Emigration motives, intentions and expectations in the Netherlands



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I dedicate this master thesis to my father.

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Abstract

This master thesis tries to describe the Dutch who have the intention to emigrate and why they have this intention. The data used during this research contains of two surveys: the NIDI emigration survey 2005, which is a representative sample, and the Expat survey, which is used as a purposeful sampling. Together these two form the data that are used throughout the research. Descriptive analysis show most people having the intention to emigrate are single, male and between the ages of 35 and 44. They have a higher income, than those who do not have the intention to emigrate, and work in the trade, transport and service sector. The majority of those intending to emigrate know on average four people who have already emigrated. The main preferred emigration destinations are Canada, Australia and France. Surprisingly, the neighbouring countries Belgium and Germany are not in the top ten list. To answer how the intention to emigrate can be best explained three linear multivariate models were created. The third model, which includes the socio-demographic variables, the evaluations of the living conditions in the Netherlands and the psychological aspects, is considered to be the best model to explain the intention to emigrate. As descriptive analysis show, most people having the intention to emigrate do not expect their own living situation to be (much) better but the space and people around them.

1 Introduction

1.1 Purpose

Through the years, emigration has been studied when the emigration rates either dropped or increased rapidly. Recently the Dutch emigration rates have increased again and more people are leaving the country than entering. It is important to get and keep a clear view of these numbers and analyse the emigration process, since it might result into negative societal effects. What if only highly educated employed people leave the country, and those who are unemployed stay behind? This could, for example, lead to complications in the future labour market.

According to Hofstede the emigration climate changes since society is constantly changing (1964). Events like the assassination of Pim Fortuyn on the 6th of May 2002 and of Theo van Gogh on the 2nd of November 2004 could have played a role in the increasing numbers of Dutch who have the intention to emigrate (Kiene, 2004). However, in order to get a clear view of these possible causes and the consequences, the decision-making process must be examined and the research must take place on a micro level. Only then can the underlying mechanisms influencing the decisions be fully understood. Research, on a micro level, about emigration intentions can help to understand the development of emigration on a macro level and might lead to information for future migration planning and policy. Being able to characterise the potential emigrant¹ makes it possible to understand how these emigrants influence migration (Boyle et al., 1998). The main purpose, therefore, of this research is to describe the Dutch who have the intention to leave and to understand why they have this intention.

1.2 Main research questions

In 2004 CBS (*Central Bureau of Statistics*) published an article mentioning that for the first time since the 1950's more people were leaving the Netherlands than entering (CBS, 2004a). Immediately the media picked up this news and emigration became a hot topic. Newspapers interviewed several potential emigrants, experts were asked about the possible causes of this increase of emigrants and television programs, showing the experiences of those living abroad, became very popular. Although there was much interest, the question remained: Who are these people that are willing to emigrate? Are they successful young singles with a high

¹ A potential emigrant is someone who has the intention to emigrate.

income, or are they uneducated and married? Who intends to emigrate and who does not? The first main research question therefore is:

- What characterises the potential emigrant?

Research held in the 1950's and 1980's mainly focused on the departure of emigrants to Australia, Canada and New Zealand. In those days these three countries were the main destinations of the Dutch emigrants. Currently, through policy changes, the chances of entering one of these countries have decreased. European destinations, on the other hand, might have become more popular. Due to the enlargement of the European Union and the freedom of movement within the Union, it has become easier to live and work in one of these countries. The next research question is:

- Which countries do people prefer as their destinations?²

Explaining why people would like to leave the country is a difficult task since several factors (from background to psychological factors) might be of influence. Research held in the 1950's and 1980's tried to explain the motivations of Dutch emigrants. The main findings of these studies can be found in section 1.4. The one factor, which is often seen as having a large influence on the intention to emigrate, is the economic situation of a particular country. It is said that in times of economic downturn more people are leaving a country than in times of economic upswings, in order to improve their financial situation (CBS, 2005a). However, is that really the case? What really influences the intention to emigrate? In order to get an understanding of the intention to emigrate the third research question must be answered:

- *How can the intention to emigrate be explained?*

Besides the negative feelings about the Netherlands that could be of influence on the intention to emigrate, it might be surprising to see whether people expect an improvement or worsening of their situation. What do people expect to find abroad? Do they really think the grass is greener on the other side of the border? The final research question therefore is:

 $^{^2}$ It must be taken into consideration that the preferred destinations might be different from the actual destinations, since this research is analysing those who intend to emigrate.

- What are the expectations of those intending to emigrate?

1.3 Definition

In this research migration is defined as 'the movement of a person, which is called a migrant, between two places for a certain period of time' (Boyle et al., 1998, p. 34). Different from immigration, which is looked at from the receiving country's point of view, emigration is looked at from the sending country's point of view (Boyle et al., 1998). In this research that sending country is the Netherlands. The concept of emigration is therefore defined as leaving the Netherlands to live abroad. Only native Dutch (those who are born in the Netherlands and have the Dutch nationality) will be part of the research population. This is done to exclude, among others, return migrants, since their reasons for leaving the country are often related to their financial situation (once they have earned enough money, they will emigrate) and their (family) relations back home. It is assumed that those having the intention to emigrate will stay abroad for at least eight months in the following year of their departure (CBS, 2005b). The purpose of this movement should be to live and work abroad. Studying or working abroad for just a selective period of time is not considered to be emigration and therefore excluded from the research.

1.4 Earlier research on emigration

Research about emigration often uses macro data, where the flows of people are determined on a national level. However, in order to explain the intentions and reasons for leaving, micro data is needed and used. Some Dutch emigration studies using micro data will be described in this section.

Between 1950 and 1955 over 300,000 people left the Netherlands. Due to this large number, the Dutch Government assigned a research examining the motivations and expectations of the Dutch emigrant (Groenman, 1958). Between 1955 and 1956 1,000 men, younger than 60 and non-agrarian, participated in this research just before they emigrated. Their destinations were Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States of America. In that time these were the five countries to which the government was stimulating emigration (as will be further explained in chapter 2). The research showed people were often influenced by their personal relations in the decision to emigrate. Successful stories of family members who had already emigrated or family and friends stimulating the decision to emigrate were important in the decision-making process. In total, 70 percent of the research population knew family living abroad, which positively influenced the decision. In 25 percent of the cases this

influence was considerable. Having spent several years abroad, for example in Indonesia, played a role as well. Just like having feelings of general dissatisfaction towards the Netherlands and not feeling connected to the society (less social participation) (Groenman, 1958).

The 1955-'56 research has been elaborated with a research among non-emigrants, held by Frijda (1960), making it possible to compare the two groups (emigrants and non-emigrants). The main conclusions of this research were similar to the previous research. The emigrant was influenced by relationships abroad, he did not feel connected to the society and felt he had insufficient prospects. According to Frijda, there was an increasing interest in emigration among the Dutch population. Emigration had become a subject people talked about, and many people knew family or friends who had emigrated. No longer only adventurous Dutch emigrated, but now also the common people left in search of a better place (Frijda, 1960).

In 1980 the Ministry of Social Affairs conducted a research, which was carried out because the emigration rate was projected to decrease substantially. However, in reality emigration reached a peak in 1982 with 72,000 people leaving the Netherlands. The main focus of this research was on emigrants going to Australia, Canada and New Zealand, the three main countries Dutch had emigrated to in the previous years. The results showed most of the emigrants were 'highly educated, had foreign contacts, were not very unsatisfied and had economic motives to leave the country' (Ministerie van Sociale Zaken, 1981, p. 5). Other motives to leave the Netherlands were the weather and environment, the discontent with the living situation in the Netherlands and the Dutch society, future possibilities for the children and work related motives. People were pessimistic about their future and emigration was thought to lead to an improvement of their life (Ministerie van Sociale Zaken, 1981).

Current research about emigration has often been conducted in developing countries, or specifically related to one group of emigrants (e.g. asylum seekers, labour migrants or return migrants) (e.g. Van Dalen et al., 2003). In the Netherlands, mainly the emigration of farmers has been examined. After the Second World War they were stimulated to leave, due to the lack of available land and work. In 1948 almost 55 percent of the migrants leaving the country were agrarians (Elich, 1987). Nowadays, the number of Dutch agrarians emigrating has decreased, but it must be taken into account that the structure of the labour population has changed as well. In 2002 almost 3 percent of the Dutch labour population between 15 and 64 years old was working in the agricultural sector (CBS, 2005c). Annually there are still several hundreds of agrarians leaving the Netherlands. According to research held by Silvis (et al., 2002) the main factor influencing their decision to leave the Netherlands is the lack of

opportunities. There are more opportunities in other countries. In Canada and the United States of America, where more land is available and there are less restrictions on the environment, it is possible to be a real farmer again (Silvis et al., 2002). The lower land prices and the support given by the government in these countries are important stimuli as well. Farmers leave the Netherlands because of the environmental regulations, which through the years have become stricter, as well as the population density and the perceived negative view of farming by the Dutch society (Wolleswinkel and Weersink, 2000). In general these results suggest that economic factors might still play a role in the decision-making process of agrarians to emigrate.

At this moment research about the Dutch emigrant, in general, is lacking. Therefore, in order to get a clear view of the current emigration situation this master thesis consists of an empirical research, in which the emigration intention of the Dutch is examined and an attempt is made to explain this intention. The research makes use of two separate surveys: the Expat survey and the NIDI emigration survey 2005. The Expat survey took place between December 2004 and April 2005. It is used as a purposeful sampling, which selects information rich cases for in-depth study (Mugo Fridah W., 2005) and consists of 214 respondents. The NIDI emigration survey 2005 took place in January 2005. It is a representative sample that consists of 2,333 respondents. Besides the empirical research this master thesis also consist of a literature review and theoretical background, which forms a basis for the research.

