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# Why do Europeans Migrate to Berlin? Social-Structural Differences for Italian, British, French and Polish Nationals in the Period Between 1980 and 2002\*

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## ABSTRACT

One of the main issues in migration research concerns the reasons migrants have for crossing borders. It is assumed in the research that migration is primarily economically driven. In recent studies, however, the importance of social and cultural reasons for migration has become apparent. In this context, the present contribution discusses the reasons for the migration of Europeans from Italy, France, the United Kingdom, and Poland who moved to Germany (Berlin) between 1980 and 2002. In this case, it can be shown empirically that purely economic reasons play a lesser role in migration than is generally assumed, whereas social and cultural motives actually have a much greater influence. Primary data gathered in Berlin early in 2002 form the empirical foundation of the study. Multinomial logistic regressions are used to discuss the function of social-structural differences (e.g., nationality, age, gender, education, social origin) in the formation of individual reasons for migration.

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## INTRODUCTION

Migration processes are the result of complex decision making procedures. Usually, research into migration places the effects of economic, social and/or cultural factors at the centre of explanatory models. Although most models include a number of different factors, the literature is dominated by economic explanations of individual reasons for migration. In these explanations it is usually assumed that migrants follow the principle of economic rationalism, meaning that they strive to improve their living and working conditions through migration (Castles, 1986; Stark and Bloom, 1985). However, economic factors do not operate in the abstract. Social networks, institutional channels and knowledge about language and culture are required to make migration a viable option for individual actors. Against this background, the present article examines the motives for migration of French, Italian, British and Polish citizens who moved to Berlin/Germany between early 1980 and January 2002, using this as a case of contemporary intra-European migration.

The analyses of the present article are framed by the assumption that the European Union represents a specific migration space shaped by its own institutional and legal regulations (Baganha and Entzinger, 2004; Ette and Faist, 2007; Favell, 2003; King, 2002; Recchi, 2005; Scott, 2006). In the European Union, national borders no longer function as the barriers that they once constituted, and moving between countries is simplified by the relative geographical proximity of the European nations. At the same time, new boundaries against outsiders (e.g., non-EU citizens, refugees from civil war areas) are being erected as an inherent element of the European integration process (Bach, 2005; Eder, 2006). It is also typical of this specific European migration space that the process of European integration has modified the selection of migration populations over time. Between 1945 and the early 1970s, all the industrial economies of Western Europe had imported labour, especially for lower-skilled jobs (Castles, 2006: 742). The beginning of the twentieth century has seen an increase in the mobility of predominantly service-industry workers (both women and men) with diverse (and also often high) qualifications and from different European regions (European Commission, 2006: 224; King, 2002: 95; Verwiebe and Eder, 2006: 143).

The empirical foundation of the present article is constituted by primary data gathered at the beginning of 2002, from a Berlin-based study of the conditions and effects of intra-European migration. Statistically, the article is based on multinomial logistic regressions (Greene, 2000), in which the effects of independent variables like nationality, age, gender, education, or social origin on individual reasons for migration will be analysed. Thus, social-structural differences in the formation of reasons for migration will be studied empirically.

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: REASONS FOR MIGRATION

Reasons for migration have been given extensive attention by researchers, with contributions to the field coming mostly from economists, sociologists and geographers. On a theoretical level, the research on individual reasons for migration has been dominated for quite some time by economic explanations – explanations which, interestingly, have been proposed not only by economists but also by sociologists (e.g., Castles, 2006; Ghatak et al., 1996; Kalter, 2000; Lee, 1966; Rist, 1978; Salt, 1993; Stark, 1991; Zimmermann, 2005). As Halfacree, in his critical study of non-economically-based migration decisionmaking, states: “In the majority of studies on migration – whether from a neo-classical or a Marxian perspective – it has been (and still is) the economic aspect that has been emphasized most strongly” (Halfacree, 2004: 242). What is the core argument in economically-based migration studies? Regardless of whether one chooses a macroeconomic or a microeconomic perspective, it is common sense that migrants follow the principles of economic rationalism, acting in response to push-and-pull factors. Central push-and-pull factors concern the situation in the employment market and attainable individual income, respectively, which are, in theory, inadequate in the migrants’ country of origin, and considerably more attractive in the destination country (Berninghaus and Seifert-Vogt, 2002; Fielding, 1993; Stark and Bloom, 1985; Todaro, 1986). This model usually refers to economic gains from migration conceptualised as differences in wages, differences in working conditions or available fringe benefits. Based on such a model, it could be argued that individuals from nations with lower labour productivity and lower wages would be strongly motivated to move to nations with higher labour productivity and wages. The intra-European migration history of the Italians for example, with their strong economic reasons for migration, resembles this model to some extent.

Through the influence of migration researchers like De Jong and Fawcett (1981), Kalter (1997) or Esser (2004) and their ideas on the “subjective expected utility” of migration, it has become established practice to assume that objective, economic imbalances in the labour market will be reflected differently from one individual to another – which makes social-structural differences in the formation of reasons for migration a central point of interest (Plane, 1993). One might expect to find substantial differences in the reasons for migration relating to gender, age, education, time of migration and social origin, which opens up a number of areas for research. In classical economic explanations, for example, the main migration actors are men who are seeking employment abroad (e.g., Lee, 1966: 50), whereas women tend to accompany their migrating husbands and/or fathers. If one applies these assumptions to the migration of European women to Berlin, it could well be that women’s reasons for migrating are driven less by career interests or the search for a job which remains to be examined empirically, if one considers more recent studies on the migration patterns of women (compare for example, Curran et al., 2006; González-Ferrer, 2006; Kofman et al., 2000; Mahler and Pessar, 2006; Pedraza, 1991; Raghuran, 2008). With regard to the influence of education on the formation of reasons for migrating, it might be assumed that less qualified as well as highly qualified Europeans (classical labour, elite migration) have particularly pronounced economic motives for migration (Beaverstock, 2005; Castles, 1986; Findlay et al., 1996; Johnson, 1980; Peixoto, 2001; Salt, 1993). In that context, some authors argue that the migration of highly qualified people has to be seen increasingly against the background of European integration. Favell (2008) for example, has focused in his recent work on highly skilled European migrants (mainly in services, IT, banking and media) in “Eurocities” such as Brussels, Amsterdam, Paris and London, which benefit from specific European structures of opportunity. King argues in a similar way: “The movement of skilled persons lies at the heart of the attempts to integrate Europe through the free movement of people, goods, services and capital within the EU” (King, 2002: 98).

