Migration to Depopulating Regions

The case of the Achterhoek

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The cover picture is captured by the author.

Acknowledgement

After several months of work, I hereby present my master thesis 'Migration to Depopulating Regions' for my master Population Studies. The first words for this thesis were written as far back as February 2015, in the context of the course Research Process. Little did I know then, how much I would learn and the challenges I was going to face in order to transform my research proposal to a coherent master thesis. I learned a lot from the formation of the survey, the translation of all the paper surveys into SPSS data and especially from the discussions with the representatives of the municipalities. Writing this thesis in English has also really improved my English writing skills. In the end the whole process has been very informative, but also a lot of fun.

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Abstract

This study presents the results of an analysis of the migration flow to depopulating regions. The main objective is to determine what motivates people to move from their previous municipality into a depopulating region and discover if these motivations can be related to socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the migrant. The area under investigation is the Achterhoek, a region in the eastern part of the Netherlands. The predictions are that its population will decline with 10% between 2010-2040. A questionnaire was completed by 400 migrants migrating from outside the Achterhoek to the municipalities of Bronckhorst, Doetinchem or Oude IJsselstreek. It became clear that the most mentioned reason for migrating to the Achterhoek were reasons related to the rural idyll, family or cohabitation. With help of logistic regression relationships between migrants' personal characteristics and their motivations could be displayed. The models revealed that age, civil status, education, income, previous living experience, awareness of depopulation and current municipality can all be related to certain migration motivations. Moreover, this research is the first to reveal (small) differences between the motivations of migrants who were and were not aware of the fact that they migrated to a depopulating region. Those who were aware of depopulation were more likely to have migrated because of the rural idyll and the desire to return to their roots compared to migrants who did not know they had migrated to a depopulating region.

Depopulation, awareness of depopulation, rural-migration, pull factors, rural idyll, Achterhoek

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1. Introduction

The most recent prediction of Statistics Netherlands (2014) considering the population development in the Netherlands is one of population increase. In 2017 there will be more than 17 million inhabitants. In 2044, it is predicted that more than 18 million people will live in the country and this growth is projected to continue at least until 2060 (CBS Statline, 2014a). However, when focusing on a lower scale, a different picture can be seen. In the first decade of this century nearly a quarter of the Dutch municipalities experienced a (slight) population decline (CBS, 2012). This is a noteworthy development since population decline is more than 'just' a decrease in the number of inhabitants. A declining population has influence on several aspects of society. For one, amenities such as schools and shops can have problems trying to remain open since fewer people rely on them. Businesses might experience difficulties finding sufficient skilled workers. Furthermore, the housing market may be affected because of vacancies and declining housing prices (CMO, 2013; Bontje & Musterd, 2012).

Maintaining a good living environment is the challenge these depopulating municipalities will have to face.

Since 2009 challenges concerning population decline are thoroughly discussed by the national government. In 2011 "main shrinking regions" [*Topkrimpgebieden*] and "anticipating regions" [*Anticipeergebieden*] were appointed by the national government, indicating which regions could expect the biggest population losses. These denominations gave the involved regions (financial) benefits to deal with the depopulation issues. In the main shrinking regions, the population is expected to have decreased by more than 16% in 2040. The anticipating regions are expected to experience population losses of more than 4%. By contrast, other Dutch regions are expected to grow with an average of 11% in the same time period (Rijksoverheid, 2015). The three regions (consisting of multiple municipalities) which were indicated as main shrinking regions in 2011 were *Zuid-Limburg, Noordoost Groningen* and *Zeeuws Vlaanderen*. In December 2014, a fourth region was added to this list, the *Achterhoek* (figure 1) (Rijksoverheid, 2014a; Rijks-overheid, 2014b).

Figure 1. Depopulating regions in the Netherlands, 2014
Source: Created by author base d on information from Rijksoverheid, 2014b

Population decline is caused by mortality-rates which are higher than birth-rates in combination with more outwards than inwards migration (Huiskamp, 2012). Despite these developments, 1.3 million people still live in the main shrinking areas of the Netherlands. This corresponds with a small 8% of the total Dutch population. In 2013, another 45.000 people moved into one of the main shrinking regions (CBS Statline, 2015a). The question which appears in one's thought is who are these migrants and what motivates them to move to an area struggling with the maintenance of their liveability? Finding an answer to this question is the focus of this thesis. *The main objective is to determine what motivates people to move from their previous municipality into a depopulating region and discover if these motivations can be related to socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the migrant.*

1.1 Relevance

When investigating population decline, the scale of the research area plays an important role. Depending on the investigated scale, a different picture of depopulation can be seen. For instance the population of the Netherlands is growing, however on NUTS3 level (the Dutch COROP regions) several areas experience population decline. When examining one of these depopulating regions by investigating the municipalities within the NUTS3 area, it is feasible that some municipalities experience population growth. Within this municipality again on different scales various developments can be seen. Population decline occurs in cities as well as rural regions (Bontje & Musterd, 2012). In the Netherlands however, it is predominantly a problem of rural areas. As figure 1 shows, the highest population losses can be seen in regions in the periphery, which are predominantly rural (Rijksoverheid, 2014).

The migration flow to rural areas has been receiving attention in international scientific research since the end of the 20th century. The main point of view regarding migrants' motivations has long been related to counterurbanisation: citizens leave their hectic lifestyles and search for peace and quiet in the countryside. However, recently, this dominant view has been challenged (Grimsrud, 2011; Milbourne, 2007). The migration flow to the countryside seems to be more diverse than first expected. Not only the living environment, but also other motivations play a role in the migration decision. Moreover, it has been increasingly acknowledged that not all rural areas are attractive places to reside. Most research so far has been based on popular rural regions (Bijker, 2013). The motivations to move to these areas are bound to differ from the motivations of migrants migrating to less-popular or depopulating regions. This research will try to contribute to the knowledge and understanding of migration flows by expanding the literature on depopulating, rural regions as migration destination. It differs from the existing literature on two points. First, the focus on migration to specifically a depopulating, rural region is a new approach. Most other researches do not specifically focus on the depopulating phenomena. If they conducted research in a depopulating area, their focus was either on fringe areas, less-popular rural regions or counterurbanisation. That the region also experienced depopulation, was only of secondary importance. It is interesting to discover to what extent migrants are aware of depopulation status of their migration destination. Associating this knowledge with the motivation to relocate would give insights in concrete motivations to migrate to a depopulating region rather than motivations for migrating to a rural region that happens to experience population decline. Moreover, since depopulation is becoming a more recognized issue in the Netherlands, it can be expected that in the forthcoming years more migrants will be aware that this phenomena is occurring in their destination municipality. It is therefore interesting to discover if this will influence their decision to migrate. Do differences between the migration motivations of migrants who are and are not aware of depopulation exist? An answer to this question will help predict if migration behaviour might change in the future.

Secondly, in the Dutch context, to the best of my knowledge, only Northern Groningen has received attention in scientific literature on migration flows to rural depopulating regions. Bijker (2013) investigated migration to popular and less popular areas in the northern part of the Netherlands. Despite that moving to shrinking regions was not her primary focus, the municipalities involved all experienced population decline. The characteristics of the in-migrants, their motivations and their search process were examined. The group that moved to this area was predominantly young and had divers economic backgrounds. Moreover, different groups could be classified with their own typical motivations. It is beneficial to extend this literature on migration to Dutch depopulation regions with other regions in the country, especially know that has been acknowledged that not all rural areas are the same. Since every region has their own characteristics, it could be possible that people move with different motivations to different locations (Grimsrud, 2011).

The study area of this research is the Achterhoek, an area located in the middle-east of the Netherlands, predominantly known for its farmers and rurality. The predictions are that its population will decrease with nearly 10% between 2014-2040. This is a loss of more than 37.000 inhabitants in 25 years (CBS Statline, 2015b). The choice for this specific region is twofold. First, the Achterhoek has only recently gained an official depopulating status, thus a similar research has not yet been performed on the area. Secondly, studying migration flows to the Achterhoek poses a high societal relevance. In 2011, 150 actors with a special interest in the area (for example businesses, governments, interest groups, schools- and health institutions, and housing associations) signed an agreement named

Achterhoek 2020. By means of this reconciliation, they confirmed their collaboration to combat population decline. One of their ambitions is to retain a good living environment in the Achterhoek and gather insight in the living preferences in order to decide on the qualitative and quantitative housing needs (Achterhoek2020, 2015). Therefore, knowledge on who migrates into the region and for what reason can contribute to this ambition. Research has been performed on housing desires of the current population, however the in-migrants to the Achterhoek have been underrepresented. Knowledge on their preferences combined with knowledge on the local population can be profitable when developing housing policies and managing supply and demand on the residential market.

1.2 Research questions

In order to focus this study, several research questions have been constructed. The main question is;
What are the motivations of migrants to migrate to the depopulating Achterhoek region and to what extent can these motivations be related to migrant's demographic and socioeconomic characteristics?
This question can be divided into five sub-questions:
- What are the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of people migrating to (depopulating) rural regions?
- What motivates migrants to migrate to (depopulating) rural regions?
- To what extent can demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of people migrating to the Achterhoek be related to specific motivations for moving to this depopulating region?
- To what extent do motivations differ between migrants who are aware of population decline in the Achterhoek and those who did not know they migrated to an area experiencing depopulation?
- To what extent do the motivations of migrants moving to the Achterhoek differ per municipality in the Achterhoek?

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The remaining of this thesis can be divided into five sections. The next section will provide information on the research background. Attention will be paid to general migration theories as well as theories specifically related to rural migration. The push-and-pull theory will be discussed, as well as the life course approach and several forms of rural in-migration. The second part of the chapter will give a literature overview of previous discovered results and cease with background statistics of the Achterhoek region. Continuing, in the methodology chapter the choice for a survey as research method will be explained. Furthermore, information is given on the operationalization of the research concepts, as well as the analyzing techniques utilized. In the data description chapter the quality of the data will be discussed. An overview of the descriptive characteristics of the respondents will be given as well. In the results section, the results of the regression analysis will be presented. Finally in the conclusion, the research questions will be answered and recommendations for future research will be given.

