, and the working conditions.

Next to the two independent variables presented in the framework, there was also one variable that was expected to be mediating. That mediating variable ‘network effects’ will be discussed in the next section.
4.4 Network effects

Networks have several functions according to the theory, Massey et al. (1993) state that; the immigrant relies on its migration network for the basic knowledge and knowhow. Thereby, according to Bonin et al. (2008), Mayda (2005 & 2006), Zimmermann (2005) and Zaiceva and Zimmermann (2008) the availability of a migration network is likely to reduce migration costs and stimulate the individual migration decision in a positive manner. The facilitating role of networks makes it according to Massey et al. (1993) notoriously difficult for governments to control.

It is because of this fact that network effects will no longer be connected with only one of the independent variables, but rises above them by making use of the synergy of both the independent variables. The expectancy is that the mobility networks and their effects are not only rising above the independent variables but are also mediating on those variables. The data collection and analysis is thus aimed at answering the following question in relation with the labor mobility networks:

* ‘What influence do labor mobility networks have on the labor mobility decision?’ *

4.4.1 Networks in the German-Dutch border area

The following categories of networks are set: family, friends, professional network (work or school) and employment agencies.

In two out of the twelve cases employment agencies are mentioned as network contacts. The other work related network is the professional network. This network is mentioned in four of the interviews. This makes the professional network almost as important as the family network which is mentioned in five of the cases. But the most important network appears to be that of friends, mentioned by eight of the respondents, it is not strange that the friends network is mentioned the most by the respondents, this network is in many cases bigger than the family network and can reach further in presenting job opportunities.

4.4.2 The network effects on the German-Dutch labor mobility decision

When looking at the network effects on German-Dutch labor mobility it is important to stipulate than network effects are indeed a mediating factor or if they are a result of the combination between structural factors and individual motives.

In order to get a better insight in the effects of networks, the group of respondents is divided into two parts. The first group is made up of the respondents who pointed to the mediating effect of networks, because the network effect presented the initial pull motive. Although the respondents also indicated a push motive for mobility, this push motive alone, would not have lead to working abroad, it was in their case the pull motive presented by the network effect that pulled them into working abroad. The second group is represented by the respondents who pointed to the additional push and pull effects of the networks. They indicated that the network effects were more supportive of nature.
In table 4.2 the network effects indentified in the interviews are presented. The first column is presenting the total network effects indicated by all respondents. Some respondents mentioned more than one network effect. The second column is filled with N=7, seven respondents who pointed to the initial pulling effect of a network. These were the interviewee’s stimulated into looking into their individual motives and structural factors after an initial pull came out of their network. The third column is filled by N= 5, five respondents who pointed to the more supportive roles of the networks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of network</th>
<th>Total N=12</th>
<th>Initial pull indicated by N=7</th>
<th>No initial pull N=5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment agencies</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family networks</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends networks</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. networks</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in the table the network effects of employment agencies and professional networks are the largest. They can present future commuters with the initial pull to consider mobility. This means that these two network types are certainly mediating in the German-Dutch labor mobility decision. In these particular cases the interviewee’s decided to commute because of the pull from the network. The network mediated in their motives, it was because of the network that all the con’s presented by the individual approach and the structural perspective are neglected and mobility decisions are made.

Looking at table 4.2 it becomes clear that two networks are indeed mediating, but the family and friend networks are also pointed to by some of the N=7 group. This could point also to a mediating effect. In general it can be said that network effects are in some cases mediating in the individual motives and structural factors that influence the German-Dutch labor mobility decision.

The network effects are the last construct to be discussed. After discussing all variables of influence on the German-Dutch labor mobility, a short summary of the motives and factors of for German-Dutch mobility will be given in the next section.
4.5 Summary of the factors and motives of influence to the labor mobility decision

The factors and motives of influence on the German-Dutch labor mobility decision will be presented in the following order; first the individual motives, next the structural factors of importance and last the mediating variables; network effects and age.

4.5.1 Findings on the individual approach

The interviews held, brought some clear evidence on the individual and household characteristics of influence on the labor mobility decision. Furthermore indications were found that the bounded rational cost-benefit calculation, explains a large part of the individual decision on labor mobility, due to the fact that the individual and household characteristics are part of the cost-/benefit calculation.

Of the factors mentioned gender appears to be of no influence. The factors; family composition and breadwinner situation, presented a strong initial motive for labor mobility, but despite this initial push into mobility these factors are not indicated to be very important in explaining the general labor mobility decision. Both factors are more situation specific and mentioned in just two of the twelve cases.

The individual approach on labor mobility is dominated by the factors: employment situation, educational level and border experience. Whereas educational level and employment situation in all cases presented an initial push into working abroad, the border experience never gave the possible commuter an initial push into labor mobility; rather it is a more supportive motive for mobility. The individual motives of influence in the German-Dutch labor mobility decision are thus: educational level, employment condition, border experience, family composition and breadwinner situation.

4.5.2 Findings on the structural perspective

The interviews pointed to in total 16 push and pull factors relevant for the German-Dutch labor mobility decision.

The social perspective on labor mobility is dominated by the social factor; attractive working climate. Looking at the economic and political factors the following factors are indicated to be of great influence on the German-Dutch labor mobility decision; not enough jobs, lack of career prospects, career prospects, higher pay and tax laws and social security laws, in combination with the governmental policies mentioned in ten of the cases.

The factors mentioned are divided in push and pull factors. Push factors are: not enough jobs, lack of career prospects and intergovernmental policies. The pull factors are: attractive working climate, governmental policies, career prospects, higher pay and tax and social security laws. Bonin et al. (2008) present in their research a critical claim: the push factors in the source country must closely mirror those derived from the analysis on the main pull factors. Looking at the factors presented in the structural perspective, this claim can be supported. The push factor of not enough jobs is opposed to availability of jobs, lack of career prospects is opposed to career prospects and wage differentials is opposed to higher pay. This also means that between Germany and the Netherlands there is a potential for mobility, because there are push factors in Germany and pull factors in the Netherlands.
Looking at the structural factors of table 4.1 the conclusion can be reached that the most important structural factors are the economic and political ones. So economic based factors backed up by governmental policies are presenting the strongest influence on the ultimate decision.

4.5.3 Mediating factors
In the search for motives and factors of influence on the labor mobility decisions, two factors were mediating in the ultimate results. The first one age was in the theoretic framework not indicated as being mediating. The second one, network effects, was already suspected to be mediating.

Age was mentioned in four of the twelve interviews as a factor influencing the labor mobility decision. The statements made by the respondents indicated that age could lead to different situation in viewing options, as was already expected by Stalker (1994) and Hunt (2000).

For example, age was for the two ‘younger’ interviewees who mentioned it a factor to jump into working abroad. The two ‘older’ interviewees did mention age in a different way. They considered the labor mobility decision with more pro’s and con’s, mainly considering the risks of migration. Age makes one consider the situation differently as can be seen in the interview results. The younger ones consider other cost-/benefits than the older ones, they respond for instance faster to certain situations in their own labor market. The factors unemployment and lack of a suitable job are apparently reason to decide, without considering all other facts at hand, to go and work abroad. This is also shown by a statement from one of the younger interviewee’s made regarding her situation.

‘I could not find a suitable job on the German side of the border, so I decided one day to have a look at the other side of the border, at the companies situated there. I got into my car and drove round, wrote down some names, and started writing my job applications.’

Age presents thus a mediating factor, because it influences the way people look at certain situations and thus makes people look differently at the motives and factors for mobility.