An important complement to economic approaches is provided by concepts that underscore the significance of social factors – above all, the function of social networks and the importance of family-related migration – in the formation of reasons for migration (Braun and Recchi, 2008; Haug, 2005; Johnston et al., 2006; Palloni et al., 2001; Pries, 2001). These studies have had an impact on the way reasons for migration have been re-theorised over the last decade. For Pries (2001), for example, it is not economic factors such as wage differences that are

decisive, but rather “the quality of the networks linking the regions of origin and destination, as well as social relationships based on trust and longer-term calculability” (Pries, 2001: 34). Accordingly, one can concur that personal relationships and information channels between those who have already migrated and those who are latently contemplating migration can play a decisive role in the decision to migrate. In other words, economic factors do not operate in the abstract; social channels and networks are required to make migration a viable option. The spectrum of these social factors can cover, for example, support in finding a job or information on the housing market, as well as the usage of existing ties or the formation of new social bonds through migration for marriage or family-related migration. In his critically-acclaimed book, Faist (2000) emphasizes, for example the high relevance of social networks for migration processes. Based on an elaborated action theory, he argues that “social relations, viz. ties in collectives and networks, constitute distinct sets of intermediate structures on the meso level. It is via these relations that actors relate their resources to opportunity structures” (Faist, 2000: 100). And he concludes that, in the case of international migration, new (and also old) ties and corresponding capital often crystallize in migrant networks. The uneven distribution of resources mobilized through these social networks helps to account for different rates of migration out of various regions and differences within migration communities (Faist, 2000: 123).

Turning more specifically to marriage and family-related migration, it is crucial for migration studies to deal with these factors, since, according to Kofman (2004), their relevance for intra-European migration and migration to Europe can no longer be overlooked. Kofman (2004) claims that, despite the significance of family migration, there has been little general analysis of the many relevant issues associated with it.<sup>1</sup> European research, in particular, has neglected many key aspects of family and marriage migration, which is due to the “primacy of labour migration in European countries” (Kofman, 2004: 244).<sup>2</sup> Braun and Recchi (2008: 165ff.) also attach great importance to migration for marriage or family-related migration, since their study suggests that these social factors are quite significant for recent migration movements within the European Union. Empirically, these forms of migration are more likely to affect women than men (Halfacree, 1995), and are more common in younger groups who are of an age to marry. “Family migrations are gendered [...] Women entering [a country] through family-related migrations are not just the followers of the male primary

migrant”, writes Kofman (2004: 256) in her comprehensive review article on the facets of family-related migration in Europe.

Recently, some authors have pointed to the relevance of cultural motives and institutional programmes<sup>3</sup> for migration (Blotevogel et al., 1993; Castles, 2004; Castles and Miller, 2003; Entzinger, 2000; Findlay et al., 2006; Halfacree, 2004; Hazen and Alberts, 2006; Recchi, 2005). These types of motive are to be found especially among highly skilled individuals, among younger age groups, and student populations. The phenomenon of student migration, for example, is described by Findlay et al. (2006) in the following manner: “Given its link with ... European integration, it is not surprising that international student migration has increased rapidly in most parts of Europe” (ibid.: 291f.). With regard to cultural/lifestyle-based reasons for migration, the work of Scott is useful (2006: 1114). Beyond crucial economic and professional factors, Scott’s results on British migration to Paris highlight “the significance of cultural preferences” (factors such as interest in, and accessibility of, a language, historical interests or the culture of a city) for contemporary forms of intra-European migration, which demonstrates, as he puts it, “the need to bring the cultural agency of world cities into the mobility equation” (2006: 1114). A number of recent studies contributing to the field suggest that cultural-institutional reasons for migration have become increasingly common since the implementation of the Maastricht Treaty, which not only led to the creation of the Euro and a common foreign and security policy but also to a reduction of the barriers to intra-European labour market mobility and mobility based on institutional European programmes (e.g., Braun and Recchi, 2008; Ette and Faist, 2007; European Commission, 2002; Favell, 2003; Recchi, 2005). Thus, the Maastricht Treaty gave EU citizens a legal entitlement to freedom of movement and settlement, mutual recognition of their educational qualifications and created the formal legal conditions for unhindered mobility for EU citizens and for a (western) European labour market. With European citizenship, introduced as part of the Maastricht Treaty, European citizens were granted a status which is fundamentally different to that of non-EU citizens. Based on the freedom of movement, the legal status of EU citizens includes wide-ranging entitlements to equal treatment in the country of residence. Along with the legal conditions for, effectively, barrier-free migration, the European Union also introduced measures designed to boost mobility, including exchange programmes such as Erasmus or Socrates, and created special institutions such as the European Employment Services (EURES) which promote employee mobility.

As mentioned, research into migration traditionally places the effects of economic, social and cultural factors at the centre of explanatory models. However, starting in the 1980s, researchers have argued increasingly that focusing on single reasons is no longer sufficient to explain the formation of reasons for migration since they are the result of complex decision-making procedures. Thus, migration is not based solely on economics or exclusively on integration into social networks, but instead has its origin in a complex set of motives. It seems that it wasn't until the 1990s that it became possible to bring this undervalued aspect of the migration process to centre-stage of the research (Halfacree, 2004: 241). It is important for the newer generation of studies to recognise the "multiple currents that feed into the decision-making process". As Halfacree (2004: 241) puts it, migrants are "likely to provide multiple reasons, even if entangled and often partial, for their action". Following the work of Portes and Rumbaut (2001), for example, in contemporary research it is usually argued that a whole set of reasons will typically come into play in an individual decision to migrate (e.g., Fourage and Ester, 2007; Halfacree, 2004; Hazen and Alberts, 2006; Lundholm, 2007): the income and labour market situation, network position, family constellation, the usability of qualifications in the country of destination, language skills, or institutional regulations concerning migration. However, the available data will show whether the formation of reasons for migration can be explained mainly through economic, social (e.g., based on social networks) or cultural reasons (e.g., based on the Erasmus programme), or whether a complex set of motives lies behind the decision to migrate. This is the question to be studied here, taking into account individual differences in the formation of migration reasons, based on social status variables.

## BERLIN AS A CASE FOR INTRA-EUROPEAN MIGRATION

With 3.4 million inhabitants, Berlin is the second-largest city in the European Union, after London. Berlin was selected in order to study the facets of contemporary intra-European migration because, more than other major German cities, it experienced a growing number of intra-European migrants in the 1990s: in 1992 circa 78,000 Polish and EU-15 nationals lived in Berlin; in 2001 this number had reached 96,000, rising to 125,000 by 2008 (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008). Polish and EU-15 migrants now represent between a quarter and a third of the total foreign population in Berlin, which stood at 473,000 in 2008 (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008).<sup>4</sup> These changes in the composition of the



population are rooted in the recent history of the city. During the 1990s, de-industrialization, growth of the service sector and population decline led to a surplus of cheap housing in inner-city areas (Krätke, 2004). The inward migration of European nationals and West Germans were corresponding processes. Thus, the city symbolises the overcoming of divided, post-war Europe and the rapid societal changes in Germany and Europe since 1989. As Scott (2007: 8) states, Berlin is now well integrated into the global economic system and whilst it "... may not stand out in terms of its position within the global urban hierarchy, ... [Berlin's] progress since 1989 has been extremely significant".

