



To move or not to move, that is the question!

**- The new phenomenon of BrainDrain within
developed countries –**

- A German and Dutch case study -

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'Panta rei kai ouden menei!'
(Everything flows; nothing stays the same!)

– Heraclitus, Greek Philosopher –

Abstract

BrainDrain has traditionally been connected with the migration of academics from developing towards developed countries. Nowadays, on the contrary, also developed countries suffer from BrainDrain. A new phenomenon of migration within the developed countries has come to existence. This phenomenon is in contradiction with the traditional theories about BrainDrain, which state that the difference in financial opportunities is the main cause of the migration of academics. So far, there has been very little research towards the causes of the new phenomenon of BrainDrain. The purpose of this dissertation is to provide deeper insights of the reasons of the migrants who move within the developed countries.

The migration from Germany and Holland to Sweden is used as a case study. Interviews with German and Dutch emigrants are applied to collect the information for this investigation.

The main reasons for migration are the labor conditions, the natural environment and the dissatisfaction with the society of the home country. These reasons belong to the highest layer in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, namely self-actualization. Remarkably, the emigrants expect to earn less in the country of migration. However, the emigrants expect to have a better work-life-balance, for example less stressful job conditions and better possibilities for a comfortable life in the host country. Social contacts in the host country, positive experiences of other emigrants and the easiness of finding a job are the most important encouraging factors during the process of migration.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This first chapter briefly describes the background of this dissertation, the new phenomenon of BrainDrain. Further, the research problem is discussed, and the research objectives are clarified. According to this, the research questions are defined. Furthermore, this chapter provides the applied definitions, and explains the limitations shortly. Finally, this section ends with an overview of this paper.

1.1 Background

‘Auf wiedersehen, Fatherland. For decades, foreigners found work in Germany. Now Germans are going abroad.’ This is the title of an article in the economist of October 2006. The title is a good summary of the new phenomenon of BrainDrain, which is happening right now. Traditionally, BrainDrain has always been connected to the developing countries. Highly educated persons leave the developing countries and move to countries with better financial opportunities. However, over the last years highly educated persons are no longer only leaving from the developing countries. Developed countries like Germany see their highly educated citizens moving abroad. Nowadays companies in these countries have to compete for educated employees with both, the domestic and foreign companies.

The new phenomenon is in contradiction with the traditional theories about BrainDrain, which state that the migration flow is from developing towards developed countries. In the dictionary of Economics, Oxford NY, John Black A, for example defines BrainDrain as *the tendency for talent people from poor*

countries to seek employment in richer ones. In his theory, BrainDrain is caused by the fact that rich countries pay higher salaries for similar tasks than poor countries. A lack of job supply in poor countries is mentioned as another important reason for BrainDrain. However, when employees move within the developed countries, the salaries are not much higher. On the contrary, the tendency is to move to countries with lower salaries for academics. Thus, the new migrants are supposed to have other reasons for their emigration. In this research, the reasons of the emigrants will be investigated. The BrainDrain in Germany and Holland in favour of Sweden is applied as a case study.

1.2 Problem Discussion

It is clear that the traditional theories about BrainDrain, as mentioned before, do not completely fit with the new phenomenon of BrainDrain. However, there has only been little research towards the reasons for academics to migrate within the developed countries. If companies want to influence the migration, in order to keep the migrants and avoid BrainDrain, or, on contrary, in order to attract foreign academics, they need information about the motives of migration. This dissertation will investigate these reasons of migration, and the phenomenon of BrainDrain.

1.3 Research Objectives

The purpose of this research is to investigate the causes of the new phenomenon of BrainDrain. Therefore, the reasons for migration of the highly educated people are examined. This information can be used both, by companies, organizations, and governments who want to attract highly educated people from abroad, and by companies, organizations, and governments who want to compete for domestic highly educated employees with foreign employers.

1.4 Research Questions

Based on the problem discussion above, the aim of this dissertation is to investigate the reasons for migration within the developed countries, and therefore explain the new phenomenon of BrainDrain. According to this aim, the main research question is generated as follows:

- How can the phenomenon of BrainDrain within developed countries be explained?

In order to receive the findings to answer the main research question, the following additional questions are defined:

- How does the traditional phenomenon of Brain Drain work?
- Why do German and Dutch academics choose to work in Sweden?
- What are the encouraging and discouraging factors for German and Dutch academics moving to Sweden?

1.5 Definitions

In this paragraph the main definitions this dissertation refers to are described.

Migration is defined as *a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence, and includes settlers, landed immigrants, temporary workers, guest workers, asylum seekers, students and undocumented arrivals intending to stay in the short or long term – all involving the crossing of national borders* (International development information center).

According to this, there are the terms of *emigration and immigration*. Emigration is applied when the people are leaving the country. In the contrary immigration describes the fact that people are entering the country.

BrainDrain is defined by Kwok en Leland (1982) as *'an expression of British origin commonly used to describe one of the most sensitive areas in the transfer of technology. It refers to skilled professionals who leave their native lands in order to seek more promising opportunities elsewhere.'*

In contradiction of BrainDrain the term *BrainGain* needs to be mentioned and can be explained as the opposite of BrainDrain. BrainGain refers to skilled professionals who enter a new country. What BrainDrain is for the sending or home country, the BrainGain is for the receiving or host country.

Furthermore, the terms of *host and home countries* will be applied in this research. Home country describes the country of origin of the emigrant, it can also be called *sending country*. In contradiction, the host country is defined as the country where the migrant finds their new residence and settles down, thus the *receiving country*.

The term of *academics and highly educated people* are used in the same sense within this dissertation and describes people who at least have obtained a grade on bachelors' level.

The term of *Participant* in this dissertation describes emigrants, who participated in the empirical part of this research.

1.6 Limitations

Various developed countries nowadays suffer from the new phenomenon of BrainDrain. However, Germany, Holland and Sweden are used as a case study. The empirical research is limited to these three countries. Furthermore, the research is narrowed down to German and Dutch academics, which moved recently to Sweden, more explicit, academics that moved within in the last five years. The experience of the emigrants in the host countries is not investigated. As BrainDrain is connected with highly educated people, the research is only focused on this category of emigrants.

1.7 Chapter Overview

Chapter 2. Methodology:

This chapter deals with the methodology used for conducting the research. The research philosophy is discussed and defined as well as the research approach.

In addition the choice of theory is announced. This section ends with a short overview of the data collection and some criticism of the sources that are used.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This section presents the existing theories in the field of migration and BrainDrain. These theories are widely recognized and discuss why migration is initiated and perpetuated. Furthermore, they explain the term of BrainDrain and the major features of this phenomenon. The theories in this chapter provide the framework for this dissertation and are used as a basis for the development of the new model, which will be developed in this dissertation.

Chapter 4: Empirical Method

This section explains the method for the empirical research. This includes the research strategy, the type of study, the data collection method and the sample selection. Further, the questions for the interview are discussed, as well as the data analysis. This chapter ends with a discussion about reliability and validity of the research.

Chapter 5: Analysis

This chapter presents an evaluation of the empirical results. After all interviewees are presented, every factor is analyzed separately to explain the motives for academics' decision making to move from Germany or Holland to Sweden, as well as the motives of the control variable. Furthermore, the results are compared with each other. In the end, the model of the driving forces for the new phenomenon of BrainDrain is generated by the new findings.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This final chapter begins with a review of the research questions where the main findings are presented. Furthermore, one subchapter defines self-criticism and gives a short but critical view to the research. Also included is a suggestion for further research and the theoretical and practical implications. Finally, this research ends with a short self-reflection regarding the research process.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This section deals with the methodology used for conducting the research. The research philosophy is discussed and defined as well as the research approach. In addition, the choice of theory is announced. This chapter ends with a short overview about the data collection and some criticism of the sources that are used.

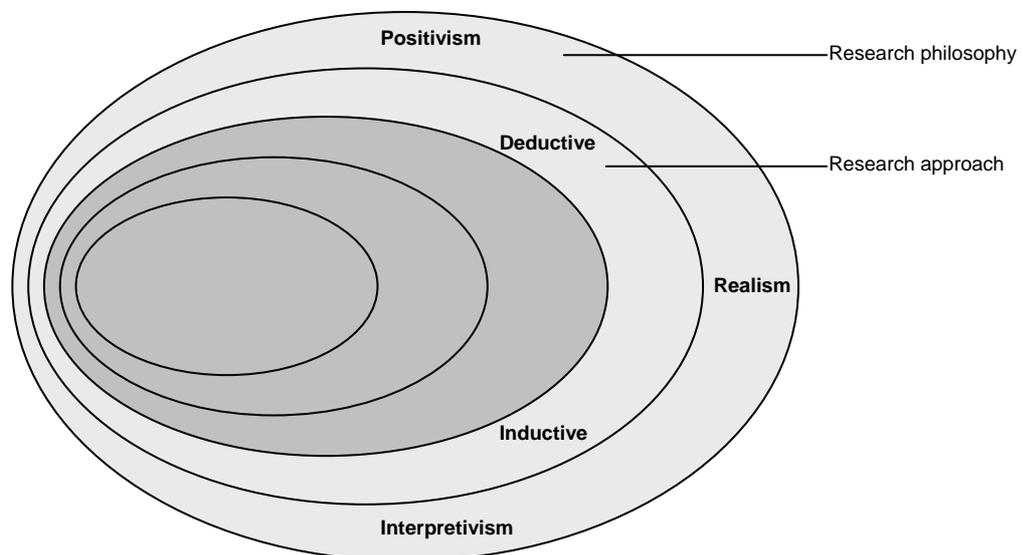


Figure 1: The Research Process 'Onion' (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2003)

The figure above is called the onion of research process and shows the major layers of the research process. In this chapter the first two layers (light grey) are discussed, namely the research philosophy and the research approach. These two layers define the methodology of the research process. The three inside

layers are explained in chapter four, as they are part of the empirical method. Furthermore, the theories chosen for this dissertation are noticed, as they are part of our research method. At the end, a short overview about the data collection is given as well as a critical look at the adopted sources.

2.1 Research Philosophy

Research philosophy is formed by the way of thinking when it comes to the development of knowledge. There are three sides that can describe the research process: positivism, realism and interpretivism (Saunders et al. 2003).

The positivistic view is when an adoption of the theoretical stand of a natural scientist has been made. It explains the truth of the social appearance and the result of a positivistic research can be compared with laws or rules. The method is highly structured and those who do the research are independent from the topic of the study (Saunders et al. 2003).

Realism is based on the belief that a reality exists, which is independent of human thoughts and beliefs. There are large-scale social forces and processes that affect people without them necessarily being aware of the existence of such influences on their interpretations and behaviours. Realism shares some philosophical aspects with positivism but it also recognizes that people themselves are not objects to be studied in the style of natural science. In this way, realism recognizes the importance of understanding people's socially constructed interpretation, broader social forces and structure of processes that influence the nature of people's views and behaviours (Saunders et al., 2003).

The strongest argument for interpretivism is the necessity to discover the details of the situation to understand the reality or perhaps a reality working behind it. This philosophy sees business situations as very complex and also unique. Furthermore, they are a function of a particular set of circumstances and individuals. In this sense, people not only interact with their environment, they also seek to make sense of it through their interpretation of events and meanings that they draw from these. In turn their own actions may be seen as being meaningful in the context of these socially constructed interpretation and meanings. It is therefore the role of interpretivist to seek to understand the

subjective reality of those that this study in order to be able to make sense of and understand their motives, actions and intentions in a way that is meaningful for these research participants (Saunders et al., 2003).

The philosophy chosen in this dissertation is the interpretivism. The main purpose of the dissertation is to discover the current reasons to migrate within developed countries. The authors are aware of some complex theories about migration and BrainDrain and so far figured out that there is no rule or law that makes people migrate. Furthermore, in the case study the focus is on German and Dutch people moving to Sweden. As the origin of the authors lies in these two sending countries, they might be involved in that subject more than other researchers are and therefore cannot interpret our collected data completely objective.

2.2 Research Approach

There are two fundamental perspectives described by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill in *Research Methods for Business Students* (2003), namely empiricism and rationalism. The empirical way of thinking is an inductive method, which is suitable to use when no theory exists within the research area. The rationalistic way of thinking is a deductive method, which means the researchers start from an existing theory. The theory creates a ground for a hypothesis that thereafter is testified through empirical studies.

There are many theories about migration and BrainDrain, explaining the motives and problems caused by movements mostly from developing to developed countries. The focus of this dissertation is the decision making to move within developed countries, where no general theories exist so far. During the process of this research, the authors first want to examine the existing theories and try to apply them to the problem within developed countries. Therefore, it is started with the deductive method. By now, the authors are aware that the existing theories are not applicable to one hundred percent. Thus, they are going to work inductive as well. While using a case study they want to discover a new model of migration within developed countries and the causing problem of BrainDrain.

The literature explains that the mixture of inductive and deductive is called abductive approach. According to Charles Sanders Peirce (1976) *Deduction*

proves that something must be; Induction shows that something actually is operative; Abduction merely suggests that something may be. Abduction appears with a surprising occurrence, which leads to doubt on the correctness of a certain association and a general rule. As this surprise does not fit to a general rule, a new rule has to be defined, because if there would be a general rule, it would not be a surprise. Therefore, the abduction is not a way to abolish the surprise, but to explain it with a new rule. The new rule has to be developed and defined in order to illustrate the surprise. Finally, it has to be shown that the surprise is liable to the new rule and that the new rule has power of persuasion.

Pierce (1976) explains the difference between these approaches best in comparing the research conclusion. Thus, inductive conclusions assume a case and a result and define the rule. Inductions are synthetic, saying that studies are used, if they are liable to adequate frequency, to phrase the rule. In comparison, the deductive conclusion has an if-then-character. Deduction is the implementation of generally admitted rules to certain cases. Based on provided theories, deductive conclusions are classified as imperative. A synthetic character is also measurable in abductions. Here the conclusion is made by a result upon a rule and a special case. Abductive conclusions explain two unknown variables by using one known.

The authors think the abductive approach is the most suitable for this research. While searching for a topic they found the problem of BrainDrain in their countries of origin, Holland and Germany. As it is only heard about the problem of BrainDrain from poor to rich countries, from Eastern to Western Europe, or the migration flow of highly educated people to America, this is a surprising phenomenon. During further research it is noticed that this phenomenon cannot be explained by existing rules of movement, migration theories or models about BrainDrain. The migration within developed countries appeared during the last years, but lately developed countries have to deal with the problem of BrainDrain. The topic is not analyzed so far and cannot be explain by existing theories. Thus, academics, which left their developed country of origin and moved to another developed country, are interviewed. With these results a new model, a theory of migration within developed countries, is drawn and therefore an abductive conclusion.

2.3 Choice of Theory

Through intensive research on the topic of migration and the caused problem of BrainDrain, several theories and models offering its explanation have been encountered. Primarily based on the general consensus of various researchers, first of all two different types of migration approaches have been chosen for the review. These different approaches are the initiation and perpetuation of migration. The different kinds of migration approaches are divided in traditional and modern ones. Furthermore, the traditional theory of BrainDrain is adopted. For further explanations of this topic, Maslow's hierarchy of human needs is applied.

2.4 Data Collection

Two different types of data can be considered in theory, namely primary and secondary data. Data that is already collected and available from other sources is called secondary data. Secondary data is used to give the reader a theoretical background of the theories about migration and BrainDrain. Here the focus is on books, internet, articles in established scientific journals etc. However, primary data is used to conduct a development and evaluation of factors for the migration process causing the BrainDrain problem. Primary data is created through the accomplished research (Saunders et al., 2003). In this dissertation, both primary and secondary data are used. Secondary data is mainly applied in chapter three, the literature review. Furthermore, secondary data, like current articles, show the importance and timeliness to the phenomenon of BrainDrain within developed countries. Empirical data from these articles can be used to underline the problems caused by the migration flow of academics. To obtain primary data, different survey methods can be applied. As the collection of primary data will be included in chapter five, the analysis, a more detailed overview about these methods is given in chapter four, which discusses the empirical framework for the analysis.

2.5 Critical Review of Used Sources

The used sources about migration are easy to find. All the stated theories are explained explicitly and have been examined and proved by various researchers. Furthermore, these theories underlie a certain kind of structure that is also applicable for this research. Concerning the theory of BrainDrain it is more difficult to find good explanations and structures. Most sources applied for the research of BrainDrain are from the internet, as the phenomenon is not investigated in depth and mostly seen as a part of migration. In order to explain the new phenomenon of BrainDrain many articles are recently published and can therefore be applied in this research.