1.5 Structure

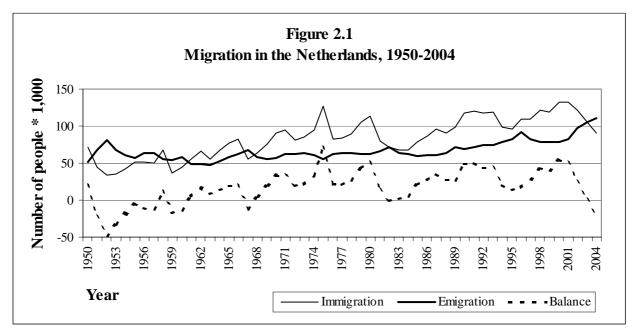
In the following chapter a brief history will be given of emigration in the Netherlands, starting after the Second World War and ending in 2004. Where did the Dutch emigrate to after the Second World War? What motivated them to emigrate? and How is the current emigration situation? These are the questions, which will be answered in this chapter. The third chapter will describe the theoretical background for this research and shows the conceptual framework which is used. Chapter four explains the operationalisation of the variables in this research. How the data was collected and which statistical analyses are used, will be explained. The fifth chapter shows the results of the research, which is divided in a descriptive and an explanatory part. The descriptive part will describe the differences between those who have the intention to emigrate and those who do not. The explanatory part will try to answer the question why people have the intention to emigrate. Finally the expectations of

those intending to emigrate will be described. Chapter six will summarise the main conclusions of the research and give some recommendations for future emigration research.

2 Emigration in the Netherlands

This chapter will describe the change and the development of emigration in the Netherlands from 1950 onwards.

Figure 2.1 clearly shows the development of the number of people immigrating and emigrating in the Netherlands between 1950 and 2004 (the emigration and balance numbers include administrative corrections).



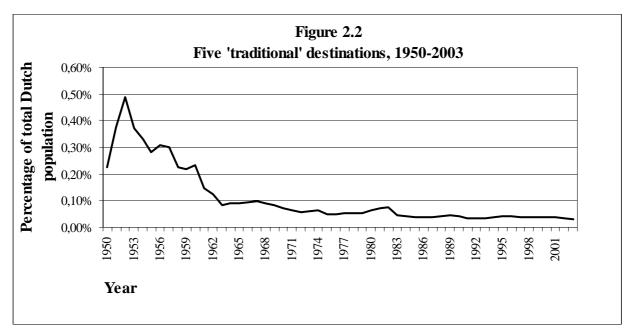
Source: CBS (2005c)

From 1951 until 1960, with the exception of 1958, the number of emigrants was higher than the number of immigrants, leading to a negative migration balance. More people left the Netherlands than entered. In 1952 the highest number of people left and the migration balance reached its lowest point: 34,000 people entered and 81,000 people left the country, meaning there were 47,000 more emigrants than immigrants.

This big wave of Dutch emigrants occurred in the period right after the Second World War (1939-1945). The war had severely damaged many cities in the Netherlands and although many people wanted to work together and rebuild the country, a change of attitudes occurred around 1949. Many Dutch feared high unemployment, which they had just experienced in the 1930's, and a rapid increase of the population, since birth rates increased and death rates decreased (Elich, 1987). Projections by CBS in 1950 showed a 30 percent increase of the Dutch population between 1951 and 1981, whereas other Northern and Western European countries expected smaller changes. The Cold War, worries of communist rule and the

decolonisation of Indonesia increased the fears among the Dutch society. As a result more and more Dutch became interested in the possibility to emigrate (Vestjens, 1986).

Before the Second World War, the Dutch government interfered slightly in the emigration process. Several emigration-organisations assisted potential emigrants to leave, while the government supervised this process. At first, people were selectively stimulated to emigrate, however this changed after 1950. To avoid the population from growing and unemployment from increasing the Dutch government introduced an active emigration policy, as a part of the international labour mediation, and promoted a rapid industrialisation of the society. The active emigration policy stimulated people to emigrate through subsidies, which were paid by the government. The aim of this active emigration policy was the departure of around 50,000 people every year spread over five countries: Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United States of America and South Africa (Goethals, 1976). Figure 2.2 shows the percentages of the number of people leaving to one of these five countries, out of the total Dutch population. Only those emigrants who were born in the Netherlands are shown.

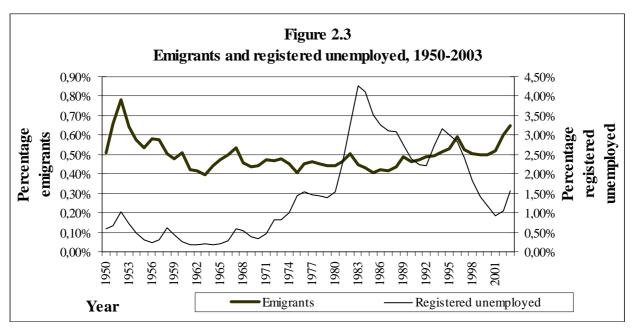


Source: CBS (2005c)

The figure clearly shows the peak in 1952 of emigrants leaving to one of the five countries, which were promoted as emigration destinations by the Dutch government. After 1952 this percentage decreased and the five traditional countries became less popular as destinations. Treaties between the Dutch government and some countries were signed as part of the active emigration policy. The treaty between the Netherlands and New Zealand, for example, consisted of sharing the moving costs for selected migrants between the ages 18 and 35. In

return these migrants would work for 2 years. The government of New Zealand assigned the job. As a result of this treaty, 3,187 people left the Netherlands to enter New Zealand in 1951. This was six times higher than the year before, when only 503 people left to New Zealand (Hartog and Winkelmann, 2000). Especially (young) farmers were stimulated to leave the country, since it became difficult for them to work. The available land was intensively used, there were import limitations in most European countries and Germany, which had been the main trade partner of the Netherlands, had just lost a war. An increase of jobless farmers was expected. Therefore, at the start of the active emigration policy, only farmers received subsidies to leave the country (Vestjens, 1986).

As mentioned before, stimulating emigration was thought to be one of the possible solutions to limit or decrease the unemployment. Figure 2.3 shows the development of the emigrants and the registered unemployed (those without work between the ages 16 and 64, who are registered at the unemployment agency) as percentages of the total Dutch population. In 1952 both emigrants and registered unemployed reached a peak, after which both decreased. As the figure shows there is not a clear relation between the unemployed and the emigrants.



Source: CBS (2005c)

In the 1950's many Dutch migrated to Australia, New Zealand and Canada since, among others, the Second World War did not affect the economies of these countries. All three countries were in need of workers because of their growing industry. Farmers would get the opportunity to work, since there was sufficient arable land available. Australia and New Zealand even had higher wages and living standards than the Netherlands. Besides economic

motives other factors, like religion, played an influential part in the decision-making process as well. Emigrants were perceived as the new pilgrims of the 1950's. Roman-Catholics were encouraged to emigrate to Australia, those who were reformed left to the United States of America and Canada, where reformed churches were already built in the 19th century (Goethals, 1976).

After 1952 the prosperity increased and the Netherlands became a welfare state. The industrialisation of the country led to more work. Religion became less important and the influence of the mass media and television increased. People could now read, see and hear stories of emigrants who failed and returned to the Netherlands, and were confronted with other (non-religious) ideas (Elich, 1987). Recessions took place in Australia and Canada and people became less interested to emigrate. As a result fewer people left the Netherlands: in 1955 only 57,000 people emigrated, whereas in 1952 there were still 81,000 emigrants.

In the 1960's the Netherlands experienced a shortage of unskilled workers. Foreigners (mainly Moroccans and Turks) were attracted to come and work here temporarily. However, the thought of attracting foreign workers (so-called 'gastarbeiders') while encouraging the Dutch, through subsidies, to leave was perceived as a paradox. The active emigration policy, in which the government stimulated Dutch to emigrate through subsidies, received increasing criticism. As a result, in 1961 the Dutch government changed its emigration policy from an active into a positive emigration policy and subsidies were no longer given to those willing to emigrate. The government, however, was still supporting those who wanted to live permanently abroad (Vestjens, 1986). The change of the emigration policy led to a decrease of the number of emigrants after 1961, as shown by figure 2.1.

In the 1970's the interest in emigration increased again rapidly, due to the oil crisis in 1973, the stagnation of the Dutch economy and the negative thoughts people had about the Netherlands (crowded, polluted, high taxes, bad weather etc.). However, the policies of the receiving countries only allowed a certain number of people to enter. Before, these countries pursued a policy in which they stimulated the increase of their population, now their migration policy was related to the need of their labour market. In 1978 Canada restricted the number of people entering the country: only those with sufficient money and working prospects were allowed to enter. Australia and New Zealand changed their migration policy, making it possible for non-whites to enter the country as well, whereas before only Western-Europeans were allowed to enter. As a result of these changes fewer Dutch were able to migrate to these countries (Vestjens, 1986). The emigration numbers remained almost the same after 1980, only in 1982 the migration balance was negative again: 1,000 more people

left than entered. In 2004 over 112,000 people left the country whereas 90,000 entered, meaning there were 22,000 more emigrants than immigrants. For the first time since the 1950's the migration balance had been really negative again.