In terms of labour market structures, the economic activity rate is relatively high. It stood at circa 70 per cent for women and 80 per cent for men in 2006. With more than 80 per cent of the jobs, the service sectors (media, research, government, education, consulting, advertising, commerce) are much more important than construction and manufacturing (SÖSTRA, 2007: 117), in which approximately 250,000 jobs were lost between 1991 and 2005 (SÖSTRA, 2007: 12). Thus, traditional German industries "like textile or metal processing, as well as technology-centred industries like vehicle manufacturing or mechanical engineering, are far less represented in Berlin than in the other urban economic centres of Germany" (Krätke, 2004: 512). Berlin is host to fewer company headquarters than other major cities of its size. However, several companies (e.g., Deutsche Bahn, Sony Europe, Air Berlin, KPMG, Bayer Schering) have relocated their headquarters to Berlin, due to the modest economic recovery of recent years.<sup>5</sup> In the context of the late, but massive tertiary restructuring of Berlin, Krätke (2004) has argued for the development of a "creative class" in Berlin, the "city of talents", based around the media industry, software production, advertising and research.

It can be assumed that this local context has consequences for the social composition of migrant populations and the shaping of migrant biographies. In the 1960s and 1970s (West) Berlin was a major destination for classical intra-European labour migrants, who were seeking employment in manufacturing. This changed to some degree throughout the 1980s when – unlike other cities in Germany – cultural/lifestyle-based migration became more important. For more recent migration processes, there is a tendency, in comparison to the period of predominantly lower-class labour migration of the 1960s and 1970s, towards an increasing portion of migrants belonging to an "emergent migrant middle class" (Verwiebe, 2008) or to the growing "creative class" of Berlin (Krätke, 2004: 512). However, it seems mostly an empirical question what reasons for migra-



tion to Berlin are typical as a specific case of intra-European migration in the 1990s and at the beginning of the 21st century – a question to which, it is hoped, the present study can provide some answers.

For the empirical study of the present contribution, European nationals who moved to Berlin between 1980 and 2002 were selected. They are from countries that allow one to take into account the varying traditions of migration and the degree of institutional and cultural integration in the EU (Bade, 1987; Blotevogel et al., 1993; Castles, 2006; Fassmann and Münz, 1994). More than the other national groups, Italy exemplifies the tradition of classical intra-European labour migration and, despite a return migration in recent years, Italians still constitute one of the largest migrant communities in Germany (15,000 living in Berlin in 2008). One could expect economic reasons for migration to predominate in this group because these were the dominant motives for classical Italian labour migration (Bender and Seifert, 1998; Blotevogel et al., 1993; Del Boca and Venturini, 2003). As an accession country, Poland represents a specifically Eastern European tradition of linkage to the German labour market and is regarded as a specific “reference case”. The reasons for migration of Polish migrants, in particular, should differ from those of other Europeans, primarily because, at the time the data was collected, Poland was not yet a member of the EU (it is now a full member). Thus, amongst this group, one could expect to find more social reasons for migration, such as migration for marriage and migration based on network relations (Haug, 2005). With 45,000 people (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008: 15), the Polish community is one of the largest migration communities in Berlin. France and Great Britain each represent independent migration models and modes of integration into the European Union. A relatively new phenomenon, the intra-European migration of French and British citizens increased noticeably in the 1990s. In 2008 almost 13,000 French citizens and circa 10,000 British citizens were living in Berlin (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008: 15), whereas in 1995 the numbers stood at 7,500 (French) and 8,000 (British). For these countries, active student exchanges (which would increase the likelihood of cultural/institutional motives for migration) and the stationing of military forces in Germany also play important roles.

## DATA AND METHODS

The quantitative data come from the Berlin Study of Transnational Mobility in Europe (BSTME) project, in which intra-European migration

was studied against the background of the European integration process. Funded by a research grant from the German Research Foundation, the BSTME-project was carried out in Berlin using a qualitative study and a quantitative survey.<sup>6</sup>

### Data

For the quantitative analysis, a data set of 1,040 European citizens [from Italy (n = 210), France (n = 302), Great Britain (n = 270), and Poland (n = 258)] was used. This data set is based on a standardised, postal survey of 2,043 European nationals plus a German control group, who were randomly selected from the records of the Berlin state census bureau and who were representative with regard to age and gender for the examined groups. Nine out of ten of those interviewed moved to Berlin directly from another European country, a smaller portion had spent some time in another German city before coming to Berlin. From this survey (n = 2,043), migrants were selected who moved to Berlin between January 1980 and January 2002 (n = 1,040). Additionally, they had to be registered at the State Census Bureau, which is obligatory for all individuals in Germany. Due to the fact that a randomly-selected, representative sample from the records of the Berlin state census uses only registered EU-migrants, neither return migrants nor illegal migrants are contained in the sample. Both phenomena are, however, quite extensively examined in the research.<sup>7</sup>

The BSTME-project used clear and well-established methodological principles in order to guarantee high-quality data. To that end, Dillman's Total Design Method (2002) was used for the mail survey, the questions in the questionnaire were to a large extent based on tested scales available from the ZUMA-Handbook of Scales (see <http://www.gesis.org/en/services/methods/services/zisehes/>), a questionnaire in German and in the native language of the respondents was sent out, the questionnaires were translated by professional translators, and the main survey was preceded by a pre-test using approximately 4 per cent of the total 2,043 cases studied in the main survey. The main survey was carried out within a relatively short period, between January and March of 2002, with a return rate of approximately 20 per cent.

This response rate needed to be examined with regard to the data quality. A first look at the literature showed that the response lies within the usual spectrum of response rates (between 5 and 50%) in the research (Dillman, 2000).<sup>8</sup> In a second step, the demographic composition of the

sample (age, gender) was controlled for with regard to the base population of the study: The sample has 53 per cent females and 47 per cent males, all aged between 21 and 65, ages at which people typically engage in employment. Women are slightly over-represented, especially in the Polish sample. The age structure of the groups surveyed matches the age structure in the state census records. A further examination of the data quality (e.g., regarding education or industry affiliation) was not possible, as none of the usual comparison methods (census data, GSOEP data) is available for the nationalities investigated. Some European nationals are integrated in the 1-per-cent-household sample of the German microcensus data or in the GSOEP. Due to very small case numbers and strong distortions during the data collection, meaningful comparisons with these data sources are not possible for the national groups being analysed in this study.