2. Research background

"Migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. No restriction is placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act [............] though, of course, the initiation and consequences of such moves are vastly different"
(Lee, 1966, p.49)

Analyzing the quote, it becomes clear how broad the concept of migration is. Therefore, subcategories are often generated to distinguish between different forms. In general, migration literature can be divided into three groups; those who focus on residential relocation (short distance moves), internal migration (long distance moves) and international migration (Mulder & Hooijmeijer, 1999). The term internal migration refers to a move which involves the crossing of an administrative boundary such as a municipal boundary or a boundary on a higher scale, like in this case a depopulating region. Residential migration takes place when a household or individual moved within this administrative region. Since the migration concept consists of so many different moves, the reason for moving and the reason for choosing a specific location have been widespread studied. In the following paragraphs a number of different theories will be discussed. First, general migration approaches, namely push and pull theories and the life course approach, will be studied. Secondly, theories and findings related to the migration flow to (depopulating) rural areas will be discussed. Thirdly, information will be provided on the study region of this research. Finally, this chapter will end with an overview of the theories by means of a conceptual model and the formulation of hypotheses.

2.1 Migration theories

When investigating motivations of migrants to migrate, the distinction between push and pull factors is relevant. The push and pull theory denotes how the migration process is the result of push factors -those characteristics of an area which dissatisfy people- and pull factors -the positive characteristics of a distant place- (Dorigo & Tobler, 1989). These push and pull factors can be highly related to one another, for instance when one is pushed out of an area because of the noise, and subsequently pulled to a quiet area. However, this does not have to be the case; for example one might leave his home because of a divorce, but be pulled to an area because of the recreational facilities. Push and pull factors are often personal. Some appreciate a wide open environment, while others might describe such a space as mundane. This also depends on the life stage one is in (Lee, 1966). In this context, one could conclude that it is not the actual factors at the place of origin or destination which cause migration, but rather in what manner these factors are perceived (Lee, 1966). This perception is in the instance of push factors based on own experiences whereas with pull factors own experiences are not always germane. According to Lee (1966) *"Knowledge of the area of destination is seldom exact, and indeed some of the advantages and disadvantages of an area can only be perceived by living there"* (p.50). This suggests that pull factors are often based on expectations rather than experiences.

The motivation to migrate is not a simple equation of the experienced or expected positive and negative characteristics of an area. Intervening factors also play a role. Dorigo & Tobler (1989) stress the importance of distance, but also costs, physical barriers or migration and housing laws may prevent a motivated migrant to move (Lee, 1966). In conclusions, to discover why one is motivated to migrate to a depopulating area, it would be wise not to focus on general motivations to migrate but to distinguish between push and pull factors involved in the migration process.

Another method of examining migration is through the life course approach. In this view, migration decisions are made in the context of *"[... life ...] events that are bound up with larger social forces and geographical contexts"* (Clark & Dieleman, 1996, p.22). The events to which Clark & Dieleman refer are happenings many individuals experience such as marriage, childbirth, getting or quitting a job or retirement. These events can be a trigger for a household to move.

The decision considering the location to which a household moves, is influenced on both the macro and the micro level. On the macro level the location decision is effected through the economic and spatial context. These offer opportunities and/or constraints. The preferred house must be available on the housing market, or regulations might simplify or restrict the opportunities for buying a house. On the micro level the different demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of a household

force people to move to different locations. Age, household size and income for instance all provide resources and restrictions which effect the location decision (Clark & Dieleman, 1996; Mulder & Hooijmeijer, 1999). The life stage an individual is in, influence these characteristics, causing people in different life stages to have different housing opportunities. As mentioned by Lee (1966) different life stages do not only offer diverse opportunities, they also influence the perception of (push and pull factors of) a place. In addition, the life course approach shows how attention should be paid to life events. Events are often related to a certain life stage (e.g. retirement) but this is not always true (e.g. starting a new job). The perception of an area as a decent place to live may change after a life event occurred or in anticipation of an expected life event (Feijten et al., 2008, quoting several other researches). A divorce or expecting a child for instance, causes a household to look upon place utility in a different way. This may result into migration to a specific location. For this research it means that a certain life events (e.g. expecting a child, getting a new job, moving in with a partner) can result in a different perception of a rural depopulating region as a decent place to live.

Migration to the rural
The reason people specifically move to rural areas experiencing (much) higher out-migration than in-migration is difficult to explain through these theories. Therefore, the following paragraphs will consider theories associated with migration to the countryside.

Since the last decades of 20th century the migration flow to the countryside has been receiving attention in international, scientific research. Although living in the countryside implies that one has less access to work, services and facilities compared to cities and suburbs, it also implies one has more space and quietness. "*The health and housing situations are generally better, local social contacts are on average stronger and rates of crime are lower* (Feijten et al., 2008, p.143).

Different terms are used in relation to this process, such as rural in-migration, rural repopulation, counterurbanisation, amenity migration or return (-to-the-rural) migration (McCarthy, 2008; Milbourne, 2007). The differences between these terms are not always clear and often overlap each other. In-migration is the encompassing term, related to the process of people migrating to a rural area in general, whereas the term rural repopulation describes the process of in-migration in rural areas causing the number of inhabitants in the region to increase (Bruce, 2007).

The predominant term associated to rural migration since the 1970ies is counterurbanisation (Grimsrud, 2011, Stockdale, 2006). Although there is no consensus on the precise definition of this phenomenon, many researches describe it by relating it to (middle-class) people who flee the urban societies they live in, and find peace and quiet in the countryside. Often they are retired or commute to work in nearby cities (Bijker, 2013; Charney & Palgi, 2014; Grimsrud, 2011; Stockdale, 2006). The motivation of moving to the countryside because of its way of life is often referred to as the pull of the rural idyll. This relates to the peace and quiet, open (green) spaces and less hectic life style of rural areas (e.g. Bijker, 2013; Van Dam et al., 2002). The rural idyll is often related to counterurbanisation but can also be a motive for other migrants. It is an important motivation to keep in mind, since it explicitly distinguishes why one would migrate to a depopulating, countryside, rather than a vital city.

McCarthy (2008) associates the flow to the countryside with 'amenity migration'. This perspective suggests that the motivation to purchase a first or second home in the countryside is related to the amenities the rural societies have to offer. According to Henning et al. (2013), rural amenities can be divided into natural and man-made amenities. Natural amenities are related to topographic characteristics of an area like forests, rivers or wide open spaces. The man-made amenities refer to the recreational or cultural value of a region. Although originally aimed at cities, Brueckner et al. (1999) make a supplementary distinction between man-made historical and modern amenities. Historical amenities are related to infrastructures of a past era. An example would be a characteristic building like an old castle or monumental church with an aesthetic value. It could also be a premise that played an important role in national history (RCE, 2015). Modern amenities are related to the public facilities a place has to offer, for instance the restaurants or sport facilities. Although the type and number of amenities in villages differ from cities, villages may have their own specific amenities like parish halls. These community bonding facilities might be a reason to migrate to the countryside.

Finally, a special reason to migrate to a rural area is because one has resided there before. These return migrants are familiar to the place, appreciate its characteristics or might still be attached to the region through social networks. The places where important life events occurred, such as growing up, raising your children or starting a career, are often areas people keep (emotionally) attached to through life. It is not uncommon for those who left these places to return when growing older (Bijker et al., 2013; Feijten et al., 2008). Return migration is important for the development of rural communities. According to Stockdale (2006) most out-migrants left shrinking regions in Scotland to acquire skills and knowledge. When these migrants return with their acquired skills, it will profit the community. However, in order for them to return, there should be adequate employment opportunities in the region. This can be problematic in rural, shrinking areas.

When analyzing return migration from a broader perspective, one can also investigate the types of regions a migrant has resided in. Previous experience with a certain type of area (rural, suburban, city), may change ones attitude towards the place as an ideal living environment (Feijten et al., 2008). Research shows how a majority of the people who grew up in the countryside prefer to return to a rural area (Bijker et al., 2013; Feijten et al., 2008). For those with previous rural living experience, the probability of this event occurring is higher than for those who have no rural living experience. This does not have to result in the earlier discussed return migration, but can also be related to an onward move to another rural area (Feijten et al., 2008).

To conclude, although in-migration, repopulation, counterurbanisation, amenity migration and return migration are all terms related to an inflow of migrants to the countryside (rural in-migration), they differ in what they distinguish as the reason to migrate and the effect it has on the receiving community. However, the discussed approaches are all focused on rural areas and not specifically on depopulating regions. Moreover, the focus of rural migration theories (mainly counterurbanisation and amenity migration) is primary on popular rural areas (Bijker, 2013). The areas which do not have the valued amenities are denoted as less-attractive and therefore often less popular places to live (McCarthy, 2008). Hence, Grimsrud (2011) concludes that the traditional concept of counterurbanisation cannot simply be applied in every rural migration case but is very context specific. This research will specifically focus on migration to depopulating areas. These can in general by classified as non-popular since physical amenities are slowly disappearing and people are more inclined to move out than in (Rijksoverheid, 2015). It will be interesting to investigate whether classic concepts of counterurbanisation and amenity migration can be applied to depopulating regions.

2.2 Migrant characteristics and motivations to move to rural (depopulating) areas

The previous paragraphs have given insight in important theories related to migration to rural (depopulating) areas. The next paragraphs will focus on findings of previous research related to migrant characteristics and motivations. Vast scientific literature is available on who moves for what reason to rural places. Much less is known concerning migration to specifically a depopulating area. All researches discussed in the following paragraphs have (partly) been implemented in depopulating regions. However, what must be kept in mind is that depopulation was seldom their primary focus.