Currently, there appear to be two large emigrant groups in the Netherlands, namely the border migrants and the return migrants. As table 2.1 shows, many people born in the Netherlands emigrated to European countries in 2003. Out of the top ten emigration destinations by Dutch, six were European. Especially elderly (those aged 55 and over) moved to European countries like Germany, Belgium, France and Spain. In 2003 70 percent of the emigrants at the age of 55 or older moved to one of these countries (CBS, 2004b).

Top ten emigration destinations	Number of emigrating Dutch	
1. Belgium	7,150	
2. Germany	6,218	
3. Great-Britain	3,037	
4. Dutch Antilles and Aruba	2,433	
5. Spain	2,101	
6. France	2,057	
7. United States of America	1,912	
8. Australia	896	
9. Canada	719	
10. Switzerland	666	
Total	27,189	

Table 2.1 Top ten emigration destinations, 2003

CBS (2005c)

The two most popular destinations in 2003 were Belgium, where 7,150, and Germany, where 6,218 Dutch emigrated to, the so-called border migrants. Living just across the border can be very attractive since it is still possible to visit friends and family and even work in the Netherlands. Germany is an attractive country to live because of the housing market. Houses are bigger and cheaper than those in the Netherlands (Van Den Berg and Genovesi, 2004). Belgium is an attractive destination because of the favourable tax-system and the similarity in language (Van Der Haegen, 1997).

The fourth destination in line is the Dutch Antilles and Aruba. Since the Dutch Antilles and Aruba are a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, this is not very surprising. Some people might, for example, return to their home country after spending several years in the Netherlands for study or work. Dutch, on the other hand, emigrate to Aruba to work, mainly in the educational and health sector (Eelens, 2002). Although the traditional emigration

countries were Australia, New Zealand and Canada, in 2003 fewer people migrated to these countries. A possible cause might be the strict emigration policies these countries have (see section 5.2).

Over half of the people leaving the Netherlands is born abroad. In total, 43 percent is born in the Netherlands and 25 percent in the rest of Europe (excluding the Netherlands). The other 32 percent is born in Africa, America and Asia (CBS, 2005c). A majority of these people emigrates to return to their home country. These so-called return migrants have migrated to the Netherlands in the past and decide to go back. Most of them came from developing countries to earn sufficient money, to send back home (remittances) or bring with them when they emigrate back to their native country. Others emigrate back home because of their family relations (Boyle et al., 1998). The majority of the return migrants are labour migrants or asylum seekers and migrate back within one year (CBS, 2005c).

The border migrants and return migrants both have specific reasons and motivations to emigrate. This research will not focus on these two types of emigrants. Instead it focuses on a specific group of emigrants, which are the native Dutch who want to emigrate.

3 Theoretical framework

This chapter will first discuss the decision-making process in section 3.1. Section 3.2 will explain the intention to emigrate and how this is studied in three disciplines. The hypotheses are derived from the theories. Section 3.3 will briefly discuss the conceptual framework used in this research.

3.1 Decision-making process

Thinking about leaving a country will ultimately lead to the decision to emigrate or not. But, how does someone come to this final decision? Janis and Mann (1977) have analysed the decision-making process and defined five stages of decision-making. The first stage is the stage of 'Appraising the Challenge'. This stage defines what triggers people to think about their current course of action. These triggers can be events (e.g. having a bad experience) or communications (e.g. seeing a documentary on the television). Through these events or communications, negative information about the current course of action is obtained, which challenges it. The next stage is called 'Surveying Alternatives'. After determining that changes need to occur, alternatives become the focus of attention. In this research one of these alternatives is emigration. In the third stage, 'Weighing Alternatives', the alternatives are evaluated and the best one is selected. The fourth stage is called 'Deliberating about Commitment'. After finding the best alternative course of action, the decision has to be made to put into practice and whether to let other people know. Finally in the last stage, 'Adhering despite Negative Feedback', new threats or opportunities can interrupt the process which can lead to the final decision or the decision-making process starts all over again (Janis and Mann 1977, p. 172). Rossi (1955, cited by Boyle et al., 1998) has narrowed the process down to three stages of migration decision-making, as a sequential process. The first stage is deciding to leave the current location. The second stage is looking at the alternative locations and finally from these alternative destinations one destination is chosen.

As shown by Janis and Mann and Rossi the decision to emigrate is a process in which an evaluation takes place, of behaviour and of destinations. On which factors the decision is ultimately based will be described in the following section.

3.2 Decision to emigrate

Often in research the intention is used as a proximate determinant of the behaviour (e.g. Van Dalen et al., 2003). Theoretically the intention determines the behaviour and as Manski (1990,

cited by Van Dalen et al., 2003) shows 'intention data do convey information about subsequent behaviour' (p. 5). However, it must be taken into consideration that this does not mean 'that a measure of intentions will always be an accurate predictor of behaviour' (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980, p. 42). The main theory explaining the intention is the theory of reasoned action by Ajzen (1988). This theory gives an overview of how behaviour is determined and shows that having the intention to behave requires a reason and believing so it can be put into action.

In different disciplines the decision or intention has been studied. According to Marini (1992) in all social sciences there are similar models, which are 'based on the assumption that people act in ways that tend to yield beneficial results for themselves' (cited by Henkens, 1998, p. 13). The first model, described in the following subsection, is derived from the economic point of view, in which the human capital approach is explained (see subsection 3.2.1). Making the model more complex, and therefore more realistic, the sociological and psychological aspects are added (Lindenberg, 1992 cited by Henkens, 1998). From a sociological point of view, the importance of the family and household are emphasised. In making, as well as in supporting the decision to emigrate these social networks are of importance, as will be further explained in subsection 3.2.2. How a person evaluates his environment and his personal characteristics, which are of influence on the intention, are emphasised in the psychological field. In subsection 3.2.3 these evaluations and two personal characteristics are explained.

3.2.1 Economic considerations

Sjaastad (1962, cited by Boyle et al., 1998) defines in his theory of human capital the migration decision-making as a human capital investment problem. A person is seen as a rational actor and will move when, for example, moving costs are lower than the benefits, which are created by a better employment situation. The theory views the decision to emigrate as an investment in human capital. Since people invest in their skills, they want to achieve the highest utility of their accumulated capital. Migration can be a part of that, when it leads to the highest productivity, according to the human capital theory (Boyle et al., 1998). The potential emigrant therefore decides, in an economically rational way, to move from a low-wage to a high-wage country. These differences in wages are mainly the result of geographic differences in labour demand and supply. Where the demand is high but the supply is low, the wages will be high; where the demand is low but the supply is high, the wages will be low. Emigrating from a low-wage to a high-wage country will therefore lead to an increase in wage

and a decrease in the labour supply in the low-wage country. The opposite will happen in the high-wage country. Labour will flow from the low-wage to the high-wage countries (Massey et al., 1993). The first hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 1. People who have a low household income are more likely to have the intention to emigrate than those with a higher household income.

Being unemployed is related to the labour market situation: in a country where there is a high supply and a low demand, more people will be unemployed. This can have a positive effect on the intention to emigrate. The second hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 2. Those who are unemployed are more likely to emigrate than those who are employed.

The educational level of the potential emigrant is related to the income level. Someone who is less educated is expected to earn less than someone who is highly educated. From the first and the second hypothesis the third hypothesis can be derived as:

Hypothesis 3. Highly educated people are less likely to emigrate than those who are less educated.

The age of the person is of influence as well on the intention to emigrate. Since young people are just entering the labour market in search for a job and are expected to earn less than older workers. Finding a job and experimenting with different jobs reflects their migration behaviour. For them, emigration can be seen as an investment in human capital. Their returns of migration are greater because they have more time to accumulate the return (Ritchey, 1976, p. 373). Older workers, on the other hand, are already tied to the labour market. They earn more but are less likely to 'migrate for economic reasons, because their remaining years in the labour force are limited and thus their employability is relatively lower' (Ritchey, 1976, p. 379). Retired elderly are considered to be rather mobile, since they are not tied to the labour market. For them emigration might be a decision of consuming, to spend their time and money. As most elderly migration research shows, the decision to emigrate for elderly is either one in which cost of living or certain policies or government expenditures amenities play an important role (Smith Conway and Houtenville, 2003). The fourth hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 4. The intention to emigrate declines with age.

3.2.2 Social networks

The structure and the function of the household can influence the choices of the individual. Ritchey (1976) suggests that 'the family influences migration by creating emotional ties, by providing information, and by providing aid relocation' (p. 389, cited by De Jong and Gardner, 1981). The family works together in order to minimise risks and maximise the expected income. Migrant networks are defined as a 'set of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin' (Massey et al., 1993, p. 448). Through these networks the ability to move and work abroad increases, leading to a positive influence in deciding to emigrate. Networks provide assistance and information about the host country. Since gathering information takes a lot of time, people rely on their social networks and already established information systems (e.g. media) (De Jong and Gardner, 1981). Knowing family or friends living abroad can help reduce the costs and increase the benefits (e.g. staying with family while finding a job). A recent survey held among immigrants in Canada showed the importance of networks: 78 percent of the newcomers settled in areas where their network of friends lived (O'Connor, 2004). The fifth hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 5. Knowing people who have already emigrated will make the intention to emigrate stronger.

Not only the quantity but also the quality of the relationships between family members, partners and friends plays a role. Couples making the decision to emigrate are not only dealing with their own opinion but also with the opinion of their partner and (possible) children. The choice to emigrate is not made by one person but by a whole household. According to Mulder and Hooimeijer this can be seen as a barrier to moving greater distances, since 'several person's daily activity spaces have to be taken into account' (cited by Van Wissen and Dykstra, 1999, p. 167). The sixth and seventh hypotheses are:

Hypothesis 6. Married couples are less likely to have the intention to emigrate than singles.