### **Dependent Variable**

In the questionnaire, respondents were asked about their reasons for migration with an open-ended question, which is a widely-used procedure in migration research (Niedomysl and Malmberg, 2009: 80ff.). From the results, we were able to extract 21 different categories on the basis of exact coder instructions.<sup>9</sup> In order to analyse this diversity of reasons with regard to differing social status, it was necessary to summarise these categories. For the analyses of the present paper, from the more than 20 different reasons for migrating within Europe, three main categories were formed: (1) economic and occupational reasons (in the following referred to as solely economic reasons), (2) solely social reasons (e.g., network-related and personal reasons based on family relations, partnerships and friendships), and (3) cultural and institutional reasons (in the following referred to as solely cultural reasons), such as interest in another language and culture, interests in the city of Berlin, and institutional migration based on EU programmes like Erasmus.<sup>10</sup> There is also a fourth category in which “mixed” reasons for migration are summarised (please refer to the appendix for the operationalisation of the dependent variable).

### **Multinomial Logistic Regression**

The empirical analysis starts with the main descriptive results.<sup>11</sup> These are followed by a multinomial logistic regression, which makes it possible to test the influence of independent variables on a nominal dependent variable (1, 2, ...  $m$ ). Presenting the results of multinomial

regressions is always complex, due to the reference categories both in dependent and independent variables. The dependent variable *reasons for migration* has four categories. Multinomial logistic regression calculates for each category of  $y$  the corresponding regression coefficients  $\beta^{(1)}$ ,  $\beta^{(2)}$ ,  $\beta^{(3)}$ ,  $\beta^{(4)}$ . Thus, mathematically, the multinomial logistic regression can be defined in the following manner (Greene 2000: 859):

$$P(y = 1) = e^{X\beta^{(1)}} / (e^{X\beta^{(1)}} + e^{X\beta^{(2)}} + e^{X\beta^{(3)}} + 1)$$

$$P(y = 2) = e^{X\beta^{(2)}} / (e^{X\beta^{(1)}} + e^{X\beta^{(2)}} + e^{X\beta^{(3)}} + 1)$$

$$P(y = 3) = e^{X\beta^{(3)}} / (e^{X\beta^{(1)}} + e^{X\beta^{(2)}} + e^{X\beta^{(3)}} + 1)$$

$$P(y = 4) = 1 / (e^{X\beta^{(1)}} + e^{X\beta^{(2)}} + e^{X\beta^{(3)}} + 1)$$

The coefficients  $\beta^{(1)}$  (solely social reasons),  $\beta^{(2)}$  (solely economic reasons),  $\beta^{(3)}$  (solely cultural reasons), measure the relative differences against the reference category  $y = 4$  (mixed reasons). This reference category was chosen for content-related reasons: the theoretical debate is mainly organised around a discussion of the relevance of economic and social reasons, but recently cultural reasons have also been given some attention. Mathematically, a different reference category for the dependent variable does not change the results of the model. The exponential value (odds ratio) of the parameters  $\beta$  can be used for the interpretation of the results. They refer to the risk/chance of an event occurring. These odds ratios always take values  $> 0$ . A positive effect of the odds ratios is expressed as  $e^{\beta} > 1$ , a negative effect as  $e^{\beta} < 1$ .

The regressions of the present article were calculated in three steps for the dependent variable. The first model contains the effects of the independent variable *national origin*, measured as dichotomous variables (0, 1) – British, French, Italian and Polish being the reference category. In the second model, the effects of age at the time of migration, gender, education, time of migration, network characteristic, and social origin were added. *Age* at the time of migration was used as a dichotomous variable, in which the group aged between 21 and 29 years (they constitute a very substantial percentage of recent EU-migrants in Berlin) and the group aged over 30 years were differentiated. Gender is a dichotomous variable (men = 0, women = 1). *Education* is measured by three educational categories (based on a collapsed CASMIN-variable (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992a)), ranging from: 1) inadequately completed education/no occupational training, 2) occupational qualification at secondary level, to 3) higher tertiary education (university/college degree). The

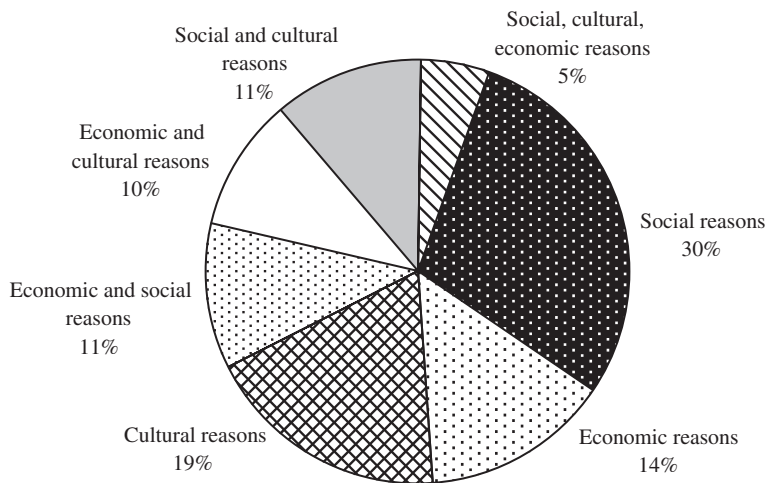
variable *time of migration* was included in the analysis in order to find out whether migration that took place before and after the implementation of the Maastricht Treaty is differentiated, using 1 January 1994 for practical reasons (also the date of the second stage of the Economic and Monetary Union of the EU) as the distinguishing boundary. The dichotomous variable *network* uses the information on the characteristics of the respondents' social network (member of predominantly national/ethnic network = 1). It measures the current level of integration in networks which in most cases were in place prior to the migration. For the dichotomous variable *social origin* a collapsed five-ladder Erikson-Goldthorpe class scheme (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992b) was the basis, using information on the current occupation or, if retired, the last occupation of the fathers and/or mothers of the respondents (father and/or mother member of EGP service class = 1). Thus, with this list of variables, and although this is a comparatively modest study, we were able to analyse the reasons for intra-European migration in a quite diverse manner. Nevertheless, due to the data limitations, further, preferable differentiations were not possible. In the last model, the interaction effects of these variables with national origin were included. In this way, "national" samples can be compared with one another, and one can investigate the extent to which reasons for migration vary according to the land of origin and/or to social status (see the tables of the appendix for the operationalisation and description of the variables).

