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"The average cityhuman spends **10,634 hours** travelling to and from work. Yes. Exactly. That's **more than a year** of your entire life!" (City Mapper App)

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EU Single Market and Schengen agreement

- The free movement of goods, services, capital and people is the **pillar** of the European Union (EU) Single Market and it represents one of the greatest achievements of the EU.
- The Schengen agreement, by proposing the **gradual abolition of border checks at the signatories' common borders** and the harmonisation of visa policies is one of the most important measures adopted to promote internal mobility.
- The Schengen agreement represents an important **complement** to the Single Market, as it provides a tangible way to make the "four freedoms" set out in the Treaties a reality.

Schengen agreement

- The implementation of the Schengen Agreement, together with the "four freedoms", provides a greater individual freedom and allows for a more efficient allocation of resources within the EU.
- By warranting the right for people to travel, study and work in another Member State, the free movement of EU citizens is believed to promote economic growth, and by allowing employers to recruit from a larger pool, it has a positive impact on labour market efficiency (European Commission, 2016).

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n_2zMQyn7VQ

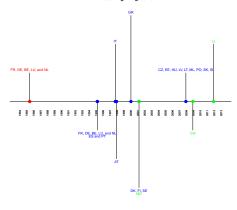
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History of the Schengen agreement

- Initially signed in June 1985 between Belgium, France, Luxembourg, The Netherland and West Germany.
- Currently it counts 26 members (22 European countries + 4 Non-European).
- It is one of the most important measures adopted to promote international mobility.

History of the Schengen agreement

Timeline Schengen Agreement





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Events
Signed
Implemented
Implemented non-EU

The Schengen agreement in details

- It abolishes border checks at the signatories' common borders.
- It harmonizes visa policies.
- It allows vehicles to cross borders without stopping.
- It allows residents in border areas freedom to cross borders away from **fixed checkpoints**.

Benefits of the Schengen agreement

- **Cross-border commuters** are the group which benefits the most: "were the traditional individual checks in place, working across the border would involve spending **considerable extra time** during the daily commute, making such jobs less attractive" (Ademmer et al., 2015).
- By allowing vehicles to cross borders without stopping and residents in border areas freedom to cross borders away from fixed checkpoints, the agreement made the cross-country **travels to work journey shorter and easier**.
- "Taking advantage of the removal of mobility and labour market barriers between European countries, EU citizens are increasingly living in one EU country, working in another, shuttling back and forth between the two" (Centre for Future Studies, 2006).

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The challenges of the Schengen area

- Despite the benefits of Schengen being evident, the Schengen area is currently facing major challenges.
- The combination of an increasing number of refugees, growing migratory pressure, security concerns and a rather week economic recovery has put the Schengen area under stress, and called into question its functioning.
- In particular, the significant increase in asylum seekers in several countries of the EU has created a lot of tension.

The challenges of the Schengen area (cont.)

- In response to the considerable influx of refugees into the EU in the past two years, and then across internal EU borders, a number of Member States have re-introduced temporary internal border controls at certain crossings.
- Even on a temporary basis, these border controls are already disrupting the flow of goods and services within the Single Market, with economic costs for business and citizens (Ademmer et al., 2015).
- Parallel to a clear, temporary, limited suspension of the Schengen Agreement, some parties have also discusse the possibility to permanently re-introduce border controls within the EU, and therefore in practice to terminate the Schengen agreement (Bertelsmann Foundation, 2016).

The cost of re-introducing border controls

- A number of studies (EPRS, 2016; France Strategie, 2013, 2016) have tried to quantify the potential cost of the re-establishment of border controls within the Schengen area.
- They identify three major implications:
 - border controls itself within the Schengen area have direct and immediate costs;
 - by introducing significant obstacles to intra-European trade and barriers to free movement of people, goods and services, they undermine the general progress of the past 20 years;
 - they weaken the police and judicial cooperation on terrorism and organised crime.

 \Rightarrow All this could result in an estimated loss of more than €100 billions for the EU economy.

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The cost for commuting workers

- It is believed that after the impact on cross-border transport of goods, the second most important impact would be on commuting workers (France Strategie, 2016).
- There are currently **1.7 millions** workers in the EU who cross a border every day to go to work and who would see their quality of life significantly affected.
- According to the European Commission, border controls would cost commuters, as well as other travellers, between €1.3 billions and €5.2 billions in terms of time lost.