As can be seen in section 4.4.2 network effects are mediating in some cases. Looking at table 4.2 it can be seen that network effects changed the mobility intention of people; the network effects presented an initial pull motive for mobility. After analyzing the interview results its shown that network effects (professional network and employment agencies) are indeed mediating on both the individual motives and structural perspective. Looking at the individual motives the network effects are mediating on the cost/benefit calculation. For the structural perspective holds that; network effects are mediating on the social, economic and the political factors. The political factor is only mediated by the professional network, if that network is represented by the future employer, within a multinational company.

After presenting a summary of the findings, the next chapter will start with a discussion based on these findings. This discussion will be centered on the question; ‘free movement of persons: fact or fiction?’
5 Discussion, conclusion and recommendations

Chapter 5 ‘Discussion, conclusion and recommendations’, will start with a discussion on the subject of labor mobility. After discussing the subject of German-Dutch labor mobility a conclusion will be formulated in section 5.2. The next section, section 5.3 will give recommendations based on statements made in the conclusion. After the discussion, conclusion and recommendations are presented, section 5.4 will explain how these contribute to the already available theory on the subjects of labor migration and mobility. In the last section I will reflect on this master thesis project.

5.1 Discussion

This section contains a discussion on German-Dutch labor mobility. The first three subjects of the discussion are based on the variables of influence on the labor mobility decision; the individual approach, mediating variables and the structural perspective. Which motives and factors are questionable, which are less or not important and how do they relate to each other? Finally the most important subject of the discussion will be presented. Why is it that because of all these variables of influence on a possible labor mobility decision, mobility is still low? Is free movement of persons a fact or could it be fiction?

5.1.1 Discussion on the individual approach

As already stated in section 4.5.1, not all individual motives are equally important for the general labor mobility decision.

There is one motive that is mentioned often and is thus of great importance to the ultimate labor mobility decision, but that represents no initial push and is thus of little influence. However one can conclude that the factor most important to the cost / benefit calculation is: ‘the border experience’. A significant part of the cost-/benefit calculation is based on the border experience theory; an important indication for the influence of the border experience theory is the extent to which people are living in between two countries. Looking at the presentation of the factors relevant for the border experience 4.2.3, it could be seen that the three respondents who indicated to have no psychological burden of any kind are the persons that are not living and working in two different places. They represent the group that live on both sides of the border. They have family and friends in both countries, socialize on both sides of the border, do their shopping on both sides of the border, there is no separation of private and working live.

There are two motives next to the border experience that appear to be of great importance, however these two motives are also of great influence to the labor mobility decision and present an initial push into the labor mobility consideration. These motives are; educational level and employment situation.

Next to the important motives there are two motives that are indicated to be of little importance but of great influence. These motives present a strong initial push for mobility, although they are not mentioned often, these are; family composition and breadwinner situation. Therefore the four motives that present an initial push into considering labor mobility are; educational level, employment situation, bread winner situation and family composition. In four out of the twelve cases the educational level presented the initial push for labor mobility, the employment conditions also presented an initial push, in four of the twelve cases.
The motives breadwinner situation and family composition, presented each, in two out of the twelve cases an initial push for labor mobility.

Looking at the motives that are responsible for the initial individual labor mobility push, there seem to be two factors that could be related to one another. These are educational level and employment conditions. The respondents that mentioned unemployment as a motive always mentioned their educational level. Whereas the respondents that mentioned educational level as a motive did not, in any of the four cases, mention their employment conditions. One of the respondents gave the following comment;

‘At the time I was unemployed, in Germany there was no suitable job to be found. I could have a job in Germany but it would have been an unsuitable, low paid job.’

In this case unemployment was presented as the main reason to look for a job abroad, however the initial push into looking for a job abroad was the education level. The educational level made it impossible to find a suitable job within Germany, while at the same time it was possible to find a job on the other side of the border. Educational level is thus the main reason to search for a job abroad, because if it would have been the unemployment one would have been happy to accept any job. By taking this fact into consideration the conclusion can be reached that unemployment is actually not an initial labor push for searching a job abroad.

When looking at the five individual motives for German-Dutch labor mobility one could see that there needs to be one really important individual motive to give the initial mobility push. Without that one important factor such as education, or a change in the family composition, mobility would in the first place not be considered. In other words the commuter first of all needs to be presented with a factor that costs a change in their current (before mobility) cost-/benefit situation, see figure 5.1. The change in employment condition or for example breadwinner situation needs to create an unbalance, see figure 5.2. Next to the unbalance in the commuter’s calculation, there also needs to be a trigger to stimulate them into working abroad. Without the initial push and the trigger no one would not consider their cost-/benefits of working abroad. After these two steps, one is going to consider the factors not in the push or the trigger, for instance the factors presented under the border experience.

Figure 5.1 ‘balance before push’

Figure 5.2 ‘unbalance after push’

There are thus three main motives that present the initial individual labor push, but just the labor push is not enough for a labor mobility decision. There have to be additional motives that bring the wage of the future commuter out of balance. These could be the other individual motives of influence.

Not only do the individual motives present their weight in the level of income, also the mediating factors and structural factors do so. In order to get a clearer view on the factors adding weight to the level of income the mediating factors and the structural perspective will be discussed next.
5.1.2. Age and Network effects as mediating factors

Analyzing the interview results leads to two basic mediating factors. As stated in chapter 4 age and network effects are mediating. This paragraph will discuss first the mediating factor of age and will then combine both mediating factors in order to show the effects of age over the other mediating variable.

Looking at the interviewee’s and their age distribution, the following three groups are set; < 35 Youngest(N=5), middle aged 35-45 (N=4) and older >45 (N=3).

The basic motives that are important for the labor mobility decision are presented in table 5.1., these motives are withdrawn from both the individual approach and the structural perspective.

Table 5.1 German-Dutch mobility motives: ‘the why of mobility?’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>First motive</th>
<th>Second motive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young 1</td>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>Unemployment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young 2</td>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young 3</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Unemployment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young 4</td>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young 5</td>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle age 1</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle age 2</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle age 3</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Financial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older 1</td>
<td>Development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older 2</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older 3</td>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Financial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older 4</td>
<td>Family situation</td>
<td>Personal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at these motives it can be seen that they change over time. In the groups < 35 Young(N=5); the main motive is financial. They are triggered by wage differentials. The second motive is unemployment, health or development. Whereas in the middle aged 35-45 (N=4) group; the main motive is education. The older >45 (N=3) group; focuses more on development and their personal situation. So the motives for mobility change as people grow older. The mobility motives start in the youngest group with the financial need, combined with unemployment or a career move, but as the respondents get older their main interest becomes more and more focused on their personal psychological wellbeing. The middle aged group is mainly triggered by the educational options and by family and health; these factors are aimed at a better psychological well being. Looking at the older group, this becomes even clearer. Here the motives are purely psychological. It’s about personal development. The educational options are no longer the main driving force, but the change of personal development and investing in the personal psyche are the main driving force between the labor mobility decision.

According to Hunt (2000) differences in age are expected to lead to different levels of responsiveness to regional labor market differentials. This explains the difference in motives.
Looking at the age groups Hunt (2000) concludes that this result imply that the younger people are more sensitive to the unemployment differential. Young potential commuters are more sensitive to income levels than older people, while older people are more sensitive to unemployment in the source region and to their own layoff. The theory of Hunt (2000) also suggests that age is not directly influencing the mobility decision but influences the way people look at certain factors that influence the mobility decision. For this reason it can be concluded that age presents the first mediating factor.