## FINDINGS

The following discussion of the findings is based on the idea that intra-European migration is a special form of migration and that this is also reflected in the individual reasons for migration. From an empirical perspective, European citizens have quite heterogeneous reasons for migrating. Figure 1 shows the main reasons of intra-European migrants who moved to Berlin between the beginning of 1980 and January 2002. Somewhat less than a third of the participants (30%) give social reasons as the sole reason for their intra-European migration, while economic reasons are ranked third (14%). Solely cultural and institutional reasons are mentioned by 19 per cent of the participants. A set of "mixed" reasons from the three categories are mentioned by 37 per cent of the respondents.

Surprisingly, these results do not support the main assumptions in the research regarding the dominance of economic factors among the

FIGURE 1  
REASONS FOR MIGRATION TO BERLIN (1980–2002)



Source: BSTME 2002, n = 1040, our own calculation.

reasons for migration. It is evident that economic reasons are not paramount for European nationals who migrated to Berlin between 1980 and 2002. For 26 per cent of the individuals, economic reasons play a role in the decision to migrate, since the decision is based on a broad set of motives, including economic motives. However, only one in seven of the respondents mentioned economic reasons as the only or paramount factor. A noticeably higher importance is assigned to family and marriage-related and personal reasons, or to the respondent's network, which, according to the data used here, constitute the most important reasons for migration within Europe (compare Braun and Recchi, 2008; Kofman, 2004). Lundholm (2007: 32), for example, also concludes that "the most frequent motive for migrants ... is social (40%)". King (2002: 99) attaches great importance to the social factor in migration as well, which he believes is especially important for migration to major European cities. Furthermore, the cultural aspect plays an important role in intra-European migration, as in Scott's (2006) study on Paris, regardless of whether it is based on an interest in a different language and culture or upon institutional migration established in order to enhance European integration (Castles, 2004; Findlay et al., 2006; King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2003; Lundholm, 2007). This result indicates, as assumed earlier in the

paper, that when Berlin is selected as a migration destination, cultural/lifestyle-based migration is quite important.

These general trends are likely to vary with respect to national origin and social status variables. This will be tested below using three different multinomial logistic regression analyses (Greene, 2000). The results of multinomial regressions are not easy to read because there is a reference category for the dependent variable (unlike, for example, in linear regression) as well as reference categories for the independent variables (as in other regression methods). For example, mathematically, the findings in the first model show that Italian, French and British respondents are less likely to give solely social reasons for migration compared to the reference category of mixed reasons than the Polish respondents (which is the reference group). In order to make it easier to read the findings, odds ratios (which refer to relative risks/chances of an event occurring) will be presented as trend results.

Turning now to the results, according to the first model, there are evident differences between national groups. Solely social reasons for migration, that is, based on integration into networks or on family-related/personal motives, are mentioned significantly less often by the Italian, French and British migrants than by those from the Polish reference group. Results of another recent study also reveal that Polish migrants – as well as other groups migrating from Eastern Europe to Germany (Kofman, 2004: 252) – have strong migration-related networks and are often married to German partners (Haug, 2005), which possibly influences the formation of reasons for migration. As expected on the basis of the literature (Bender and Seifert, 1998; Del Boca and Venturini, 2003), Italians are more likely to migrate for solely economic reasons (+60%). The British migrants are approximately 50 per cent less likely to migrate for solely cultural reasons than the Polish reference group.

The results of the second regression model are shown in the middle column of Table 1. They indicate that differences in national origin carry less weight in reasons for migrating than the social status of the respondents of this study on migration to Berlin: most of the significant effects of nationality disappear in the second model and the fit of the model increases markedly once social status variables are included.

Moreover, the results reveal a number of interesting *social-structural differences* in the respondents' reasons for migration. The regression analyses indicate, for example, a special role for the group aged between



TABLE 1  
MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS FOR REASONS FOR MIGRATION TO BERLIN BETWEEN 1980 AND 2002  
(EXP(B)-COEFFICIENTS)

Reference: Mixed reasons for migration	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Social reasons	Economic reasons	Cultural reasons	Social reasons	Economic reasons	Cultural reasons	Social reasons	Economic reasons	Cultural reasons
Polish	0.399***	0.852	0.476***	0.800	1.020	0.434**	1.536	0.807	0.873
British	0.352***	0.931	1.057	0.642*	1.384	0.896	1.184	0.675	0.746
French	0.517***	1.593*	0.762	0.859	1.179	0.635	1.658	1.297	0.476
Italian				0.638***	0.566***	1.509*	0.478**	0.370*	1.048
Migration age (21–29 years = 1)				2.452***	0.544***	1.089	4.240***	0.500*	0.714
Gender (women = 1)									
Occupational training sc. level									
University/college degree				0.463***	0.588	2.332***	0.363**	0.504	3.524**
No occupational training				0.479***	1.035	1.913**	0.626*	0.841	2.074*
Time of migration (after 1994 = 1)				1.342*	1.170	1.896***	1.626*	0.682	1.073
German/multicultural network									
National/ethnic network				1.882**	3.919***	1.522	2.110*	3.721**	1.606
Social origin (EGP-class 5 = 1)				0.565***	0.764	1.458*	0.565*	0.723	2.329**
Age*French									1.910*
Age*Italian									1.473*
Gender*British									3.079**
Gender*French									0.285*
University/college*British									0.106**
University/college*Italian									1.994*
No occupat. training*Italian									4.014**
After 1994 FRG*French									1.596*
After 1994 FRG*Italian									2.179**
Network*French									
Network*Italian									
Social origin (EGP 5)*British									0.250**
Chi-Quadrat	51.79	51.79	51.79	243.53	243.53	243.53	329.78	329.78	329.78
Df	9	9	9	30	30	30	93	93	93
Nagelkerke R <sup>2</sup>	0.055	0.055	0.055	0.235	0.235	0.235	0.306	0.306	0.306

Source: BSTME 2002, n = 1040, our own calculation; only significant interaction effects are reported. Level of significance: \*significant at ≤10 per cent level, \*\*significant at ≤5 per cent level, \*\*\*significant at ≤1 per cent level. The Exp(B)-coefficients can be interpreted in the following manner: Values larger than 1 indicate an increase, values smaller than 1 a decrease in risk.