Consequences on the EU economy

- Increased commuting time would reduce cross-border job opportunities: for France, for instance, it could mean the loss of 5,000 to 10,000 cross-border workers, which could account for an economic loss of €150-300 millions annually.
- **Borders** may represent a strong obstacle to workers' mobility and to its equilibrating mechanisms.
- More generally, such a decision would lead to greater disparities in regional job markets and certainly more uneven economic development (Bertelsmann Foundation, 2016).

Quantifying the effect of joining the Schengen agreement (Parenti & Tealdi, 2018)

- We quantifying the effect of Switzerland joining the Schengen area in **December 2008** on **cross-border commuting**.
- We envision commuters to react positively to lower barriers to cross-border travelling and therefore we expect to observe an increase in the cross-border commuting flows.
- In particular, we quantify the effects of the abolition of Switzerlands regional borders on the **individual probability** to commute for work across borders.

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Why Switzerland?

- It is located in the centre of Europe;
- It is a **destination** for many commuters from the EU: in 2013 **more than 270,000 Europeans** commuted across the border to work in Switzerland.
- French residents make up the largest group (143,000), followed by Italians (62,000), Germans (56,000) and Austrians (8,100).
- Together French and Italian represent more than 75% of cross-border commuters.

Previous agreements with the EU

- 21 June 1999: the European Union and Switzerland signed the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons (AFMP). The AFMP lifts restrictions on EU citizens wishing to live or work in Switzerland.
- The liberalization was officially approved by a national referendum in 2000 and came into force for citizens of the "old" EU member states (EU-15) as well as for citizens of EFTA member states in **2002**.
- This agreement represented an important step towards the free movement of workers in Switzerland, which came officially into place for the EU-15 citizens in 2007.

Transition process towards full mobility

- **Before 1999**, Swiss firms were only allowed to hire cross-border commuters if the "priority requirement" was satisfied and cross-border commuters could **only work in the border regions** of Switzerland.
- Between 1999 and 2004, gradually cross-border commuters were allowed to commute to work weekly (instead of daily), and longer and easier permits were allowed.
- In 2004, the second phase of the reform was implemented and the **labour market of border regions** became **fully open** to cross-border commuters, even though they were not allowed to work in non-border regions.
- On June 1, 2007, all regions adopted full liberalization for cross-border commuters from the EU and citizens of EFTA member states.

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Freedom of movement vs Schengen agreement

- Meanwhile in **2005**, by means of a national referendum Swiss citizens were asked to express their opinion about Switzerland signing the Schengen agreement.
- Swiss voters agreed, by a 55% majority, to join the Schengen area.
- On 27 November 2008, the interior and justice ministers of the EU announced Switzerland's accession to the Schengen passport-free zone from 12 December 2008.
- The land border checkpoints would have remained in place only for goods movements, but no controls could be ran on people.
- In practice, people entering the country, if they originated from a Schengen nation, had their passports checked **until 29 March 2009** (Swiss Federal Department of Finance, 2016).

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Data

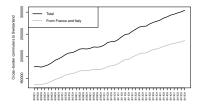
- The **ELFS** (European Labour Force Survey) provides *individual* level data on measures of mobility as well as socio-economic information:
 - commuting: place of work and place of residence being located in two different NUTS2 regions;
 - individual characteristics (age, marital status, gender, education, ...);
 - job characteristics (occupation, contract, flexibility, sector, firm characteristics, ...).
- Cambridge Econometrics: information on regional compensation per employee, regional unemployment rate.
- **Second Second S**
- OECD: regional youth unemployment, share of employment by sector at regional level.
- **Oyen et al.** (1992): lexicostatical analysis on closeness of languages.

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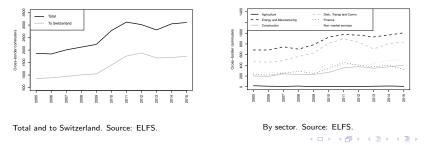
Sample

- All employed individuals who are currently commuting for working reasons either internally across regions or across borders.
- Individuals living in France and Italy (for Germany and Austria only information at NUTS1 level macro-regions is available).
- Repeated cross-sections over the years 2005-2015: **83,432** commuters.