Next to the mediating effect of age, network effects are also mediating as stated in chapter 4. As can be seen there are two kinds of networks that are absolutely mediating. Two of them could be mediating. To sketch a more precise picture of the mediating influence of networks, network effects will be aligned with the other mediating factor age.

There are differences in the absolute effects. Whereas the professional network and the employment agencies point and direct respondents to work, the family and friends networks are more supportive on comfort and knowledge-level, instead of work related support. Despite these differences there are still respondents that are pulled into working abroad by family and friends networks.

Looking at the table in section 4.4 it can be seen that there are more than N=12 so some of the respondents identified multiple network types. Looking at the first network of influence in table 5.2 a difference of the network influence can be seen based on age.

The network effects in the young and middle age group are dominated by family and friends networks. Whereas: the older group is dominated by the effects of the professional network.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>First network of influence</th>
<th>Second network of influence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young 1</td>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young 2</td>
<td>Friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young 3</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young 4</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young 5</td>
<td>Employment agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle age 1</td>
<td>Prof. network</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle age 2</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle age 3</td>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older 1</td>
<td>Employment agency</td>
<td>Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older 2</td>
<td>Prof. network</td>
<td>Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older 3</td>
<td>Prof. network</td>
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<tr>
<td>Older 4</td>
<td>Prof. network</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Because of the theoretic background of Hunt (2000) it can be expected that the young and middle age group need the support of their family and friends in order to make a decision. They are likely to get their information through other channels than the older respondents. Next to the fact that they source information through different channels, they are also reacting differently to the information, that is maybe why they need the more supportive info that their networks present to them.
Despite their influence on the younger commuters, family and friends networks are almost never mediating. If family networks are mediating it is only in the middle age group, because the family influence in the middle age group is stronger than in the younger group. In the middle age group family forms the center of attention, consisting of partners and children. The effect of that family appears to be far greater than the effect of parents in the younger age group. However to let family be part of the equation this factor needs to be accompanied by friends networks. Professional networks and employment agencies are always mediating, no matter what the age of the respondent is. Whereas: family and friends networks are only influential when presented together.

The labor mobility decision will thus be mediated by the network effects present. Employment agencies and the professional network are always mediating whereas family and friends networks appear to be only mediating if presented together in the middle age group. After discussing both mediating factors and the influence of age on the mediating effect of networks it is now time to assess why it is that the structural factors appear to be of less influence than the individual motives.

5.1.3. Discussion on the structural perspective
The structural perspective appears to be more of a supportive kind than the individual approach that present the initial push into labor mobility. The respondents first considered their individual motives before considering the structural factors present. They first mention the individual motives, their personal stories and personal situation, and just after analyzing all those factors they simply enumerate the structural factors. Not only were these things mentioned last, but also the fact that they were so shortly summarized and in comparison to the individual motives so little attention was paid to them, made me wonder what reason one could have to neglect such important factors.

The individual motives looked in general like they were adding more weight to the income than the structural factors did. One could ask, if the structural factors are really supportive, or that they should in theory be equally important to the individual motives as Stalker (2008) stated. According to Stalker (2008), both the individual approach and the structural perspective need to be represented in the ultimate decision in order to come to a positive labor mobility decision. Looking at, the income in section 5.1.1., it can be seen that the individual motives present the initial push into mobility. After the initial push the other motives and factors are to be considered. Although the initial push comes from an individual motive, the structural factors present additional weight that can bring an imbalance in the income and guide the commuter into mobility, and thus guide and support the ultimate decision. Therefore, it should indeed in theory be that both independent variables are equally important in setting the ultimate labor mobility decision.

The fact that structural factors seem to be of little influence can make one wonder if free movement of persons is fact or fiction?
5.1.4. ‘Free movement of persons: fact or fiction?’

In section 2.6 the theoretic framework is presented. That framework is based on the available migration theory. Theories about mobility are rarely to be found, but the ones that were found are integrated in the mainly migration based framework. On the basis of that framework the explanatory research was conducted. The research results discussed in the former sections, made it possible to build a new framework based on the motives for mobility rather than on the migration and mobility theory available. Figure 5.1 therefore consists only of motives and factors relevant for the German-Dutch mobility decision.

Looking at the European mobility rates and the interview results presented in the framework for German-Dutch labor mobility, figure 5.1.
It is quite strange that; despite all individual motives and structural factors, that are expected to hold for a larger population as the sampled one, pointing to the benefits of commuting; commuting rates are not high. So although there are some reasonably strong individual motives and structural factors that influence mobility, labor mobility figures are not as high as could have been according to the Lisbon Agenda.

Without an increase in European labor mobility the Lisbon Strategy of 2000, aimed at making the EU the most competitive economy in the world will not be achieved. This strategy, developed at subsequent meetings of the European Council, rests on three pillars:

- An economic pillar, preparing for the transition to a competitive, dynamic, knowledge-based economy, by adapting to changes in the information society and to boost research and development.
- A social pillar, to modernize the European social model by investing in human resources and combating social exclusion, by investing in education and training.
- An environmental pillar, paying attention to the fact that economic growth must be decoupled from the use of natural resources.

According to Europa.eu the mid-term review held in 2005, showed that the indicators used in the OMC had caused the objectives to become muddled and that the results achieved had been unconvincing. For this reason, the Council has approved a new partnership aimed at focusing efforts on the achievement of stronger, lasting growth and the creation of more and better jobs.

According to Bonin et al. (2008), Zimmerman (2005) and Zimmermann and Zaiceva (2008) stronger, lasting growth and the creation of more and better jobs can be created through increasing the labor mobility figures. Bonin et al. (2008) present the following key arguments for strong and lasting growth through labor mobility.

The first key argument is economic in nature. Mobility serves as an equilibrating factor between labor markets, to the extent that mobility of capital and goods do not achieve convergence of employment and real wages in open or integrated economies, mobility of labor may help balancing labor market outcomes. Furthermore, enlarging the relevant labor market for individuals may result in better skill matches. Consequently, returns to human capital formation may increase, which changes the incentives to invest in human capital. Improved skill matches and accelerated human capital formation may foster economic growth across the continent. Therefore, enhancing mobility will lead to regional labor market adjustment and to a better match between the supply and demand of skills. If geographic mobility enhances the quality of job matches, individuals can make a higher return on their human capital.

A second rationale for increased mobility frequently mentioned is the demographic development in Europe. Two demographic trends are especially salient: population decline and population ageing. Over the longer term, replacement mobility of young people could be seen as a way to counteract the negative consequences of these trends.

Besides economic and demographic aspects, a number of social aspects are strongly connected to mobility. A frequent argument for the case of increased inter-EU mobility is that it will bring about stronger integration of Europe. The European integration process is premised on the free movement of capitals, goods, services and persons. Since the ‘Treaty of Rome’ of 1957, a higher mobility of individuals among Member States has been seen as the catalyst of this process.
Despite the setting of the ‘Treaty of Rome’ in 1957 and the ‘Maastricht treaty’ in 1993, the legal right of free movement of persons within the EU, is found insufficient in stimulating labor mobility. This research has shown that the legal right alone is not enough to support a labor mobility decision, but the legal right accompanied by the individual motives and structural factors supporting the German-Dutch labor mobility, does not enhance an increase in labor mobility.

Even the classic economic mobility theory of Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999), does not hold for German-Dutch labor mobility. The classic economic mobility theory would be expected to lead to mobility flows of huge magnitudes in contemporary Europe. The existing differences in capital and labor ratios, in wage and unemployment levels between countries should be sufficient incentive for many individuals to change their place of labor.