Hypothesis 7. *Those who have children are less likely to have the intention to emigrate than those who do not have children.*

3.2.3 Evaluations, sensation-seeking and self-efficacy

As many migration theories state there is a link between the intention to emigrate and the residential satisfaction. People are considered to constantly evaluate their house and neighbourhood in order to improve their quality of life and stay satisfied (Speare, 1974). When a person is dissatisfied about his living conditions, the intention to emigrate will be stronger. Previous research about emigration in the Netherlands (see section 1.4) has confirmed this link and showed that those who are dissatisfied with the Netherlands have a stronger intention to emigrate. The eight hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 8. *The less positive the current situation in the Netherlands is evaluated, the stronger the intention is to emigrate.*

Two personal traits, which in this research are considered to be of influence on the intention to emigrate, are sensation-seeking and self-efficacy.

Leaving your home country can lead to great feelings of uncertainty, since how will life be abroad? Any behaviour, which has 'a significant degree of uncertainty about the losses associated with its outcome', can be risk taking (Rosenbloom, 2003, p. 375). Sensation seeking is relevant to risk-taking behaviour since it can be the drive or motivation that leads to risky behaviour. Sensation seeking refers to 'individual differences in optimal levels of arousal and stimulation, manifested as a character dimension' (Zuckerman, 1979 cited by Rosenbloom, 2003, p. 376). Low sensation seekers are less daring than high sensation seekers, who have a tendency to take more risks and 'perceive the world as less threatening' (Solomon et al., 1995, cited by Rosenbloom, 2003, p. 377-378). It is therefore most likely that high sensation seekers have the intention to emigrate whereas low sensation seekers do not:

Hypothesis 9. The more adventurous (sensation-seeking) a person is, the stronger the intention to emigrate will be.

The judgement a person has on his capabilities, the feelings of competence, will influence the decision as well. Since, a person who feels competent is more likely to perform a certain action than someone who does not feel competent. These feelings of competence are related to the concept of self-efficacy. The social cognitive theory by Bandura (1986) uses this concept, which is defined as 'people's judgements of their capabilities to organise and execute courses of action required to designated types of performances' (p. 391). Self-efficacy beliefs

are of influence on motivations and it is therefore most likely that someone who is more selfconfident has the intention to emigration, than someone who is less self-confident. The final hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 10. The more confident (self-efficacy) a person is, the stronger the intention to emigrate will be.

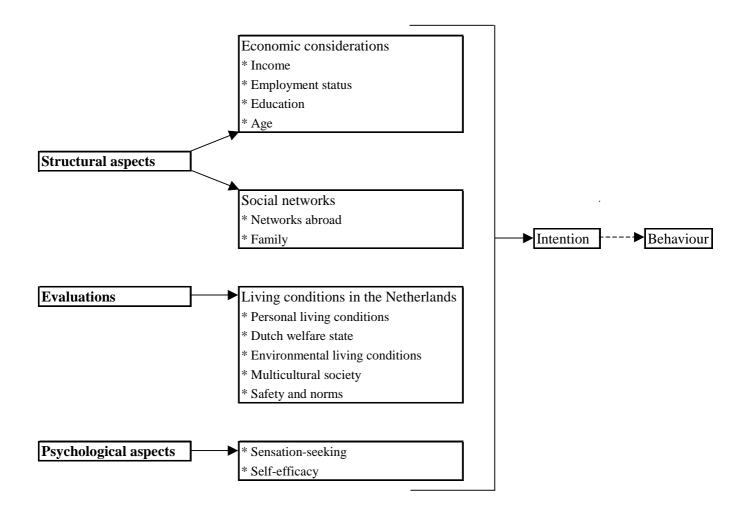
3.3 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework, as presented in figure 3.1, shows the aspects, which are considered to influence the intention to emigrate. A division is made between structural aspects, evaluations and psychological aspects.

The structural aspects are divided into the economic considerations (see subsection 3.2.1) and the social networks (see subsection 3.2.2). The evaluations are divided into the five scales, which are used in this research. These five are: personal living conditions, Dutch welfare state, environmental living condition, multicultural society and safety and norms. The psychological aspects consist of sensation-seeking and self-efficacy (see subsection 3.2.3).

Together the economic considerations, the social networks, the living conditions in the Netherlands and the psychological aspects lead to the intention to emigrate, which is used in this research as a proximate determinant of the behaviour.

Figure 3.1 Conceptual framework



4 Data and Methods

The following chapter will describe the data, which is used during this research. In order to provide information about expectations, motivations and intentions of the potential emigrant, a special survey was designed for this research. The development of this survey and the data will be explained briefly in section 4.1. Section 4.2 will describe the operationalisation and section 4.3 will explain the method and statistical analysis used.

4.1 Expat and NIDI emigration survey

On the 26th and 27th of March 2004 the Expat-fair was organised in Nieuwegein, which was meant 'for those who are planning to work, to settle, to study, or to do business abroad' (Expat2005, 2005). In total 591 potential emigrants left their address at this fair. These people all received two questionnaires at the beginning of December 2004: one for themselves and one for their partner (see appendix I and II). Some people were not meant to receive a questionnaire, since they were not thinking about leaving the Netherlands or had already left. Therefore, out of the 591 visitors 533 visitors remained. They are considered to be the correct sample of potential emigrants. In total 214 main questionnaires, and 133 partner questionnaires were sent back, filled in properly. This means a response of 40 percent. The Expat survey was used as a purposeful sampling (as explained in section 1.4).

The questionnaires were developed through theoretical insights and several in-depth interviews with potential emigrants and the head of an emigration agency. After a try out, the questionnaires were sent. Twice a letter was sent, in order to remind people to fill in the questionnaire.

The Expat questionnaire followed a basic structure: at the beginning emigration questions were posed, later on the socio-demographic factors and some items were asked. The emigration questions were divided into five categories, namely the intention, the preparation, the evaluations, the mobility and the expectations of the potential emigrant.

The second source of data is the NIDI emigration survey 2005. This is a nation wide demographic and family survey, which was held in January 2005. Only the questions related to the intention to emigrate and the evaluations were asked in this survey. In total 2,333 Dutch who were at the age of 15 and older answered these questions electronically (see appendix III).

Together, the two samples (Expat and NIDI) are used throughout the research. In order to get a general image of the emigration intentions in the Netherlands the representative NIDI emigration sample is used. Only to analyse the expectations and other questions, which were not posed in the NIDI emigration survey, the Expat sample is used.

4.2 **Operationalisation**

In this research linear models are used to explain the intention to emigrate. The intention is measured by two questions, which in general increases the reliability of the intention measurement (Swanborn, 1982). However, as a comparison the logistic regression models can be found in appendix IV. Since the items in the different questions should measure the same thing, in this case the intention to emigrate, they should correlate with each other. This internal consistency is tested with the Cronbach's alpha. The higher the alpha, the more reliable the test is (De Vocht, 2002). The alpha for the intention scale is 0.73, meaning the scale is reliable.

The first question, which is used to determine the intention to emigrate, is:

- Do you have the intention to emigrate in the future?

Respondents could answer this question with the use of a five points scale, from *No certainly not* (1), till *Yes, certainly* (5).

The second question is:

- Are you planning to emigrate soon?

The answers are:

- 1. Yes, I am planning to emigrate soon
- 2. No, but I once had the plan
- 3. No, I was never planning to emigrate

The final two categories of the second question are combined, making it possible to combine the two questions. The intention to emigrate is determined by the score of this new question: the higher the score, the more likely a person will have the intention to emigrate. Table 4.1 schematically shows the intention scores and the frequency of every score.

In appendix IV the logistic regression models are shown. In order to analyse binary logistic regressions the first question 'Do you have the intention to emigrate in the future?' is changed

into a dummy variable. The first three answer categories are given the value 0, meaning 'No, I do not have the intention to emigrate'. The fourth and fifth category are both given the value 1, which means 'Yes, I do have the intention to emigrate'.

		Are you planning to emigrate soon?		
		1. No, I am not	5. Yes, I am	
		planning to emigrate soon	planning to emigrate soon	
Do you have	1. No, certainly not	2 (1,232)	6 (1)	
the intention	2. No, probably not	3 (734)	7 (34)	
to emigrate	3. Maybe	4 (351)	8 (12)	
in the future?	4. Yes, probably	5 (57)	9 (34)	
	5. Yes, certainly	6 (16)	10 (75)	

Table 4.1 Intention to emigrate

In order to describe the Dutch, who have the intention to emigrate and to explain the intention to emigrate, several socio-demographic variables are used. These are: gender, age, educational level, employment, employment sector, total net household income, household and social networks. With the use of dummy variables all these variables could be used for analyses. The reference category is the first answer category.

Gender is defined as *Female* (0) and *Male* (1). For the variable age the absolute age of the respondent is used, making it a continuous variable.

The following table 4.2 shows the answer categories of the other socio-demographic variables: educational level, employment, employment sector, total net household income, household and social networks.

The answer categories used to answer the question *What is your highest attained educational level?* are based on CBS-categories (see table 4.2).

The question *In which employment sector do you work?* can be answered with *sector missing* which means the person did not define the employment sector. Employment sector is used as a socio-demographic variable to examine whether there are still many farmers emigrating (agricultural sector), compared to the years after the Second World War (see chapter 2).

The answer categories for the total net household income were defined differently in the Expat survey and in the NIDI emigration survey 2005. A combination of the two led to the answer categories shown in table 4.2.