Cross-border commuters.



To Switzerland. Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office.



Identification and empirical strategy

We quantify the effect of Switzerland joining the Schengen area on cross-border commuting using a **Diff-in-Diffs approach**.

Treated and control groups

- The treated group (directly affected by Switzerland joining the Schengen area): commuters who live in regions sharing their borders with Switzerland;
- a **control** group (for which the implementation of the Schengen agreement in Switzerland has been irrelevant): commuters who live in regions sharing their borders with any other Schengen country (not Switzerland).

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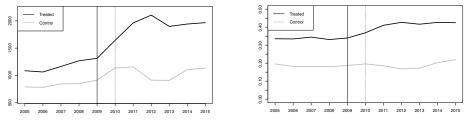




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Cross-border commuters in treated and control regions

The **key assumption** for any Difference-in-Differences strategy is that the outcome in treated and control groups would follow **the same time trend in the absence of the treatment**.



Absolute numbers.

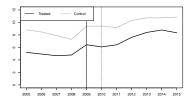
Percentage.

A potential confounding effect: the 2008-2009 crisis

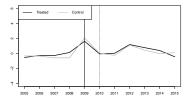
- It had a strong asymmetric impact across European regions and sectors;
- It may have **boosted** the flow of cross-border commuters to Switzerland;
- It would have had a major impact on cross-border commuting if:
 - we would observe a different trend in unemployment in treated and control regions;
 - we would observe a different trend in share of employment by sector across countries as well as in treated and control regions;
- We provide supportive empirical evidence to **rule out the hypothesis that the crisis played a major role** in determining the observed increase in cross-border commuting to Switzerland.

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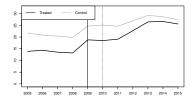
A potential confounding effect: the 2008-2009 crisis (Cont.)



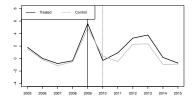
Total unemployment rate.



Pp changes in total unemployment.

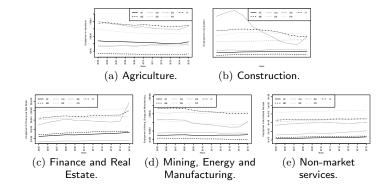


Youth unemployment rate.



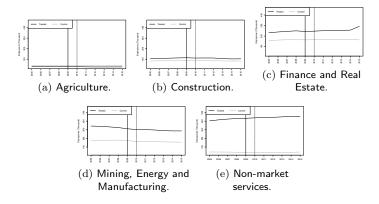
Pp changes in youth unemployment.

A potential confounding effect: the 2008-2009 crisis (Cont.)



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A potential confounding effect: the 2008-2009 crisis (Cont.)



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Econometric model

We estimate the following model:

$$P(\text{CB-Commuting} = 1|X)_{i,r,t} = \alpha + \beta \text{Treatment}_{i,r} + \gamma \text{Treated}_t + \delta \text{Treatment}_{i,r} * \text{Treated}_t + \lambda X_{i,r,t} + \epsilon_{i,r,t}$$

where:

$$Treatment = \begin{cases} 0 & \text{for the period } 2005-2009 \\ 1 & \text{for the period } 2010-2015 \end{cases}$$

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Probability of commuting towards a Schengen region

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(0.0004) Country fixed effect YES NO NO NO NO NO Regional fixed effect NO YES YES <td>Closeness of languages</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>(0.000)</td> <td>-0.005***</td>	Closeness of languages					(0.000)	-0.005***
Country fixed effect YES NO NO NO NO NO Regional fixed effect NO YES Y	closeness of languages						
Regional fixed effect NO YES YES YES YES YES YES Sector dummies YES YE	Country fixed effect	VES	NO	NO	NO	NO	()
Sector dummies YES YES YES YES YES YES Observations 83,432 83,432 83,432 83,432 83,432 83,432 83,432							
Observations 83,432 8							
	Observations	83 432	83 432	83 432	83 432	83 432	83 432
		0.110	5.501	0.001			- I