It is despite the classical economic mobility theory and all the good reasons for mobility presented as motivational factors, that mobility is not taking place. It looks like there are some barriers or constraints in place that block or hinder labor mobility between Germany and the Netherlands.

As stated in the former section the structural factors appeared to be of less influence than the individual motives, while according to the theory they should be equally important, when it comes to explaining the dependent variable. Therefore the factors that block or hinder the mobility between Germany and the Netherlands are expected to be in the structural perspective.

The interviews pointed to certain factors that pushed people against working abroad instead of pushing them in the opposite direction. These factors presented a barrier or blockage to mobility and are mainly political. The pension regulations, tax regulations, child support and healthcare regulations, make it difficult for the Germans to work abroad. The first factor presenting a barrier is pension, four out of twelve respondents pointed to the pension difficulties arising from working abroad. According to them it is difficult to build your pension in different countries, and then later transfer it to one pension fund. The second factor, the Dutch tax regulations are for five out of twelve respondents difficult to understand. Based on their salary they pay more taxes than in Germany, but they are not aware of the Dutch, deduction possibility, as mortgage interest calculation. Third, the child support regulations in Germany and the Netherlands are not the same. So there is an expected negative difference according to three out of the twelve respondents. The child support in the Netherlands is suspected to be lower, so the earnings go up while at the same time the child support goes down. Three out of twelve respondents expect that this might lead to a negative monetary balance, for mobility. The last point presenting a negative push for working abroad are the healthcare regulations. Germany and the Netherlands both have different carrying systems, which cover other expenses and differ in their setup. Working in the Netherlands means for the foreign German insuring in the Netherlands, while at the same time, commuters also need to be ensured in their home country, presenting them with twice the regulating rigmarole, but also paying more healthcare premium.
Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999) state that no constraint labor mobility decision will take place, until further conditions are met, these conditions are according to the theory: transparency, information and the lifting off barriers. By looking at the factors pushing commuters away from working abroad one could assess if the further conditions are met and then if unconstrained mobility can actually take place.

The three conditions of Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999) will be discussed next in order to assess whether unconstrained mobility is possible. The condition of transparency is not met. Not all subjects are clear by forehand. The future commuters do not understand all the facts presented in the available information. Certain procedures and some parts of the information are not easy to read or to understand. Information on German-Dutch labor mobility is available through different institutes such as EURES and Euregio. However commuters must know by forehand that they might need additional information and search for it. So although the additional information is available, the information is not presented to them before they make the decision to commute. In some aspects, the condition of availability of information is thus met.

The last and most important condition is the lifting of barriers, this condition is not met. Barriers are as can be seen still in place. Although the ‘Maastricht treaty’ gave workers the legal right to free movement, barriers on country and inter-country levels are still in place.

The European Union has installed a law to guarantee free movement of persons, but is free movement of persons really possible. Is it fact or fiction? Although the one basic factor the legal right is presented there are several negative political factors still in place, these factors show that the supportive legal adjustments are not made. So the basic legislation is in place but the underlying country specific legislation is thwarting the one basic law. Some of the negative structural factors are forming barriers for commuting. In order to lift those barriers improved (inter)governmental cooperation would be necessary.

The next chapter will give a conclusion on; ‘Individual motives and structural factors of influence on German-Dutch labor mobility’ and ‘free movement of persons: fact or fiction?’
5.2 Conclusion

This research aimed at; investigating the main motivational factors for German-Dutch labor mobility; in order to answer the question of why people commute?

The economic literature, starting by Sjaastad (1962), on mobility agrees on the main driving force for mobility, the difference in net returns between source and out sourcing countries. According to Radu (2008), Hatton and Williamson (1998), Massey et al. (1993) and Harris and Todaro (1970) individual actors decide to migrate if their expected discounted net returns by moving to an alternative location are positive, so cost must be lower than benefits. However the research proved that not only the pecuniary net returns between source and out sourcing country are stimulating labor mobility but that it is also the non pecuniary motives that stimulate labor mobility.

Due to the fact that people are capable of responding differently to the same variables presented to them the individual approach will not be one of rationality but indeed be a model of bounded rationality, as stated in the theoretic framework, with the following motives of the individual approach influencing the decision to commute: educational level, family composition, breadwinner situation, border experience and employment situation.

Labor mobility is stimulated by many individual motives of which the initial push motive is the most important one, for the generation of the mobility thought. The initial individual push consists of the following motives for mobility; educational level, family composition and breadwinner situation. There are thus three main motives that present the initial labor push, but the labor push alone is not enough for a labor mobility decision. There have to be additional motives that cause an imbalance of the commuters future earnings so that the benefits overrule the costs. These additional motives could be the additional individual motives, mediating factors or structural factors. In addition to the initial individual motives that influence the labor mobility decision, there are two other individual motives important in the decision to commute these are; in order of importance; border experience and employment situation.

Border experience is the most important one of the two. Gieles (2009) brought forward the subject of the border experience. This subject covers all possible psychological cost and benefits. So the psychological distance of Mayda (2005, 2008) the cultural and language burdens or benefits are all covered under this subject of living and working in different countries. Although Bonin et al. (2008) concluded that language and culture difference are extremely important, this research however does not show any proof to support this conclusion. Language is indeed in this research also indicated as an extremely important motive within the border experience, but culture is not. Only two of the twelve respondents pointed to culture as being of influence, these respondents were both fell within the older age group. A reason for the fact that language and culture are not found to be of extreme importance could lie in the fact that all interviewee’s were living in the border area. Some of them were even having a social and personal life on both sides of the border; all of them were thus more or less familiar with the Dutch language and culture.
Next to the former motives named, Bonin et al. (2008), Zimmermann and Zaiceva (2008), Sorm and Terrell (1999) and Lehman et al. (2008) came up with two more individual and household characteristics expected to be of influence, these were; gender and age. The results of this research differ from the results presented in the theory. Gender, believed to be an individual motive, appeared to be of no influence because there was no difference in the partitioning of the respondents over gender. Age surfaced as a mediating variable which could have been expected reading into the theory of the former authors. According to Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999); ‘younger individuals express a higher willingness to migrate, since the time to reap the expected returns from migration is longer for them’ and ‘the likelihood of migration should decrease with age, reflecting the smaller expected lifetime gain from moving for older people’. This fact was also presented in the theory of Hunt (2000). Because of age persons approach situations differently and respond differently to the push-/pull factors and the environmental factors presented to them.

Not only the individual motives but also the structural factors influence the decision to commute. This structural perspective is pushing out or pulling in commuters and consists of macro and meso factors. Whereas the individual approach consists of the micro factors and is based on the individual motives the structural perspective is mainly based on institutional factors. These institutional factors strike three structural areas: social, economic and politic and are based on the push-pull model of Lee, however to describe this perspective only naming the factors defined by Lee and others will not be sufficient. Next to the push-pull framework the environmental factors also need to be mentioned.

The most important social factor is: attractive working climate! The working climate in the Netherlands appears to be more attractive because the respondents believe that Dutch people are livelier, more open, more informal, there is more freedom of opinion, less hierarchy and there is two way communication. The other mentioned social factors are not as important as the former one, in order of importance these are; good working conditions, bad working conditions, discrimination and bullying. As Verwiebe (2010) already stated; the good working conditions in the destination countries in particular constitute the main social pull factor.