2.6 Summary

In short it can be said that for this dissertation interpretivism is chosen as the research philosophy. In order to investigate the main reasons for the people to move it is necessary to gain deeper knowledge of each individual motive, which needs to be interpreted. Additionally, due to the researchers countries of origin, they might not interpret completely objective. Furthermore, the abductive research approach is chosen. Although there are existing theories of migration and BrainDrain, the special topic of the new phenomenon of BrainDrain within developed countries has not been investigated before. Thus, a theoretical overview of the existing theories is given. However, it is assumed that no existing model can explain the new BrainDrain within developed country and therefore a new model needs to be created. Various existing theories about migration and BrainDrain are explained in the literature review in order to find a framework that might help to create the new theory. Furthermore, Maslow's Hierarchy of need is applied with the aim of a general visualization of the main reasons to move. Besides this secondary data, disposable by books and article, primary data is applied to gain deeper knowledge of the motives why people move.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This chapter is a presentation of existent theories in the field of migration and BrainDrain. These theories are widely recognized and discuss why migration is initiated and perpetuated. Furthermore, the theories explain the term of BrainDrain and the major features of this phenomenon. The theories in this chapter provide the framework for this dissertation and they are used as a basis for the development of the new model, which will be developed in this dissertation.

3.1 Introduction

In the literature several theories exist, which explain the migration and the caused problem of BrainDrain. There is the neo-classical economic theory of migration (Lewis, 1954; Todaro, 1976), the segmented labor market theory (Piore, 1979), the new economics of labor migration theory (Stark, 1991), the social capital theory (Massey, Goldring, Durand, 1994) and the world system theory (Wallerstein, 1984; Massey, 1989) that explain the initiation of migration. Additionally the theory of social network and transnational spaces (Hugo, 1981; Massey, 1990) and the cumulative causation theory is mentioned, which discuss why migration retains. The second subchapter discusses the term BrainDrain. Two different theories will be applied, the traditional BrainDrain theory and a current one.

3.2 Migration

Migration is defined as *a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence, and includes settlers, landed immigrants, temporary workers, guest workers, asylum seekers, students and undocumented arrivals intending to stay in the short or long term – all involving the crossing of national borders* (International development information center).

Besides the differentiation of short or long termed migration, there can also be a differentiation between long and short distance migrations.

Research on migration is interdisciplinary. The following research areas look at different aspects of migration: sociology, political science, history, economics, geography, demography, psychology and law.

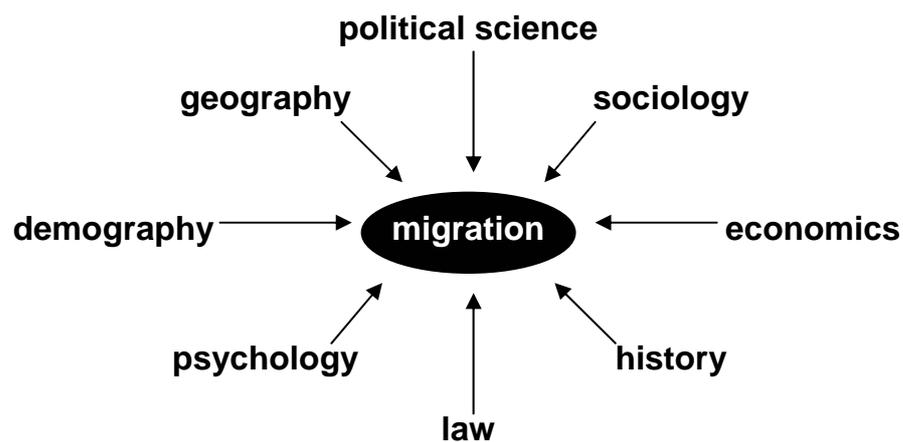


Figure 2: Different Research Areas of Migration

Within every discipline, there is a variety of different approaches to explain the migration. Nevertheless, for the complete understanding of migration the contribution of each discipline is required (Castles, Miller, 1998).

Furthermore, the approaches are separated on the initiation and perpetuation of migration.

3.2.1 Theories on the Initiation of Migration

The following chapters give a short overview about the main approaches and theories when it comes to the question how migration occurs. None of the mentioned theory is valid in general. As said before, only a combination of different theories and approaches can explain the entire process of migration.

3.2.1.1. The Neo-classical Economic Theory of Migration

The neo-classical economic theory of migration is the oldest and most traditional theory to explain the movement of labor. The geographer Ravenstein formulated statistical laws on migration in the 1880's, but as major researchers for that theory, Lewis (1954) and Todaro (1976) have to be mentioned. The theory primary assumes an individualistic approach. The main idea is a rational thinking, individual migrant seeking for utility maximization (Faist, 1997). Migration always takes place when the individual, or the family, expects higher benefits than without migration (Straubhaar, 1994). Thus, the decision making process is based on a rational comparison of relative costs and benefits of staying or moving to various, alternative destinations. Owing to this, the theory assumes that the migrant has all necessary information about various destinations (Pries, 2003). The contributing factor for the individual is the availability of work and the level of income at the final destination. International income differences are therefore the main reasons for migration.

According to the neo-classical economics this theory expects that each country exports the kind of goods they have plenty of and this process automatically leads towards economic equilibrium (Smith, 1776). That means in this context, that a categorization of different immigration flow arises as individuals search for the best country. Similarly, these economical disparities between various areas should be sufficient to generate a natural migration flow, which should equalize the wages and conditions, and thus create a new economic equilibrium (Castles et al, 1998). Consequently, migration will exist until the labor market and income level will be adapted internationally. Besides the main statement of migration from low- to high-income areas, this approach also states the migration from densely to sparsely populated areas and that migration is the fluctuation with the business cycle (Castles et al, 1998).

Although this neo-classical approach is very old and general, it remains important and is a basis for further researchers work. These theories built up on that approach are often called push-pull models. While push-factors are impelling people to leave the country of origin, the pull-factors are attracting people to certain receiving countries. On the one hand, the push-factors consist of demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repression. On the other hand, the demand for labor, the availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedom are included with the pull-factors. The interaction between push and pull factors is visualized in the following figure:

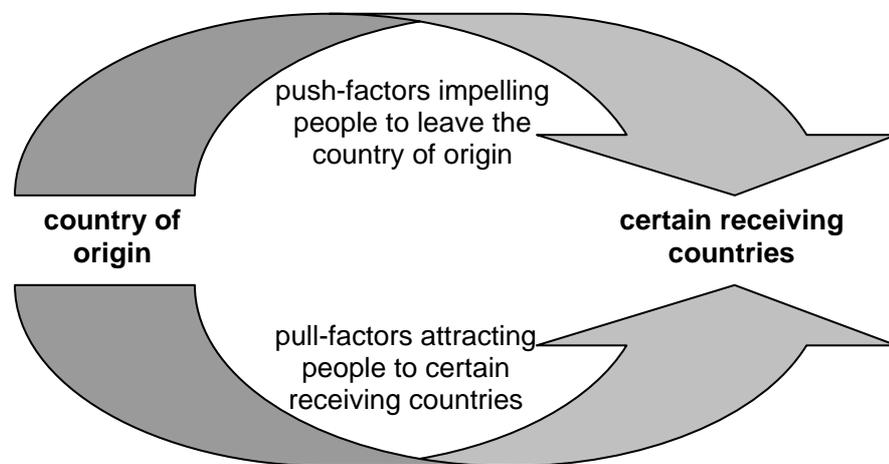


Figure 3: Interaction of Push and Pull Factors

Models and theories built up on the neo-classical approach are often criticized as simplistic and incapable of explaining the actual movement of labor or predicting future ones by researchers, for example Sassen (1988), Boyd (1989) and Portes and Rumbaut (1990) (Castles et al, 1998). For example, the approach does not consider that some skills can only be used regionally. Thus, the opportunities for the migrant in the host country are not as good as in their home country. Furthermore, the character of this approach does not explain why international varieties between labor supply and income levels exist. However, the consideration of these reasons is very important to understand the process of migration. Strangely enough is the fact that, although there are vast differences in the international income level, proportional only a few people are actually moving (Faist, 1997). In addition, empirical data can disprove the neo-classical approach, as not the world's poorest people migrate but more the higher educated ones (O'Neill, 2003). For example, only a little flows between the north and the south of

Europe, although there are many differences between the income levels and just few political barriers, which could detain migrants. Finally, the international income level does not generate equilibrium, as the theory assumes, moreover they are torn apart (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, Tayler, 1998).

3.2.1.2. *Segmented Labor Market Theory*

The segmented labor market theory by Piore (1979) is closely connected to the neo-classical economic approach. However, besides the objective and economical aspects it also considers subjective and sociological aspects (Pries, 2003). Compared to the neo-classical economic theory the major difference is the theoretical dichotomy of the labor markets in the industrialized countries. The primary sector consists of a secure and socially distinguished employment with a relatively high income level. The second sector includes the less secure and distinguished employments, with a lower income level and almost no promotion prospects. Undoubtedly, natives try to avoid the second employment sector, which generates labor requirement (Parnreiter, 2000).

Not only immigrants are applying for these kinds of work, as they are in many cases poor and basically up to second sector work. Furthermore, it is easier for the immigrants to separate their social identity and social status, assigned by the second sector work, due to their mostly temporary stay in the host country. Moreover, they are less demanding and just define that work as a means to an end. For the industry in the country of origin, this modesty is quite attractive to employ the immigrants, therefore becoming competitors and discipline the native workers. Still, companies recruit workers from foreign countries.

In comparison to the neo-classical economic theory, the decision-making process in this theory is less individual and more dependent on the recruiting habits of the industry in the receiving countries (Pries, 2003).

3.2.1.3. *New Economics of Labor Migration*

As the name says, the new economics of labor migration also comes from the area of economics, as well as the first two mentioned theories. This theory,

mainly invented by Oded Stark in 1991, does not consider the individual in the first instance, but rather the families, which send the individual to certain receiving countries. Under the terms of this theory, migration no longer is a reaction of different international income levels, but rather a reaction of bad working insurance- and capital markets in the home countries. The only opportunities for covering risks and raising capital mostly seems to send family members to bigger cities or abroad. Not poverty, but more the requirement for some additional income, is the driving force for migration.

Therefore, the major interest is the remittance to the family in the home country. Mostly the flow of remittance is the only chance for the ones staying at home to modernize their family business, for instance agricultural land, and to cover risks caused by aridity or crop damage for example (Parnreiter, 2000). Moreover, the flow of remittance is a very good advertising for migration and may influence other individuals to move or families to send a member of the family abroad.

3.2.1.4. Social Capital Theory

As seen in the other theories mentioned so far, the determining factors are either macro level (global and politic) or micro level (personal utility maximalization). Normally the micro level theories already fail in their explanation, why the number of migrants from countries with a similar economical structure differs. On the other hand, the macro level theories find their barriers in explaining, why some family members migrate and some do not. The theory of social capital, invented by Massey, Goldring and Durand in 1994, therefore is an additional explanation on a meso level, which means a mixture of the macro and micro level.

This theory separates economical, social and human capital (Faist, 1997). The economical capital is the classical capital, so called money, shares and various material assets, which could be transferred worldwide. The social capital describes all kinds of friendships, family or religious relations and the advantages for each individual caused by these relations. Due to the relations, who can only be of advantage where they are, the social capital is regionally bounded. For example, a family member working as a carpenter can ones do a favor, if he fixes something in your house for free, but can only do it, if he is living in the surrounding. Likewise hard to transfer is the human capital, describing education,

knowledge and skills of the individual. Certain potentials can only be used regionally, nationally or in certain kind of branches (Faist, 1997), for instance knowing how to grow rice is not of use in Western Europe.

The social capital theory assumes that people only migrate, if they believe the amount of all three kinds of capital is higher in the country of destination as in their origin country (Faist, 1997). This could be an explanation, why some people do not go abroad, although they would have a better opportunity of a higher income there. It is important to consider that migration is always closely connected to some risks and the anticipated advantage is nothing more than just anticipated and not secure (Straubhaar, 1994).

3.2.1.5. *World Systems Theory*

On the contrary to the so far mentioned theories, the world system theory has an macro level and sociological approach (Faist, 1997). The origin of the world systems theory lies in the dependency theory¹, from which researchers like Saskia Sassen arised in the late 1960's (Waldrauch, 1995). Further researchers with this approach have been Wallerstein (1984) and Massey (1989). The world systems theory states that migration occurs when capitalism encroaches in non-capitalistic organized countries. In other words, existing social and economic structures will be destroyed by a capitalistic world power and the residents' livelihood will be taken. Thus, becoming wogeworkers make them prefer to migrate for better opportunities (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, Tayler, 1998).

Therefore, migration is part of the world market, more preciously the labor market. Obviously, there is always a market for cheap labor, and mostly the migrants offer their skills for less money than the natives do. Saving money, this expense factor is the main reason, why industry and state still recruit migrants from all over the world, offering cheap labor (Parnreiter, 2000). Moreover, it is not only saving money due to low labor costs, due to the import of labor the receiving countries safe the money for the migrants' upbringing and education.

¹ “*Dependency theory is the body of social science theories by various intellectuals, both from the Third World and the First World, that create a worldview which suggests that the wealthy nations of the world need a peripheral group of poorer states in order to remain wealthy*” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dependency_theory).

Furthermore, the migrants appear like competitors to the native workers and therefore exert pressure on the natives. In addition, in case of migrants' unemployment, they can more easily be sent home again (Waldrauch, 1995). International boundary achieve the function of a filter, letting migrants cross the border, but at the same time assign them with a lower level of rights.

The accelerating globalization interferes with the process of migration in various ways. As explained before, more and more people are uprooted and in the receiving countries more employments that are insecure emerge, which are accepted by migrants. What is more, due to the transfer of capital, goods and information various countries grow closer together, which make migration flow even easier (Parnreiter, 2000). Nevertheless, besides personal relations also economical, cultural, historical and militarily cross-national relations exist.

3.2.2 Theories on the Perpetuation of Migration

The theories described so far mainly explain the reasons of the emergence of migration. The following approaches 'social network theory' and 'cumulative causation theory' pay more attention to the continuity and independency of migration flows. They do not analyze the emergence of migration, but rather the reason it exists during a long period.

3.2.2.1. Social Network and Transnational Social Spaces

Major researchers of the social network theory have been Hugo (1981) and Massey (1990). The theory replaces the common thought of an irrepealably and nonrecurring change of place of residence, whose cause of migration only lies in individual utility maximization. Migration networks consist of *sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin* (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, Tayler, 1993, 448). Thus, they are not dependent on structural conditions, but rather positioned on the meso level (see chapter 3.2.1.4) (Haug, 2000). The networks represent a social capital to all participants, which redound to a reduction of migration costs and risks, and therefore enhance the possibility of finding work abroad. The information flow

between the migrants and their home might simplify the job and house hunting, eventually lower the risk of deportation and, also still nowadays, avoid the contact with slave traders. Moreover, these contacts give the migrants a feeling of home, especially for newcomers, and lower their vulnerability (Parnreiter, 2000).

Migration networks have a double function of selection (Pries, 2001). On the one hand, they appear an independent stimulus of a migration chain reaction, by motivating those at home to follow the path of the former migrants. Withal the networks could gain even more weight in proportion to the volume of the migration flow, as the original reasons, which led to first migration of pioneers. On the other hand, all information is closely connected to the individual migrants' horizon of experience in the host country, so the migrants are mostly influenced by a limited regional and labor orientation. Besides mentioning a high concentration of migrants in the network specific sending and receiving countries, the same phenomenon can be noticed on occupational level (branch communities). Furthermore, a so called ethnic business can arise, adjusted to the special needs for migrants. Small businesspersons, very often migrants themselves, can recruit cheap labor within networks, secure their turnover and receive market information (Parnreiter, 2000).

The ministration of social contacts, cultural traditions and concurrent incorporation within the receiving community create a transnational reference area for migrants, which reaches beyond international boundary (Pries, 2003). The transnational social spaces illustrate the interpersonal pendant to the institutional and governmental linkage in the economical globalization process. Integration is no longer used in the sense of assimilation, but rather in the context of incorporation. Incorporation explains an open-ended process of interactions and a new mixture of elements from the sending and receiving country, whereby new matters emerge (ibid., 2003).

3.2.2.2. Cumulative Causation Theory

Another approach to explain the perpetuation and reproduction of the migration flow is the cumulative causation theory, whose major representative is Massey (1990). The theory suggests that every single migration action changes the social and economic context, in the sending country as well as in the receiving country.