Treatment in 2009

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Year 2009	0.009	0.010***	0.010***	0.010***	0.010***	0.020***
	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Treated	0.289***	0.379***	0.386***	0.386***	0.384***	0.302***
Treated 2009	(0.006) 0.015	(0.024) 0.025 *	(0.030) 0.025 *	(0.031) 0.024 *	(0.022) 0.024 *	(0.022)
Treated 2009	(0.012)	(0.025	(0.025	(0.024	(0.013)	0.020 (0.013)
Unemployment diff	(0.012)	(0.014)	0.00000	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
onemployment uni			(0.00005)			
Youth unem*Age 16-24			()	0.001***		
6				(0.0003)		
Road network (km)			-0.061	-0.056		
			(0.101)	(0.101)		
Reg.empl.A*Agriculture					-0.108**	
					(0.052)	
Reg.empl.MEM*MEM					-0.071*** (0.004)	
Reg.empl.C*Construction					-0.055***	
leg.empile construction					(0.014)	
Reg.empl.finance*Finance					-0.011***	
					(0.003)	
Reg.empl.NMS*NMS					-0.004	
					(0.006)	* * * *
Closeness of languages						-0.005^{***}
						(0.0002)
Country fixed effect	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Regional fixed effect	NO YES	YES	YES YES	YES YES	YES YES	YES YES
Sector dummies		YES				-
Observations	83,432	83,432	83,432	83,432	83,432	83,432
Adjusted R ²	0.169	0.386	0.386	0.386	0.389	0.409

Test for freedom of movement and placebo - 2007

	(1)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Year 2007	0.004	0.007*	0.004	0.004	0.007*	0.016***
	(0.014)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Treated	0.291***	0.387***	0.410***	0.410***	0.393***	0.314***
Treated 2007	(0.014) 0.011	(0.029) 0.010	(0.040) 0.010	(0.040) 0.009	(0.028) 0.008	(0.028) 0.003
Treated 2007	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Unemployment diff	(0.017)	(0.013)	-0.0001	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)
onemployment and			(0.0001)			
Youth unem diff*Age 16-24			(0.0001)	0.001***		
				(0.0003)		
Road network (km)			-0.206*	-0.199*		
· · · ·			(0.118)	(0.115)		
Reg.empl.A*Agriculture			· · ·	()	-0.108**	
					(0.052)	
Reg.empl.MEM*MEM					-0.072* ^{**} *	
					(0.004)	
Reg.empl.C*Construction					-0.056***	
					(0.014)	
Reg.empl.finance*Finance					-0.012***	
					(0.003)	
Reg.empl.NMS*NMS					-0.005 (0.006)	
Closeness of languages					(0.006)	-0.005***
closeness of languages						(0.0002)
C	2/50	NO	NO	NO	NO	、 ,
Country fixed effect Regional fixed effect	YES NO	NO YES	NO YES	NO YES	NO YES	NO YES
Sector dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
	-			-	-	
Observations	83,432	83,432	83,432	83,432	83,432	83,432
Adjusted R ²	0.169	0.386	0.386	0.386	0.389	_0.409

Test for freedom of movement and placebo - 2008

Year 2008	(1) 0.009	(2) 0.009***	(3) 0.008**	(4) 0.008**	(5) 0.009***	(6) 0.018***
Treated	(0.008) 0.294***	(0.003) 0.385***	(0.004) 0.402 ^{***}	(0.004) 0.402 ^{***}	(0.003) 0.390***	(0.004) 0.309 ^{***}
Treated 2008	(0.007) 0.009	(0.027) 0.015	(0.038) 0.013	(0.038) 0.012	(0.026) 0.013	(0.026) 0.009
Unemployment diff	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013) -0.0001^*	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Youth unem diff*Age 16-24			(0.0001)	0.001 ^{***} (0.0003)		
Road network (km)			-0.154 (0.116)	-0.148 (0.114)		
Reg.empl.A*Agriculture			(0.110)	(0.114)	-0.108**	
Reg.empl.MEM*MEM					(0.052) -0.071***	
Reg.empl.C*Construction					(0.004) -0.055***	
Reg.empl.finance*Finance					(0.014) -0.011^{***}	
Reg.empl.NMS*NMS					(0.003) -0.004	
Closeness of languages					(0.006)	-0.005*** (0.0002)
Country fixed effect	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Regional fixed effect	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Sector dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	83,432	83,432	83,432	83,432	83,432	83,432
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Robustness I - Commuting to a contiguous region