There are eight economic factors identified in Table 4.1. The factors are; not enough jobs in combination with availability of jobs, lack of career prospects, career prospects and higher pay in combination with wage differentials, education and loss of wealth. Looking at the eight economic factors it can be seen that some factors are of little influence on the mobility decision, these are in order of importance; wage differentials, loss of health, education and availability of jobs. There are however four factors that seem to be of great influence on the German-Dutch labor mobility decision, these are; lack of career prospects, career prospects, not enough jobs and higher pay. The most important push identified after categorizing the interview data is lack of career prospects. Eight of the respondents stated that there is a lack of career prospects in Germany. The opposing factor is career prospects, this factor is also mentioned in eight of the cases. The second most important push factor mentioned is: not enough jobs. When looking at the figures on migration and mobility, the expectancy was that unemployment levels would indeed influence the decision to commute, since the unemployment levels in Germany are 4.5 times as high as those in the Netherlands. Looking at the interview results this expected phenomenon is indeed of influence on
the ultimate labor mobility decision, five out of the twelve respondents presented the lack of available jobs as a motive for labor mobility. Although the push on wage differentials was small, the interview results indicate that the pull of higher pay is bigger; it’s the third most important factor for labor mobility. Five of the twelve respondents mentioned higher pay as a factor of importance, they gave higher pay as a reason to consider working abroad.

The results of my research greatly overlap with that of Verwiebe (2010), he came to the conclusion that the main economic push and pull factors comprised of the amount of jobs and wages.

After discussing the social and economic factors there are two political factors left. Of the two political factors only the pull factor tax and social security laws is important. This factor is mentioned by six of the twelve respondents and is thus of importance to the labor mobility decision.

Looking at the three structural factors and their relative importance it can be seen that this research also supports Mayda’s (2006) theory on the fact that both sets of factors, economic and non-economic, are important in the push-pull model. It is clear that not all factors are directly related to the economic situation of the commuter. The social aspect is also important when making the mobility decision.

However despite the fact that both economic and non-economic determinants are important, the theory of Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999) could still hold on the basis of these research results. A major determinant in the social, economic and political factors is still aimed at enlarging earning opportunities. The earning opportunities are in this research not only presented by the monetary earnings but also by the non pecuniary earnings. Bonin et al. (2008) presented a critical claim that is, that push factors in the source countries must closely mirror those derived from the analysis on the main pull factors, in order to create potential for labor mobility. Looking at the factors presented in the structural perspective, this claim can be supported. The push factor of not enough jobs is opposed to availability of jobs; lack of career prospects is opposed to career prospects. This means that between Germany and the Netherlands there is a potential for mobility, because there are push factors in Germany and pull factors in the Netherlands.

After discussing the push and pull factors derived from Lee (1966), but also part of the structural perspective developed by Stalker (2008), it is now time to take a closer look at the factor ‘politics’ from the structural perspective. Politics deal with policies and unions. These consist of the five environmental factors; unions, industrial, governmental, intergovernmental and inter-institutional policies influencing the decision to migrate or commute. Of these, only two factors appeared to be important in influencing the general mobility decision, these are; intergovernmental policies and most important governmental policies.

The most important policies are the governmental policies; these are mentioned in ten out of the twelve interviews and are related to; educational subsidies, employment, taxes, mortgage interest calculation, competency certification, and the working conditions. The intergovernmental policies are mentioned by seven out of twelve interviewee’s. There were two policies mentioned of particular influence on the German-Dutch labor mobility. These are the policies relating to social health care and pension.
As well as the individual motives, the mediating factor of age and the structural factors there is one last construct to be mentioned and that is the network effects. The network effects are divided into four different networks, in order of importance and effect: professional network, employment agencies, friends and family.

Looking at the research results on network effects, the effects of family and friends networks are not as large as Massey et al. (1993) have found in their research. The effects of family and friends networks were in this case more supportive in nature, whereas the professional network and the employment agency network possessed far greater effects. These effects were truly mediating because they presented an accessibility for working abroad. The theory of Verwiebe (2010) presents a factor that might cause this effect. According to his theory it is the easy access to information on working conditions that steers mobility processes, administrative issues that come to bear when working in another European country can then be clarified in advance. Professional networks and employment agencies present commuters with this factor. Through the mediating service of these two networks the commuters are better informed and eventual negative factors are reversed.

Despite the fact that the critical claim of Bonin et al. (2008), is fulfilled and that labor mobility between Germany and the Netherlands would be possible, mobility figures remain low. The fact that mobility figures are still low, makes achieving the Lisbon Strategy of 2000, aimed at making the EU the most competitive economy in the world very difficult.

Labor mobility has according to Bonin et al. (2008), Zimmerman (2005) and Zimmermann and Zaiceva (2008) positive effects on the economic situation within Europe. Bonin et al. (2008) present a few key arguments for increased mobility that support the need for a competitive economy. Mobility serves as an equilibrating factor between labor markets; therefore, enhancing geographic mobility which will lead to regional labor market adjustments and to a better equality between the supply and demand of available skills. A second rationale for increased mobility is the demographic development in Europe, in the long term, replacement mobility of young people could be seen as a way to counteract the negative consequences of these trends. Besides economic and demographic aspects, a number of social aspects are strongly connected to mobility; mobility will bring about a stronger integration of Europe.

Despite the introduction of the ‘Treaty of Rome’ in 1957 and the ‘Maastricht treaty’ in 1993, the legal right of free movement of persons within the EU, is found to be insufficient to stimulate labor mobility. So despite the legislation and all the good reasons for mobility, mobility figures are still low and the expected large mobility flows are not taking place. The low mobility figures indicate that there are some barriers or constraints in place that block or hinder labor mobility between Germany and the Netherlands. As already explained in the former section the structural factors appeared to be less important compared to the individual motives. However theoretically they should be equally important, when it comes to explaining the dependent variable. Therefore the factors that block or hinder the mobility between Germany and the Netherlands are to be expected in the structural perspective.
To assess what factors are blocking labor mobility the theory of Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999) will be used, they state that the none constraint labor mobility decision will not take place, until further conditions are met. These conditions are according to the theory: transparency, information and the removal of barriers. These conditions are not being met. There is little transparency, important subjects are not clear by forehand. Additional information is available, but information is not presented to the commuters by forehand. The last and most important condition is the removal of barriers, this condition is not being met.

The three conditions are not met, so the negative structural factors are thus preventing commuters from working abroad and are influential in the mobility decision. This is because the most important structural factors are closely related to the environmental factors and thus are politically related. The European Union has installed legislation that guarantees free movement of persons. The one basic factor the legal right is in place, but the underlying country specific laws are thwarting the one basic law. Some of the negative structural factors are forming barriers for commuting. In order to lift those barriers more efficient intergovernmental cooperation would be necessary.

Considering the former factors, leads to the conclusion that free movement of persons is, at the moment still fiction. Despite the basic legal right, provided with the introduction of the ‘Maastricht treaty’ and the multiple individual motives and structural factors that have influenced the labor mobility decision, there are still barriers to the labor mobility decision.

In order to reach higher levels of mobility and thus a higher level of welfare it is according to Hanson (2009), important to keep labor trade barriers low. In response to the relatively low mobility figures and the concerns about the future of the labor force within the European Union, the European Community has been implementing different political strategies aimed at lowering the barriers. Recently the Lisbon Agenda, which aims to make Europe by 2010 the most competitive and dynamic knowledge based economy in the world, capable of sustainable growth, is designed. In order to bring the Lisbon Agenda to a successful conclusion, the organizations Eures and Euregio are investigating possible measures that can be taken to increase mobility. These and other measures necessary for lowering the barriers to mobility can be found in the next section, recommendations.
5.3 Recommendations
This section will present the recommendations based on this research. Despite the many positive motivational factors influencing the labor mobility decision, the figures on labor mobility are still low. In order to increase the labor mobility figures and reach the goals set out in the Lisbon Agenda Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999) state that further conditions have to be met. These conditions are according to the theory: transparency, information and the lifting of barriers. To meet this conditions several measures can be taken. These measures will be presented in the form of recommendations. First the general policy setting recommendation will be presented, then the (inter)governmental recommendations will be agreed and lastly the remaining, more individually orientated recommendations will be addressed.