Furthermore, the theory states that these changes stabilize the migration process constantly. While analyzing the complex and dynamic interdependencies, the theory takes up some ideas of above mentioned theories. According to Massey et al. (1993; 451-454) six factors could be mainly relevant for continuity of migration flow:

1. Distribution of Income

As soon as remittances flow to the remaining households, other households within the same 'community' will become relatively impoverished. That fact can increase the probability that these households also send migrants. Further households might be hit by impoverishment and a snowball effect can be initiated, which will last until the unequal distribution of income will come to a new balance.

2. Distribution of Land

More often migrants buy land in their home country with the money they got from work in the host country. Reasons might be pension or prestige. Nevertheless, income from the host country is mostly more lucrative than the income agricultural production can provide. Therefore the land will not be used and lies idle, which leads to a decreasing requirement for traditional, agrarian labor and as a result increases the migration flow.

3. Agricultural Production

If a household with agriculture receives remittance, they have necessary resources to transform in a capitalistic farm, for example machines, herbicides, irrigation plants or fertilizers. However, this investment in assets releases agrarian labor and therefore leads to a higher migration flow.

4. Migration Culture

Within this term the migration is seen as a bridge of interaction between the sending and receiving countries. On one hand, there is a change of the migrants' experiences and expectations, in other words the tastes will change, claims will be raised, certain ways of living will aspired. The probability to move again, after an originally temporarily migration, increases, as the migrants are motivated to sophisticate social mobility. On the other hand the migration become an inherent part of the sending countries, as *values associated with migration become part of community's values* (ibid., 453). Consequently new consumption and cultural patterns are established, which might lead to a higher attraction of

migration to other residents. Today's migrants are not necessarily poor, but rather want to broaden their horizon of experience.

5. Social Labeling

Once a kind of labor is characterized as work for migrants, the natives avoid it. The social stigma of these kinds of labor does not arise from the features of the work, but rather from the concentration of migrants in these occupation groups. Still, there is requirement to fill these kinds of labor and therefore the demand of migrants remains.

6. BrainDrain und BrainGain

Receiving countries benefit from migration of highly educated labor. Due to accumulation of human capital, a competitive advantage occurs by higher productivity and economic growth (BrainGain). However, in the sending countries the BrainDrain leads to less productivity and stagnating, or even worse recessive, growth. The wastage of human capital intensifies the migration flow. Deeper matters of BrainDrain will be discussed in the following chapters.

3.2.3 Summary

The neo-classical economic theory of migration states distance, demographical differences and different income levels as the major factors for migration. However, due to today's various transporting opportunities, the distance is only an under part of current decisions for migration. Furthermore, there are no more coherencies between population growth and regional mobility discoverable. Disparities of income levels may still be important for highly educated labor, in order to get the maximum gain with their individual human capital. Nevertheless, for unskilled labor different income levels, if even existing or recognized, is only one reason among many and not the most decisive factor. The push-pull models only explain the migration with static motives, moreover they are not that applicable anymore, as nowadays the push-factors overbalance and yet, pull-factors barely exist.

Current research in migration emphasizes that not regional differences, but rather insufficient local structures prompt people to migrate. Advantages for the sending country are the discharge of the labor market and the remittances to households stayed in the home country. Unfortunately, these financial flows do not enhance

the economic and market structure effectively. If regional disparities would still lead to migration, there would still be a strong movement, for example from Spain or Portugal to North Europe, in fact this is not the case anymore. However, this movement decreased because democratization and joining the European Union led to a consolidation of national structures quality of life.

The dependency theoretically approach, the world systems theory, and the theories on the perpetuation of migration have a higher value of explanation, as they see migration as a part of the world market and put disparities in a coherence in order to deduce specific migration flows and directions. They admit that globalization implicate increasing flexibility, a bigger information flow and a fragmentation of the labor market, thus cheap, foreign labor become an indispensable part of the national economies. Finally, today particular mechanisms on micro and meso level are responsible for the perpetuation of migration, while original reasons barely exist anymore.

The reason that there is no 'universal theory' to explain migration is that migration cannot be a universal equal and with historical processes abstracted phenomenon. One migration flow always has its own specific character, which is framed in a dynamical process of structural and alternating global factors. That amounts the individuality of migration and every attempt to deduce a 'law of nature' from migration movements will failure.

3.3 BrainDrain



BrainDrain is the phenomenon of highly educated people moving towards other countries. There are various economic dictionaries, which describe the phenomenon of BrainDrain. The definition of Kwok en Leland (1982) says that *'the BrainDrain is an expression of British origin commonly used to describe one of the most sensitive areas in the transfer of technology. It refers to skilled professionals who leave their native lands in order to seek more promising opportunities elsewhere.'* Furthermore in the dictionary of Economics, Oxford NY, John Black A. (1997) defines BrainDrain as *'a pejorative description of the tendency for talent people from poor countries to seek employment in richer ones. Sometimes this migration occurs because similar skills are needed in both poor and rich countries, the rich pay more for them. In other cases BrainDrain occurs because the technical and economic backwardness of poorer countries means that job opportunities are limited or non-existent. It is also possible that BrainDrain is encouraged because of tendencies in poorer countries to fill such good jobs as there are on a basis of family connections, political influence, and corruption, while on average richer countries, though subject to some of the same problems, tend to fill posts on a slightly more meritocratic basis.'* Finally the term of BrainDrain can be summarized *'as a synonymous of the movement of human capital, where the net flow of expertise is heavily in one direction'* (Salt 1997).

For this research the definition of Kwok and Leland is applicable. This definition is chosen because, in contradiction two the definition of Salt, it mentions the criteria of skilled professionals. BrainDrain differs from other types of migration because of this criterion. The migration of non-educated people is not regarded as BrainDrain. Furthermore, the definition is clear and compact, in comparison to the definition of John Black. On the other hand, this definition from John Black gives some insight in characteristics of BrainDrain. Concluded from the different definitions it can be stated that BrainDrain is a special form and a result of migration. That means, without migration there is no BrainDrain. The main characteristics of BrainDrain are:

- The migration flow is from poorer countries towards richer countries.
- The migration consists of highly educated people.

- The most important motive for moving is the better financial opportunity in the host country.

In general there are two main streams in the tradition about BrainDrain. The first one is the movement of researchers from especially Europe towards the USA. The universities in the USA provide better research



opportunities and salaries for the researchers. The USA is spending much more money on research than the EU. For example in 2000, the USA spent €287 billion on research and development, €121 billion more than the European Union (TIME Europe Magazine: How To Plug Europe's BrainDrain). The second and biggest stream is about the migration from the developing countries towards developed countries. Not only researchers, but high educated people with all different kinds of education are moving.

BrainDrain can occur either when individuals who study abroad and complete their education do not return to their home country, or when educated individuals in their home country emigrate for higher wages or better opportunities. The second form is arguably worse, because it drains more resources from the home country. (www.wikipedia.org)

3.3.1 Reasons for BrainDrain

There are various factors that encourage the migration of high educated people towards the developed countries. The three main reasons are:

- high income levels in the developed countries,
- lack of labor supply in the developing countries,
- and the working circumstances in the developing countries.

It is clear that a lack of jobs encourages people to move to places where enough jobs are. It is also quite clear that low salaries are an important factor to move to another country with higher income salaries. However, many emigrants mention the working circumstances as a very important reason to move to another country. The working circumstances in a country are strongly related with the government policy of the country. An example is the situation of Zambian medicals. In 1999 the medicals went on strike because of a shortage of medicines and equipment. The government answered with firing the medicals. In this situation it is quite logical that the medicals will move to other countries.

The following figure visualizes the major mentioned reasons of the traditional BrainDrain:

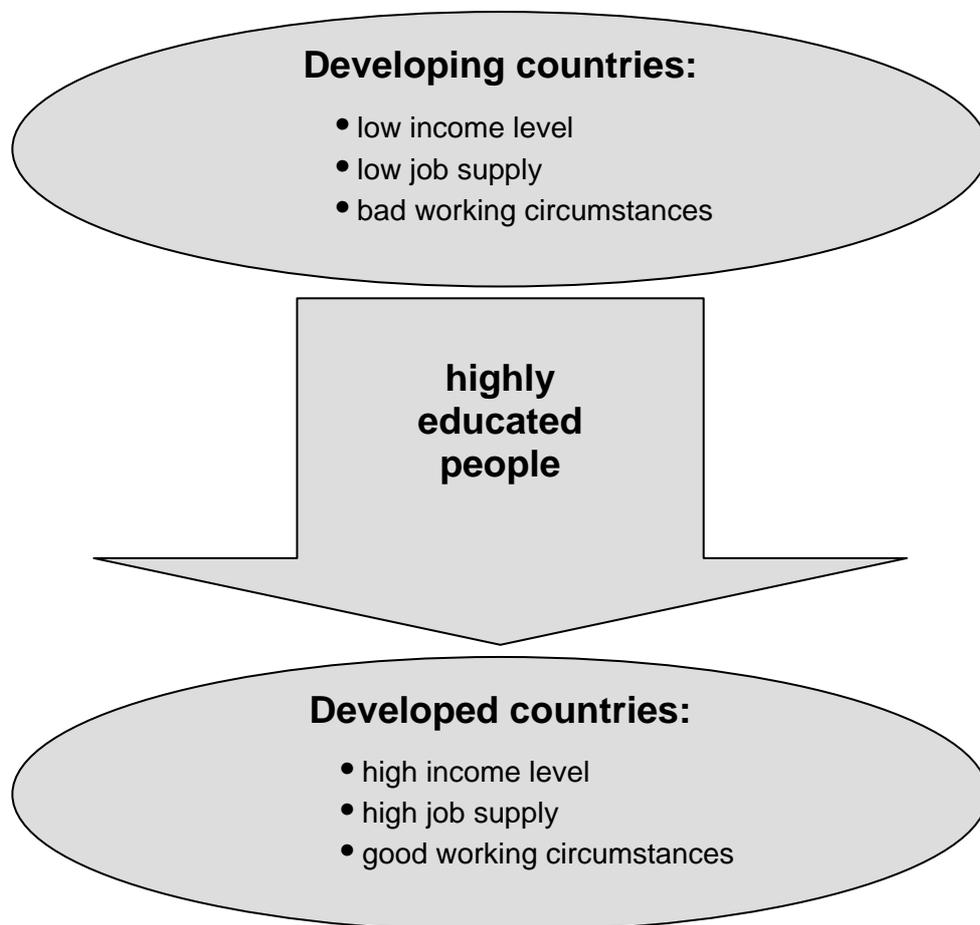


Figure 4: Traditional BrainDrain

3.3.2 Some Figures

The amount of academics that leave Africa is very high. Every year 23.000 African academics leave the continent. Between 1960 and 1987, Sub Saharan Africa lost one third of its highly educated inhabitants. Furthermore, over the last 15 years one third of the highly educated people left the continent. The costs of this migration for the African governments are very high. Every year the African countries have to spend 4 billions dollar to fill the gap of the educated emigrants. Ghana has educated 6000 medicals over the last years. Only 300 of these medicals work in Ghana. In addition, not only African countries suffer from BrainDrain. Jamaica for example, has to educate five medicals to be able to keep one new medical inside the country.

3.3.3 A Short History of BrainDrain

The first economists who wrote about BrainDrain are: Hirschman, Myrdal, Perroux and Wallerstein. These Economists started to use the term BrainDrain in the 1950s to describe the migration of scientists and technologists to the United States and Canada. During the following decades, the term BrainDrain was used to describe the migration from developing towards developed countries. In the 1960s and 1970s BrainDrain was put two and two together with the political and economical imbalances in the world. In the 1990s economists started to discuss a new term: BrainGain. The term BrainGain implies that the migration towards the developed world can also have positive effects on the developed countries. BrainGain can occur when migrants decide to return to their home country, after they earned money in a richer country. Good examples of this are the Turkish migrants in Western Europe. 8 Million of the total amount of 10 million Turks returned to Turkey. Most of them returned with money they earned in Western Europe.

3.3.4 Solutions to Avoid BrainDrain

The literature mentions four main solutions for low developed countries:

- an effective policy for the fight against poverty,

- the creation of individual incentives for workers to come back,
- an international coordination of the migration flows,
- and the creation of conditions to have a BrainGain.

3.3.5 The New BrainDrain

Whereas BrainDrain traditionally is connected with the migration from developing towards developed countries, nowadays there is new phenomenon of BrainDrain. Within the developed countries highly educated people are moving from one to another country. This kind of migration has always existed, however over the last years some countries are having problems because they are losing much more high skilled people than other countries. In this research the BrainDrain within the developed countries is called *new BrainDrain*. New BrainDrain differs from traditional BrainDrain in the main characteristics. As mentioned before, the main characteristics for traditional BrainDrain are:

- The migration flow is from poorer countries towards richer countries.
- The migration consists of highly educated people.
- The most important motive for moving is the better financial opportunity in the host country.

As Brain Drain is aiming towards highly educated people, the second characteristic of traditional BrainDrain is also applicable for the new BrainDrain. However, the other two characteristics are not applicable for the modern BrainDrain. To start with the first:

The migration flow is from poorer countries towards richer countries. As mentioned before, the new BrainDrain takes place within the developed countries. The migration takes not place from poor towards rich countries, but from some rich countries towards some other rich countries. The migration balance is an interesting figure to get information about the migration of a country. The migration balance is the difference between the immigration and emigration of the country. When more immigrants come to the country than emigrants leave the country, the migration balance is positive. On the other hand, when the emigration is higher than the immigration, the migration balance is

negative. The following figure shows the migration balance of the European countries.

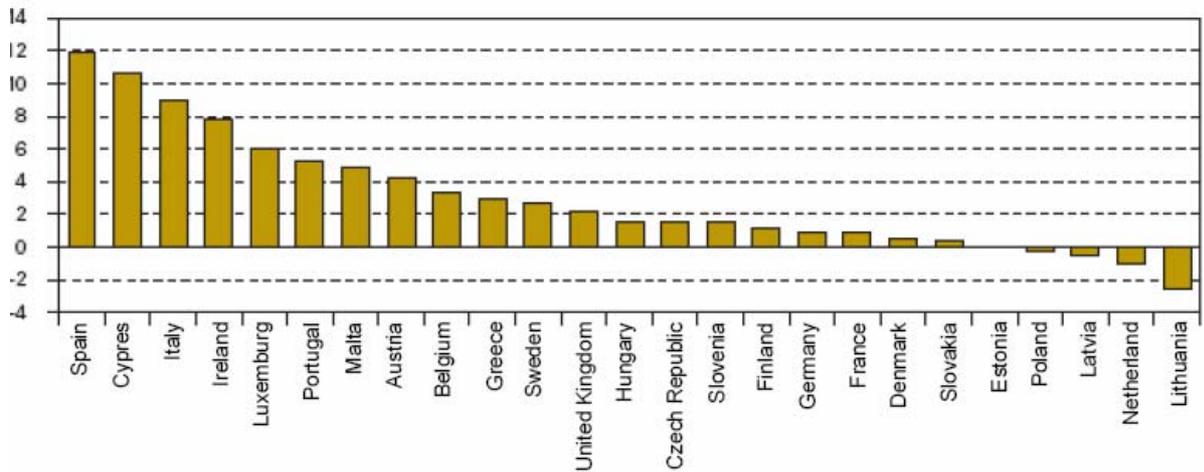


Figure 5: Migration Balance 2004 in the European Union per 1000 Inhabitants per Country (De Beer, 2005)

As this figure shows, the Netherlands have a very low migration balance. It is the only Western Europe country with a negative balance. On the contrary, the natural growth rate of Holland is higher than the average growth rate in the European Union. Germany had a positive balance in 2004, in 2005 however, also Germany has a negative balance. The following figure shows the decrease of the German migration balance.

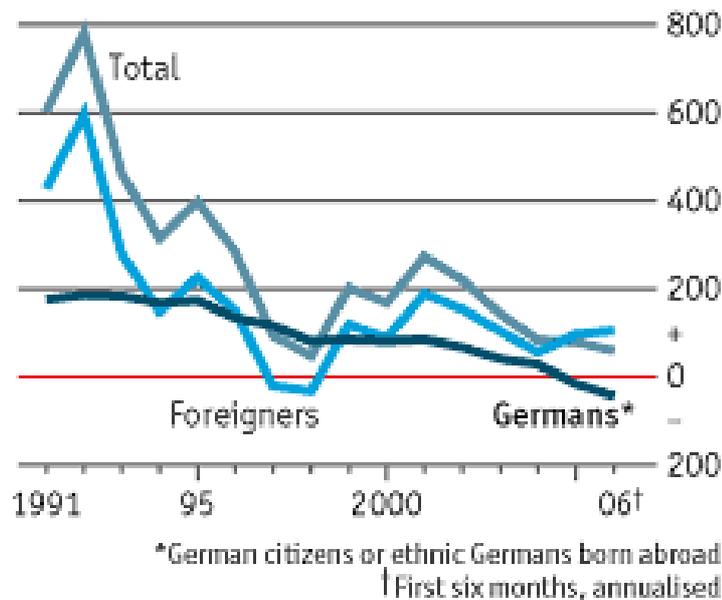


Figure 6: Germany's Net Immigration per 1000 Inhabitants (The Economist, October 2006)

The third characteristic of traditional BrainDrain is: *The most important motive for moving is the better financial opportunity in the host country.* The NIDI (The Dutch organization for Demographics) did a research towards the perceptions of the country of emigration under Dutch emigrants. The results are shown in the figure below.