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When looking at the age categories of migrants to depopulating areas in Scotland, it became clear that the majority of the movers (75%) had not reached the age of 50 yet. Only 6% of the migrants were retired. This signifies that many migrants were still of working age (Stockdale, 2006, p.358). When comparing popular and less-popular[1] depopulating rural areas in the Netherlands, Bijker & Haartsen (2012) observed that migrants to less-popular rural areas were younger than migrants to popular rural areas. Nearly half of the movers to the depopulating, less popular areas were younger than 35. In contrast, the migration flow to Aalten, a municipality located in the Achterhoek, consisted for only 22,0% out off migrants beneath the age of 35 and 43,0% were migrants older than 55 (Te Lintelo, 2010). Also research comparing migration flows to remote depopulating countrysides and peri-urban areas (rural places near cities) in Sweden, revealed that the age groups with the strongest propensity of moving to the remote countryside were the people aged 61 and older and the retired. When the group 19-40 olds decided to migrate to a rural place they frequently wanted to live in peri-urban areas. The remote countryside had because of the lack of employment, education and services a very low chance

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[1] The distinction between popular and less-popular rural areas is based on the average house prices of an area.

of attracting this age group (Hjort & Malmberg, 2006). In conclusion, there is no consensus concerning the age group of migrants towards depopulating areas.

When looking at the education level of rural movers, the research of Hjort & Malmberg (2006) in Sweden states that in-migrants in rural areas frequently have a higher education level than the resident population. Bijker (2013) discovered 43% of her respondents to less-popular rural areas had finished higher education. However simultaneously, when respondents gained a university degree (or acquired a high income), their propensity to migrate to the countryside was lower. When the higher educated migrate to a rural place, they prefer more popular or peri-urban areas (Bijker & Haartsen, 2012; Hjort Malmberg, 2006).

Andersen (2011) identified that in Denmark, people moving from growth to depopulating areas on average have lower incomes than movers to other destinations. They were also more often unemployed. However, the large majority of migrants to shrinking regions in Scotland was employed at the time of residential relocation. They were mostly occupied in low skilled, manual or trade-type occupations such as factory workers, plumbers, bakers and lorry drivers. Few migrants were professionally skilled (Stockdale, 2006).

Another characteristic which is frequently investigated when studying migration are the previous living experiences of the migrants. Bijker (2013) investigated which people moved to popular and less popular rural areas in the northern part of the Netherlands. Those who migrated to the less popular areas frequently moved over a shorter distance. Moreover, many were already living in a rural community prior to their move (58%) (Bijker & Haartsen, 2012, p.42). Research in Scotland focusing on migrants to shrinking regions who had no previous living experience in the region came to the comparable conclusion that the distance between their place of origin and destination was small (Stockdale, 2006). Research in Norway stated that only 4% of the rural migrants came from the largest cities. Many came from other remote areas or small urban settlements (Grimsrud, 2011).

Continuing on the notion of returning to familiar areas, the share of return migrants was investigated in the migration flow from growing to (shrinking) fringe regions in Denmark. Only 10% turned out to be a return migrant (Andersen, 2011). Stockdale (2006) found this same percentage in the migration flow to depopulating areas in Scotland and also Bijker (2013) identified that 16% of her rural in-migrants to less popular rural areas in the Netherlands were return migrants. A much higher percentage was found by Elbersen (2001). She concluded that especially in amenity-rich areas in northern parts of the Netherlands the percentage of return migrants can be as high as 50% of the total migration flow (p.170). However, her definition of a return migrant was a person who has living experience within the NUTS3 region. Most other researches focused on lower scales such as living experience within the municipality. When defining return migration more generally by looking at those who previously lived in rural areas, as much as 88% of the migrants to depopulating rural parts in the north of the Netherlands could be classified as such (Bijker, 2013, p.67). Related to this, Feijten et al. (2008) conclude that when raised in a rural area, the preference to live in a rural area in later life (same or different municipality) is higher compared to those raised in other regions.

Similar to the fact that there are many different personal characteristics related to migration to (shrinking) rural areas, different researches have also found different motivations for these movements (Andersen, 2011).

When investigating the motivation to migrate to depopulating areas in the northern part of the Netherlands, the respondents were allowed to choose several options. Housing characteristics (related to tenure type, housing type and housing size) were most frequently a reason to migrate (24%). The low house prices were also well appreciated (14%). Especially people moving from urban areas and those moving over a long distance mentioned these housing characteristics as an important reason to migrate. Strikingly, the migrants in the lowest income categories mentioned this motivation fewest. Personal motivations like moving in with a partner (16%) or living close to family (15%) were also of importance. Especially single households and those with previous living experience in the region preferred to live near family and friends. Support was furthermore found for the views of the counterurbanisation theorists which stated that people migrate to rural areas because of the environment. The physical qualities were a reason to move for 21%, but the quietness, social qualities and location (all 8%) were also appreciated (Bijker et al., 2012, p.72). Migrants with a higher income and older age groups (35+) preferred the rural idyll more than the younger migrants.

A local research on migration to the Dutch depopulating municipality Aalten observed that the most mentioned reason for migrating to the region was related to the living environment. Migrants appreciated the surroundings and the atmosphere in the village. Another important migration motive was related to the desire to live closer to family and friends. Especially those aged 55 years and older appreciated Aalten because of this reason. Nearly a third (28,0%) of the migrants younger than 35 migrated because of cohabitation. The supply of amenities was not a very important reason for migration to Aalten, 25% mentioned it being of no importance at all (Te Lintelo, 2010, p.30).

In contrast to the Dutch case, the most important reason to migrate to depopulating areas in Scotland was based on personal reasons such as marriage, divorce or setting up home for the first time (40%). It can be questioned however to what extent this motivation refers to pull or push factors. Another 20% was motivated by the employment opportunities, a factor not considered as important in Bijker's research. Only 9% of the migrants indicated the importance of the rural idyll (Stockdale, 2006, p.359). A third research investigating motivations of migrants to (mainly depopulating) rural areas in Norway also showed that migrants were more often motivated to move to a remote rural area for family/emotional attachment and employment motives compared to migrants to other areas. Motivations related to the physical environment were less frequently mentioned by rural migrants compared to migrants to other destinations (Grimsrud, 2011).

Andersen (2011) had a different approach in trying to determine the motivation of rural migrants. He compared the flow from growing (city) regions to depopulating fringe areas in Denmark with other migration flows in the country; *"The proportion of moves made in connection with job changes is the same for moves down the urban hierarchy as the other way round, namely about nearly 40%"* (p.639). He also stated that family change related motivations like marriage or divorce were less frequently a reason to migrate to fringe areas compared to residential relocation to other areas. Ultimately, housing characteristics were the most important reason for movements towards the fringe. Especially single and low-income households would move to fringe areas to reduce their housing costs. There were also some middle class families who preferred specific type of house near to natural amenities. However, no special attention was paid to motivations related to the rural idyll. These motivations were seen as a part of the housing quality.

In the USA, Ulrich-Schad (2015) performed research on the role of recreational amenities in attracting migrants. Recreational regions were defined as regions which had natural and tourist amenities. The areas with less recreational amenities were the ones experiencing population decline. Interesting for this research on the Achterhoek is the outcome that various age groups appreciated the amenities differently. The older adults (35+) appreciated the amenities more than the younger adults. Moreover, in times of economic recession (2007-2010), amenities turned out to have insignificant influence on the prediction whether migrants would move to a certain area (Ulrich-Schad, 2015).

A special case of movers, the return migrants, were compared with other migrants in Sweden by Niedomsyl & Amcoff (2011). They discovered that return migrants more frequent than non-return migrants move because of employment reasons or social reasons, like moving near friends and family. Niedomsyl & Amcoff suggest however, that employment made the return move possible but that the move was actually driven by social reasons. The non-return migrants more frequently moved because of personal reasons like moving-in together. What must be noted, is that this research was not conducted in a depopulating area. Therefore these results need to be interpreted with caution. Bijker (2013) also notes the importance of family for return migrants in depopulating, northern Netherlands. Less frequent than other groups they are motivated to move because of the rural idyll or housing characteristics of the area.

What becomes clear after analysing the literature is that reasons to migrate to a depopulating area can be divided into four main groups. First there are the reasons related to the dwelling. The prices of the houses are appreciated or the opportunity to live in a certain type of house. Also important are the reasons related to the living environment. People move because characteristics related to a rural idyll or appreciate amenities in the area. A third group migrates to a rural depopulating area due to life course changes such as cohabitation or a new job. A final group of movers has some sort of attachment to the area. They have previous living experiences, family or friends live in the region or they migrate to be closer to work. Migrants with different characteristics have different motivations although there is not always consensus on which motivations can be related to which migrant characteristic.

2.3 Background information on the Achterhoek

The study area of this research is the Achterhoek. It is a region bordering Germany in the east of the Netherlands. Although there are different definitions which municipalities are exactly included in the region, this research will apply the definition used by the central government for the purpose of defining shrinkage regions. As presented in figure 2, the region includes eight municipalities namely; Aalten, Berkelland, Bronckhorst, Doetinchem, Montferland, Oost Gelre, Oude IJsselstreek and Winterswijk (Rijksoverheid, 2014b). Although two small cities are located in the area, the Achterhoek is commonly classified as predominantly rural. It is known for its nature, open space and peace & quiet. The most important land use is agriculture. In addition, there are several (protected) national parks located in the region and there is an extensive network of walking and biking lanes. It is therefore not surprising that the recreation sector and the agriculture industry are (two of) the most important economical sectors in the Achterhoek economy (Breman et al., 2013).

It is important to notice though that the characteristics of the Achterhoek as a living environment differ from the research areas of the earlier discussed studies. For instance, when looking at the urban-rural classification, according to international standards, the Netherlands is defined as a predominant urban area (Eurostat, 2014). As a result the accessibility of rural areas like the Achterhoek is often much higher, compared to rural areas in Scandinavia or Scotland. The accessibility of the Achterhoek compared to Northern Groningen, is also much better. The Randstad with cities such as Utrecht and Amersfoort, is little more than an hour away. The fact that the migrants to the Achterhoek are not moving to a complete remote area, might result into different motivations compared to remote depopulating, rural areas. Moreover, Bijker (2013), Grimsrud (2011) and Stockdale (2006) focused on rural areas only, while in the Achterhoek region small cities are located. This is however not uncommon for shrinking regions in the Dutch context. Also other depopulating areas in the Netherlands, include small cities.