21 and 29 years (at the time of migration), a group which constitutes a substantial percentage of recent migrants from the European Union in Berlin (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008: 38). Compared to the reference group, 21–29 year-olds are less likely to migrate for solely social reasons, and are also less likely to migrate for exclusively economic reasons. In addition, solely cultural reasons for intra-European migration are more common in this age group. These effects of a migrant's age also signify that, within this age group, a set of social, economic and cultural reasons (i.e., “mixed” reasons) have a stronger effect, and that within the reference age group (30 years and older) solely social and solely economic reasons are more important (compare e.g., Lundholm, 2007: 12ff., 32ff. on specific migration reasons of different age groups). Regarding gender differences in migration to Berlin between 1980 and 2002, the results show that women were more likely to migrate for solely social reasons than men, and less likely to migrate for solely economic reasons (+145/–46%). This result tallies with the stated theoretical assumptions. It does not prove that women commonly migrate with their partners and/or fathers, as could be concluded from classical migration research (Castles, 1986; Lee, 1966; Rist, 1978), but it does indicate that women migrants still have specific patterns of migration, and that they act based more on social motivation than men, which is in keeping with arguments made in other migration studies (Chattopadhyay, 1997; Halfacree, 1995; Kofman, 2004; Richter, 2004).

In partial accordance with the theoretical assumptions of paragraph 2, education is a factor in the formation of reasons for migration. Graduates of universities/colleges and people without occupational training have a roughly 50 per cent lower chance of migrating for exclusively social reasons than the reference group of those with a certificate of lower secondary education. Thus, those who have lower secondary vocational training (skilled worker, journeyman's certificate, master craftsman's certificate) migrate more often for social reasons. Culturally and institutionally-motivated migration, which seems to be not only a specific European phenomenon but also a phenomenon which is related to the city of Berlin's appeal, is more than twice as frequent among the highly qualified. Other studies also reveal that this motive for migration is quite common among highly qualified migrants (Scott, 2006: 1112ff.). Cultural reasons are also more common among those without formal degrees/qualifications (+91 per cent). This group consists to a large extent of younger respondents who participate in European programmes (e.g., Erasmus) and have not yet graduated. One explanation could be that student exchanges between France, Germany and the United

Kingdom have been quite common in recent years, and that Berlin and its universities have become increasingly attractive for Polish students (Berlin is only 80 km west of the Polish border) in recent years as well (European Commission, 2007, 2008; Findlay et al., 2006; German Academic Exchange Service, 2006; King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2003; Krieger and Maitre, 2006). Statistics on the Erasmus program also support this argument: they show an increase from 70,000 participants in the academic year 1993–1994 to more than 160,000 participants in the academic year 2006–2007 (European Commission 2007, 2008).<sup>12</sup>

The results for the variable “time of migration” correspond to a certain degree with the postulated assumptions. The variable “time of migration” was included in the analysis in order to find out whether migration that took place before and after the implementation of the Maastricht Treaty is differentiated. Due to the sample size, further, preferable differentiations were not possible (see also endnote 10 and 12). But even with this modest study, and taking into account the possibility of a time lag for a “Maastricht” factor, the results indicate that for migration occurring in 1994 and afterwards, solely cultural and solely social reasons are mentioned more often by the respondents. Whether this change in reasons for migration after 1994 means that EU migrants have been enjoying better wages, for example, is a different question (Verwiebe and Eder, 2006: 157). Integration into social networks also has an effect on the reasons why Europeans migrate to Berlin, which shows that “the presence ... of social networks in the destination country are also of crucial importance” (Fourage and Ester, 2007: 4). In the regression analysis, integration into networks of the migrants’ respective nationalities (networks which in most cases were in place prior to the migration) increases the likelihood of solely social reasons for migration, and even more so the likelihood of solely economic reasons. It could therefore be concluded that these networks have a significant, predominantly economic function in a foreign country, which is consistent with a number of findings in the literature (Goldring, 1997; Granovetter, 1990; Pries, 2001). The effects of the social origin of the migrants studied also reveal interesting tendencies and partly support previous assumptions. Women and men from a higher social class (father and/or mother being a member of the EGP service class)<sup>13</sup> report significantly fewer solely social reasons for migrating than those from the middle class or lower class. This group is more likely to have a cultural motive for migration than the reference groups. It is thus possible to conclude that individuals from the middle class or lower class migrate more often for social and economic reasons.

In the complete regression model, the effects of national origin are no longer significant. This suggests that the originally observed effects of nationality derive primarily from the *social composition* of the groups interviewed. The main effects for age, gender, education, time of migration, integration into networks, and social origin continue to have an influence on the reasons for migration of Europeans nationals, as discussed with the results of model 2 above. Additionally, some interaction effects<sup>14</sup> can be seen: Among the French and the Italians who migrated to Berlin between 1980 and 2002, interaction effects of age are found which indicate a higher likelihood of cultural reasons for migration. It should be pointed out that, in the second model, the significant age effect for cultural reasons derives primarily from these two groups. Negative interaction effects among French and British women can be observed regarding social reasons for migration. They suggest, in comparison, a weaker family orientation among French and British women and a stronger family orientation among Polish and Italian women (Drobnič and Blossfeld, 2001; Firlit-Fesnak, 1997; Gornick, 2002). There are also gender-based interaction effects with regard to solely cultural reasons, indicating that French women migrate more often for cultural reasons.

Italians without vocational training have a perceptibly strong economic motivation for migration. This result is relevant in light of the findings of migration studies on the “classical” labour intra-European migration, according to which Italians without vocational training accounted for the largest part of these migrants (Bender and Seifert, 1998; Del Boca and Venturini, 2003). The finding that university graduates are more likely to migrate for solely cultural reasons within Europe is primarily applicable to the Polish and the French, as is highlighted by the negative interaction effects for Italian and British respondents with university degrees. In the Polish case, this is perhaps an indicator that (with reference to the legal migration investigated in this paper) a Polish elite is attempting to affiliate with the West (Krieger and Maitre, 2006; Triandafyllidou, 2006). Italians with a university degree also show distinctively weak social and cultural reasons for migration.

Regarding a possible “Maastricht” factor, since 1994 the French and the Italians are more likely to move within Europe for solely economic reasons as well as for solely cultural reasons (the British show those tendencies for migration after 1994 as well, but the effects are not significant). Maybe it is no coincidence that, in comparison to the Polish reference group, the French and the Italians were able to benefit directly

from the implementation of the Maastricht Treaty and the corresponding reduction of barriers to intra-European mobility. Thus, the results for the French and Italians could be interpreted as indicating the existence of new boundaries against outsiders, which has been discussed in the literature as a crucial phenomenon in the context of the European integration (e.g., Bach, 2005; Eder, 2006).