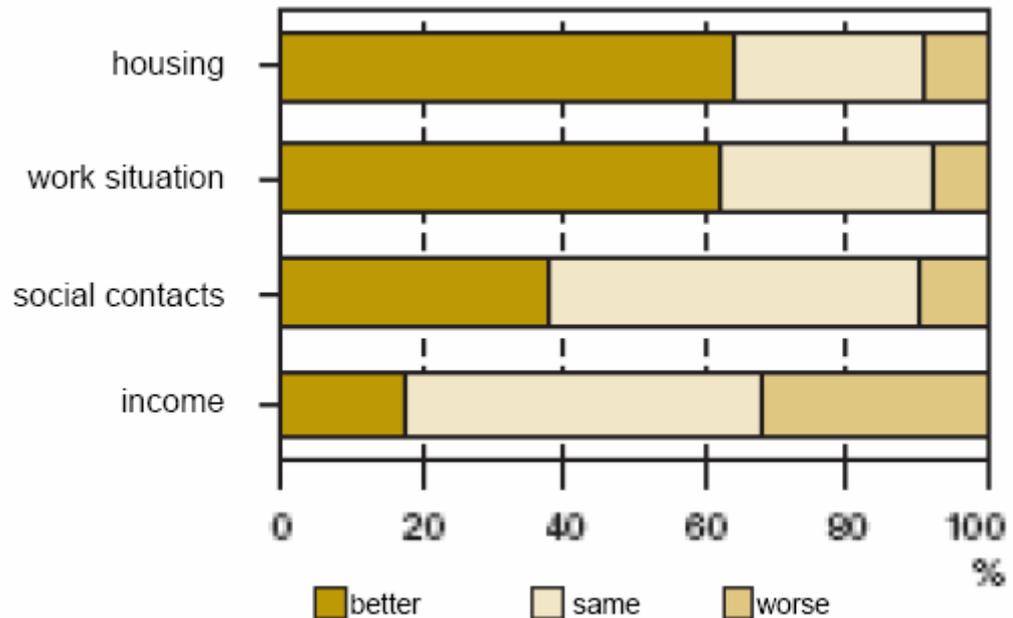


Figure 7: Expected Situation in the Country of Emigration (De Beer, 2005)

As the figure shows, only 18% of the immigrants expect a better income in the country of emigration. On the contrary, 25% of the emigrants expect a worse salary in the country of emigration. The other 57% expect a salary that is equal to their current salary in the Netherlands. From this figures we can conclude that a better salary can not be the reason for this people to emigrate. The traditional theories about BrainDrain do not fit with the new phenomenon. The academics causing the new BrainDrain mostly have other motives to leave their home countries. The purpose of this research is to find these motives.

3.4 Summary

To sum up, the BrainDrain is a special form of migration. Whereas the theories of migration explain the flow of labor in general, the term BrainDrain narrows this flow down to the movement of only highly educated people.

The traditional theories characterize different income levels, demographical differences, political situations, low living standards and low economical opportunities as the reasons for migration. The following figure visualizes these influences for migration and the caused BrainDrain:

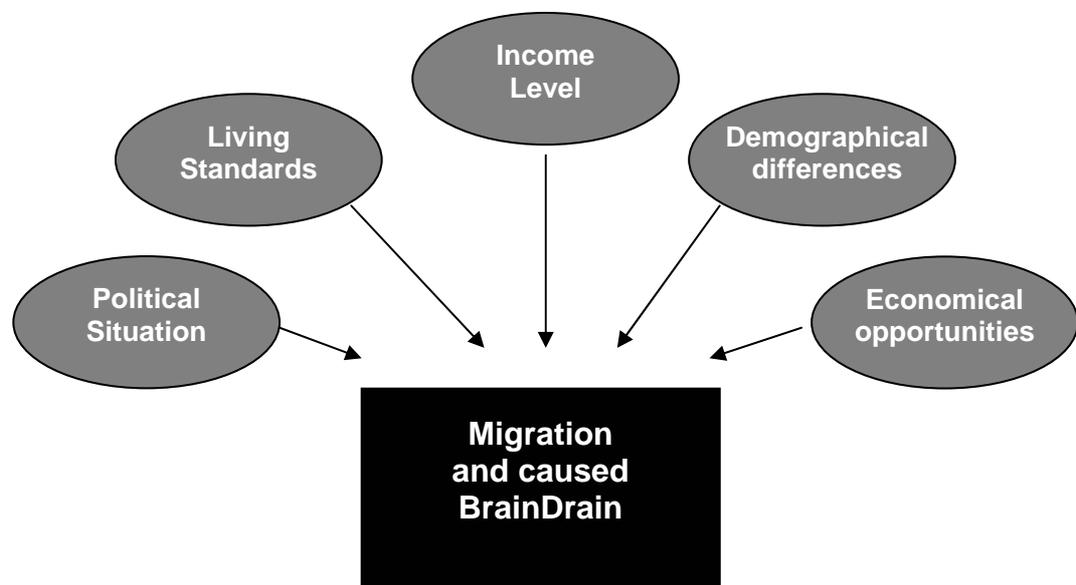


Figure 8: Driving Forces for the Traditional Migration and Caused BrainDrain

Further research describes that these factors explain the migration when it occurred but is not complete to explain the further migration that occurred during the globalization of the world. Therefore, further factors have been tested and are applicable as the follow up of the traditional migration. These factors are mainly: social status, secure employment, extra income, utility maximalization and the general migration culture appearing with a strong network of migrants. These factors need to be added to the traditional migration to explain the current migration. This is visualized in the following figure:

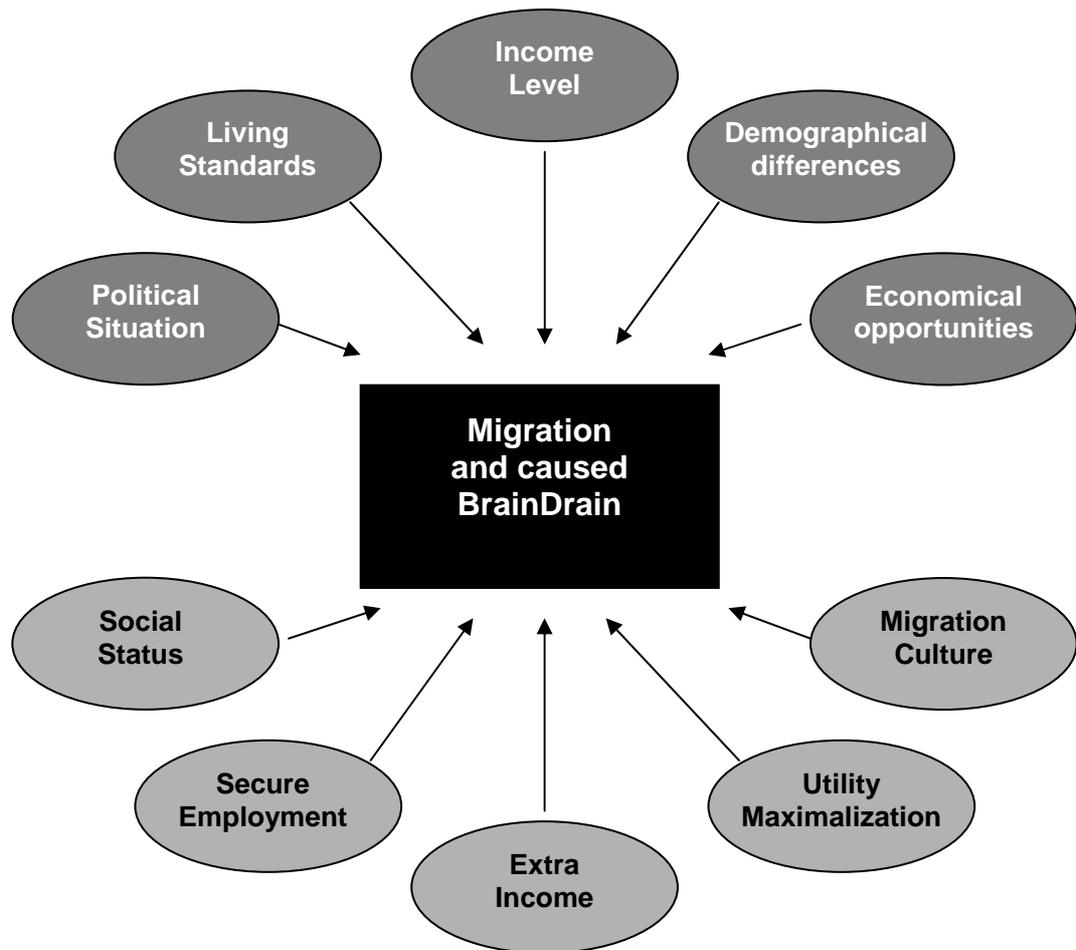


Figure 9: Driving Forces for the Modern Migration and Caused BrainDrain

The modern migration and cause BrainDrain is involved by many factors, which are shown in the figure. However, not every factor influences the individuals in the same way, moreover every individual valuates their own desires in order to make the right decision to improve their life and therefore move or not.

Maslow's model about the hierarchy of needs can explain this situation. Maslow states that every person pursues the same needs. When one need is fulfilled, the person will start to persue a next need. The hierarchy of needs used to be presented in a pyramid, with the more primitive needs at the bottom. All persons will start in the first, the physiological layer with the persuasion of the basic needs as food and water. The second layer is safety and consists of the security of body, employment, morality and property. Is the second layer fulfilled people start to reach for the third layer, which is called love and belonging. This layer is the importance of friendships and family, so called social network. Esteem is the purpose of the fourth layer and explains the be self-confident, owe respect to

other and be respected by others. The top of the hierarchy is the self-actualization and mainly consists of creativity, spontaneity. It can easily be expressed as what people use to say 'I want to live my dreams'. The following figure shows Maslow's hierarchy of needs:

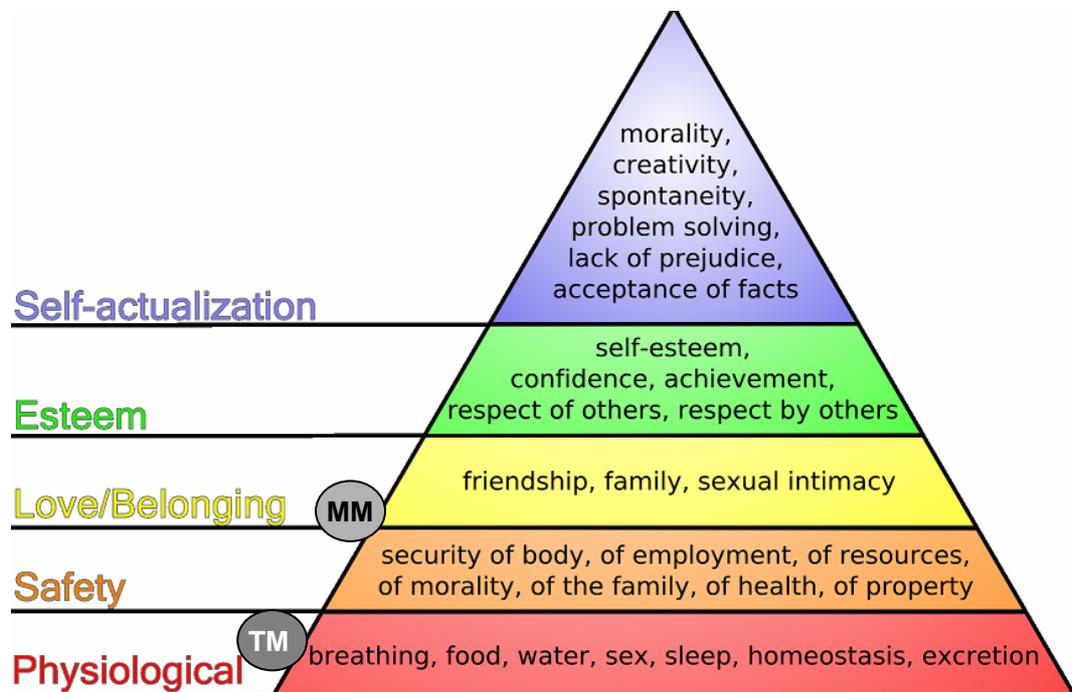


Figure 10: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1947), and the Position of the Traditional and Modern Migration

To visualize the difference of the traditional and the modern migration and caused BrainDrain their position in the hierarchy of needs is shown with two big points. The traditional migration ('TM', the dark grey point) shows that the traditional migration occurred to satisfy the migrants' basic needs, like food and a place to sleep. The modern migration is positioned higher on the hierarchy of needs and shows that the reasons for migration occurred more in order to receive security and be part of social networks.

As recent figures show a new phenomenon of migration and caused BrainDrain occurs recently. Latest investigations mention that the new form of migration cannot be explained by the traditional or modern theories of migration, as it was detected that the main reason for migration flow, the higher income level in the host countries, is not important anymore. This research' aim is to investigate the current reasons and motives for the new phenomenon of BrainDrain.

Chapter 4: Empirical Method

In this section the method for the empirical research is explained. This includes the research strategy, the type of study, the data collection method and the sample selection. Further, the questions for the interview is discussed, as well as the data analysis. This chapter ends with a discussion about reliability and validity of the research.

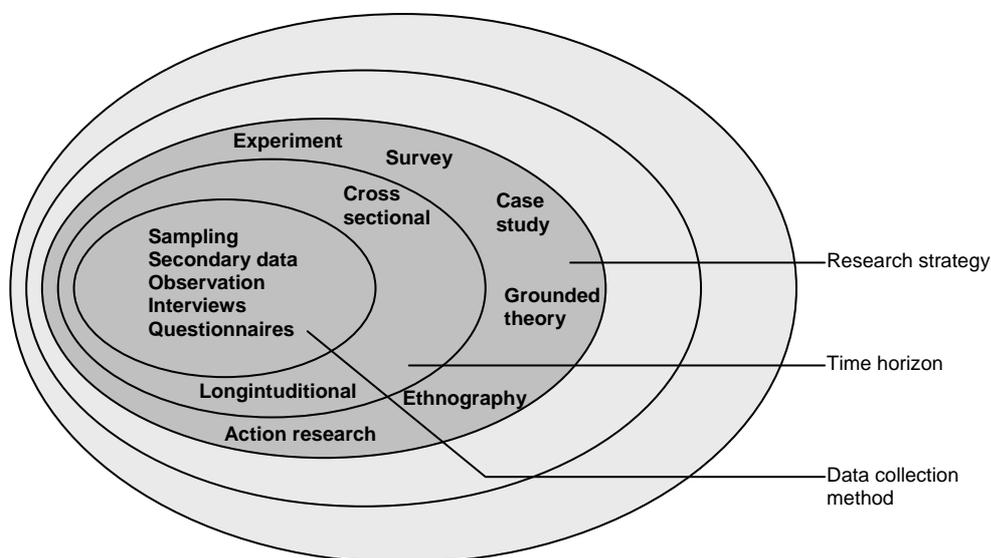


Figure 11: The Research Process 'Onion' (Saunders et al. 2003)

The research process 'onion' by Saunders et al. (2003) is again applicable for this chapter, as now the three inside layers are discussed. First, it comes to the research strategy, where it comes to the choice between an experiment, a survey, a case study, a grounded theory, ethnography or an action research. The

next layer discusses the time horizon, if the research is done cross sectional or longitudinal. Additionally the type of study is discussed, which can be exploratory, descriptive or explanatory. At last, the research process 'onion' comes to the data collection method, where a sampling, secondary data, an observation, interviews or questionnaires can be obtained for the right data collection.