In total nearly 300.000 people live in the Achterhoek region. The biggest city with approximately 44.000 inhabitants is Doetinchem which lies in the homonymous municipality (Stadindex, 2014). However, these population statistics are slowly changing. Since the beginning of this century the population in the Achterhoek is declining. The predictions of Statistics Netherlands, the official statistical office of the country, are that its population will decrease with nearly 10% between 2014-
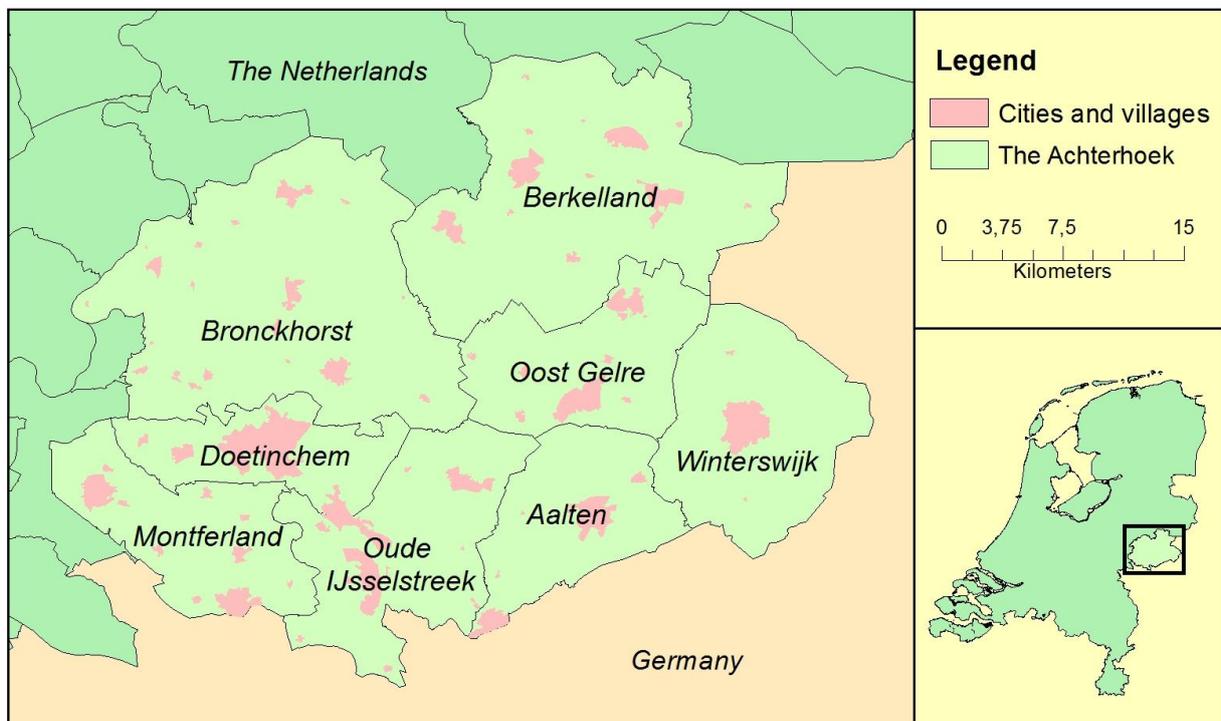

Figure 2. The Achterhoek, municipalities in 2015
Source: Created by author based on information from Faculty of Geosciences, UU, 2015; TDN, 2011

2040. This is a loss of more than 37.000 inhabitants[2] (CBS Statline, 2015b). Because of the annual increase of single households since the 60ies, growth in the number of households can still be seen in many depopulating municipalities (Louter et al., 2009). However, from 2028 onwards the Achterhoek will also see a decrease in the number of households; a loss of 5,7% is expected between 2028-2040 (CBS Statline, 2013).

Population decline is not the only concern of the Achterhoek. An ageing population is a thread to the region as well. Figure 3 displays how the number of 65-year olds is expected to nearly double between 2015-2040 (+45%). By contrast, a decrease of nearly 25% of the 20-65 year olds and 20% of the youth is expected (CBS Statline, 2015b).

An aging population and population decrease of such a size has impact on several aspects of society. Jobs disappear or businesses cannot find suitable employers. Shops, schools and other amenities have to rely on a smaller population and might have troubles remaining open. Furthermore, the housing market might experience changes in supply and demand and have vacancy problems. Nevertheless, an absolute population loss does not necessarily result in a lower demand for housing. Because of the growing number of households, the demand for houses in the Achterhoek will keep growing till 2025. Unfortunately, this does not mean supply and demand meet. Partly caused by the changing population structure, and partly because of the overrepresentation of specific types of houses, vacancy is already an issue on the Achterhoek housing market. In 2012, more than 6.300 houses stood vacant which is more than 1 in every 20 houses of the total housing stock (CBS Statline, 2014b). A special problem the Achterhoek region is dealing with is the vacancy of old farmer houses. The predictions are that 1.500 farmers will retire in the region in the next 15 years until 2030 (De Gelderlander, 2015).

Despite these depopulating predictions and vacancy on the housing market, it does not mean no-one wants to live in the region. Between 2011-2013, nearly 16.000 migrants moved from outside the Achterhoek into one of the eight municipalities in the depopulating region. Unfortunately, statistics are only available for these three years, but within this short time period the number of in-migrants increased with 2,9%. This increase in in- migration is not enough for repopulation to take place since the overall population is still declining. In the same time period nearly 18.200 migrants left the area, and the mortality rates are higher than the birth rates. However, it does mean that every year on average the Achterhoek gains 5.300 new inhabitants (CBS Statline, 2014c).
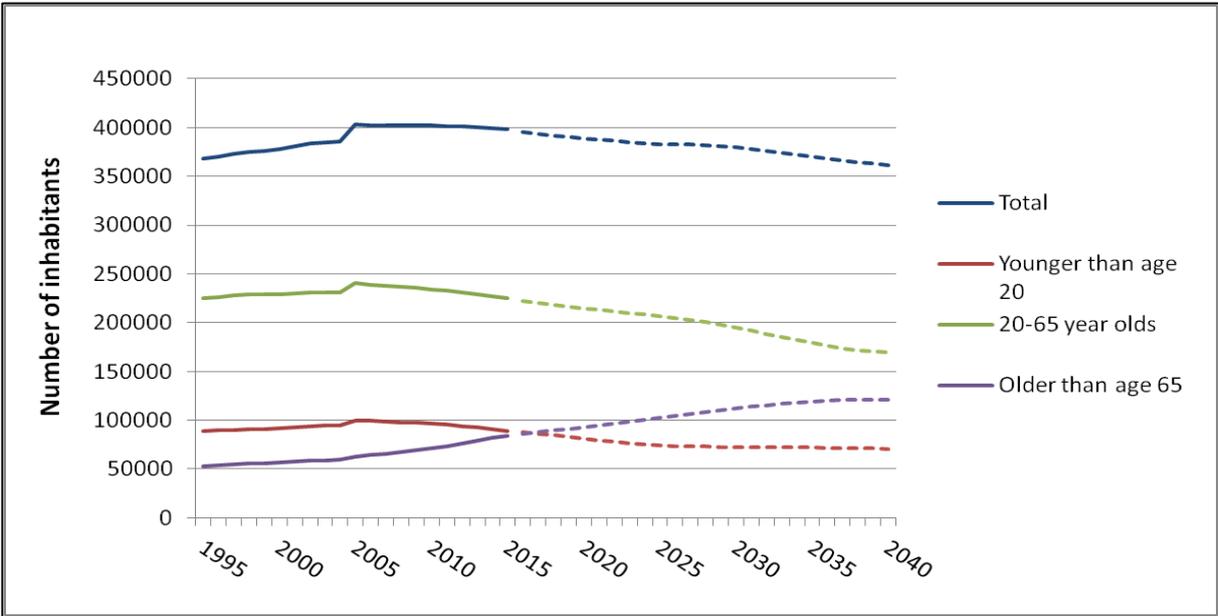
Figure 3. Population predictions Achterhoek 2015-2040 by age group
Source: CBS Statline, 2015d

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[2] Note that these predictions of Statistics Netherlands (CBS) are based on Achterhoek NUTS3 region. This means the municipalities of Brummen, Lochem and Zutphen are also included in these predictions. These municipalities however do not have an official depopulation status.