Regarding network integration, it is interesting to observe that this affects the French and Italian migrants adversely with regard to solely social reasons for migration, and that the French respondents emphasize the importance of networks in the genesis of economic reasons for migration. Finally, it can be confirmed using the interaction model that social origin has an impact on the reasons for migration of the groups studied. Those who come from a higher social class report fewer social reasons for migration, and are more likely to migrate for cultural reasons. The latter is more the case for Polish, French, and Italian individuals coming from a high social class, with the interaction effect for the British migrants showing a contrary tendency.

## CONCLUSION

In this paper, the reasons for migration of British, French, Italian and Polish nationals who moved to Berlin between 1980 and 2002 have been investigated from a social-structural perspective. In the context of the discussion on European integration, an important role is assigned to such forms of cross-border mobility (Heinz and Ward-Warmedinger, 2006; Pries, 2004). Statistically, so far there has been only a slight general increase in intra-European migration in recent years. But if one examines the phenomenon more closely, and looks, for example, at the migration figures for specific countries, particular migrating groups (e.g., recent Polish migration to Great Britain) or the changes in the reasons for migration, migration patterns emerge which point to a certain relevance of the Europeanisation process. The findings presented here refer to just such a new type of migration – new in respect of the conditions and contextual factors of migration. Berlin was chosen to illustrate possible facets of contemporary intra-European migration because, more than other major German cities, it experienced a growing number of intra-European migrants in the 1990s. While the results of this study are limited in scope, it is hoped that the article might give some empirical indications of the social dynamics at work in a specific European migration space.

The theoretical bases of the present contribution comes from the migration literature on imbalances in the labour market, and on the importance of social factors and cultural/institutional factors in the formation of motives for migration. Against that theoretical background, it was possible using the existing data to investigate to what extent economic, social and/or cultural reasons for migration vary according to the country of origin and/or to what extent the social status of the individuals had an influence on their reasons for migrating. Empirically, on a general level, it was possible to show in a first step that solely social and solely cultural/institutional reasons for intra-European migration between 1980 and 2002 are more important than solely economic reasons. On the basis of the reasons for migration studied here, it might be suggested that, as a result of being embedded in the process of European integration, intra-European migration has, over time, lost its character of a mere labour-market-related migration movement and is increasingly becoming a part of processes of social mobility in Europe, which could indicate a more socially based quality in the entire European integration process.

Based on these general findings, more detailed analyses with respect to differences in social status were calculated via multinomial regression. The starting point for the regression analyses was provided by the observation that in migration research it is usually presumed that national origin strongly influences the course of migration for both women and men. Indeed, the first regression model showed that the reasons for migration of national groups differ characteristically: the Polish were more mobile than other nationalities within Europe for family-related/personal reasons or reasons to do with networks, whereas a strong economic motivation for intra-European migration was identified for the Italians. This observation proved unsustainable, however, because the regression analysis revealed that the distribution of the reasons for migration can be attributed primarily to age, gender, education, time of migration, integration into networks, social origin or the social status determined by the time of migration. This is probably the most important characteristic of intra-European migration between the beginning of 1980 and January 2002, and constitutes the central difference from classical labour migration. In this analysis, which is limited to Germany as the destination country, the national factor as a structuring variable *per se* can be omitted.

Based on these findings, as far as apparent differences in social status are concerned, it was possible to confirm the theoretical suppositions of

the paper, principally through the analyses. Social reasons for migration to Berlin are more common among women (predominantly from Italy and Poland), among individuals with vocational training at the secondary level and among Europeans from the middle or lower class. Economic reasons for migration are found more frequently among male Europeans and among those who are integrated into networks of their respective nationalities. The age group between 21 and 29 years (especially from Italy and Great Britain), the highly educated and those without higher education degrees (most of all from Poland and France), those who have been mobile since the mid-1990s within Europe (especially from France and Italy), as well as those from a higher social class all migrate more often for cultural reasons than other social status groups.

Finally, in terms of future research, it would be useful to consider the relevance of the results presented here for the migration of other national groups to other European countries as well. How do the reasons for migration of Spanish or German migrants in London differ from those of British or French migrants in Berlin for example? It seems equally important to study more intensively the motives for migration and the migration patterns of individuals from the new EU states, the so-called accession countries, because it is very likely that migration from these countries will increase in the coming years, which will probably change migration patterns within Europe and the social fabric of the European Union as a whole. For such an enterprise it would be very useful to have access to more extensive data, with more respondents per participating nationality and additional independent social status variables, which would allow one to take into account more aspects of European migration than has been possible in this modest study.

## NOTES

1. For an overview of important aspects of family and marriage-related migration, cf. e.g. JEMS, Volume 30 (2).
2. According to Kofman (2004: 247f.), four factors have militated against taking the family unit as an object of analysis in migration studies: 1. Economic theory neglects the family because the activities that take place within it cannot be measured in monetary terms. 2. The second factor is the view that transactions occur between the individual and the state, and on the individual level the principal agent for those transactions is assumed to be the male head of household. 3. The third factor is based on the dichotomy between the economic and the social in which the economic



- motivation initiates migration and the family represents the social dimension, often associated with tradition. 4. The treatment of family migration in policy terms as a secondary type of migration, viewed initially as an unintended consequence of halting mass labour migration in the 1970s, and consisting of female dependents following the male breadwinner, is the last factor, according to Kofman.
3. Migration based on institutional programmes has a specific tradition in Europe: In the 1960s, many nations triggered migration flows through bi-national programmes designed to expand their labour force with migrants from Southern Europe, who were, in the case of Germany for example, “carrying out work that Germans would typically no longer do”(Blotevogel et al. 1993: 85). In the 1980s, most European nations changed their policies in order to curb migration flows again. Since the early 1990s, the EU has been strongly promoting intra-European migration based on institutional and cultural programmes (i.e. Socrates, Erasmus). A turning point for intra-European migration was the implementation of the Maastricht Treaty, with which all member-state citizens became entitled to unrestricted mobility within the EU.
  4. Other major migration groups come from Turkey (112,000), Russia, Ukraine and other states of the former Soviet Union (50,000), Serbia (23,000), USA (14,000), Croatia (11,000), Bosnia (11,000), China (6,000) (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg 2008).
  5. In case of the publicly-owned Deutsche Bahn, the relocation decision was based not only on economic principles, but also on political considerations of the Federal Government, which were meant to strengthen the economic situation of the German capital.
  6. For the next step it would be logical to extend the project to other metropolitan areas in order to provide a more adequate presentation of varying economic and social structures in Germany.
  7. Return migration and illegal migration have indeed been extensively studied (e.g. Christou 2006; Grzymała-Kazłowska 2005; Marcelli and Lowell 2005; Massey and Capoferro 2004; Thomas-Hope 2002; Williams and Baláz 2005). Neither topic was the focus of the present study on intra-European migration.
  8. A comparison between postal surveys and telephone or face-to-face surveys shows that mail surveys have specific qualities and are unjustly underrated in sociological research (Dillman 2000). However, a survey based on CAPI or CATI techniques would most likely have produced a higher data quality. Unfortunately, the research grant did not allow such a relatively costly enterprise.
  9. Due to the recruitment of only three coders (all having a Master’s degree in social science), inter-coder reliability was high (for a well-argued claim on the use of open-ended questions for the study of migration motives, see Niedomysl and Malmberg 2009).