4.1 Research Strategy and Time Horizon

The purpose of this dissertation is the development of a new model, which conquers the traditional explanations of migration and therefore explains the new movement between developed countries and the resulting problem of BrainDrain. As stated in chapter two, the intention is to test the suggested proposition that is described in the theory (chapter three). The aim of that test is to determine the reasons for people moving. It is shown that these reasons, developed in the existing theories, are more traditional and do not explain, why people nowadays move within developed countries. The empirical data help to explain these reasons. On the one hand, these data may give information in which extent the existing theories can be applied. On the other hand, it will give some new information, not explained so far, and therefore need to be added in a new model of migration.

There are several kinds of research strategies described in the literature, namely experiment, survey, case study, grounded theory, ethnography and action research. Furthermore, according to Saunders et al. (2003), the research strategies can be divided in cross-sectional and longitudinal studies. Comparing these different kinds of research strategies, it is important to carefully choose the most fitting one.

According to the limitations, mentioned in the first chapter, the characteristics of a case study are most suitable to fulfill the requirements of this dissertation. Robson (2002; p. 178) defines a case study as *a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence*. Case studies are a good strategy to gain a rich understanding of the research context and the process (Morris and Wood, 1991). The probability to generate answers to

why-questions is much higher than for other research strategies. Additionally, the researcher can also receive answers to what- and how-questions (Saunders et al., 2003). It might be assumed that case studies are unscientific, but Saunders et al. (2003) states that they are a good way to challenge but also explore existing theories. Furthermore, they might lead to new hypotheses.

The major point in this research is to examine the reasons for people moving within the developed countries. For this purpose, the authors have to generate more answers to why-questions. Moreover, the researchers assume, from their starting point of view, that existing theories are not applicable of nowadays migration and therefore need to be challenged and new hypotheses need to be adopted. In order to fulfill this task the authors need to gain a lot of information and a rich understanding why people decide to migrate. Primary and secondary data help to receive this information.

What is more to mention are the two different time horizons, explicitly cross-sectional and longitudinal. In this dissertation, only a cross-sectional research is possible, due to the limited period of time. However, the researchers do not have to examine a certain behavior in a certain circumstance. It is the most important and interesting to examine the reasons for their movement, which does not require a longitudinal study.

4.2 Type of Study

The classification mostly used by the research strategy is the threefold one of exploratory, descriptive and explanatory (Saunders et al., 2003). '*Exploratory studies are a valuable means of finding out 'what is happening; to seek new insights; to ask questions and to assess phenomena in a new light'* (Robson, 2002:59' in Saunders et al., 2003, p. 96). Saunders et al. (2003, p. 97) further explain '*three principal ways of conducting exploratory research:*

- *a search of the literature;*
- *talking to experts in the subject;*
- *conducting focus group interviews.'*

'The descriptive research is 'to portray an accurate profile of persons, events or situations' (Robson, 2002:59' in Saunders et al., 2003, p. 97). It describes a phenomenon or a situation as it really is but does not draw conclusions. According to Saunders et al. (2003) it is more a forerunner of the exploratory research and underlies the risk of being interesting but not explaining a situation or phenomenon. The explanatory studies set up causal relationships between various variables. The major point in that research strategy is to study a problem or a situation to explain correlations between variables involved with the problem (Saunders et al., 2003).

The exploratory research process is applied in this dissertation. The literature research in chapter three is the first step for this approach. To search for theories and describe them is more a descriptive research and therefore was the forerunner of the real exploratory research. During the analysis of BrainDrain within developed countries, the authors seek for new insights to assess that phenomenon.

Furthermore, to find the answers on the research questions, the researchers have to choose between qualitative and quantitative research. Because of the nature of the topic of this dissertation, explorative qualitative research has been used. There has been done a lot of research towards BrainDrain and migration before. However, the phenomenon of BrainDrain within the developed countries is a new topic. In this research, the reasons for the BrainDrain within the developed countries are explored. Qualitative research is therefore the most relevant form of research for this topic. Quantitative data are less important, because the objective of the research is to investigate ideas and opinions.

4.3 Data Collection Method

The two different types of data, namely primary and secondary data, have already been discussed in chapter 2.4 data collection. This chapter explains the method of collecting primary data, which is created through accomplished research (Saunders et al., 2003). To obtain primary data, different case study methods can be used. Besides questionnaires and observations, the most suitable data collection methods for this dissertation are interviews and documentary data. Documentary data are secondary data as well, information the

researchers get from institutes or other researchers. For this dissertation, these documentary data are mostly empirical data, figures and public records, which the authors of this dissertation received from institutes of their home countries, for instance the nation's net migration or a Europe migration balance. In addition, these data can be used to emphasize findings based on primary data, like an interview.

First of all, Saunders et al. (2003) state that the interview can help to gather valid and reliable data, which are relevant for the research. Furthermore, it is necessary to receive qualitative data to gain a rich understanding of the reasons why people move. Interviews can differ in their type, various researchers explain various differentiations. The major differentiation according to Saunders et al. (2003) is in structured, semistructured and unstructured interviews. Bruce L. Berg (2004) differs in standardized, semistandardized and unstandardized interviews, which explain the same features.

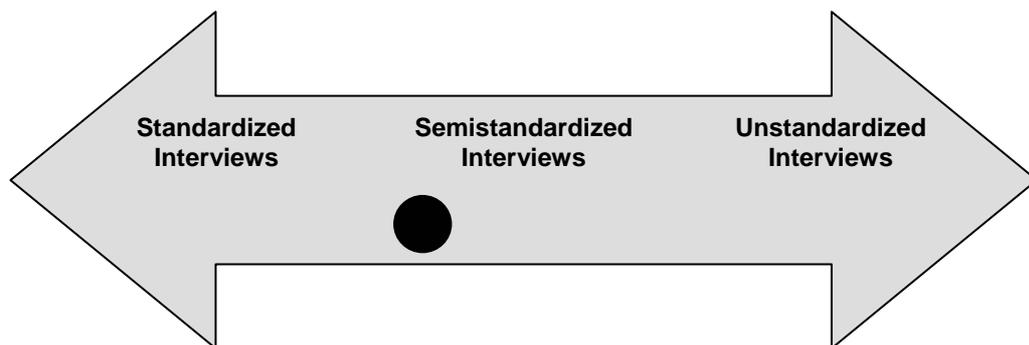


Figure 12: Interview Structure Continuum of Formality (Berg, 2004)

The above shown figure is a visual overview about the three different types of interviews and shows, where the method of this research is positioned.

Standardized interviews use a formally structured schedule of interview questions. The questions asked to the different interviewees are always the same, so that ideally the answers are completely comparable with each other (Babbie, 2001). The major questions, relevant to examine the special research topic, are known before the interview starts. The order of the questions and the wordings are clearly to understand for the interviewees and identical for every interviewee in that research topic (Berg, 2004).

On the contrary, the unstandardized interview explains the opposite extreme. The interviewer in an unstandardized interview does not know the complete set of questions in advance. The interviewers assume different answers for different interviewees, so the *'interviewers must develop, adapt and generate questions and follow-up probes appropriate to each given situation and the central purpose of the investigation'* (Berg, 2004). Unstructured interviews permit researchers to gain additional information about various phenomenon they might observe by asking questions.

As the figure above shows the semistandardized interview can be located somewhere between the extremes of completely standardized or unstandardized interview. A semistandardized interview involves a set of questions in advance. Furthermore, the interviewer has the possibility to deviate from these questions during the interview. The interviewee might talk freely and to get deeper insights new questions, which might not have been considered before, have to be developed and adapted. The order of the questions might differ in each interview. The interview itself does not underlie a strict rule; it will more arise during the process of the interview. The semistandardized interviews diversify with the involvement of characteristics of standardized and unstandardized interviews.

Coming back to the above mentioned figure, the semistandardized interview is chosen to for this research. The black dot in the figure shows, where the interview type of this research is positioned. The used semistandardized interview contains more characteristics of the standardized than the unstandardized interview, as the main research topic is clarified before and the meaning of each question is identical for all participants. Most of the questions in the interviews are fixed, but depending on the given answers, the authors might adapt new questions to get deeper insights of the main reasons, why people move. The wordings and structure of the questions might differ a bit, but generally they are structured. The type of interview is chosen to let the interviewee talk freely and maybe give clarifications. Furthermore, the interviewers know their set of questions and note them on a checklist. This checklist makes sure, to receive all necessary information for the research, but still gives both, interviewee and interviewer, the possibility to vary in structure and wording. The answers to the interviews are written down by the interviewers.

In addition, there are different forms of qualitative interviews, namely one-to-one or one-to-many interviews. As the names already say, the one-to-many interview is when the interviewer meets a small group of participants in order to explore an aspect of the research through a group discussion (Saunders, et al. 2003). On the other hand, the one-to-one interview is done with only single participants. Such interviews are most commonly conducted by meeting the participant face to face, but there may be other situations where an interview is conducted by telephone (Saunders, et al., 2003). The following figure makes the different forms of qualitative interviews visible.

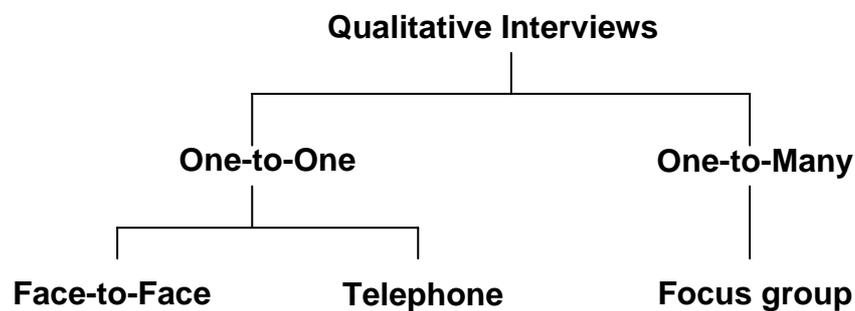


Figure 13: Form of Qualitative Interviews (Saunders, et al., p. 247)

Only one-to-one interviews are applied in this dissertation. The aim of the research is to find out the individual reasons for moving. Group discussions might manipulate some people; they may adopt motives of others; although these motives were not part of their own decision. The one-to-one interviews allow freer speaking and might lead to deeper insights or reasons that are more private. Furthermore, most of the interviews for this research are taken face-to-face, as it is always easier to interact for both, interviewer and interviewees. Additionally, it is easier to gain more knowledge in a private discussion, where also the body language might be interpreted. Due to the distance, some samples are interviewed by telephone. The authors of this dissertation are aware that, due to own behavior or wordings, the interviewee might be manipulated. Anyhow, the one-to-one interviews are the most suitable for this research, as the interviewees can talk freely, both parties can interact if necessary and clarifications can be easily done.

4.4 Sample Selection

To attain the purpose of this dissertation, it was necessary to collect data that would represent the reasons, people move within developed countries. It can be assumed that the reasons differ from the motives explained by traditional migration theories. It is essential to find people who moved within the last years, as the problem of BrainDrain within developed countries occurs recently and becomes more important. Furthermore, only German and Dutch people moving to Sweden are chosen to participate in this research. These both home countries are selected, as they are countries that suffer from BrainDrain. Sweden as the host country is chosen as it is receiving a lot of highly educated people from Germany and Holland. Furthermore, empirical data of the home countries show that Sweden became more popular for migrants during the last years.

The authors of this dissertation are aware that developed countries are more than just Holland, Germany and Sweden. They assume that the motives for leaving a country are very individual and dependent on the home country. The understanding of the reasons for one individual from each developed country moving to another developed country would not lead to a representative research. Thus, the authors decided to focus on two sending and one receiving country to gain deeper knowledge of the special motives. That method will lead to a more qualitative and representative research. Moreover, the motives of Germans and Dutch can be compared with each other, it might happen that the results completely differ or similar patterns are visible.

However, the phenomenon of BrainDrain involves only academics. Therefore, the researchers chose to focus on two different kinds of professions, namely highly educated business people, like Masters of Business Administration (MBA's) and health professionals. This limitation is to narrow down the wide topic of BrainDrain. The authors think that these two kinds of academically professions will represent the majority of academics. The business academics are chosen as the authors by itself are MBA-students and the academic level of MBA is international, so accepted worldwide. To consider also health professionals in this research topic is in order to involve a second academically sector, in which migration takes place a lot. In addition, only academics that plan a permanent stay in Sweden are considered.

Some of the mentioned samples of German and Dutch business people and health professionals are known privately. The others are found on the international academic internet platform XING. Founded in August 2003 as OPEN Business Club AG, XING's global '*network manages tens of millions of member-to-member connections across 16 languages and all industries, with "real world" events held around the world. XING is committed to powering relationships based on trust for all professional people. Far more than a directory of business contacts, openBC/XING enables its members to discover professional people, opportunities and privileges through its unique discovery capability and advanced contact management tools*' (www.xing.com).

Finally, six samples for the interviews are found, three German and another three Dutch academics. The authors of this dissertation are aware that some might think six interviewees are not enough for a representative research. However, as it is more important to receive qualitative than quantitative information it is more essential to gain deep insights of some samples than to gain lots of superficial information.

Nevertheless, a seventh academic as a control variable is interviewed. This person fits to the others as he moved to Sweden within the last five years and has a business profession. What is different is the country of origin, which is a developing country within Europe, so to say from Eastern Europe. The aim of this control variable is to compare the answers of the six samples with the control person to prove that the decision making to migrate to Sweden underlies different patterns.

Most of the people with the experience of moving and getting settled in another country like to share these experience and adventure with other people. A reason can be that they are proud to make this step and therefore have more knowledge of the process of moving to another country. The authors do not think of difficulties in finding these samples and finally make them talk about this experience, the motives and discouraging and encouraging factors while moving.

4.5 The Interview

To ascertain the main motives for moving and examine the reasons for migration and the phenomenon of BrainDrain, the researchers first make up their mind, what exactly they need to know. For this purpose a checklist with the main questions is written down shortly:

1. Why do the academics want to leave their home country? What are the reasons for leaving their home country?
2. Why did they choose Sweden? What makes it more attractive than other places?
3. Did the academics get help in the home or host country?
4. What have been the encouraging and discouraging factors of moving?
5. What have been the expectations of Sweden (positive and negative)
6. How did they find a job in Sweden? What was first, the desire to go to Sweden or leave the home country, or the job?

There is a special aim for each question, which is explained in the following:

1. *Why do the academics want to leave their home country? What are the reasons for leaving their home country?*

With this question the reasons and motives, why the interviewee left the home country should be examined. Aware that every interviewee has different reasons to leave the country, the wording of this questions gives the interviewee the chance to answer freely and let them talk about these reason. There might not only be one special motive, maybe a set of reasons, which lead to the decision to leave the country of origin. The open question makes sure to receive an individual answer from each interviewee. The answers should give a wider understanding of people's decision to leave. The interviewers are aware to receive answers they never expected or thought about before.

2. *Why did they choose Sweden? What makes it more attractive than other places?*

Again, this is an open question to receive the individual answers of each interviewee, why they decided to go to Sweden and maybe not to another country. This question should give deeper insights what it is that makes

Sweden so attractive recently. It can be assumed that migrants thought about their new host country before and maybe had a set of countries they could go. However, these people finally made their decision to move to Sweden, but this question should answer what the main factors for that decision have been.

3. *Did the academics get any help in the home or host country?*

The aim of this question is to examine, if institutions or agencies in the home or host country offer any help for the migration. This mostly concerns the way of finding a job, a new home or contacts, but however may also include other kinds of help, the interviewers are not aware of. Any help would make the decision to move or the migration itself easier. For example, employment centers in Germany and Holland offer language courses for people who plan to go to Sweden, receiving this kind of help could simplify the decision to move their.

4. *What have been the encouraging and discouraging factors of moving?*

For any decision that has to be made, there are pros and cons. This question is asked to find out these pro and cons. The authors of this dissertation are aware that the answers may differ for each individual. The answers are dependent on the individuals life style, social life and contacts, for example for some people it is encouraging to get work experience somewhere else, others may think that leaving their social contacts in the home country is discouraging. Again, the answers might spread a lot as it is an open question without fixed answers. However, to examine the path of decision making the authors have to find out these factors.

5. *What have been the expectations of Sweden (positive and negative)?*

Before finally living in a new country, there are many expectations, some good ones but also bad ones. This question might alike to question number two, however the authors of this dissertation think that the reason, why Sweden was chosen and the expectations of Sweden are not necessarily the same. It might include the same factors, for example work, life, nature, social system, and so on. Nevertheless, the choice for a country might differ from the expectations. The authors of this dissertation for example chose Sweden as a place to study during the autumn

semester because they already had good experience in Sweden and with the University of Kristianstad, although they expected Sweden to be cold and dark.