The question *In what type of household do you live?* could be answered with *other household* as table 4.2 shows. In the Expat sample this category was defined and mainly consisted of people who were living with their parents.

Educational level	Total net household income
1 Primary Education (ref.)	1 Till 2,500 Euro (ref.)
2 Pre-intermediate Vocational Education (VMBO) 2 2,500-4,000 Euro
3 Senior General Secondary Education	3 4,000 Euro
/Pre-university Education (HAVO/VWO)	
4 Intermediate Vocational Education (MBO)	
5 Higher Professional Education (HBO)	
and Scientific Education (WO)	
Employment	Household
1 Employed (ref.)	1 Alone (ref.)
2 Retired	2 With partner
3 Unemployed	3 With partner and children
4 Disabled	4 Alone with children
5 Housewife/man	5 Other household
6 Student	-
7 Self-employed	
Employment sector	Social networks
1 Manufacturing (ref.)	1 No (ref.)
2 Trade, transport and services	2 Yes, between 1 and 5 people
3 Government	3 Yes, between 5 and 10 people
4 Agricultural sector	4 Yes, between 10 and 15 people
5 Sector missing	5 Yes, more than 15 people

To examine the attitudes and evaluations regarding the living condition of those who intend to emigrate and those who do not, the respondent was asked to answer three questions. Each of these questions consisted of several items. This was done to avoid the respondent from thinking about just one item. It also makes it possible to detect the small differences among respondents (Swanborn, 1982). Out of these three questions five scales were created. These scales are derived from the questionnaires.

The average score and standard deviation of the five scales are shown in table 4.3, as well as the items that together create the scale. For every scale the Cronbach's alpha is higher than 0.60 meaning the scales are reliable. The number of points obtained in a scale is calculated by adding the answer categories for each item. The higher this score, the more negative the scale is being evaluated.

The first scale is called 'Personal living conditions' and is made of the items *Residence*, *Working place*, *Income* and *Social contacts*. On average respondents scored 9 points out of 20, as shown by table 4.3.

The items *Health*, *Social benefits*, *Education*, *Law system* and *Pension system* create the second scale, which is called 'Dutch welfare state'. This scale has a mean of almost 13 points, out of 25.

The scale 'Environmental living conditions' consist of the items *Nature and space*, *Population density* and *Silence*. On average respondents scored 10 out of 15 points.

Scale	Mean	Standard deviation	Cronbach's Alpha
 Personal living conditions Residence (5) Working place (5) Income (5) Social contacts (5) Maximum points (20) 	9.02	2.39	.66
 Dutch welfare state Health (5) Social benefits (5) Education (5) Law system (5) Pension system (5) Maximum points (25) 	12.98	3.53	.85
 Environmental living conditions Nature and space (5) Population density (5) Silence (5) Maximum points (15) 	9.82	2.18	.74
 Multicultural society Multicultural society (5) 'The multicultural society is an enrichment to the Dutch culture' (5) Maximum points (10) 	6.35	1.80	.78
 Safety and norms Safety (5) Crime (5) Mentality of the people (5) Maximum points (15) 	9.48	1.85	.61
Sensation-seeking (15) Self-efficacy (15)	6.84 8.74	1.75 2.21	.64 .60

The items *Multicultural society* and '*The multicultural society is an enrichment to the Dutch culture*' together make the 'Multicultural society' scale. The mean of this scale, as table 4.3 shows, is 6 out of maximum 10 points.

The final scale is called 'Safety and norms' and is determined by *Safety*, *Crime* and *Mentality of the people*. On average respondents scored 9 points out of 15.

Psychological aspects were examined through three items related to sensation-seeking and three items dealing with self-efficacy.

Sensation-seeking is determined by the items (De Jong and Liefbroer, 1998):

- 'New unexpected experiences give me the excitement I need in life'
- 'If I have to work according to rules, I am easily fed up with it'
- 'People or things that remain the same loose my attention'

Since every statement must be either positive or negative to measure the Cronbach's alpha, the third item is recoded. The Cronbach's alpha for sensation-seeking is 0.64. On average respondents scored almost 7 points out of 15 (see table 4.3).

Self-efficacy is determined by the items (Bosscher and Smit, 1998):

- 'When I make plans, I am certain I can make them work'
- 'When I decide to do something, I go right to work on it'
- 'When unexpected problems occur, I do not handle them very well'

The Cronbach's alpha for self-efficacy is 0.60 as shown in table 4.3. On average respondents scored rather high: almost 9 out of 15 points.

Only in the Expat questionnaires a question was asked about the expectations. Here, the same items were used as in the question about the evaluation of the personal living situation, the Dutch welfare state and the living situation in the Netherlands. One item was added to the evaluation of the personal living conditions, namely *Health*.

4.3 Method and statistical analysis

Normally every case is equal in weight, however when the data are not representative this is not the case. Therefore the NIDI emigration data set, which did not completely represent the Dutch society as a whole, is weighed. The cases have been weighed by the following variables: age, gender, marital status (being married or not) and region.

To answer the first research question *What characterises the potential emigrant*? the sociodemographic variables as mentioned in section 4.1 are used. The three main characteristics namely age, education and total net household income are presented through graphs. The other variables are described. In order to determine whether there is a statistically significant relation between two ordinal variables, the Spearman's correlation coefficient was calculated between the intention to emigrate and the independent ordinal variables. This coefficient can only be used when it is assumed that one or both variables are not normally distributed. As QQ-plots show (see appendix V), this assumption is valid since the intention to emigrate is not normally distributed. The null hypothesis states that both variables are independent from each other and there is no relation. The alternative hypothesis states there is a relation between the two variables (De Vocht, 2002). The correlation matrix in appendix VI shows the Pearson correlation coefficient and significance between the intention to emigrate and all the independent variables used in this research.

The second research question *Which countries do people prefer as their destinations?* is answered by using descriptive analyses. A frequency table shows the popularity of the destinations among those who intend to emigrate, and the actual number of Dutch emigrating to these countries.

The third research question *How can the intention to emigrate be explained?* is answered by an explanatory research. Multivariate analyses were carried out and three linear models were made. These models consist of different independent variables that together are expected to determine the intention to emigrate. The variables need to be measured on an interval-ratio scale in a regression analysis. It is also allowed to work with dichotomy variables. The socio-demographic variables were changed into dichotomy variables using the codes 0 and 1, the so-called dummy variables. The standardised B coefficients are used, in order to determine the relative importance of the significant predictors. The larger the absolute coefficient, the more it contributes to the model (De Vocht, 2002). Since dummy variables were made for the socio-demographic variables, the intention to emigrate is standardised and here the unstandardised coefficients are used. To test the hypotheses mentioned in chapter 3, these three linear models were used. Since the direction is specified in the hypotheses they were tested one-sided.

The first model tries to explain the emigration intention by the socio-demographic variables gender, age, educational level, employment, employment sector, total net household income, household and networks. The next model adds the scales related to the evaluations of the living conditions in the Netherlands: the personal living conditions, the Dutch welfare state,

the environmental living conditions, the multicultural society and the safety and norms. The third model adds the psychological scales sensation-seeking and self-efficacy.

The fourth research question *What are the expectations of those intending to emigrate?* is answered descriptively. Graphs show the results of the expectations people have when they emigrate.

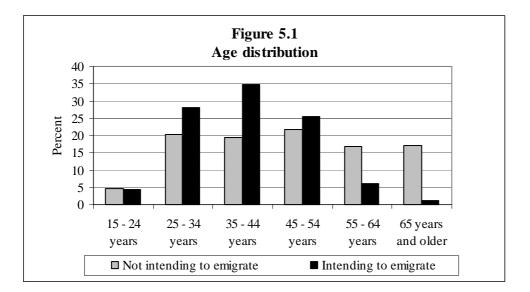
5 **Results³**

This chapter will present the results of this research. First, those who intend to emigrate will be described and will be compared with those who do not intend to emigrate. The second section will discuss the preferred destinations, after which in section 5.3 the explanatory analysis will be presented. The final section will describe the expectations of those intending to emigrate.

5.1 Describing the (non) potential emigrant

The NIDI research shows, among others, that 2 percent of the Dutch population at the age of 15 and older considers emigrating in the future. Of them about one-tenth has serious plans to leave the Netherlands. On the first of January 2004 the total Dutch population at the age of 15 and older consisted of over 13.2 million people, meaning there were around 26,000 who had serious emigration plans and another 240,000 people who were thinking about leaving the Netherlands, but who were not yet sure about it. In general, people who intend to emigrate in the future have thought about leaving the Netherlands for over six years.

In order to describe the Dutch, who have the intention to emigrate, three main characteristics are shown in the figures 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 using the combined data set. A distinction is made between those who do not have the intention to emigrate and those who do have the intention to emigrate.



³ Some of the results presented in this chapter can also be found in the Demos article (Ter Bekke et al., 2005)

Dutch intending to emigrate are mainly males; 66 percent of those having the intention to emigrate is male. As figure 5.1 shows 35 percent is between 35 and 44 years old. Those that do not have the intention to emigrate tend to be somewhat older. Although emigration rates are expected to increase after the age of retirement (see section 3.2), figure 5.1 shows only 7 percent of those having the intention to emigrate is at the age of 55 or older. The Spearman correlation coefficient (-.39; p<0.01) shows there is a significant relation between the age and the intention to emigrate. People who do not have the intention to emigrate are on average significant older than the people who do have the intention to emigrate. Of those intending to emigrate 40 percent is not married, compared to 27 percent of those not intending to emigrate.