As can be seen in figure 4, these 5.300 in-migrants have a wide range of places of origin. A majority of them come from neighbouring regions. The biggest groups originate from Arnhem-Nijmegen (29,7%), followed by Twente (11,7%) and the three municipalities which are also defined as NUTS3 Achterhoek, but not as depopulating Achterhoek (7,9%). The four biggest municipalities/cities of the Netherlands -Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Den Hague and Utrecht- are the place of origin of 8,2% of the migrants to the area (not displayed on the map). Although it is too early to draw conclusion at this stage of the research, especially since the motivations of these migrants are not known, the migration flow from these four biggest cities does suggest that some form of (small scale) counterurbanisation is taking place. Especially since earlier research showed how in previous years, the vacant farms were an appealing housing option for citizens who wanted to change their (hectic) living environment (Gies et al., 2014). These farm houses were often relatively small and had characteristic buildings on them. However, because of the agricultural up scaling in the 70ies, many farms which currently become vacant have large properties with big sheds on them. These properties are not as attractive as the smaller characteristics farms and moreover, the housing prices are often (too) high (Gies, et al., 2014). In the context of this research it can be interesting to determine to what extent there still is a demand among migrants for living on a farm. The empirical research in the results chapter will elaborate on the current in-migrants and their motivations.
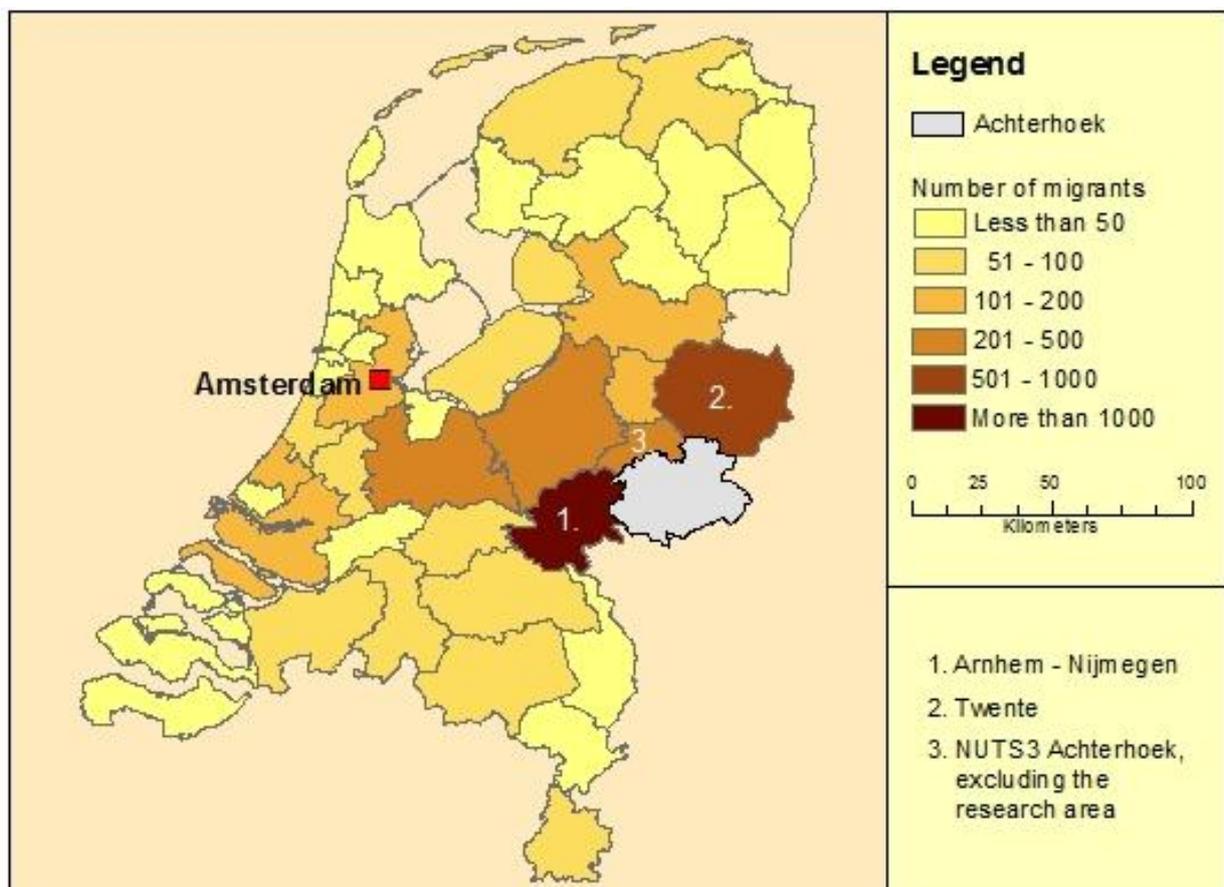
Figure 4. Average number of migrants yearly migrating to depopulating Achterhoek, by NUTS3 region. 2011-2013
Source: by author based on information from CBS Statline, 2014c

2.4 Conceptual model and hypothesis

To summarize the previous chapter regarding migration theories and literature outcomes, a conceptual model is presented in figure 5. This model displays the expected relations between several concepts and the motivation to migrate to depopulating Achterhoek. It tries to clarify how the objective of the research – finding out who is motivated to live in a depopulating region and for what reason – will be investigated. The model consists out of three components; migrant characteristics, push factors and pull factors, together leading to the motivation to live in a depopulating region. When looking at the model, dotted as well as solid lines can be seen. The solid lines are the primary focus of this research. Dotted lines show important interactions which have to be taken into account in order to understand a migrant's decision. These interactions however are not investigated thoroughly in this research since they do not contribute to obtaining this research main objective.

The motivation to move to a certain location was according to the push and pull theory the result of interplay between push and pull factors (Dorigo & Tobler, 1989). These two often (but certainly not always) influence one another (shown by the dotted lines between them). The interplay between them determines whether one moves and to which location. Since the focus of this dissertation is on why someone migrated to the Achterhoek, the pull factors will be the primary focus of the empirical part of this research. Therefore the push factors are described less thoroughly in the model. When investigating pull factors different motivations could have played a role in the location decision. These motivations can be divided into four main groups. Motivations related to the housing opportunities, life course changes, the living environment and attachment towards the region. Overlap within these groups can be seen. For instance cohabitation is a life course change, but can also be a reason related to attachment when one is moving in with a partner already living in the Achterhoek. Within the four groups subdivisions can be made. The literature showed how some migrants are attracted to certain types of houses (housing characteristics) while others prefer a certain location because of the housing prices (costs). Within the living environment, for one amenities can be important while other migrants appreciate the rural idyll. Subsequently, attachment to the region is a broad concept as well. Attachment can be related to beloved ones, previous living experience (return migrants), study or work.
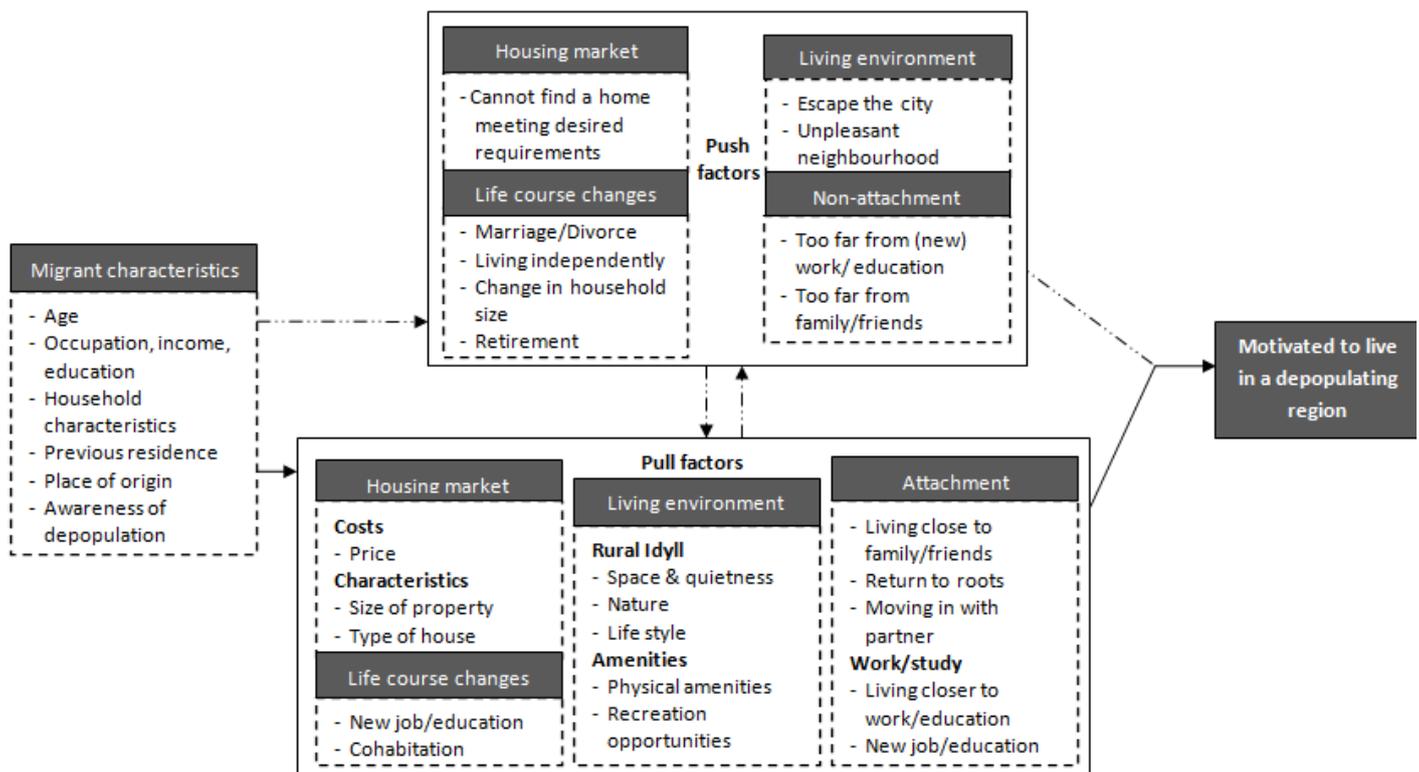
Figure 5. Conceptual model

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Additionally, literature showed that people with different characteristics move because of various reasons (Bijker, 2013). People of diverse ages, with different incomes and different household composition for instance, move to a depopulating region with a different motivation. Another important personal characteristics is migrants' awareness of depopulation. Although present literature has not focused on this specific aspect yet, this research will add it to the list of migrant characteristics which might influence the migration decision.

Furthermore, the addition of migrant characteristics is important when considering Lee's (1966) observation that push and pull factors are not perceived in the same way by everyone. Personal characteristics have influence on the perception of a certain place. These perceptions can either be fixed due to previous living experiences or change because of a life changing event (like child-birth). Therefore, as can be seen in the model, personal characteristics influence motivations and therefore the perception of push and pull factors. The interaction between perceived push and pull factors will in the end determine if a household is motivated to move to a depopulating region.