6. *How did they find a job in Sweden? What was first, the desire to go to Sweden or leave the home country, or the job?*

With the first question, the interviewers want to find out, how long it took the interviewee to finally find a job in Sweden. This question can explain the job situation in special branches and on the other hand can be a discouraging or encouraging factor. The second question is a very important question for the whole research, as it should discuss, what finally sets the ball rolling when it comes to the decision making of moving or not. It is important to examine, if first there was the desire to leave the country of origin and because of that looking for a job. On the other hand, it could have been the desire to live in Sweden what made the migrants look for employment. The third possibility could be a job they have been offered and therefore decided to leave the country of origin and move to Sweden.

According to these checklist of questions need to be answered, the following questionnaire was generated:

1. What is your home country?
 2. How long have you been living in Sweden?
 3. What is your profession?
 4. What is your level of education?
 5. What is your age?
 6. What is your family structure?
 7. Did you plan a permanent or temporarily movement?
-
8. Why did you choose to leave your home country?
 9. Why did you choose Sweden as destination?
 10. Which other destinations did you consider?
 11. What made Sweden more attractive for you than other destinations?
 12. Did you move because you found a job in Sweden or because you wanted to move to Sweden?
 13. How did you find your job in Sweden?
 14. Did you find your job after or before you moved to Sweden?

15. How long did it take to find a job in Sweden?
 16. What kind of help did you get in your home country with finding your job in Sweden?
 17. Did your family attend you moving to Sweden?
 18. If yes: did they move directly when you moved, or after a while?
 19. If not: is there a flow of remittance?
 20. What kind of help did you receive regarding your emigration to Sweden, from the host or home country?
 21. What have been the encouraging factors for moving during the process of migration?
 22. What have been the discouraging factors for moving during the process of migration?
 23. What did you expect to be better in Sweden than in your home country?
 24. What did you expect to be worse in Sweden than in your home country?
-
25. Regarding your plans of stay, permanent or temporarily, did these plans change during your stay in Sweden? If so, why?
 26. What influence does your migration have on your home country? What do you think about it?

The questionnaire is separated in three different parts, namely the introduction, the main and the finishing part. The partition is visible with the black lines.

The introduction part (question 1 to 7) consist of questions to secure the interviewee fits to the limitations made before, German or Dutch origin, not longer in Sweden than five years, business or health profession, highly educated and planned a permanent movement to Sweden.

The main part (question 8 to 24) consists of the questions from the checklist with their main purpose explained before. Some questions might be repeated and only differ in the wordings. The aim of these repetitions is to secure and to stabilize the interviewees' statement and therefore gain a deeper knowledge of the information given.

The last two questions (question 25 to 26) are finishing questions. First, the interviewers want to know, if the interviewee changed their mind in their plans of staying constantly. If that would be the case, it is important to figure out why these changes occurred. The second and therefore last question is to examine, if

the migrants are aware of the problem of BrainDrain within their country of origin. The term BrainDrain is not used itself in that question to give the interviewee again a chance to answer freely and without manipulation. It should be examined, if people think about the fact that their migration harms their country of origin, and if so, how they think about it.

For a semistandardized interview it is important to have a set of questions prepared. These questions are the main ones for the research. However, regarding individual answers they might vary. Therefore, it cannot be guaranteed that each question mentioned in the questionnaire indeed will be asked. The interviewers will skip or add questions during the process of the interview in order to receive answers to the main questions and deeper insights of these answers.

4.6 Analysis of the Material

The *labeling method* of Baarda en de Goede² is used for the analyses of the results of the interviews. Answers of the interviews are labeled. For example, the question why emigrants choose Sweden as a host country. Answers like *'less overtime and less patients per doctor'* are labeled as *working conditions*. This method provides the possibility to compare answers to open questions.

4.7 Credibility of Research Findings

When primary data are obtained it is important to know what faith can be put in the data as truly indicating peoples performance or behavior (Robert B. Burns, 2000). Some questions in the theory are difficult to apply and it is possible to get wrong answers showing a distorted picture of the reality. According to Saunders et al. (2003) *'reducing the possibility of getting the answer wrong means that attention has to be paid to two particular emphases on research design: reliability and validity'*. Reliability is a prerequisite to validity, which means, reliability is necessary for validity, however, it does not guarantee validity.

² Source: Baarda en de Goede "kwalitatief onderzoek" (1996) ISBN 90 207 2485 1. This is a method for the analyses in qualitative research. Visions of examined persons are shown systematically, whereby statistical data are not so relevant.

4.7.1 Reliability

Reliability explains the dependability or stability of the obtained data, which means that the received data are consistent and predictable. When data are reliable, one can depend on them. On the other hand, data can be more variable, than it is unreliable and one cannot depend on them.

Robson (2002) mentions four different kinds of threats, namely participant (or subject) error, participant (or subject) bias, observer error and observer bias. A participant error may occur, when the participant, the interviewee, is not perfectly consistent. That means that the behavior or performance of the interviewee is variable. The answer given to each question depends on the interviewees temper and atmosphere. To avoid participant errors the interview has to be proceeded in the 'right' or a 'neutral' moment, which is hardly definable and prearrange able. One calls it a participant bias when the answers of the interviewee are not completely truthful. For example, one reason for an untrue answer might be that the interviewee changes the answer to what the interviewer prefers to hear, in order to help them. Answers might also be faked in order to fit in a better pattern or not to hurt anyone. Depending on the research topic, interviewees might feel afraid to tell the truth, for instance if it comes to the question, how they think about the work atmosphere. Pressure or social patterns can be strong reasons for interviewees to give untruthful answers; anonymity of the interviewees would help to avoid participants' bias.

In spite of the participants errors and bias there is also the observer error. It might occur when the interviewers do not pay enough attention or the interview is not prearranged well. Mostly these errors are caused by carelessness, unsystematic and imprecise scoring procedures. Observer errors might also occur when there is more than one interviewer conducting different interviews. In that case, the interviewing atmospheres are different and might lead to different approaches. Lastly, there is the observer bias which occurs when interviewers record or count behaviors and answers they expect or want to hear rather than what was actually said. According to the observer errors, if there is more than one interviewer, different interpretations might arise from each interview, which raises the risks for observer bias.

The existence of threats on the participants' side can be excluded almost completely. For this research, it is important to find out the reasons why the participants moved to Sweden and wanted to leave their country of origin. The decision was already made and performed. The motives for leaving are back in the past and do not interact with the current temper of each participant. Additionally, special meetings in a private atmosphere are arranged before the interviews, to avoid possible stress factors. Furthermore, it cannot be expected that the given answers are untrue in order to fit the research, as the participants have not been enlightened about the research topic, to generate a new model that explains the current migration and the causing problem of BrainDrain within developed countries. Observer errors might occur, although the researchers spent a lot of attention for preparing the questions and the process of the interview. Moreover, the roles during the interview within the dissertation group are discussed, one researcher will be the interviewer, the other one observes the situations and writes down the given answers. Thus, also observer errors are excluded in this research. Finally, observers bias might occur in this research, as the researchers are not completely free from individual interpretations, however, as the researchers at time of the interviews do not know what they will discover, they will not interpret answers in a certain that they assume it will be better for the research. To sum up it can be said, that the reliability of this dissertation is very high, as almost no threats might affect the research.

4.7.2 Validity

'Validity is concerned with whether the findings are really about what they appear to be about' (Saunders et al., 2003; p. 101), so to say whether the measurement device indicates what it purports to measure. More accurately, it is not the measurement device that is valid, but the inference made by the researchers based on this measurement device (Popham, 1981). Validity questions the nature of reality and is a very complex subject but import for each research. Robson (2002) again examined a number of six threats to validity, explicitly history, testing, instrumentation, mortality, maturation and ambiguity about causal direction, which is explained in detail. It is more important to prove that the relationship between two variables a causal relationship (Saunders et al. 2003). The value of each factor influencing the migrants decision to move is not measurable. Causations between each mentioned reason, motive or factor can

only be assumed. Therefore, the validity of this research, as in almost every qualitative research, is rather high.

4.7.2.1. Generalizability

Generalizability is the extent to which the research results maybe equally applicable to other research settings (Saunders et al., 2003). According to Saunders et al. (2003) the generalizability can also be called the external validity and therefore belongs to the subchapter of validity. It discusses the transferability of the results of one investigation is enhanced. For this special example, the research results should be equally applicable for other developed countries than Germany and Holland. Nevertheless, *'a single investigation, no matter how complex or how many individuals are included in it, cannot equal the weight of several investigations of the same phenomenon'* (Martella, Nelson, Marchand-Martella, 1999, p.25). In conducting a case study research in one or a small number of research objects or countries of origin, this can be a particular worry. Than it can be simply tried to explain the phenomenon in this particular research and test the robustness of the conclusions by exposing them to other research setting in a follow-up study (Saunders et al., 2003).

As in this dissertation a case study is conducted, the problems of generalizability may easily arise. However, including a control variable to the group of interviewees can prove the difference between motives of migrants from developed and developing countries, but does not prove the generalizability of the research findings in total. A further study that involves other developed countries to test the results arising from this research would give higher certainty to the generalizability of these research findings.

4.8 Summary

The research strategy chosen for this dissertation is the case study. As the particular phenomenon of BrainDrain within developed countries in a real life context is investigated, it is important to gain a deeper understanding and knowledge of the motives to move. A cross-sectional case study provides the best opportunity to gain deeper insights to the reasons that lead to the decision of

migration. Furthermore, the type of this study can be described as exploratory. The literature review in chapter three that describes the existing models of migration and BrainDrain can be seen as a forerunner to this research, which should investigate and explain the new phenomenon of BrainDrain within the developed countries. In addition, secondary and primary data are applied in this dissertation. Primary data are obtained by a semistandardized interview. As the data should explain reasons for migration in depth, and therefore underlies qualitative characteristics, a semistandardized interview is best applicable. The researchers need to provide a checklist of questions for the interview. However, they can develop, adapt and generate new questions according to each situation in order to receive deeper knowledge of certain factors. To participate the case study certain criteria need to be fulfilled. The participants should not live in Sweden for more than five years, and their country of origin should be Germany or Holland. Furthermore an academically degree in medicine or business is required. Six interviewees have been selected. The interview is done face-to-face or by telephone. The main findings shall give answers to the following questions:

- Why do the academics want to leave their home country? What are the reasons for leaving their home country?
- Why did they choose Sweden? What makes it more attractive than other places?
- Did the academics get help in the home or host country?
- What have been the encouraging and discouraging factors of moving?
- What have been the expectations of Sweden (positive and negative)
- How did they find a job in Sweden? What was first, the desire to go to Sweden or leave the home country, or the job?

In order to analyze the answers the labeling method of Barrda en de Goede is used, which labels each answer and therefore makes them comparable. Finally, due to the way of working, organizing and preparing, almost all threats of reliability can be excluded. Thus, the primary data obtained by the interview are predictable and consistent. Furthermore, to compare motives from people with their origin in developed countries, a control variable is added. On the contrary, the validity is not that high, as certain causalities between the main motives are not measurable. Finally, it can be assumed, that the findings, although only obtained by German and Dutch emigrants to Sweden, can be applied in general for developed countries.

Chapter 5: Analysis

This chapter presents an evaluation of the empirical results. After all interviewees are presented, every factor is analyzed separately to explain the motives for academics' decision making to move from Germany or Holland to Sweden, as well as the motives of the control variable. Furthermore, the results are compared with each other. In the end, the model of the driving forces for the new phenomenon of BrainDrain is generated by the new findings.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the results of the empirical research. The main questions of the interview, as mentioned in chapter 4.5, are used for the structure of the analyses. These questions are:

1. Why do the academics want to leave their home country? What are the reasons for leaving their home country?
2. Why did they choose Sweden? What makes it more attractive than other places?
3. Did the academics get help in the home or host country?
4. What have been the encouraging and discouraging factors of moving?
5. What have been the expectations of Sweden (positive and negative)
6. How did they find a job in Sweden? What was first, the desire to go to Sweden or leave the home country, or the job?

5.2 Analysis of the Material

5.2.1 Overview of the Interviewed Persons

The following scheme provides an overview of the interviewed persons:

	Gender	Home country	Host country	Age	Occupation
Person 1	Male	Holland	Sweden	23	Entrepreneur
Person 2	Male	Holland	Sweden	43	Paramedical
Person 3	Female	Holland	Sweden	38	Family doctor
Person 4	Male	Germany	Sweden	28	Logistics manager
Person 5	Female	Germany	Sweden	28	Organizational management
Person 6	Male	Germany	Sweden	26	Letter of credit coordinator
Control variable	Male	Latvia	Sweden	25	PhD student / researcher

Table 1: Introduction of the Interviewees

For the selection of the persons to interview, the following criteria are used:

- The home country is Germany or Holland (3 persons from Germany and 3 persons from Holland.)
- The host country is Sweden
- The person has not lived in Sweden for more than five years.
- The person has at least a bachelor degree or equivalent.

It goes without saying that the first two criteria are chosen. As the migration from Germany and Holland to Sweden is used as a case study, it is logical to interview persons from these countries. The third criterion is chosen because of practical reasons. The questions in the interview relate to the reasons of migration. It is hard to think of these reasons when the migration took place 25 years ago. Finally, the fourth criterion is chosen because of the area of research: BrainDrain. BrainDrain is directly connected with highly educated people.

5.2.2 *Reasons for Migration*

As discussed in chapter three, the main reasons for the traditional Brain Drain are:

- The higher income level in the developed countries
- A lack of labor supply in the developing countries
- The working circumstances in the developing countries

These reasons explain the migration of highly educated persons from developing towards developed countries. However, in this paragraph the focus is the migration between the developed countries. The following table provides an overview of the reasons of migration of the persons who are interviewed in this research.

	Reasons for migration	Explanation
Person 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business climate • Environment • Experienced a lot of stress in Holland • Dissatisfaction with society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The business climate in Holland is very competitive. For this reason, it is difficult to start a new business in Holland. • There is a lack of free space in Holland. Everywhere is traffic and noise. • The inhabitants in Holland seem to be more stressed and hurried than inhabitants of certain other countries. • The norms and values in the society are getting more vague. There is less respect for other persons than 10 years ago.

<p>Person 2</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stress due to labor conditions • Busy country • Lack of nature and free space. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Holland it is normal to have a lot of overtime next to the normal working hours. Besides this, health professionals have to medicate too many patients in too little time. • The Dutch people are always in a hurry, for example in the traffic, in the jobs, etc. • Holland is very crowded, this makes the way of living less comfortable, for example children do not have a lot of opportunities to play outside.
<p>Person 3</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labor conditions • Bad work-life-balance • Lack of nature and free space. • Social situation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health professionals have to medicate too many patients in a little time. It is hard to combine the career and the family life. • There is not enough free space for recreation and relaxation. • There is more and more forwardness in Holland. Children need a more social environment to grow up.
<p>Person 4</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economical situation • New experience • Labor conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience that it is difficult to find a good job in Germany. • Migration offers the chance to experience a new country. • In Germany it is difficult to combine a family with a career. The possibilities for childcare, for example are not good.

Person 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficult to find a job • The way of living in Germany 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nowadays it is more difficult to find a good job for academics in Germany • Less economical opportunities • The society is mainly focused on earning money instead of the quality of life.
Person 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labor conditions • Desire to experience living in an other country • The natural environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overtime are normal in jobs for highly educated employees, bosses do not take care of the employees so much. • The German environment does not provide a lot of space for recreation.
Control variable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not the most prestigious possibilities for PhD students • Wish to live in a neutral country with girlfriend 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are possibilities for PhD in Latvia, however the PhD places in other countries receive higher status.

Table 2: Reasons for Migration

As shown in the table, there are various reasons for migration. However, there are some reasons that are important for almost all the interviewed persons. The first reason is *labor conditions*. Five out of six interviewed persons mentioned stressful labor conditions as an important reason for their migration. The participants gave various examples to explain the working circumstances. The family doctor, for example stated that she had to treat too many patients in a too small period. Some persons spoke about the high amount of overtime, which is normal in a job for highly educated persons. The high pressure in the jobs makes people experience stress. This is a very important reason for the wish to emigrate. Another reason is the lack of nature and space, especially in Holland. As Holland is a very high crowded country, there is not so much space for nature. There is a desire along the emigrants to move to a country with more nature. The third main reason is the dissatisfaction with the society. The interviewed persons talked for example about a lot of criminality. The criminality has increased over

the last years. Another point mentioned is that the society is experienced as an hurried society. There is one main difference between the reasons for migration of the Dutch and the German emigrants. German emigrants stated that it is hard to find a job in their country, whereas none of the Dutch emigrants gave this as a reason. However, the Germans did not mention the lack of jobs as the most important factor for migration.