5.3.1. General recommendations for policy setting
The discussion presented some negative push conditions that instead of encouraging commuters to work abroad pushed them away from working abroad. In order to stimulate mobility these conditions have to be improved, by implementing measures to stimulate mobility policies. For the implementation of these policies some general recommendations will be given.

Caviedes and Candidate (2006) argue that the key factors in analyzing labor migration policy is not the involvement of the government, but the involvement of the social parties. Schmidt, Stilz and Zimmermann (1994) bring forward the fact that the presence of unions may seriously alter the conclusions on the necessity to regulate the stream of immigrants into an economy.

In setting policies it is also important to remember that different groups of migrants respond differently to the implemented policies. Mahroum (1999) indicates five groups of migrants. These all respond differently to measures taken.
- Managers and executives: are most effected by corporate policies
- Engineers and technicians: are largely affected by immigration policies, industrial and labor policies of governments
- Academics and scientists: seem to be attracted by the nature of the work and the conditions under which they have to do it
- Entrepreneurs: they are stimulated by a variety of policies, most prominently governmental (visa, taxation protection etc.) and credit facilities

In order to make policies effective, it is not only important to know which migration flows they stimulate, but also if they are supported by the unions, and what involvement the unions have on establishing certain policies. Furthermore it is important to remember to which migrant or commuter the policy mostly effects and are these the migrants/commuters provided for?

After assessing all the general issues and setting a target population the following (inter-)governmental policies need to be set, aimed at lifting the barriers presented in the discussion.
5.3.2 (inter-)governmental recommendations

Because of the low inter-country mobility figures, there seems to be scope for government intervention aimed at raising the currently low levels of geographic mobility. Hereby the policy challenge is according to, Zimmermann (2005), optimizing mobility to increase welfare by identifying and mobilizing the economic component of the process. In a long-term steady-state where commuters are fully assimilated in the sense that they are identical to the natives, with similar human capital and physical capital, there is no real advantage, but also no disadvantage for the host nation.

According to Bonin et al. (2008) and Eures and Euregio this can be achieved by:

Strengthening the institutional preconditions of mobility on the labor market;
- Member States should develop mobility-supporting labor market policy schemes.
- Financial compensation to mobile job seekers should be considered.
- The European Commission should assess the role of child care infrastructure and other public or enterprise policies influencing the costs of mobility.

Developing mobility-friendly educational policies;
- Member States should put strong emphasis on creating foreign language learning capacities at all levels.
- Existing European exchange programs such as Erasmus, Leonardo, Grundtvig should be further promoted and participation encouraged.
- Member States should develop and implement lifelong learning strategies with a direct focus on geographic mobility.

Creating effective information and social networks;
- Raise mobility awareness at all levels.
- The European Commission should identify roles and delegate responsibilities for all relevant social partners in relation to the promotion of mobility.
- Ensure social integration of commuters and their families.
- Good practice examples on successful integration strategies should be developed and shared.
- Extend the knowledge base related to impacts of information activities.

Easing mobility barriers stemming from the diversity of national social protection and qualification systems; (EURES / EUREGIO)
- Despite the progress already made, the European Commission should continue to address the remaining obstacles in the field by coordinating the national social security regimes. This should take into account the new forms of geographic mobility.
- Progress must be achieved in regard to the issue of pension portability in the realm of preserving supplementary pension rights.
- Improve transparency of qualifications.
- Remove persisting barriers to mobile professionals.
- Extending the knowledge base and evaluating mobility-related policies.
As well as the inter-governmental European coordinating policies that need to be agreed, an aligned package of governmental policies need to be put in place. In order to stimulate migration and mobility between Germany and the Netherlands the following subjects need to be addressed in setting the governmental mobility policies.

- The administrative burden of the cost of sickness insurances of the commuting families need to be decreased.
  - The governmental policies should be aimed at decreasing the administrative burden. This can be done through setting new policies for the child healthcare insurance, it should be possible to insure them on their parents’ policy.

- The company pension facilities need to be freely transmissible

- The pension ages need to be equalized
  - The pension aspect is significantly more than just purely a commuter problem. It is a fundamental problem, first there is the difference in national law, and secondly there is a lack of European legislation in this area. Legally guaranteed pension altitudes are not believed to be sufficient, the additional pensions then become more important. In order to set up additional pension facilities, the company pensions form an attractive preventative measure for employees, despite the fact that these are not transmissible. Therefore, the general inter-governmental policies need to be set first, aimed at giving direction for the governmental policies. After that the governmental policies need to be set, enabling easy transfer of pension funds.
  - Furthermore, there are problems regarding the different pension ages. There are two possible solutions for this problem, one is; to extend the duration of unemployment benefits at national level until it’s time for a retirement benefit. Another solution would be, to make it possible to obtain unemployment benefit from the country of work. It does not matter what option is chosen as long as the situations in which the retirement benefit ages differ is regulated structurally.

- The tax regulations have to become more transparent
  - The problems with the Dutch tax regulations are mainly caused by the lack of information provided and the lack of transparency. The Dutch government should, by forehand provide more information on the regulations regarding the tax deductions which apply in the Netherlands. These can be done by providing an information package along with the request for the BSN Number that needs to be applied for by the future commuter.

- The child support regulations differ in countries within the EU
  - Every European country must set its own child support policies. The policies in the Netherlands differ to those in Germany. These policies don’t have to be aligned, because first of all they are compensated by the salary and second of all the Netherlands do have other benefits regarding support systems. But commuters do need to be informed about the differences in child support and other support systems. This can be done by providing an information package alongside the package on the tax regulations. This package could be provided at the same time as the tax regulations package.
5.3.3. Individual recommendations
As well as general policy recommendations and the (inter-)governmental policy recommendations there is one last option to lift the barriers and that is through the individual recommendations. This individual recommendation is aimed at lifting individual barriers by means of an individual procedure.

There is the possibility, to clarify certain situations by means of jurisdiction by the European court. This is also a possibility which can be effective, but this solution is time inefficient. A procedure sometimes takes years before the European court passes judgment on how certain legislation must be interpreted.

However there are clear examples of how effective this court rules. The court not only concerns persons who live close to the edge of the European Union, but also people who live in the BENELUX or in Germany.

An example of jurisdiction made by the European court:
Judgment Meints C-57/96: export additional compensations for unemployment
Mr. Meints was a German frontier worker employed by a Dutch agricultural company. As a result of measures taken by his former Dutch employer Meints became unemployed. Mr. Meints was without doubt entitled to receive German unemployment benefits. Furthermore he applied to the Dutch ministry of agriculture for the additional benefits on the basis of an enhanced compensation regulation, to which his Dutch colleagues were entitled to. This application was rejected and the reason stated was; Mr. Meints did not live in the Netherlands and had no right whatsoever to Dutch unemployment benefits. Mr. Meints lodged an appeal. Eventually the Court of Justice pronounced that this additional compensation was a so-called social advantage to which Mr. Meints was entitled to according to Article 7 of the VO 1612/68.

By implementing these recommendations most barriers will be lifted and mobility will truly become unrestricted. Then free mobility of workers will be a fact, because they will no longer be constrained by laws and legislations that provide burdens and blockages.