Hypotheses

Based on the theoretical framework, the following relationships between personal characteristics and motivations to live in depopulating Achterhoek are expected;

1. Related to demographic and socioeconomic characteristics
   - Different age groups have different motivations for migrating to the Achterhoek in a way that older households migrate to the Achterhoek more often than younger households because of the rural idyll.
   - Different income groups have different motivations for migrating to the Achterhoek in a way that migrants with a higher income will migrate to the Achterhoek because of the rural idyll while migrants with a lower income prefer the Achterhoek for its housing qualities.
2. Related to consciousness of migrant of depopulation
   - Migrants who were aware of the fact that they were migrating to a depopulating area have different motivations than migrants who were not aware of the fact the population in their place of destination was declining.
     How these motivations differ is not defined since no previous research has focused on this difference yet
3. Related to previous and current living location
   - Return migrants have a different motivations for moving to the Achterhoek than non-return migrants in a way that non-return migrants migrate for reasons related to housing characteristics while return migrants migrate because of attachment reasons.
   - People moving to the more popular, peri-urban municipalities (Doetinchem) will more often be attracted to the area because of employment reasons than people migrating to the more rural municipalities who will more often be motivated because of housing characteristics and the rural idyll.

3. Methodology

3.1 Study design: method of data collection

This study on migration to depopulating areas is primary an explanatory research. The main goal is to investigate the reasons why people migrate to this specific region; are socio-demographic characteristics related to this decision? To describe and explain who migrates and for what reasons, a quantitative approach is used. Such a research design consists of a number of structured measures which makes it possible to collect a large amount of data in order to find relationships and compare groups (Boeije et al., 2009). It is an adequate approach to investigate different motivations and especially find relationships between these motivations and, in this case, migrant characteristics. The research is cross-sectional since data was collected on more than one case at a single point in time (Bryman, 2012). Positive characteristics of a cross-sectional approach are that all the data are collected at once, it is easy replicable which enhances the reliability of the research and since the data are collected via a random sample, the external validity of this type of research is supposed to be high as well (Bryman, 2012). This study is not the first to use a quantitative, cross-sectional approach to investigate migrant characteristics and motivations. For example Bijker (2013), Niedomysl & Amcoff (2010) and Stockdale (2006) all used this method to come to their conclusions.

In order to collect the quantitative data a survey was set out (appendix 1). Using surveys is an effective method of gathering extensive data which can efficiently be compared with one another, in a reasonable short amount of time (Neuman, 2012; De Vocht, 2011). In order to collect the data a self-completion questionnaire was spread among all selected migrants (further information on the selection process will be discussed in paragraph 3.3). They either had the choice to complete the attached questionnaire on paper or answer the questions online. An advantage of self-completion surveys compared to face-to-face or telephone is that the respondents can complete the survey at a for them convenient time making the threshold to answer the questionnaire lower (Bryman, 2012). Furthermore with self-completion questionnaires the interviewer-effect is minimal. The respondents have to read the questions themselves and do not have any contact with the interviewer when filling out the questionnaire. This means that the interviewer cannot influence the answers a respondent gives by asking questions to different people in different ways causing people to interpret questions differently (Potthoff & Eller, 2000; Bryman, 2012). Moreover, self-completion is more private than face-to-face surveys. People do not have to mention their age or income publicly but can write it down in private. The research of Tourangeau & Yan (2007) showed that privacy of the respondent is one of the most important conditions in order to gather reliable data. There was also a practical side to choosing self-completion surveys. The research area the Achterhoek is -for Dutch standards- a sparsely dense area (CBS, 2015). Face-to-face or telephone surveys may have resulted in a higher response (Boeije et al., 2009) but it was time wise not possible to visit so many respondents in the time available for this research. The decision was made to take into account that postal surveys have a low response rate, and therefore send a higher number of surveys. Furthermore, with help of a return envelope, respondents could return the survey free of charge. This reduced the effort one needed to take to return the survey, intentionally leading to a higher response (Verhoeven, 2011). Additionally, an incentive was added, in order to convince everyone to fill out the survey. This also often leads to higher response rates (Boeije et al., 2009; Verhoeven, 2011).

A critic on self-completion surveys is that they are not very flexible. Respondents do not get the opportunity to explain a specific answers and their choices are often limited to several options (Potthoff & Eller, 2000). Especially since the motivations leading too certain (migration) behaviour are studied, often a more qualitative approach is used (Boeije et al., 2009). In order to resolve this problem the questionnaire included open questions at the end of the core questions of this research. In addition to choosing from fixed reasons why one moved to a depopulating area, it was also possible to mention reasons which were not listed. This made the method more flexible. Boeije et al. (2009) state that respondents tend to be more consequent in the answer they give in written surveys than in oral ones. They have more time to think their answers thru and can re-read what they have written down. Therefore written surveys might provide clearer information than oral ones. In this research questions were asked concerning the motivation to move to a specific municipality. This event could have taken

place a long time ago. Although the reason for buying or renting a house in this specific location will probably still be known, it is convenient that respondents had time to complete the survey and think their answers thru.

3.2 Data collection: population and sampling

The population of this research includes all people who migrated from a municipality outside the Achterhoek into the Achterhoek between 2012 and mid 2015. The choice for this particular timeframe was twofold. First of all, and most importantly, to investigate why a household migrated to a depopulating area, it is important for a household to be acquainted of the fact the population is shrinking. The population statistics revealed that in the research area, depopulation became a trend in 2009. In 2011 this phenomena was acknowledged by the federal government by means of the appointment of 23 shrinking and anticipating regions in the country [*krimp and anticipeergebieden*] (Rijksoverheid, 2014b). Also in 2011, some 150 actors with a special interest in the area (such as businesses, governments, interest groups, schools- and health institutions and housing associations) signed an agreement named *Achterhoek 2020.* With this agreement they confirmed their collaboration to reach certain goals related to population decline, thereby acknowledging the depopulation forecasts in the region (Achterhoek2020, 2015). Therefore, it is a reasonable thought that from 2012 onwards, migrants moving to the Achterhoek could have known that they were migrating to a depopulating area. Another reason for choosing this short timeframe was that it should reduce bias in respondents' answers due to memory-loss of the respondents or post-hoc rationalisation (Bijker, 2013).

In cooperation with the municipal administration in June 2015 a letter with an internet link as well as a hardcopy survey was sent to all households who moved from outside the Achterhoek to either Bronckhorst, Doetinchem or Oude IJsselstreek since the 1st of January, 2012. In total 2.262 migrants received a letter. Deciding to send everyone a letter was based on the expectation that the response rate would be between the 10-20%. Earlier research based on postal surveys in depopulating areas in the Netherlands showed a response rate of 20%. This is low compared to other European countries where response was approximately 50%, but very reasonable for postal surveys in the Netherlands (Bijker, 2013; Grimsrud, 2011; Stockdale, 2006).

The survey was based on voluntary participation. In the guiding letter it was requested that only those who were 18 years or older and had influence on the decision to settle in their current municipality would complete the survey. The letter informed the respondents about the goals of the research and how the information will be used. An email address and phone number were provided in case anyone had questions or problems while filling out the survey. The letter also mentioned that the information provided by the respondents would be handled confidentially and results would be published anonymous. No names were asked, however the municipalities did want to know address data in order to match the newly gained data with older information. Respondents were informed about this and had the choice not to answer this question. This information was only for governmental purposes and is not used in this research. The assembled email addresses were only used to raffle the price or to send a summary of the results to those interested.

3.3 Concept & Operationalization

The central theme in this research is migration to depopulating regions. Following Lee (1966), migration is defined as *"a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence"* (p. 49). The only difference with Lee's definition is that he states that "*No restriction is placed upon the distance*". This research however focuses only on those people who moved outside of a specific depopulating region into that area. This refers to the *internal migration* subcategory mentioned by Mulder & Hooijmeijer (1999).

The depopulating area under investigation is the Achterhoek. All people who moved from a municipality outside the Achterhoek to this region, are of interest for this research. From the eight municipalities the region consists of, three were included in the study area; Bronckhorst, Doetinchem and Oude IJsselstreek. These regions were chosen in consultation with the Achterhoek 2020 coalition, considering both the representativeness of the population structure as well as the expected willingness of the different municipalities to participate. Bronckhorst is the most rural region in the area while Doetinchem includes the biggest city of the Achterhoek (CBS Statline, 2015c). Oude IJsselstreek was selected because it borders Doetinchem as well as Bronckhorst. In terms of urbanisation it is similar to

the other, not selected municipalities in the region. Although it might seem a remarkable choice to include a small city in a research on rural depopulating regions, it is not strange when examining the Dutch context. Also other depopulating rural regions in the Netherlands, include small cities. In Zuid-Limburg for instance Maastricht is a city with more than 120.000 inhabitants (CBS Statline, 2015e).

When looking at international standards of urban-rural classifications, the Netherlands is defined as a predominant urban area. According to Eurostat's urban-rural typology on COROP/NUTS3 regions, in the Dutch context, only Zeeuws-Vlaanderen can be defined as predominantly rural. This means that more than 50% of the inhabitants live in an area with less than 300 people per square kilometre. The Achterhoek is an intermediate region – a region in which 20% - 50% of the inhabitants live in a rural area (Eurostat, 2014). This research however does classify the Achterhoek as a rural region since in the Dutch context, official institutions like Statistics Netherlands do denominate the Achterhoek (and many other regions) as rural. They define a rural area as a region which has a surrounding address density of less than 1.000 per square kilometre (CBS, 2015). Figure 6 shows that in the Achterhoek, 6 out of 8 municipalities meet this requirement. Doetinchem and Winterswijk have a slightly higher address density, but do not differ extensively from hardly urbanized regions (CBS Statline, 2015d). Therefore, this research classifies them as peri-urban or semi-rural areas.