5.2.3 Destination Sweden

In the last paragraph the reasons for migration were discussed. The emphasis in this paragraph is the reasons why emigrants choose Sweden as their destination. During the interview the participants have been asked this question both directly ('Why did you choose Sweden?') and indirectly ('What made Sweden more attractive than other destinations?'). The following table shows an overview of the results.

	Reasons for Sweden	Other destinations considered
Person 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business culture • Social climate • Economical opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No other destinations have been considered
Person 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labor conditions • Nature • Distance to Holland • Experience with Sweden caused by previous holidays. • The Swedish way of living 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Norway • New Zealand • Australia
Person 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labor conditions • Nature • Swedish way of living 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New Zealand • Canada

Person 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close to home country • Experience because of studies • Job perspectives • Economical opportunities • Everyone speaks English • Modern country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Dubai •Canada
Person 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Swedish way of living • Job opportunities • Close to home country • Nature • Lower living costs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Switzerland •England
Person 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labor conditions • Relationship with a Swede • Nature • Experiences in Sweden 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Spain
Control variable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close to home country • Opportunity for PhD in Lund • Social welfare system • Previous experience caused by studies in Sweden. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Germany •Austria •England

Table 3: Destination Sweden

As shown in the table, there are many aspects that make Sweden an attractive country for the migrants. The most important reasons are:

- Labor conditions
- Natural environment
- The Swedish society

The aspects that make Sweden more attractive for the emigrants, are the aspects which make them dissatisfied with their home countries.

Regarding the labor conditions, the participants stated that Swedish companies are more focused on the well being of their employees. There are better possibilities for combining being parents with having a job. Furthermore, the job pressure is considered to be lower in Sweden than in Germany or Holland. The family doctor gave the following example: In Holland she had to treat 10 patients in the same time period in which she has to treat only 8 patients in Sweden.

Regarding the Swedish society, the emigrants mentioned different aspects. The first part is the social climate: Sweden is considered to be more save than Holland or Germany. Furthermore, the participants stated that norms and values are more respected in Sweden. Besides this, the mentality of the Swedish population is considered to be less stressed hurried than the mentality in the home countries. The second part refers to the practical aspects regarding the emigration. It is relatively convenient for Dutch and German persons to emigrate to Sweden. For example, the population has good English language skills and the culture is quite similar to the German or Dutch culture.

Finally, there is another reason that makes Sweden more attractive than other destinations, the short distance to the home country. The possibility to go back home for a short visit is very good. Knowing to go back home easily encouraged the migrants decision to move to Sweden.

5.2.4 Encouraging and Discouraging Factors

During the process of migration, some factors may encourage or discourage the migration. These factors are discussed in this paragraph. The following table

provides an overview of the encouraging and discouraging factors of the interviewed persons.

	Encouraging factors	Discouraging factors
Person 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social contacts easily established • Help from Swedish organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being away from family and friends • Language • Small business network
Person 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive experiences by other emigrants. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bureaucratically procedures. • Swedish culture: it takes long to arrange something • Language • Lower salaries
Person 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A job was found during the orientation on migration • Establishing contacts with other Dutch emigrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bureaucratic procedures • Children
Person 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job opportunities • Excitement of living abroad 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bureaucratically procedures • Expenses due to migration • Being away from family and friends
Person 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job was found during the orientation on migration. • Living together with partner. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the beginning no permanent job • Language
Person 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A job was easily found. • Relationship with Swede. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feeling of being a non Swede • Language • Higher living costs • Lower salaries

Control variable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality of research • PHD position available • Living together with partner 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Language •No social network
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Table 4: Encouraging and Discouraging Factors

As shown in the table the most important discouraging factors are: the disability to speak Swedish, the bureaucratically procedures and the feeling of not being with family and friends. The emigrants stated that they underestimated the importance of speaking Swedish before they started the process of migration. Swedish inhabitants are considered to have good English language skills. For this reason emigrants underestimate the importance of speaking the language. However, during the process of migration, they found out that it is necessary to speak the language if they really immigrate to Sweden.

The bureaucratically procedures are another encouraging factor. Although Sweden, Germany and Holland are part of the European Union, the participants stated that there are a lot of bureaucratically procedures before the migration can take place. These procedures discourage the migrants to continue their movement.

The third factor is the feeling of not being with family and friends. During the process of migration, the migrants experienced that they do not have a social contacts in Sweden. In the beginning it was quite lonely to move to another country. The feeling of being without a social network discourages the migration.

Encouraging factors are connected to the easiness of finding a job during the migration process and the contacts. The emigrants did not receive help from organizations in their home countries. However, they received some help from their new employers in Sweden and from other immigrants in Sweden. There are some websites with positive stories of other emigrants from Holland and Germany. These kinds of websites encourage the migration.

5.2.5 Finding a Job

The emigrants are asked about the way of finding their jobs in Sweden. The goal is to find out whether the emigrants moved because of a new founded job or because of they wanted to live in Sweden. All the applicants stated that they started to search for a job after they made the decision to move to Sweden. Therefore, it can be concluded that the destination Sweden is a conscious choice of the migrants. This, in comparison to the control variable from Latvia, who explained that the opportunity to run for the PhD was more important than the country, is a completely different process of migration. Furthermore, it needs to be stated, that a secure employment was very important for each participant. The importance of economical opportunities and the growing industry was mentioned, which provides a secure employment.

5.2.6 Expectations of Sweden

Before their migration the emigrants already had some expectations about Sweden. These expectations can be either good or bad. In this paragraph the positive and negative expectations of the migrants are discussed.

	Expected to be better in Sweden	Expected to be worse in Sweden
Person 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Swedish mentality, which is more relaxed • More safe • Norms and values are as they have been in Holland 10 years ago. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More bureaucratically procedures • Less ambition in the jobs
Person 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Swedish mentality, which is more relaxed • More freedom • Less stress • More nature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salaries • More bureaucratically procedures • It takes longer to accomplish something.

Person 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More nature • Labor conditions • More relaxed way of life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Salaries
Person 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nature • Better working-living balance • The Swedish mentality, which is more relaxed • Labor conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Salaries •Higher costs of living •Health Care
Person 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A more international atmosphere • Labor conditions • Easier to find a job 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Salaries
Person 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labor conditions • Less overtime • Less hierarchically company structures • More informal relationship with the boss 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Salaries
Control variable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salaries • Life circumstances • Higher level of research 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The relationships with people are more reserved

Table 5: Expectations of Sweden

One of the most striking results is that almost all the participants expected to earn a lower salary in Sweden than in their home country. In spite of the lower salaries, the participants all choose to migrate to Sweden. The salary seems to be an unimportant factor in the decision to migrate to Sweden. This result is in contradiction with the traditional theories about BrainDrain, which state that the

salary is one of the most important factors to move to another country. Aspects that are expected to be better in Sweden are: labor conditions, nature and the relaxed way of life. In conclusion that means the emigrants expected to earn less and but have better conditions for a comfortable life.

5.3 Results

Concluded from the first paragraphs it can be stated that nowadays the desire to improve the quality of life is still the most important reason for migration between the developed countries. However, the way in which the emigrants try to improve their life differs from the way in which the migrants from the developing countries want to improve their lives. With this research, it can be seen that some traditional and modern motives for migration are not applicable for the BrainDrain within developed countries. For a better understanding, the driving forces for the traditional and modern BrainDrain as explained in the literature review are shown again:

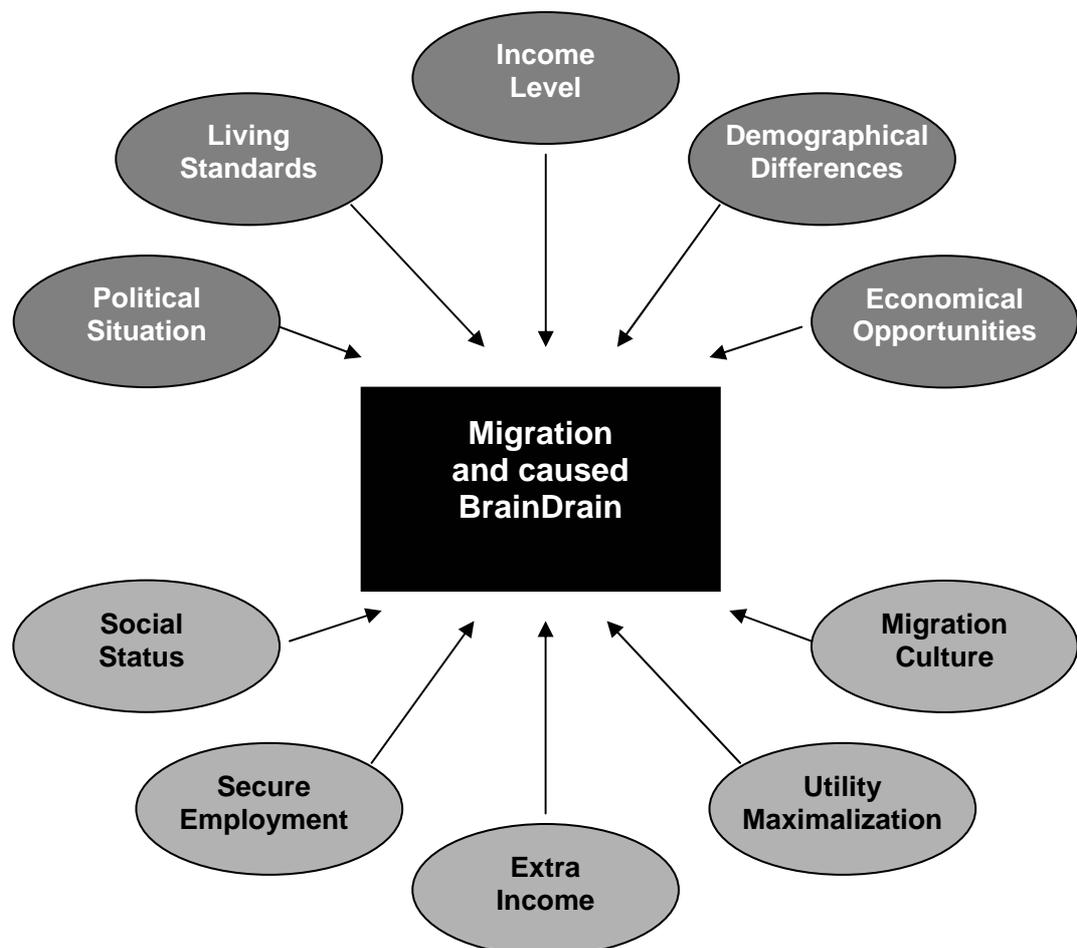


Figure 14: Driving Forces for the Modern Migration and Caused BrainDrain

Concluded from the interviews it can be stated that traditional factors (shown in the figure in dark grey) like the political situation and, strangely enough, the income level are not relevant anymore for the decision to move. On the contrary, the living standards and economical opportunities are nowadays still factors that are involved in the final decision to move. Furthermore, the modern factors (shown in the figure in grey) are also only partly applicable for the new phenomenon of BrainDrain. A secure employment is still an important factor for the migrants, as well as the migration culture. Networks are still existing and are even easier to keep, due to the technical innovations. Nevertheless, some factors, namely extra income and utility maximalization are not important at all for the movement within the developed countries. Undoubtedly, the people decided to move to Sweden, although the income level for highly educated persons is lower than in their home countries. The social status is still a driving force for the BrainDrain, but does not occur in the same way as it occurs in the traditional or modern model of BrainDrain. In the new phenomenon of BrainDrain it occurs as esteem and self-actualization. With these results of the analysis it can be said that the existing model of traditional and modern BrainDrain is not applicable in total anymore. Therefore, the factors, which are not important anymore, are eliminated and factors, which nowadays affect the phenomenon of BrainDrain are added. For further explanations it need to be said that the movement does not occur because of certain factors mentioned in the figure, but these factors still influence the decision to move, as their appearance provides the fulfilling of the other factors. For example, the academics do not move because they cannot find a job in their home country, which can be assumed as otherwise, the home country would not suffer from BrainDrain, but still a secure job needs to be provided in the host country. Thus, the academics can strive after self-actualization. The following figure shows the driving forces of the new phenomenon of BrainDrain, it includes traditional, modern and new factors. For a better understanding the traditional factors still influencing migration are shown in dark grey, the modern factors in grey and the new factors in light grey.

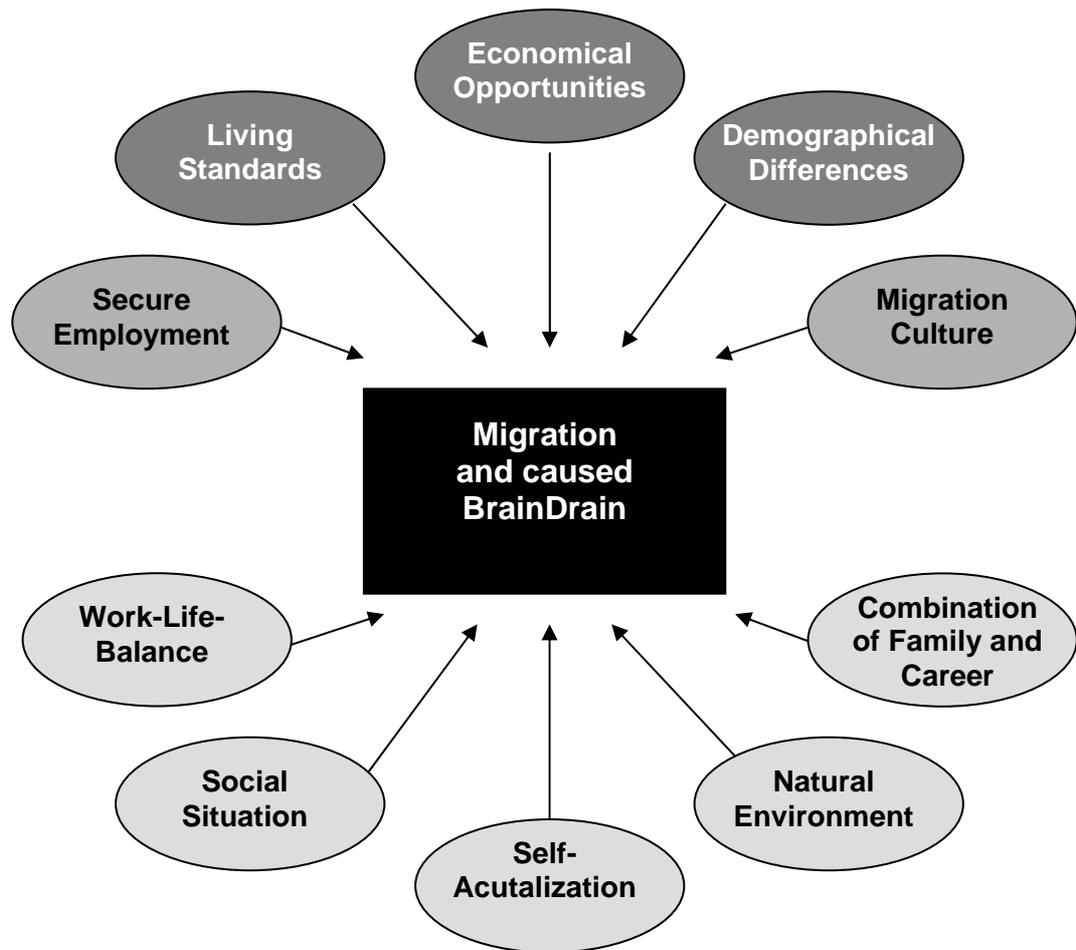


Figure 15: Driving Forces for the New Phenomenon of BrainDrain

Coming back to Maslow's hierarchy of needs whether the academics cannot reach their basic needs in their home country they are moving in order to fulfill these needs. However, the persons who migrate within the developed countries, already fulfilled their basic needs. It is therefore obvious that these migrants have different reasons for migration. The reasons for migration are related to the two highest layers of the pyramid, and especially to the layer of self-actualization. Although the highly educated people do not have to worry about the security of their job, or a fixed salary in their home country, they emigrate. Even more, they can choose to move to a country with lower salaries in order to reach self-actualization. Nevertheless, to fulfill the higher levels of the hierarchy of needs, the basic layers need to be secured. A safe employment and a growing economical situation are factors that secure the basic layers. Although these factors are not the main reason for the migration, as the academics do not leave to get a job nowadays, but more in order to get an individually better job. The factors of economical opportunities and secure employment need to be

mentioned, as they provide the fulfilling of the basic layers. However, the conditions of life are important for the emigrants. They do not want to live for their jobs and look for better possibilities to combine their job with their private lives. Germany and Holland do not provide enough possibilities to fulfill this need. For example, the emigrants consider their home countries to be too stressful, job-focused and hurried. Sweden on the contrary, is seen as a country with a relaxed way of life and enough nature. The combination of both good working and living conditions makes Sweden an attractive country for the migrants. The first three layers at Maslow's hierarchy of needs are fulfilled in the home country of each migrant. Nevertheless, to reach further needs they chose to move to Sweden. Therefore, it can be said that the motives for the new phenomenon of BrainDrain is positioned higher on the pyramid, as shown in the following graph ('NM', light grey point):