The next section will state why and on which subjects this research contributes to the mobility theory.
5.4 Contribution

Mobility of Germans has long played only a marginal role in sociological and demographic research. Studying German mobility is important because it can set a framework that helps to understand population movements within their wider political and economic context.

German-Dutch mobility has mainly been a theme of social history, which has dealt exhaustively with the migration in combination with historic events as wars and ethnic migrations. The main focus of German mobility has been on mobility from East and West Germany. This research contributes to the subject of labor mobility by going beyond the historical events and focusing on the more non-pecuniary and economic motives and factors for mobility. Furthermore, this research aims at enlarging the research field by looking at German-Dutch labor mobility instead of the East and West German mobility.

Looking into the German-Dutch labor mobility might contribute to a better understanding of why mobility figures within Europe are still low. Only about two percent of the total European population is employed in another member state. The average regional mobility rate of the total population in the EU countries was 1% in 2006, it’s between 1.0 and 1.5% for Belgium and Germany, for the Netherlands regional mobility rates are around 2%

Through this research I would like to contribute to a better understanding of the recent developments in German mobility. However, this study is not seeking to encompass as many aspects of the phenomenon as possible, for example highly qualified people moving to other European countries, retirees moving to the Mediterranean or migration in the context of the global corporate networks are left out of this research. This research focuses only on the labor mobility of native Germans, residing in the Emmericher/Klever region, to the Dutch border areas.

I have chosen to investigate this group for three main reasons. First, very little research has been done in the area, either in Germany or elsewhere. Traditionally migration research focused mainly on migration. For example, the ‘classical’ intra-European migration motives by Lee (1966) and Stalker (1994) the self-selection migration theory of Borjas (1999), theories and reviews on the migration decision can be found in Borjas (1999a, b.), Chiswick (1999), and Bauer and Zimmermann (1999), the migration of human capital can be found in Mahroum (1999) and Egger and Radulescu (2008). Some authors have focused on the motives for mobility, but then mobility was presenting a small additional part to their main migration research. The following authors have done research on mobility; Tassinopoulos and Werner (1999), Zaiceva and Zimmermann (2008) and Bonin et al. (2008). The second reason for conducting this research, is that mobility is necessary in order to make Europe a strong knowledge based economy. Mobility and migration create according to Bonin et al. (2008) and Tassinopoulos and Werner (1998) an area without internal frontiers, a stronger economy and social cohesion as well as active European citizenship. Thus labor mobility flows can have a major positive economic effect by bringing about growth in the country with labor deficits and prosperity in the country with labor surplus. It is therefore important to investigate the why of mobility. The third reason for conducting this research is that comprehensive theory about mobility is unattainable, opinions about mobility theory and the ‘why’ of mobility vary widely.
The aim of this research is to investigate and describe the motives for German-Dutch mobility on an individual basis. This research is of explanatory nature, by examining and explaining the individual motivational factors found for German-Dutch labor mobility, I hope to delve deeper into the already existing labor theory.

Looking at the results of the research I believe that it contributes to the already existing theory by expanding it with the motivational factors for German-Dutch labor mobility. Furthermore a contribution to the research field is also made by the description of the individual motives, the structural factors and especially by the identification of the mediating factors. This research could contribute to the future research of for example; the effects of the different networks and why these are in some cases mediating and in others not. Furthermore this research can contribute to a better understanding of the barriers for labor mobility that still exist. The organizations of EURES and Euregio are constantly searching for those barriers and are, through advisory reports, trying to lift them. This research indicated the main barriers for the labor mobility in the Klever/Emmericher region and can thus present a starting point for further research.

Furthermore this research also contributes to the research field by testing existing theories. By setting the individual motives and structural factors for labor mobility it became possible to assess whether the motivational factors for migration also hold for mobility. This research could present a solid basis for more general mobility research. Possibly more factors and motives for mobility can be found, that will hold for a larger population as the sampled one, this in turn will lead to a more sound and stable theory, which could in the future enable governments to predict and influence the labor mobility flows more effectively.

In general this research contributes to a better understanding of the motivational factors for German-Dutch labor mobility. Due to an increased understanding on an individual level, future research on a broader level can be valuable to governments, employers and business managers.
5.5 Reflection
In chapter 1 the basic boundaries for the research were set. A research strategy was developed; this research strategy formed the basic guideline for the conduction of the research and proved to be quite good. The strategy and key objectives were presenting a clear guideline for further research and enabled me to focus on what was really important.

Despite the clear guidance that the research strategy and objectives provided me with, they also presented me with a negative aspect, the research perspective was set very broad, the focus was not on one relation between variables but on multiple variables and relations. This made it impossible to delve deeply into one subject, but at the same time it served the research goal as designed. The goal was aimed at explanatory research, the setting of the constructs and key objectives have made explanatory research on the motives for mobility a lot easier.

Next to the research strategy and the constructs a research design and sample strategy were also presented in chapter 3. The research design is based on the use of face-to-face semi-structured interviews. This research design will have according to Babbie, (2007) several advantages and disadvantages for the research. The advantages are the following; it obtains relevant information, audience is specifically targeted, structured so as to allow comparisons, gives the freedom to explore general views or opinions in more detail and can be used for sensitive topics. It was for these anticipated advantages that I choose this research design. Because of the explanatory nature of this research, not only the facts but also the personal feelings and the individual setting were important. By using a semi-structured interview, people were able to provide me with a lot of information. Not only were they able to answer questions, they could also explain their background and show their emotions. I think that it was especially the background of the motives and factors that made this research so rich in information.

Next to the advantages of this type of research it also had several disadvantages: interviewing skills are required, the need to meet sufficient people in order to make general comparisons, preparations must be carefully planned so as not to make the questions prescriptive or leading and this method is time consuming and resource intensive. Furthermore one of the most important disadvantages of semi-structured interviews is the need to ensure confidentiality. Which is more difficult because the interview is held face-to-face. It was because of the fact that I was aware of the disadvantages of this research method, that I was able to prevent some of them from occurring. First of all N was set at an acceptable and reachable level, compiling an interview in which all the necessary subjects were addressed and also a consent form was presented to the interviewee in order to ensure confidentiality. Furthermore the questions were pretested twice and leading or prescriptive question were replaced or taken out all together. By implementing measures to reduce the disadvantages this research design was able to provide me with sufficient and useful data.

To carry out the research design a sampling strategy was set. This strategy was aimed at a sampling of the respondents that could provide me with data for my research, sampling boundaries were set, so that the sample would have the characteristics that I needed for answering the research questions. But it is due to the fact that I sampled Germans who had already made a mobility decision that a high relevance of economic mobility motives was to be expected.
Looking at the sample and the research results, I can conclude that by introducing several interview questions aimed at finding out the non-economic motives and factors involved that this anticipated result did not arise.

When conducting the research and processing the data the difficulties of studying labor mobility became clearer to me. From my literature review I already was aware of the fact that studying labor mobility was difficult according to Zaiceva and Zimmermann (1998), because of the following reasons; mobility is low and difficult to observe, it cannot be measured by country surveys, commuters are not followed and there are no data sets available.

In order to solve the problems brought forward by Zaiceva and Zimmermann (1998) I designed my own research sample, and through that research assembled the research data. So in my case although mobility was low and difficult to observe, I could at least measure the motives and factors of the individuals. Furthermore my research aimed at measuring labor intentions instead of actual labor mobility, which also solves according to Zaiceva and Zimmermann (1998) part of the problem.