The questionnaire send to the newly arrived migrants in the Achterhoek was composed in co-operation with Achterhoek2020 and the selected municipalities. The outline was made by the author, but extra questions and insights were added by the partners. This was done in order to prevent that the same people will be asked to cooperate with similar researches in the future. The type of questions included ranged from questions describing current and previous living experiences, questions related to the reason for migrating (push factors) and migrating specifically to the Achterhoek (pull factors), questions related to the depopulation issue and questions describing migrant's personal characteristics (demographic, socioeconomic and household characteristics).
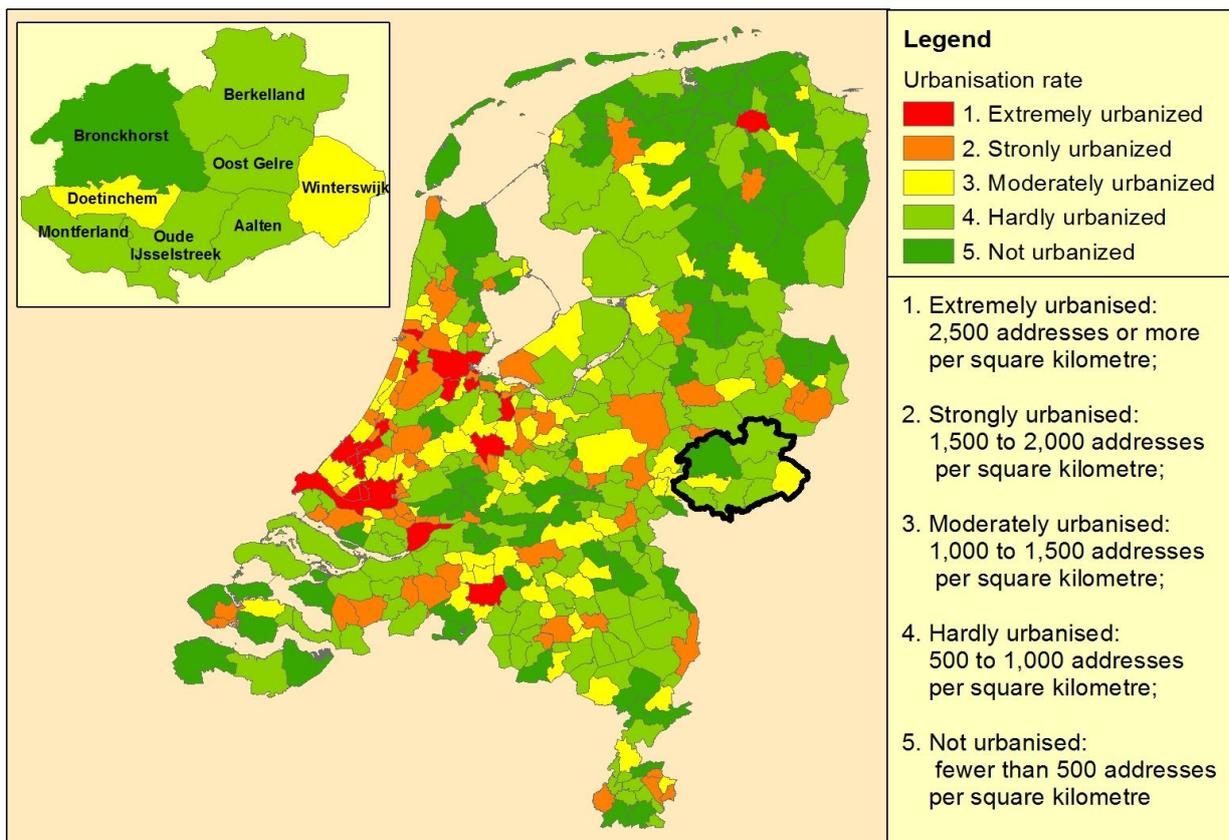

Figure 6. Urbanisation rate in the Netherlands, by municipality, 2015
Source: Own creation, based on CBS Statline, 2015b

Questions concerning previous housing experiences were asked because literature showed that previous living experiences have influence on how people appreciate an area. This question was also necessary in order to be able to label respondents as return or return-to-the-rural migrants. Furthermore, literature showed how the migration distance influences the motivation for locating at a certain place. With help of information on current and previous postal codes (or in some cases place of residence) the migration distance could be calculated. Furthermore, respondents were asked how they would describe their (previous) living environment(s). This is necessary in order to detect the counterurbanists. A distinction could be made between cities, villages and the countryside (Dutch: *buitengebied*). In this research the countryside relates to the areas outside the villages.

Following the push and pull theories, a distinction was made in the questionnaire between the motivations why one left his original municipality and the reason why someone specifically chose to live in the Achterhoek. The importance of different motivations why someone moved to the Achterhoek was measured on a 4-point scale. On purpose, there was no neutral option since this forced people to decide whether a certain reason to move to the Achterhoek was important or not. Midpoints are often used if people do not or cannot decide rather than the actual meaning of having an in between opinion (Verhoeven, 2011). Having an in between opinion is rather implausible in this situation since if you are neutral regarding a certain motive, that motive cannot have played an (important) role in your location decision. Matell & Jacoby (1971) concluded after investigating 3- to 17-point likert scales that larger scales do not enhance the reliability or the validity of the method. Moreover, Chang (1994) even mentioned that 4-point scales might be more reliable than the larger 6-point scales since in his research, for example the categories like "strongly disagree" and "disagree" where often used interchangeably. Taking all these thoughts into account, a 4-point likert scale seemed suitable for this research.

The motivations taken into consideration in the survey were motivations related to the dwelling, the living environment and attachment to the region. These were described with 30 different propositions based on earlier research (e.g. Bijker, 2013; Grimsrud, 2011 and Stockdale, 2006) as well as assumptions the different municipalities were interested in (for instance preference for a farmhouse). In addition to judging these reasons on their importance, respondents also had to recall their primary and secondary reason for moving to the Achterhoek. They could choose from the 30 propositions or think of own answers. Since it is too extensive to compare 30 categories with important reasons, the data was reduced to nine different groups (appendix 2).

1. **Housing price:** 1thru 2
2. **Housing quality**: 3 thru 7
3. **Motivations related to the rural idyll:** 8 thru 16
4. **Accessibility of (man-made) amenities:** 17, 19 thru 23
5. **Cohabitation or closer to partner**: 24
6. **Closer to family:** 25, 26
7. **Return migrants:** 27
8. **Study/work**: 28 thru 30
9. **Other reasons**: 18 and open answers not belonging to any other group

Other reasons mentioned by respondents were often very much related to one of the eight categories and were therefore coded in the same categories. Remarkable other options will be discussed in the data analysis.

The classification of these groups is based on a factor analysis as well as classifications used in previous research. The factor analysis combined motivations 6 and 7, however since other research distinguished between these motivation, and both options were frequently chosen by the respondents, they are analyzed separately in this research. The validity of this classification will be discussed in the paragraph on data quality.

Significant for this research are the questions related to depopulation. Respondents were asked three questions related to this issue. The first question was related to migrant's awareness of depopulation. Respondent were asked whether or not they knew prior to their move about the depopulation in the Achterhoek. This question will help discover differences between migrants migrating specifically to depopulating regions and migrants migrating to (semi-)rural regions who happen to experience population decline. This is practical to know in order to predict if migration motivations might change in the future, when more people are aware of the depopulation issue. In

order to gain more knowledge on migrant's perceptions of depopulation, two supplementary questions were inquired; did they experience depopulation as a problem and did they expect amenity levels to change due to depopulation?

Related to personal characteristics, questions were asked concerning age, household situation, education and income. The household situation was related to the household composition at the moment of the move because this would reveal what type of households move to the Achterhoek. Referring to the current situation could unintentionally provide wrong information since divorce or cohabitation could have changed the household composition since the move. Education was categorized into three groups referring to the highest completed level. The high educated referred to migrants who completed university or higher vocational college (HBO). The middle educated referred to those who completed pre-university education (HAVO/VWO) or secondary vocational training (MBO). Those who did not complete any of these were classified as lower educated. The answer options related to the income question were based on the average net household income of a household in NUTS3 region Achterhoek in 2013 provided by CBS. The most recent available data was based on 2013, in which a household had an average net income of €34.100 a year; a small €3.000 a month (CBS Statline, 2015f).

Prior to publication the hardcopy as well as online questionnaire was tested by a small number of people. Rooting was tested, unclear questions were adjusted and unnecessary questions were removed.

3.4 Analyzing techniques

In order to analyze the migration motivations this study started with a descriptive analysis of the results. The variables discussed in the previous paragraphs were examined in order to gather a clear perception of the migrants and the various motivations they had. Next, two different multivariate analyses were performed. The first analysis tried to discover relationships between migrants' characteristics and different motivations to move to the Achterhoek. The second analysis focused on motivation differences between migrants who were and were not aware of the fact that they were migrating to a depopulating region.

To determine whether there is a link between migrants' motivations and migrants' characteristics logistic regression was performed. This method was also applied by Bijker (2013) and Niedomsyl & Amcoff (2011) when linking motivations with respondents' characteristics. Eight different motivations were examined, based on the categorization presented in the operationalization paragraph. Only the six motivation which revealed significant relationships between motivations and personal characteristics will be presented in this report. The dependent variables were based on the primary- and secondary-motivation. These variables were combined and transformed into binary variables indicating whether a certain motivation was chosen as one of the most important reasons for moving to the Achterhoek. The choice was made to combine primary and secondary motivations since first of all households commonly have more than one reason to choose a specific location (Niedomsyl & Amcoff, 2011). Secondly, by focusing on the two primary reasons for moving to the Achterhoek, more observations for different categories of the independent variables were observed. This was necessary to overcome regression-problems related to too few cases.

Three different models were created, related to the three different subquestions. In the first model the independent variables were based on personal characteristics. The variables age, household characteristics, education, income, previous living environment, distance between current and previous living location as well as previous living experience with the Achterhoek or rural regions were inserted in the model. These variables are analogous to variables used in other studies. The only difference is that the variable distance was added which showed the distance between the previous and current residence in kilometres. Age was divided into four groups since different motivations can have different effects on age. Some effects are parabolic while other effects are linear.

The second model added the variable 'awareness of depopulating' to the equation. This made it possible to answer the sub-question whether migrants' awareness of population decline had influence on their specific motivation of migrating to the Achterhoek. The reference category was those who were not aware of depopulation (or cannot remember). This category was chosen since for interpretation reasons, it useful to have the category of interest as dummy (De Vocht, 2011).