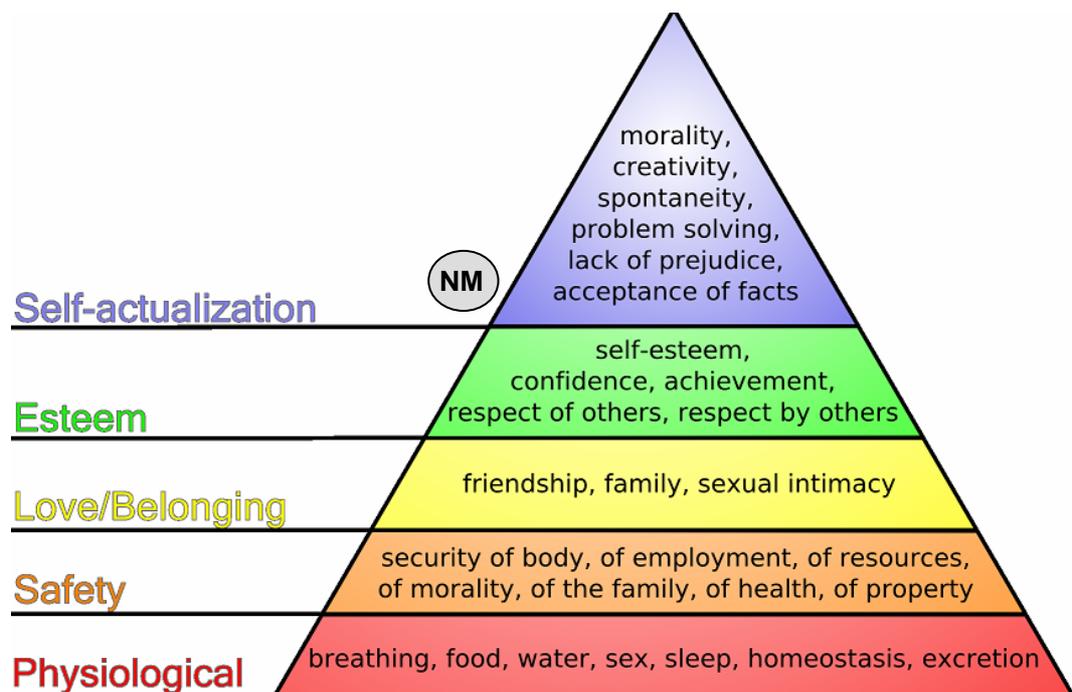


Figure 16: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1947), and the Position of the New Phenomenon of BrainDrain

5.4 Summary

To sum up it can be stated that the analysis leads to new insights of the new phenomenon of BrainDrain. The combination of the questions and the comparable answers shows that the traditional thinking of migration and the BrainDrain occurred by migration is not applicable anymore. It is investigated that migrants do not move in order to fulfill basic needs. On the contrary, they move in order to reach self-actualization. According to these findings, the model of the driving forces for the new phenomenon of BrainDrain is generated, which explains the new influencing factors but also considers the traditional and modern ones, who are still applicable.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This final chapter begins with a review of the research questions where the main findings are presented. Furthermore, one subchapter defines self-criticism and gives a short but critical view to the research. Also included is a suggestion for further research and the theoretical and practical implications. Finally, this research ends with a short self-reflection regarding the research process.

6.1 Review of the Research Questions

In this paragraph the answers to the research questions as described in paragraph 1.4 will be explained. The main research question is:

- How can the phenomenon of BrainDrain within developed countries be explained?

The additional questions are:

- How does the traditional phenomenon of BrainDrain work?
- Why do German and Dutch academics choose to work in Sweden?
- What are the encouraging and discouraging factors for German and Dutch people going to Sweden? the good questions?

6.1.1 Research question one
BrainDrain and Migration theories

Migration is defined by the international development information center as ‘a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence, and includes settlers, landed immigrants, temporary workers, guest workers, asylum seekers, students and undocumented arrivals intending to stay in the short or long term – all involving the crossing of national borders’.

Various theories describe the initiation of migration. The most important theories are the neo-classical economic theory of migration, the segmented labor market theory, the new economics of labor migration, the Social capital theory and the World systems theory. Furthermore, there are different theories that explain the perpetuation of migration, here the most important to mention are the social network and transnational social spaces theory and the cumulative causation theory.

The theories can be divided into the traditional and modern migration theories. Every migration flow has its own character, however there are some general characteristics. The traditional theories state the flowing factors are the main causes of migration:

- Political situation
- Living standards
- Income level
- Demographical differences
- Economical opportunities

The modern theories add the following factors:

- Social status
- Secure employment
- Extra income
- Utility maximalization
- Migration culture

BrainDrain is a special form of migration and on the other hand a result of migration. That means, without migration there is no BrainDrain. BrainDrain is a relatively new field of research. In the 1950s the first economist started to use the term of BrainDrain. The definition of Kwok en Leland (1982) is used in this research, which says *BrainDrain is an expression of British origin commonly used to describe one of the most sensitive areas in the transfer of technology. It refers to skilled professionals who leave their native lands in order to seek more promising opportunities elsewhere.* The three main characteristics of the traditional BrainDrain are:

- the migration flow is from poorer countries towards richer countries,
- the migration consists of highly educated people, and
- the most important motive for moving is the better financial opportunity in the host country.

The main reasons for BrainDrain are higher income levels in the developed countries, a lack of job supply in the developing countries and the working circumstances in the developing countries. Especially Africa and the Caribbean suffer by Brain Drain.

Nowadays a new form of BrainDrain has occurred. Highly educated people are no longer only moving from developing towards developed countries, but also from one developed country towards another developed country. This new phenomenon is in contradiction with the traditional theories, which state that the migration flow is from developing towards developed countries. The difference between the financial opportunities in countries is no longer the main cause of Brain Drain.

6.1.2 Research question two

Why do German and Dutch academics choose to work in Sweden?

The main reasons for Dutch and German academics to emigrate are:

- bad labor conditions,
- a lack of nature and space,
- the dissatisfaction with the society.

The emigrants choose Sweden because they expected that this country performs better on the reasons mentioned above. Sweden is considered to be a country with good possibilities for a comfortable life. Besides this, there are some practical reasons that make Sweden more attractive than other destinations. For Dutch and German people, it is relatively convenient to move to Sweden. The distance to the home country is small and the Swedish population has very good language skills in English.

Remarkably, the emigrants expect to have a lower salary in Sweden. Whereas the traditional BrainDrain and migration theories state that people move to countries with better financial prospects, the migrants move to countries where they expect to earn less. In the new phenomenon of BrainDrain, financial aspects are not so relevant. The reasons are related to a comfortable work situation and a comfortable life in general, so to say a better work-life-balance.

6.1.3 Research question three

What are the encouraging and discouraging factors for German and Dutch people going to Sweden?

The main discouraging factors for moving to Sweden are

- the disability to speak Swedish,
- the bureaucratically procedures, and
- the feeling of not being with family and friends.

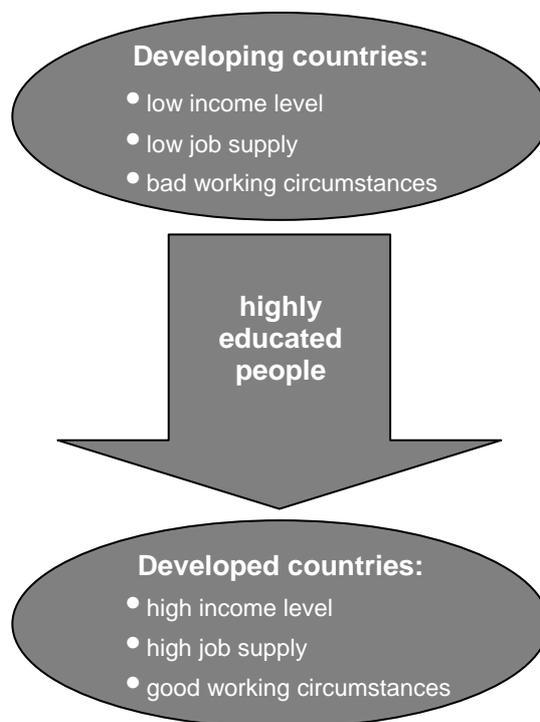
The main encouraging factor is the easiness of finding a job during the process of migration. Another important factor is the migration network and the social contacts. Some of the emigrants state that they heard positive stories from other migrants who moved to Sweden. Other migrants already have some social contacts in Sweden. These kinds of contacts make it more convenient and easy to migrate.

6.1.4 Main research question

How can the phenomenon of BrainDrain within developed countries be explained?

The new phenomenon of BrainDrain, the BrainDrain within the developed countries, can be explained with the help of Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. Maslow divides the personal needs into five categories. He states that every person will start to strive after the needs in the first category, which are food and water for example. When these needs are fulfilled, the person will pursue the needs in the second category, which contains for example employment. The citizens of developing countries cannot always fulfill their needs in the first two layers. Thus, when migration occurs, the reason will be the fulfilling of these goals. However, inhabitants of developed countries do not have to fear for hunger. Moreover, there are enough jobs for highly educated people. These people will try to fulfill the needs in the higher layers of Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, especially the layer of esteem and self-actualization. For this reason, the new migrants will move to countries where they have more opportunities to fulfill their need for self-actualization. The following model shows the main reasons for both, the traditional and new BrainDrain:

Traditional BrainDrain:



New phenomenon of BrainDrain:

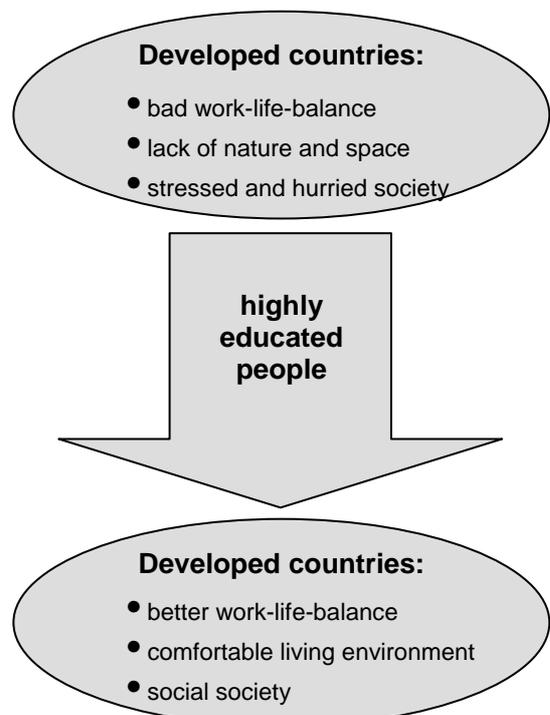


Figure 17: Comparison of Traditional and New BrainDrain

6.2 Self-Criticism

The findings of this research consist mainly of practical impact. As mentioned before the reliability of the analysis is high. Thus, the answers given are true are therefore the main factors for the decision to move. However, the value of each factor is not measurable. Causations between each mentioned reason, motive or factor could only be assumed. The driving forces of the new phenomenon of BrainDrain explain the reasons that migration and BrainDrain within the developed country occurred lately. However, it does not explain the causation between each factor.

6.3 Implications

This subchapter should give little guidance for the implication, how the findings can be applicable in theory and in practice.

6.3.1 Theoretical Implications

Theoretically the findings of this research can be applied to explain reasons for BrainDrain within developed countries. New motives for the migration within developed countries have been investigated that have not been considered in previous theories about migration and BrainDrain. However, this research detected new motives for people from Germany and Holland moving to Sweden. It can be assumed that their motives are applicable for every migrant coming from a developed country and settles down in another developed country.

6.3.2 Practical Implications

In practice the investigated driving forces of the new phenomenon of BrainDrain can help companies and organizations in the home countries to understand why the highly skilled people leave the country. It might give them some deeper insights of the migrants' motives. This knowledge can help these companies and organizations to improve their performance in order to avoid BrainDrain and keep their highly skilled people. Furthermore, it gives possibilities to the home governments to interfere the flow of highly educated people. These findings might

lead to general changes within some mentioned and influencing factors, why people are leaving the home country.

On the other hand, this research findings explains the reasons that make Sweden more attractive. These findings can help Swedish companies to improve these factors. Moreover, the companies and also the government in the host countries know their advantages and can easily promote them in order to recruit international highly skilled people.

6.4 Suggestions for Further Research

A study towards *BrainDrain in other developed countries* should be for higher interest.: In this research towards the new phenomenon of BrainDrain, Holland, Germany and Sweden are used for a case study. It would be interesting to make a study about the migration between other developed countries. In this case, the reasons for migration can be compared between more countries.

To increase the reliability of the findings, *the study could be repeated* with a bigger sample of participants. During the research, the reasons for migration were discovered. In a new study these reasons can be balanced with the help of ordinal questions.

Furthermore, a study towards *the possibilities for governments and industry to keep their educated* people could give deeper insight, how the companies and governments of the BrainDrain concerning countries could avoid or at least minimize the BrainDrain. There have already been studies towards the possibilities for governments in developing countries to keep the academics in their country. However, the solutions for the developing countries are not applicable in the developed countries. Especially the financial factors are not applicable, as financial reasons are not important factors in the new phenomenon of BrainDrain. It would be interesting and useful to investigate how governments, companies and organizations of developed countries can deal with the problem of Brain Drain.

6.5 Self-Reflection

When the new phenomenon of BrainDrain and the problem were published the first time, the authors of this dissertation became very interested in it. During the whole process of this research, to investigate the driving forces of the new phenomenon of BrainDrain within developed countries, this interest did not decrease. Moreover, the authors received support from other people, who their selves are somehow affected with this topic.

As the researchers are also affected with the BrainDrain in their home countries, it was from high interest to investigate the reasons for migration, undoubtedly to find new motives. Encouraged by the people who already caused the BrainDrain, friends and relations and by internal discussion between the researchers, the driving forces of the new phenomenon of BrainDrain are investigated. These findings generated a theoretical model with practical impact. However, although this special research ends the interest still exists to gain further knowledge about this topic. Still, affected people who are interested in the new phenomenon of BrainDrain give support.

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Provided Questionnaire

Main questions:

- Why do the academics want to leave their home country? What are the reasons for leaving their home country?
- Why did they choose Sweden? What makes it more attractive than other places?
- Did the academics get help in the home or host country?
- What have been the encouraging and discouraging factors of moving?
- What have been the expectations of Sweden (positive and negative)
- How did they find a job in Sweden? What was first, the desire to go to Sweden or leave the home country, or the job?

Questionnaire:

1. What is your home country?
2. How long have you been living in Sweden?
3. What is your profession?
4. What is your level of education?
5. What is your age?
6. What is your family structure?
7. Did you plan a permanent or temporarily movement?

8. Why did you choose to leave your home country?
9. Why did you choose Sweden as destination?
10. Which other destinations did you consider?
11. What made Sweden more attractive for you than other destinations?
12. Did you move because you found a job in Sweden or because you wanted to move to Sweden?
13. How did you find your job in Sweden?
14. Did you find your job after or before you moved to Sweden?
15. How long did it take to find a job in Sweden?
16. What kind of help did you get in your home country with finding your job in Sweden?
17. Did your family attend you moving to Sweden?
18. If yes: did they move directly when you moved, or after a while?

19. If not: is there a flow of remittance?
20. What kind of help did you receive regarding your emigration to Sweden, from the host or home country?
21. What have been the encouraging factors for moving during the process of migration?
22. What have been the discouraging factors for moving during the process of migration?
23. What did you expect to be better in Sweden than in your home country?
24. What did you expect to be worse in Sweden than in your home country?

25. Regarding your plans of stay, permanent or temporarily, did these plans change during your stay in Sweden? If so, why?
26. What influence does your migration have on your home country? What do you think about it?