	(1) -0.005	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	_0.005			(+)	(3)	(6)
		-0.002	-0.001	0.001	-0.002	0.012**
	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.005)
	0.049**	-0.028*	0.129*	0.132	-0.025	-0.030*
	(0.024)	(0.016)	(0.077)	(0.080)	(0.017)	(0.017)
	0.067*	0.070**	0.068**	0.067**	0.070**	0.070**
	(0.038)	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.032)
Jnemployment diff			0.0002			
			(0.0001)			
outh unem diff*Age 16-24				0.0001		
				(0.0001)		
Road network (km)			-0.246**	-0.249**		
			(0.120)	(0.124)		
Reg.empl.A*Agriculture					-0.068	
					(0.048)	
Reg.empl.MEM*MEM					-0.023***	
o .					(0.003)	
Reg.empl.C*Construction					-0.009	
o .					(0.006)	
Reg.empl. finance*Finance					-0.007***	
0					(0.002)	
Reg.empl.NMS*NMS					0.005	
					(0.003)	
Closeness of languages					()	-0.004***
inseriess of languages						(0.0004)
Country fixed effect	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Regional fixed effect	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Sector dummies	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
	-	-		-		-
	52,693	52,693	52,693	52,693	52,693	52,693
Adjusted R ²	0.190	0.638	0.638	0.638	0.638	0.658

Robustness II - Sectors no crisis (agriculture, mining, energy and non-market services)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Year 2010	0.001 (0.010)	0.001 (0.007)	0.0004 (0.007)	0.0004 (0.007)	-0.004 (0.007)	0.008 (0.008)
Treated	0.271*** (0.008)	0.418*** (0.036)	0.422*** (0.040)	0.421*** (0.040)	0.441*** (0.034)	0.253*** (0.031)
Treated 2010	0.025** (0.013)	0.030 ** (0.013)	0.030 ** (0.014)	(0.040) 0.030** (0.013)	0.034) 0.033** (0.013)	0.031) 0.038*** (0.012)
Unemployment diff			0.00001 (0.0001)	()		()
Youth unem diff*Age 16-24			. /	0.001** (0.0004)		
Road network (km)			-0.036 (0.063)	-0.036 (0.063)		
Reg.empl.A*Agriculture				()	-0.153*** (0.046)	
Reg.empl.MEM*MEM					-0.029*** (0.011)	
Reg. empl.NMS*NMS					-0.047*** (0.007)	
Closeness of languages					(0.000)	-0.007*** (0.0005)
Country fixed effect	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Regional fixed effect Sector dummies	NO YES	YES YES	YES YES	YES YES	YES YES	YES YES
Observations	17,957	17,957	17,957	17,957	17,957	17,957
Adjusted R ²	0.195	0.361	0.361	0.361	0.362	0.397

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Robustness III - Sectors with crisis (manufacturing, construction and finance)