10. A further differentiation of solely cultural reasons for migration ( $n = 95$ ) and solely institutional reasons ( $n = 91$ ), or even a differentiation of different aspects of the institutional factor (e.g. Erasmus, Socrates, Schengen rules, Maastricht Treaty) was not possible because of the number of cases available for study. In principle, this would be an interesting and promising contribution to the research. However, the multinomial regression could not produce meaningful results with a more differentiated dependent variable (the Hesse-matrix start to included unexpected singularities). The integration of cultural and institutionally-based reasons for migration can be justified from a content-related angle as well, because a very broad majority of those respondents with institutional reasons were migrating on the base of the Erasmus programme, which at its core is an educational and cultural programme [for tentative results on solely institutional reasons see footnote 12].
11. The statistics software SPSS 15.0 was used for all analyses.
12. Tentative results (to be interpreted with caution) for solely institutional reasons indicate a higher likelihood of institutional reasons for migration amongst the following groups: the group aged between 21 and 29, respondents who migrated to Berlin in 1994 and later, Polish respondents, respondents who already held a B.A. or a M.A. degree in their home countries.
13. A collapsed five-ladder Erikson-Goldthorpe class scheme (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992b) was the basis for the “dummy” class variable that was used. Due to data limitations further differentiations were not possible.
14. Due to space limitations and for the sake of better readability, only significant interaction effects are reported. The complete tables can be obtained from the author on request.

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## APPENDIX

TABLE 1A  
OPERATIONALISATION OF VARIABLES USED IN THE ANALYSIS

## Dependent Variable – Reasons for Migration

*Operationalisation:* The dependent variable *reasons for migration* is based upon an open-ended question. From the results, we were able to extract 21 different categories for intra-European migration. From the 21 different reasons for migration, three main categories were formed for the analysis of this paper: solely economic/occupational reasons (1), solely social reasons (2), and solely cultural/institutional reasons (3) as well as four further categories in which groups of different reasons for migration are summarised (mixed reasons): economic and social reasons (4), economic and cultural reasons (5), social and cultural reasons (6), and social, cultural, economic reasons (7). The category of economic and occupational reasons includes statements such as the following: “I have been looking for a better job”. “I came to Germany because of my three month internship. Soon I was offered a better position”. “For an interpreter, the job opportunities are better here than in England”. “One can live better in Germany and find work”. “My company offered me a post in Germany”. “I work for a UK-employer whose factory is in Berlin”. Concerning social reasons for migration, statements were presented such as: “I met my German wife in Paris and moved with her to Berlin”. “My partner is German”. “My husband was offered a job in Germany and I moved with him”. Here the ‘network reasons’ are also included, e.g. statements such as “My sister had lived in Berlin for 10 years, so I came here”. Cultural and institutional reasons were stated with the following examples: “I wanted to learn about German culture and learn the language, therefore I came to Germany”. “I spent a year in Germany as a nanny and returned after finishing my M.A.”. “I wanted to live and work abroad and get to know the city and language”. “Berlin as a city fascinated me. The lifestyle and the culture are much more interesting than in France”. “Two years ago I had an ERASMUS-scholarship and found my life centred around here”.

The multinomial regression uses a collapsed four-ladder variable: solely economic/occupational reasons (1), solely social reasons (2), solely cultural/institutional reasons (3), and combined mixed reasons for migration (4). The reference category for the dependent variable is based on the combined mixed reasons for migration.

## Independent Variables

British

Dummy-code (1 = British; 0 = all others)

French

Dummy-code (1 = French; 0 = all others)

Italian

Dummy-code (1 = Italian; 0 = all others)

Migration age

Dummy-code (1 = age at time of migration between 21–29 years; 0 = above 30 years)

Gender

Dummy-code (1 = women; 0 = men)

University/college Degree

Dummy-code (1 = highest completed education: college or university degree/BA, diplom, MA or PhD; 0 = all others)

No occupational training

Dummy-code (1 = no vocational training; 0 = all others)

Time of migration

Dummy-code (1 = migration to Germany in 1994 and afterward; 0 = all others)

National/ethnic network

Dummy-code (1 = member of predominantly national/ethnic network; 0 = all others)

Social origin

Dummy-code (1 = father and/or mother member of EGP service class; 0 = all others)

TABLE 2A  
DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES USED IN THE REGRESSION

		British n (%)	French n (%)	Italian n (%)	Polish n (%)	Total n (%)
Migration age	21–29 years	159 (59%)	205 (68%)	124 (59%)	118 (46%)	606 (58%)
	30 years and older	111 (41%)	97 (32%)	86 (41%)	140 (54%)	434 (42%)
	Total	270 (100%)	302 (100%)	210 (100%)	258 (100%)	1040 (100%)
Gender	men	163 (60%)	132 (44%)	108 (51%)	74 (29%)	477 (46%)
	women	107 (40%)	170 (56%)	102 (49%)	184 (71%)	563 (54%)
Education	no vocational training	53 (20%)	51 (17%)	61 (29%)	46 (18%)	211 (20%)
	occupational degree	54 (20%)	60 (20%)	46 (22%)	121 (47%)	281 (27%)
	secondary level	163 (60%)	191 (63%)	103 (49%)	91 (35%)	548 (53%)
	university/college degree	134 (50%)	174 (58%)	117 (56%)	104 (40%)	529 (51%)
Time of migration	after 1994	136 (50%)	128 (42%)	93 (44%)	154 (60%)	511 (49%)
	before 1995	69 (26%)	44 (15%)	23 (11%)	43 (17%)	179 (17%)
Network integration	predominantly in German network	26 (10%)	11 (4%)	21 (10%)	73 (28%)	131 (13%)
	predominantly in national/ethnic network	175 (65%)	247 (82%)	166 (79%)	142 (55%)	730 (70%)
	multi-ethnic network	155 (57%)	192 (64%)	86 (41%)	89 (34%)	522 (50%)
Social origin	father and/or mother member EGP service class	115 (43%)	110 (36%)	124 (59%)	169 (66%)	518 (50%)

Source: BSTME 2002, n = 1040, our own calculation.