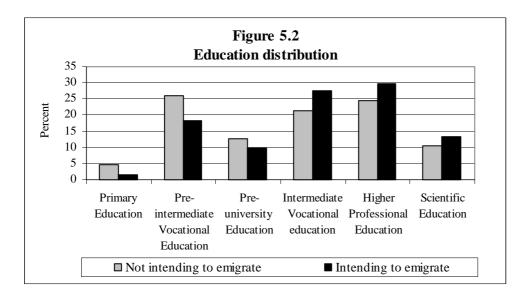
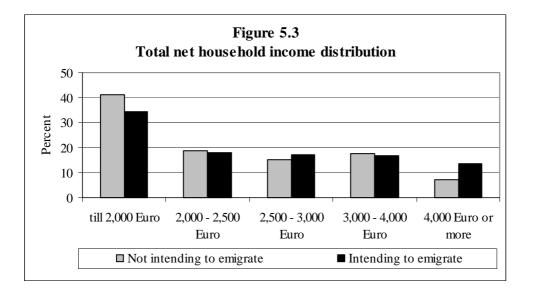


Figure 5.2 displays the level of education. Most of the Dutch that intend to emigrate, namely 43 percent has attained a high educational level (Higher Professional Education or Scientific Education), compared to 35 percent of the Dutch that do not intend to emigrate. The Spearman correlation coefficient (.19; p<0.01) shows there is a significant relation between the educational level and the intention to emigrate. Of those intending to emigrate 9 percent has a profession in the scientific field compared to 6 percent of those without intentions to emigrate. On overall it might be concluded that those intending to emigrate have a higher profession than those who are not intending to emigrate. The majority of those intending to emigrate 53 percent is employed. In total 58 percent, which is the largest group, of the people intending to emigrate is working in the trade, transport and services sector. The second largest group, 24 percent, is working in the government sector. Compared to those who do not have the intention to emigrate only 37 percent is working in the trade, transport and services sector, 28

percent in the government sector and 22 percent in the manufacturing sector. The Chi-square test shows there is a significant relation between the employment sector and the intention to emigrate.

Although most of the Dutch who are intending to emigrate have a total net household income lower than 2,000 Euro, they do earn more than Dutch who are not intending to emigrate as figure 5.3 shows. Only 7 percent has a total net household income of 4,000 Euro or more, whereas almost twice as much Dutch who have the intention to emigrate have a net household income of 4,000 Euro or more. The Spearman correlation coefficient shows there is no statically significant relation between the total net household income and the intention to emigrate.



Networks might play an important role in the intention to emigrate, since 59 percent of those who have the intention to emigrate knows family members or friends who have already emigrated. On average they know around four people who have emigrated. Of those who do not have the intention to emigrate only 42 percent knows family or friends who have emigrated.

5.2 Destinations

The following section will describe the destinations to which people intending to emigrate want to emigrate to. Since the migration policies of these countries might play a role, they will be briefly described.

Table 5.1 shows the ten most preferred emigration countries, chosen by those who are intending to emigrate, and number of people born in the Netherlands who have emigrated to these countries in 2003. Together their share equals 27 percent of the total number of native Dutch emigrating in 2003. Canada and Australia are very popular destinations: 35 percent wants to emigrate to one of these two countries. In total, only 1,615 Dutch left in 2003 to these countries. This might have been the result of the migration policies. Australia, Canada and New Zealand all have similar migration policies, which are based on points. Only a certain number of points will make it possible to get a residence permit. These points can be obtained through age, knowledge of the English (and in Canada also the French) language and having family members in the emigration country. Years of working experience and the educational level are also important. At any moment the minimum number of points can be changed, which is decided by the migration offices. These changes are mainly based on the labour market shortages (CESifo DICE, 2005). The possibility to emigrate to one of the countries, Australia, Canada, New Zealand is therefore very dependent on the selection that is made.

Preferred emigration country	Percent	Number of native Dutch emigrating to this country, 2003
1. Canada	17.6	719
2. Australia	17.0	896
3. France	16.5	2,057
4. New Zealand	6.0	424
5. Spain	6.0	2,101
6. United Sates of America	5.5	1,912
7. South-Africa	2.7	361
8. Sweden	1.6	332
9. Thailand	1.6	210
10. Italy	1.1	521
Total	75.6	9,533 = 27 %

Table 5.1 Top ten of preferred emigration countries and number of Dutch emigrants in 2003

The United States of America have a migration policy, which resembles the policy of Australia and Canada. This system is based on the so-called Green Card. A Green Card gives access to the United States of America and annually 650,000 are handed out. A Green Card can be obtained in several ways: by having a family member who is an American citizen, by having a job or certain knowledge or by investing in an American company. The final option to obtain a Green Card is the Green Card lottery. Every year 55,000 Green Cards are handed out through this lottery (US Green Card, 2005). Although through these obstructions the

chances might be limited to emigrate to the United States, in 2003 1,912 Dutch emigrated to the United States of America (CBS, 2005c).

Out of the ten most preferred countries, only four are European. At this moment the European Union consists of 25 member states⁴. Emigrating within the European Union is relatively easy, since the borders are open and there is freedom of movement. When a citizen of one of the member states wants to live in another state while being retired or wants to work or study in another member state, he will have the same rights as the inhabitants of that state. However, there are some conditions that are of importance when emigrating. A person who is retired, and has earned his money in another member state than the one he wants to emigrate to, must have financial resources and health insurance, so he does not become a burden on the social security system in the country in which he chooses to live. Unemployed people are allowed to stay in another member state for a reasonable period to look for a job. Most member states consider this reasonable period to be six months, some consider it to be three months. After this period the person must leave, unless he has found a job or is able to show he is still looking for one (e.g. through job interviews with companies). Citizens of the European Union are allowed to work in another EU country, and if self-employed or employed, may live there permanently (Europa, 2005). Surprisingly the neighbouring countries, Belgium and Germany, are not mentioned in the list of the top ten preferred emigration countries. Since the distance between the Netherlands and Belgium or Germany is rather small, it might not be considered to be real emigration by the respondents. The motivations for emigrating to one of these countries are also often linked to specific subjects like tax advantages or house prices. Still 13,368 Dutch left in 2003 to Belgium and Germany (CBS, 2005c).

As the representative sample shows 86 percent of the people who are intending to emigrate has visited their preferred emigration country. Meaning there are also people who are intending to emigrate to a country they have never visited. Only 35 percent of the people who are intending to emigrate went to an emigration agency, 37 percent asked the embassy for information and 75 percent has visited an information meeting or fair.

⁴ Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Finland, France, Greece, United Kingdom, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Malta, Cyprus

5.3 Explanatory analysis

In order to get an understanding of the possible reasons to leave the Netherlands three linear multivariate models are estimated in this section. The hypotheses as mentioned in chapter 3 will be tested (one-sided) with the use of these three models. The first model tries to explain the intention to emigrate solely by the socio-demographic factors. The second model adds the evaluations of the living conditions in the Netherlands. The third model adds the psychological aspects sensation-seeking and self-efficacy. In order to illustrate some of the effects found in the models, sentences written by respondents are added in between the text.

The first model tries to explain the intention to emigrate by the socio-demographic variables gender, age, educational level, employment, employment sector, total net household income, household and knowing family or friends who have emigrated, the so-called social networks. Table 5.2 shows the coefficients, the t-values and the significance of the variables.

Model 1 shows gender has a positive significant effect on the intention to emigrate and that males are more likely to have the intention to emigrate than females (.16; p<0.01).

Age has a negative significant effect on the intention to emigrate (-.02; p<0.01). This means the older a person, the less likely he or she will be having the intention to emigrate. The intention to emigrate declines with age (hypothesis 4 is accepted).

As model 1 shows the category Higher Professional and Scientific Education (.26; p<0.01) has a stronger positive significant effect on the intention. The educational level is of influence on the intention to emigrate and those who are highly educated are more likely to have the intention to emigrate than those who are less educated (hypothesis 3 is rejected).

Being retired has a negative significant effect on the intention to emigrate (-.16; p<0.05). A person who is retired is less likely to have the intention to emigrate than someone who is not. Being self-employed (.22; p<0.01) or a student (.20; p<0.05) has a positive significant effect on the intention to emigrate. These people are more likely to have the intention to emigrate. Being unemployed has no significant effect on the intention to emigrate (hypothesis 2 is rejected).