$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$							
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	Year 2010						0.019*** (0.006)
Treated 2010 0.036*** 0.065*** 0.060*** 0.063*** 0.063*** 0.063*** 0.065*** Unemployment diff (0.014) (0.018) (0.018) (0.018) (0.017) (0.015) Vouth unem diff*Age 16-24 0.002*** (0.0000) (0.00004) 0.002*** Reg.empl.MEM*MEM -0.342* -0.329* (0.088) -0.106*** Reg.empl.C*Construction -0.103*** (0.000) (0.000) -0.002*** Closeness of languages -0.052*** (0.000) -0.004** (0.000) Country fixed effect YES YES YES YES YES YES Observations 37,608<	Treated	0.270***	0.310***	0.349***	0.349***	0.364***	0.280***
Unemployment diff Vouth unem diff*Age 16-24 Road network (km) Reg.empl.MEM*MEM Reg.empl.C*Construction Reg.empl.C*Construction Reg.empl.finance*Finance Closeness of languages Closeness of languages Country fixed effect Country fixed effect NO Regional fixed effect NO PO NO NO NO NO NO NO NO NO NO N	Treated 2010	0.036***	0.065***	0.060***	0.`059**́*	0.063***	0.055***
Youth unem diff*Age 16-24 0.002*** Road network (km) -0.342* -0.329* Reg.empl.MEM*MEM (0.183) (0.182) Reg.empl.C*Construction -0.106*** (0.008) Reg.empl.finance*Finance -0.052*** (0.009) Closeness of languages -0.006*** (0.009) Country fixed effect YES YES YES Regional fixed effect NO NO NO Regional fixed effect YES YES YES Observations 37,608 37,608 37,608 37,608 37,608	Unemployment diff	(0.014)	(0.010)	ò.0000ó	(0.010)	(0.017)	(0.013)
Road network (km) -0.342* -0.329* Reg.empl.MEM*MEM (0.183) (0.182) Reg.empl.C*Construction -0.103*** (0.008) Reg.empl.finance*Finance -0.052*** (0.009) Closeness of languages -0.052*** (0.0001) Country fixed effect YES YES YES VES YES YES YES YES Observations 37,608 37,608 37,608 37,608 37,608	Youth unem diff*Age 16-24			(1115001)			
Reg.empl.MEM*MEM -0.106*** Reg.empl.C*Construction -0.03*** Reg.empl.finance*Finance (0.017) Closeness of languages -0.052*** Country fixed effect YES NO NO NO Regional fixed effect YES YES YES Observations 37,608 37,608 37,608	Road network (km)				-0.329*		
Reg.empl.C*Construction -0.103*** Reg.empl.finance*Finance (0.017) Closeness of languages -0.052*** Country fixed effect YES NO NO NO Regional fixed effect NO YES YES YES YES YES Sector dummies YES YES YES Observations 37,608 37,608 37,608 37,608	Reg.empl.MEM*MEM			(0.200)	(0.102)		
Reg.empl.finance*Finance -0.052*** Closeness of languages (0.009) Country fixed effect YES NO NO NO Country fixed effect NO YES YES YES YES YES Sector dummies YES YES YES YES YES YES Observations 37,608 37,608 37,608 37,608 37,608 37,608 37,608	Reg.empl.C*Construction					-0.103* ^{***}	
Closeness of languages -0.004** -0.004** (0.0001) Country fixed effect YES NO NO NO NO Regional fixed effect NO YES	Reg.empl.finance*Finance					-0.052* ^{**} *	
Regional fixed effect NO YES	Closeness of languages					(0.003)	-0.004^{***} (0.0001)
Sector dummies YES YES YES YES YES YES YES Observations 37,608	Country fixed effect	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Adjusted R ² 0.186 0.411 0.411 0.411 0.416 0.429		37,608	37,608	37,608	37,608	37,608	37,608
	Adjusted R ²	0.186	0.411	0.411	0.411	0.416	0.429

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Robustness IV - Dummy same language

	(1)
Year 2010	0.022***
	(0.004)
Treated	0.287***
	(0.022)
Treated 2010	0.031**
	(0.013)
Dummy same languages	-0.428* ^{***}
	(0.013)
Country fixed effect	NO
Regional fixed effect	YES
Sector dummies	YES
Observations	83,432
Adjusted R ²	0.421

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Summarizing

- We find that the effect of Switzerland joining the Schengen area has a significant positive effect on cross-border commuting.
- Specifically, we find that the probability of cross-border commuting is approximately **3.5% higher after Switzerland joined the Schengen area**;
- When considering only cross-border commuting to contiguous regions, the effect is **higher and approximately equal to 6.8%**;
- These results are robust to several specifications and robustness tests.

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Policy implication

- Combining our results with the recent findings of Beerli and Peri (2016) we find that the vast majority of cross-border commuters work in regions which are contiguous to the region of residence.
- Therefore, policies which directly affect cross-border labour mobility to border regions are the most effective in increasing cross-border commuting.
- Specifically, it seems that both the implementation of the free movement of labour for cross-border workers in border regions (2004) and the opening of the borders through the implementation of Schengen (2009) were effective policies to increase cross-border commuting.
- This confirms the idea that the free movement of labour and the border openings are two fundamental arrangements, which are particularly effective when implemented together.

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Policy implication (cont.)

- Commuting appears to be more responsive than migration to cross-regional differences in labour market indicators (Erbenova, 1995).
- This is because a significant and stable positive relation emerges at individual level between being inactive or unemployed in one country or region and commuting in the following.
- Thus, commuting appears to have a higher potential as a means of facilitating transitions out of joblessness.
- Policy actions which aim at encouraging commuting have therefore the potential to effectively address the issue of regional disparities, especially in European countries, where such disparities are rather large.

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