However the focus on labor intentions brought forward some other difficulties. Because of the fact that my research sample consisted of commuters, who had already accepted a job across the border, it was very difficult for me to measure the intentions of labor mobility. I tried to find the intentions after the ultimate decision had been made. It was difficult to assess whether these intentions would also have occurred before the commuting phase.

When listening to the interview tapes, I became aware of the fact that some respondents were mixing up their original motives with the knowledge they had gained after deciding to commute. After the labor mobility decision they noticed more details and pro’s and cons, and tried to integrate these details into their personal motivation for mobility.

Because I was knew that this phenomenon may present itself, I tried to be somewhat more critical on statements made regarding the employment situation in the Netherlands. Furthermore because the commuters were already working in the Netherlands that they were more knowledgeable of the differences between Germany and the Netherlands and therefore could outline the complete situation for me. I not only discovered the motives for mobility, but because I also had previous knowledge of both the Dutch and the German working situations I could anticipate the differences which may arise from my research. This research not only provided me with interesting explanatory data on labor mobility but also highlighted the preconceptions that exist about Germany and the Netherlands.

Reflecting on my research there are some aspects that could have been done differently if the aim was not mainly explanatory. These are for example; interviewing commuters before and after the labor mobility decision has actually taken place in order to see if the motives and factors remain the same and if I would like to delve further into the subject of network effects and then especially into the different effects of professional networks and family & friends networks. Despite the fact that there are some points that could have been improved during the conduction of this thesis, I can say that I learned a lot about mobility motives and that I believe that this research has provided interesting data and conclusions.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>BE:</td>
<td>Border experience</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECC:</td>
<td>Europees consumenten centrum</td>
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<td>EU:</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>EU8:</td>
<td>Eight oldest European members</td>
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<td>EU15:</td>
<td>Fifteen oldest European members</td>
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<td>EU27:</td>
<td>Twenty seven oldest European members</td>
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<td>Euregion:</td>
<td>Regional business information portal</td>
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<td>Eures:</td>
<td>Europees portaal voor beroepsmobiliteit</td>
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<td>Eurostat:</td>
<td>European Statistics</td>
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<td>Hc:</td>
<td>Household characteristics</td>
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<td>OMC:</td>
<td>Open method of coordination</td>
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<td>WODC:</td>
<td>Wetenschappelijk onderzoek en documentatiecentrum</td>
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<td>WW II:</td>
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References


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Migration is life and progress – permanence is stagnation (Ernst Georg Ravenstein)


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Consulted: September 2010
# Appendix 1 Systematic overview of the literature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>General migration theory</th>
<th>Individual approach</th>
<th>Structural perspective</th>
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Migration is life and progress – permanence is stagnation (Ernst Georg Ravenstein)

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<td>Johanna Avato (2009)</td>
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<td>Klaus F. Zimmermann (2005)</td>
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Appendix 2 Push and pull factors

Table 2.1 Push- and Pull factors for labor migration

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<th>Pull factors</th>
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<td>Lee</td>
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<td>not enough jobs</td>
<td>job opportunities</td>
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<td>few opportunities</td>
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<td>famine or drought</td>
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<td>loss of wealth</td>
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<td>poor housing</td>
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<td>tenant issues</td>
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<tr>
<td>bullying</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>discrimination</td>
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<td>poor chances of marrying</td>
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<td>Arslan et al.</td>
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<td>wage differentials</td>
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<td>natural resource degradation</td>
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<td>improved employment opp.</td>
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<td>poor living conditions</td>
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(Lee (1996), Arslan et al. (2008), Bonin et al. (2008), Tassinopoulos and Werner (1998), Egger and Radulescu (2008) and Lehman et al. (2008))
<table>
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Appendix 3 Interview contents

Introduction
- Thanking the participant for his/her time
- Confirm the amount of time available
- Reading and signing the interview consent form (see Appendix 4)
- Outline of the purpose of this research and its progress to data
- Outline the nature of the purposed outputs of this research
  - Offer a summary of the research
- Ensure confidentiality and anonymity
- Point them to their right not to answer certain questions and to the fact that the interview can be stopped at any moment, should their wish to
- Ask permission to record the interview
- Summarize, request permission again and start

Subjects to be addressed:
- Individual approach
  - Personal cost/- benefits
  - Personal motives
- Structural perspective
  - Environmental factors
    - Governmental, -> linked with policies
    - Intergovernmental
    - Inter-institutional policies
  - Push vs. pull
    - See list Appendix 2, Table 2.2.
  - Policies
    - Governmental
    - Unions
- Network effects
  - Family networks
  - Employee networks

Closing
- Closing speech
- Thank participant for his/her time
- Give a business card
- Ensure them that if they have any questions they can get in touch.
Interview questions

- How did you step by step come to the decision to work abroad?
- Why did you decide to work abroad then?
- What were the main motives for not working in Germany?
- Why were these factors so important in deciding not to work in Germany?
- What were the main motives for working in the Netherlands?
- Why were these factors so important in deciding to work in the Netherlands?
- What are the advantages of working in the Netherlands?
- What are the disadvantages of working in the Netherlands?
- What are the advantages of working in Germany?
- What are the disadvantages of working in Germany?
- How does crossing the border influence you?
- Why are you feeling that specific border experience?
- Who influenced you on your decision to go abroad?
- What influence did they have on you?
- Why did you let them influence you?
- Did the people who influenced you also change your view on working abroad?
Appendix 4 Interview consent form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN INTERVIEW

Individual motives and environmental factors influencing labor migration in the EU

You have been asked to participate in a research study conducted by Stephanie Blokker. You should read the information below, and ask questions about anything you do not understand, before deciding whether or not to participate.

• This interview is voluntary. You have the right not to answer any question, and to stop the interview at any time or for any reason. We expect that the interview will take about 60 minutes.

• You will not be compensated for this interview.

• Unless you give us permission to use your name, title, and/or quote you in any publications that may result from this research, the information you give us will be confidential.

• We would like to record this interview on audio cassette so that we can use it for reference while proceeding with this study. We will not record this interview without your permission. If you do grant permission for this conversation to be recorded on cassette, you have the right to revoke recording permission and/or end the interview at any time.

All interview recordings will be stored in a secure work space until 6 months after the date of the interview. The tapes will then be destroyed.

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

[ ] I give permission for this interview to be recorded on audio cassette.
[ ] I give permission for the following information to be included in publications resulting from this study:
[ ] My name
[ ] My title
[ ] Direct quotes from this interview

Name of Subject

Signature of Subject ________________________________ Date ____________

Signature of Investigator ____________________________ Date _______

Please contact Stephanie Blokker, 0031-653150501 with any questions or concerns.
## Appendix 5 Interviewee’s

### Test cases

<table>
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<th>Name of the interviewee</th>
<th>Test case</th>
<th>Interview date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Irene Telenta</td>
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<td>20-8-2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Diana Telenta</td>
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### Official interviews

<table>
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<th>Nr.:</th>
<th>Name of the interviewee</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Christiaan Gerritsen</td>
<td>21-8-2010</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Irene Telenta</td>
<td>23-8-2010</td>
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<td>24-8-2010</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Uwe Freriks</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Bernhard Bohme</td>
<td>25-8-2010</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Clemens Fairwick</td>
<td>25-8-2010</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Oliver Dromann</td>
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<td>Freddy Kuster</td>
<td>30-8-2010</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Till Konigshausen</td>
<td>1-9-2010</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Nathalie Schmidt</td>
<td>1-9-2010</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Dennise Fairwick</td>
<td>8-9-2010</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Rosie Neervoort</td>
<td>8-9-2010</td>
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