Ν	Iodel 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	В	t-value		В	t-value		В	t-value	
Constant	.37	2.69	**	-1.62	-9.53	**	64	-3.34	**
Socio-demographic factors									
Gender (female ref.)	.16	3.95	**	.15	3.82	**	.12	3.00	**
Age	02	-8.30	**	02	-8.86	**	02	-8.73	**
Educational level									
- Primary Education (ref.)									
- Pre-intermediate Vocational									
Education	.07	.71		.09	1.04		.07	.85	
- Senior General Secondary									
Education/Pre-university Education	.05	.52		.10	1.10		.10	1.14	
- Intermediate Vocational Education	.16	1.63		.18	1.98	*	.16	1.87	*
- Higher Professional and Scientific									
Education	.26	2.81	**	.30	3.44	**	.25	2.94	**
Employment								, .	
- Employed (ref.)									
- Retired	16	-1.97	*	12	-1.64		14	-1.91	*
- Unemployed	.14	1.50		.10	1.06		.06	.70	
- Disabled	.11	1.09		00	03		01	14	
- Housewife/man	03	35		01	17		.02	.24	
- Student	.20	1.73	*	.22	2.11	*	.02	1.49	
- Self-employed	.20	2.47	**	.22	2.92	**	.19	2.35	**
Employment sector	.22	2.47		.23	2.92		.19	2.35	
- Manufacturing (ref.)									
	.23	3.85	**	.19	3.39	**	.18	3.23	**
Trade, transport and servicesGovernment	.25	.84	•••	.19	.97		.18	5.25 .65	
	.05 05	.84 27		.06 .06	.97		.04	.03	
- Agricultural sector									
- Sector missing	13	-1.47		10	-1.16		07	90	
Total net household income									
- Till 2,500 Euro (ref.)	0.2	71		07	1 70	*	0.6	1 67	
- 2,500-4,000 Euro	.03	.71		.07	1.79	*	.06	1.57	
- 4,000 Euro or more	.21	2.78	**	.23	3.26	**	.18	2.59	**
Household									
- alone (ref.)									
- with partner	08	-1.50		07	-1.33		06	-1.10	
- with partner and children	18	-3.19	**	16	-2.99	**	15	-2.87	**
- alone with children	07	61		07	59		07	65	
- other household	.21	1.46		.31	2.30	*	.26	1.96	*
Social networks									
- no (ref.)									
- yes, between 1 and 5 people	.26	6.38	**	.20	5.23	**	.19	5.07	**
- yes, between 5 and 10 people	.31	4.58	**	.27	4.25	**	.23	3.68	**
- yes, between 10 and 15 people	.47	3.74	**	.36	3.11	**	.38	3.33	**
- yes, more than 15 people	.32	2.34	**	.35	2.73	**	.29	2.27	*
Living conditions in the Netherlands									
Personal living conditions				.04	2.19	*	.07	3.47	**
Dutch welfare state				.06	2.84	**	.05	2.46	**
Environmental living conditions				.22	11.30	**	.21	10.80	**
Multicultural society				04	-2.20	*	03	-1.44	
Safety and norms				.16	6.91	**	.14	6.28	**
Psychological aspects									
Sensation-seeking							13	-7.41	**
Self-efficacy							11	-6.18	**
								0.10	
Ν		2510			2504			2502	
Adjusted R^2		.14			.26			.29	

 Table 5.2 Three linear multivariate models explaining the intention to emigrate

* = Significant at p<0.05, ** = Significant at p<0.01 (one-sided test)

The variable employment sector shows only the trade, transport and service sector has a positive significant effect on the intention to emigrate (.23; p<0.01). Someone, who works in the trade, transport and service sector is more likely to have the intention to emigrate than someone who does not work in that sector. The agricultural sector has no significant effect on the intention to emigrate.

The model shows only the last category of the variable total net household income has a significant effect. This category is having a total net household income of 4,000 Euro or more and has a positive effect on the intention to emigrate (.21; p<0.01). A person who has a total net household income of 4,000 Euro or more is more likely to have the intention to emigrate than someone who earns less (hypothesis 1 is rejected).

The variable household is used to test whether having children and a partner has an influence on the intention to emigrate. All the coefficients are negative except for the category other household. The only category which has a significant negative effect on the intention to emigrate is having a partner and children (-.18; p<0.01). This means someone who is married and has children is less likely to emigrate than someone who is not (hypothesis 6 and 7 are accepted). A 39-year-old male respondent wanting to emigrate to Canada illustrates this, as he wrote:

"I want to emigrate, however since my wife and two children don't want to join me I'll stay here"

His 39-year-old wife wrote the following:

"The children are now 12 and 14 years old. Once the emigration procedure is finalised and we can emigrate to Canada, the children will be in the middle of their life. For them it will be very difficult to get used to a new life. That's why we postpone emigrating"

To test whether networks are of influence on the intention to emigrate the variable social networks is used. Model 1 shows all categories have a positive significant effect on the intention to emigrate. As the coefficients show: knowing more people will have a larger positive influence on the intention to emigrate (hypothesis 5 is accepted).

A 35-year-old woman having the intention to emigrate to France wrote the following about her social networks:

"My parents as well as a brother of my boyfriend are already living in France. This has a positive influence on the decision to emigrate"

The first model explains 14 percent (adjusted R^2) of the variance of the intention to emigrate by the socio-demographic variables.

The second model uses the socio-demographic variables and adds the evaluations of the living conditions in the Netherlands, in order to test the following hypothesis and see whether the intention to emigrate is better explained.

The eighth hypothesis is 'The less positive the current situation in the Netherlands is evaluated, the stronger the intention is to emigrate' and can be tested with the use of the second model. Five evaluations namely personal living conditions, Dutch welfare state, environmental living conditions, multicultural society and safety and norms together give an overview of the living conditions in the Netherlands. It must be taken into consideration that all five variables have a positive correlation coefficient and a significant effect on one another (see appendix VI).

The second model shows that, except for the multicultural society, all the coefficients are positive. This means: the worse the aspect is being evaluated, the stronger the intention to emigrate will be. The evaluation of the environmental living conditions, which is defined by the population density, nature and silence, has the largest absolute coefficient of the five evaluations (.22; p<0.01). It contributes the most to the model out of all the evaluations. The Dutch welfare state has a significant effect on the intention to emigrate (.06; p<0.01) as well as the personal living conditions (.04; p<0.05). The absolute coefficient for safety and norms is also rather high (.16; p<0.01). The more negative the items related to safety and norms are being evaluated, the more likely a person will have the intention to emigrate.

A 39-year-old woman having the intention to emigrate to France illustrates these findings as she wrote:

"There are too many people in this small country. There is insufficient space, everywhere there are highways and even when there is nature it has to make way for offices and houses. Another aspect is our judicial system, which isn't functioning at all: when you hit a burglar, you are guilty while the burglar goes home free. That's why I want to emigrate!"

The multicultural society has an unexpected negative influence on the intention to emigrate (-.04; p<0.05). This means the more negative a person is about the multicultural society, the less likely he or she will have the intention to emigrate. However, as the correlation matrix shows in appendix VI, the multicultural society and safety and norms have a positive significant effect on one another (.45; p<0.01), which most likely influences the effect the multicultural society has on the intention to emigrate.

The adjusted R^2 of the second model has increased compared to the first model, and now 26 percent of the variance of the intention to emigrate is explained by the variables.

The third model adds the psychological aspects, which are sensation-seeking and selfefficacy. This makes it possible to test the hypotheses 'The more adventurous a person is, the stronger the intention to emigrate will be' and 'The more confident a person is, the stronger the intention to emigrate will be'. Both variables have a significant effect on the intention to emigrate (sensation-seeking -.13; p<0.01 and self-efficacy -.11; p<0.01). Those people who do not seek sensation or do not feel confident about themselves are less likely to have the intention to emigrate. Both sensation-seeking and self-efficacy contribute for a large part to the third model. To illustrate the sensation-seeking effect, a 58-year-old male respondent having the intention to emigrate to Thailand wrote:

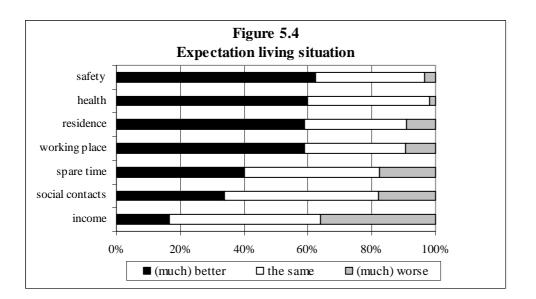
"I am approaching the final stage in my life when I will retire. The prospect of golf, bridge clubs and 'sitting behind the geraniums' is rather scary to me. I would like to, for one last time, get to know a strange new culture, learn a strange language and customs, and smell new flavours before I start pushing up the daisies" The adjusted R^2 has increased compared to the previous model and now 29 percent of the variance of the intention to emigrate is explained by the variables.

A comparison between the linear models and the logistic models (appendix IV), shows that there are less variables in the logistic models that are significant. The linear models show more significant relations between the independent variables and the intention to emigrate. There is no conflict between the two types, meaning the significant relations in the logistic models are also found in the linear models.

As the models in table 5.2 have shown: the more complex the model becomes, by adding the social and psychological variables, the higher the adjusted R^2 . This means the intention is better explained by adding these variables. As the results in this research have shown, the third model can be considered to be the best model to explain the intention to emigrate.

5.4 Expectations⁵

The evaluations used in the three models (see table 5.2) deal with the *current* living conditions in the Netherlands, but how do people intending to emigrate evaluate their *future* living conditions? This section will analyse the expectations of those who are intending to emigrate. The figures 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 show whether people think their living conditions will be better or worse after they emigrate. The aspects shown are related to the personal living situation, the welfare state and the living situation in general.



⁵ The expectations were only asked in the Expat questionnaires.

As figure 5.4 shows, 62 percent of those intending to emigrate expects his or her living situation to be (much) safer when emigrating. The personal health is also considered to be (much) better when emigrating; 60 percent of the people intending to emigrate expects this to happen.

A 53-year old man who expects to have a better health when he emigrates wrote:

"I want to emigrate to South-Africa so I can feel the sun on my skin and have less stress"

Surprisingly only 17 percent of those intending to emigrate expects their income to be (much) better, 36 percent even expects it to be (much) worse when emigrating. It must be taken into consideration that expecting a better income depends on the current income a person has. In total, 49 percent of those who have the intention to emigrate and a total net household income of 3,000 Euro or more expects their income to be (much) worse. Only 28 percent of those having the intention to emigrate and earning less than 3,000 Euro expects this to happen. Financial improvement is probably not considered to be very important, when thinking about leaving the country.

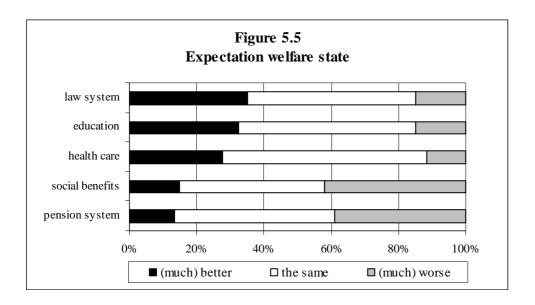


Figure 5.5 shows the expectation of the welfare state. Most people who have the intention to emigrate expect the situation related to the law system, education and health care to be the same when they leave the Netherlands. However, there are two aspects that are considered to be (much) worse when emigrating. In total 42 percent of the people intending to emigrate expects the social benefits to be (much) worse and 39 percent expects the pension system to be (much) worse. Dividing those who intend to emigrate into females and males, shows that

53 percent of the females expect the social benefits to be (much) worse whereas only 36 percent of the males expect this to happen. For the pension system 47 percent of the females expect it to be (much) worse, compared to only 34 percent of the males.

Figure 5.6 shows the expectations related to the living situation in general. Compared to the other two figures 5.4 and 5.5 people expect great differences. A vast majority, namely 96 percent of those having the intention to emigrate, expects nature and space to improve and be (much) better. In total 91 percent expects the population density to be less when they emigrate. This is not very surprising since the Netherlands had a population density of 477 inhabitants per square kilometre in 2002, and all the preferred emigration countries had a much lower population density in 2002, as table 5.3 shows.

Preferred emigration country	Population density in 2002				
1. Canada	3				
2. Australia	3				
3. France	108				
4. New Zealand	15				
5. Spain	82				
6. United States of America	31				
7. South-Africa	37				
8. Sweden	22				
9. Thailand	121				
10. Italy	196				

Table 5.3 Population density of preferred emigration countries

Source: World Bank, 2005

A 53-year-old woman who intends to emigrate to France wrote:

"I feel like a herd animal that has to get into line when I want to go for a walk. I need space and not thousands of people around me"

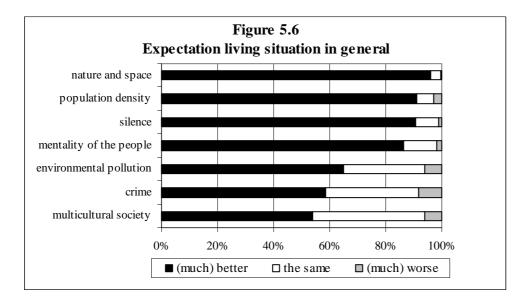
Silence is also considered to be (much) better after leaving the Netherlands; 91 percent of those having the intention to emigrate expects this. Crime is expected to be (much) worse by only 8 percent of the people intending to emigrate in the future.

A large group of those intending to emigrate, namely 39 percent has ever lived abroad. On average their stay abroad lasted four years. In total 24 percent of those intending to emigrate travels abroad for their work. Asking whether people are planning to work abroad once they

emigrate, 39 percent of those willing to emigrate answered yes, but in another profession. Although many people did not yet know which profession, many wrote they wanted to start for themselves, in the tourism sector.

A 48-year-old married man with three children who has the intention to emigrate to France illustrates this as he wrote:

"I would like to start a camping in a beautiful environment together with my wife and children. Where we can have a vegetable garden, some chickens, goats and tents near a river: for me that would be the best feeling ever!"



6 Conclusion and Discussion

In section 6.1 the main results and conclusions of this research will be discussed. In section 6.2 some recommendations for further research about emigration in the Netherlands are given.

6.1 Conclusion

This research was set out to describe the Dutch who have the intention to emigrate and to understand why they have this intention. In order to do so, four research questions were created. These questions will be briefly answered in this section.

The first research question is:

- What characterises the potential emigrant?

As the results have shown in 2004 there were 26,000 people in the Netherlands who really wanted to leave the country and another 240,000 people who were thinking about it. Most people intending to emigrate are male and single. Compared to those who do not have the intention to emigrate, they tend to be younger. Most of the potential emigrants are between 35 and 44 years old. The potential emigrant can be further characterised by the educational level: those intending to emigrate have attained a higher educational level than those who do not. The majority of the potential emigrants are employed. Most of them work in the trade, transport and service sector and have a higher total net household income compared to those who do not have the intention to emigrate. The majority knows family and friends who have emigrated family or friends. On average potential emigrants know around four family members or friends who have already emigrated.

The second research question is:

- Which countries do people prefer as their destinations?

Out of the ten most preferred countries, four are European and six are outside of Europe. The main preferred emigration destinations are Canada, Australia and France. Although Canada and Australia are very popular, in 2003 there were only 1,615 Dutch who emigrated to one of

these countries. The migration policies of these countries might limit the actual chances of emigrating to these countries. New-Zealand has a similar migration policy. These policies are based on the so-called point system. Points can be obtained through several characteristics of the potential emigrant (e.g. language skills, educational level). Only when the number of points is high enough, will a person be allowed to apply for a residence permit.

European countries, on the other hand, might be popular since the borders are open within the European Union and there is freedom of movement and work. Emigrating within the European Union has become relatively easy. Surprisingly, Belgium and Germany are not a part of this top ten, whereas in 2003 most native Dutch left to one of these two countries. Probably respondents consider emigrating to neighbouring countries not as real emigration. The majority of the people intending to emigrate has ever visited their preferred emigration country and an information meeting or fair.

The third research question is:

- *How can the intention to emigrate be explained?*

Three linear multivariate models were made in an attempt to explain the intention to emigrate. With each model extra variables are added to make the model more complex and therefore more realistic.

The first model consist of the socio-demographic factors gender, age, educational level, employment, employment sector, total net household income, household and social networks. As the results show, males are more likely to have the intention to emigrate and the intention to emigrate declines with age. Those who are highly educated are more likely to have the intention to emigrate, than those who have obtained a lower education. Being self-employed or a student has a positive significant effect on the intention to emigrate: they are more likely to have the intention to emigrate. When a person is retired he or she is less likely to have the intention to emigrate. Those who are working in the trade, transport and service sector are more likely to have the intention to emigrate as well as those who earn 4,000 Euro or more. Living together with a partner and children makes it less likely for that person to have the intention to emigrate: if a person knows friends and family who have already emigrated he or she will be more likely to have the intention to emigrate than someone who does not.

The second model adds the evaluations of the living conditions in the Netherlands, namely the personal living conditions, the Dutch welfare state, the environmental living conditions, the multicultural society and the safety and norms. As shown, each of these evaluations has a positive significant effect on the intention to emigrate, except for the multicultural society. The environmental living conditions have the largest influence on the intention to emigrate: the worse it is being evaluated, the stronger the intention to emigrate will be.

The final model adds the psychological aspects sensation-seeking and self-efficacy. Both sensation-seeking and self-efficacy have a significant effect on the intention to emigrate. People who do not seek sensation or do not feel confident about themselves are less likely to have the intention to emigrate.

The third model explains most of the variance of the intention to emigrate of all three models and is therefore considered to be the best model in this research to explain the intention to emigrate.

The fourth research question is:

- What are the expectations of those intending to emigrate?

The results have shown that most people expect to be (much) safer when they emigrate and their health to be (much) better. Only a small group of those intending to emigrate expects their income to increase. It must be taken into consideration that the current income of the respondent is of influence here. Almost half of the people who has the intention to emigrate and a high income, expects their income to be (much) worse.

Analysing the expectations related to the welfare state, many people intending to emigrate expect the social benefits and the pension system to be (much) worse when they emigrate. Especially women expect this to happen.

The greatest differences people expect to find when they emigrate can be found in the living situation in general. Almost everyone who intends to emigrate expects the nature and space to be (much) better as well as the population density. This is not very surprising since many people intending to emigrate would like to leave to a country that has a lower population density than the Netherlands.

6.2 Discussion

Two data sets were used during this research, namely the representative NIDI emigration data and the Expat data. The Expat data was used as purposeful sampling of the Dutch intending to emigrate, which formed a good basis to explain the intention to emigrate among the Dutch. However, it must be taken into consideration that since it was not possible to ask every question in both the Expat questionnaire as well as in the NIDI emigration questionnaire, some analyses were only done with the Expat data set.

The partner questionnaires were meant to add the perspective of the partner on the decision to leave or stay. However, since the data of the main respondents was rather elaborate, the partner data was not used. For future research these partner questionnaires can be used and might add some extra information about the relationship between the partners. Furthermore, a follow up study of the respondents can give an extra dimension to the research. Have people emigrated, or did their plans change? And if so, what changed their image of emigration?

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Summary

For the first time since the 1950's more people are leaving the Netherlands than entering. But, who are these people who emigrate? This study focuses on the Dutch who have the intention to emigrate and tries to explain why they want to leave.

First, the emigration situation in the Netherlands is described from 1950 until 2004 and a theoretical framework is presented which is used throughout the research. To answer the research questions a data set is created consisting of a nation-wide representative sample and a purposeful sample of potential emigrants. The research shows the differences in characteristics between those who have the intention to emigrate and those who do not. The preferred emigration destinations as well as the expectations of potential emigrants are discussed. An attempt is made to explain the emigration intention by multivariate models. These models show how the personal living conditions, defined by residence, income, working place and social contacts, does not have a large influence on the intention to emigrate. Instead, the negative mentality of the people, the perceived population pressure and the lack of nature and space have.