The third model added the municipality variable to the equation in order to determine if certain motivations could be related to certain regions within the Achterhoek. Doetinchem, the most urban municipality, was the reference category. This caused a semi-urban - (semi-)rural division to arise, a division which would have been less clear when Bronckhorst or Oude IJsselstreek would have been the reference category.

These first analysis gave first insights in differences between the motivations of migrants who were and were not aware of depopulation when they migrated to the Achterhoek. The 4th and 5th models investigated the differences more thoroughly. Another logistic regression was performed, this time with awareness of depopulation as dependent variable. Model 4 estimated the importance of different motivations for the two different groups of migrants. The independent variables were the motivations measured with help of the 30 proposition on a 4-point likert scale. The motivations related to the housing costs, housing characteristics, the rural idyll and amenities were grouped together. The proposition related to return migrants, family, (new) work and moving in with a partner already living in the Achterhoek were treated as individual variables. These were not grouped together as attachment since it is possible that migrants were attached by means of work but do not have family in the region.

Model 5 is an extension of model 4. The personal characteristics age, civil status, education, income, migration distance, return migrant and municipality were added to equation. If model 4 revealed relationships between awareness and motivations, model 5 could indicate if these differences could be explained by personal characteristics. It also provided insights in the type of people who were and were not aware of depopulation.

4. Data and data quality

4.1 Data quality

In June 2015, 2.262 surveys were send to households that recently (since January 2012) migrated into the Achterhoek. A total of 445 surveys were returned of which 253 hard copy and 190 on the internet. Unfortunately, 45 responses were invalid. Either the respondent had moved within the Achterhoek, multiple responses were given within the same household, the majority of the questions were incomplete or respondents noted to have moved prior to the desired time frame. Disregarding the invalid surveys, the 400 responses represent a response rate of 17,6% (table 1).

In order to identify whether the responses are a decent representation of the actual population migrating to the Achterhoek, each municipality provided data on the age distribution of all the migrants who moved to their municipality. A Goodness of Fit-test was performed in order to compare the different response rates per municipality with the actual distribution of migrants among the municipalities. The results showed that the municipality of Bronckhorst is overrepresented in the data while the other two municipalities are underrepresented. Comparing the survey data with the age distribution of the respondents, it became clear that only the data on the Oude IJsselstreek has a similar age distribution compared to all in-migrants. In the samples of Bronckhorst and Doetinchem the older migrants are overrepresented, while the younger age groups are underrepresented. In order to obtain a representative sample and enhance the external validity, the data was weighed on age (divided into four groups) as well as municipality of destination. These weights were used for the descriptive analysis of migrants' characteristics and motivations. A problem related to weighing your data is that it affects the reliability of the results. In order for the data to be valid and still reliable, weight factors must not be too high. The literature shows no consensus on what scores are considered too high. Some mention a weight of 4 (De Vocht, 2011) others a weight of 3 (Ossenbruggen, 2006). However with maximum weight factors of 1,68 (4,9% of the cases) and 1,74 (2,5% of the cases) the highest weights are lower than 3, making them acceptable according to both of these standards.

Table 1. Response rates, 2015

	Oude IJsselstreek	Doetinchem	Bronckhorst	Total
Received a letter	237	1113	912	2262
Valid responses	33	165	202	400
Response rate	13,9%	14,8%	22,1%	17,6%

Continuing on the validity of the research, in order to measure abstract and complicated concepts such as 'the rural idyll' several propositions based on previous research were introduced which had to be appraised. Only asking respondents to judge the importance of nature will not give an effective impression of the rural idyll. The nine propositions related to the concept of rural idyll were tested on their internal consistency reliability with Cronbach's Alpha. Based on several scientific papers, Fields (2013) stated that the outcome value should be higher than 0,7 to 0,8 to be acceptable. With a score of 0,903 (n=342) there seems to be no problems in the internal consistency. The nine propositions combined therefore form a suitable indicator of the attitude towards the rural idyll.

To reduce the dataset motivations related to housing prices, housing characteristics and amenities were also treated as singular motivations. The combination of the propositions housing prices and living costs have a Cronbach's Alpha of 0,75. Therefore the internal consistency is acceptable, though not extremely high. This is caused by the fact that most respondents experience housing prices more important than living costs. The variable housing characteristics is based on five propositions namely; importance of the size of the dwelling, the size of the garden, the type of dwelling, preference for a farm house and preference for own parking space. Cronbach's Alpha for housing characteristics is 0,783. It would have been above 0,8 if the propositions related to the preference for a farmers home would have been left out since many respondents did not move to this type of dwelling. Keeping this in mind, the cohesion between the remaining propositions is solid. Finally, the six propositions related to amenities seem well consisted with one another (appendix 2). With a Cronbach's Alpha of 0,85, the combined propositions give an appropriate representation of one's attitude towards amenities.

There is however, one variable which shows validity problems. Respondents were asked to describe their household situation when moving into their new home in the Achterhoek. When analyzing the answers provided by people who moved in with a partner already living in the Achterhoek (n=93), some described their household as single-person households (43%) and others as couples (57%). Therefore there is some trouble in describing the household formation of new migrants coming to live in the Achterhoek. Although this is not ideal, nothing was done to correct this. It is possible that some couples misinterpreted the question 'cohabiting with a partner already living in the Achterhoek' and also checked this box because they were cohabiting with a partner. If this variable was to be reclassified, these migrants would also be categorized as single households even though this is incorrect. Reclassifying all the households to couples raises the problem that the partners are also seen as migrants, while this is not the case. Therefore, the variable household composition must be interpreted carefully.

Important concerning the reliability of the data is the accuracy and consistency of the measurements. As mentioned, this research used two different methods to gather the data; online and paper surveys. The problem with using multiple methods is that there was a small difference in the manner the questionnaire could be filled out. For instance, both online and offline respondents were informed that they should only select one answer. The computer 'forced' online respondents to obey this request while numerous offline respondents 'ignored' the request and ticked several boxes. This means a loss of information provided by the respondent, since it is not the task of the coder to determine what motivation is more important or how important on a scale of 1-4 a motivation is when both 3 and 4 are ticked. A similar problem occurred when respondents had to determine what their most important reason was to migrate, and to migrate to specifically the Achterhoek. The respondents were asked to choose from the options listed above the question. Online respondents could tick these options or provide own answers, while those filling in a hard copy survey had to write the answers down themselves. Unfortunately this resulted into a wide variety of answers, which often only differed briefly from the already available options. In order to solve this problem and prevent data loss, an extra variable was computed which divided all motivations into nine groups as mentioned in the operationalization paragraph.

Missing values
In order to obtain the right weights for the descriptive analysis, use was made of the variable age and municipality. Unfortunately 12 respondents (3,0%) did not announce their age, implying that those respondents could not be weight and could therefore not be taken into consideration in the descriptive analysis of the results. On average, the variables in the survey have results for 96,1% of the cases. Those variables with above average missing values are income (8,5%), (previous) work status (6,8%), moving distance (4,5%), education (4,3%) and all the 30 propositions related to the motivation to live in the Achterhoek. For valid results, these missing values should be at random. Related to the income variable, a share of the missing values is related to migrants with varying incomes. Therefore they could not provide an answer based on a monthly average. The incomes of this group are mixed, therefore it is suspected that this does not influence the representative considerably. However it could also be the case that people who are ashamed of their income, education level or work status did not answer the question properly. Since this might be related to a certain group of people (e.g. lower educated or the unemployed) it could affect the representativeness of the data. This should be kept in mind when analyzing the results. Regarding the 30 propositions, there were some respondents who only rated two propositions as important and left the rest open, indicating that those not-ranked propositions were not important for their move to the Achterhoek. These not-ranked propositions were coded as missing, which might induce that those who found a certain proposition unimportant are underrepresented. This could influence the validity of the results. If these 30 propositions are not taken into account, only 1,8% of the cases are missing.

4.2 Descriptive results

Migrant characteristics

When analyzing the characteristics of the migrants moving to the Achterhoek it becomes clear that movers to the Achterhoek are young (table 2). Nearly half of the migrants have not yet reached the age of 35 (45,5%). This result does not differ considerably from other research (Bijker & Haartsen, 2012). Comparable to the findings of Stockdale (2006), only a quarter of the migrants is 50 years or older. Most households moved as couple to the Achterhoek (44,0%), or were single person households (30,3%).[3] One out of five households moved with children, with an average of 1,8 children per household. The predominantly young movers are in general high educated with 61,6% having finished higher education (Dutch HBO or university). This is a high percentage when considering that in the Netherlands in 2013 on average only 27,1% has finished higher education (CBS Statline, 2015g). Comparing these educational statistics with other researchers it is not uncommon for the higher educated to be well represented in migration flows to rural areas (Bijker, 2013; Overbeek et al., 2007). What must be kept in mind though is that the higher educated are often overrepresented in social research (Stoop et al., 2010). Therefore it might be possible that the actual proportion of higher educated in the migration flow to the Achterhoek is somewhat lower. When examining income, it appears that different income groups are all represented. The most frequent income group includes migrants with a household income between €2500 and € 3500 a month (25,4%).

Table 2. Characteristics of respondents (in %)

Age (n= 388)					
Younger than 35	45,5	**Level of education** (n=379)			
35-49	27,6			Lower level	12,0
50-64	16,9			Middle level	26,4
Older than 65	10,0			Higher education	61,6
Household composition at time of move (n= 386)		**Income per month** (n=368)			
Single person	30,3			Less than € 1500	16,2
Couple	44,0			€ 1500 - € 2500	22,4
Single parent	3,4			€ 2500 - € 3500	25,4
Couple with children	17,6			€ 3500 - € 4500	17,7
Different composition	4,7			More than € 4500	18,3

Table 3 on the residential history of the migrants shows that the majority of the migrants was familiar with the Achterhoek prior to their move. Only a small group (16,9%) expressed to have had no prior connection with the Achterhoek. Nearly half of the households (43,7%) had previously lived in the region. This classifies them as return migrants. This is a high percentage, comparable to the findings of Elbersen (2001) on amenity rich areas. When looking at return migration from a broader perspective, 'the return-to-the-rural', 78,7% has living experience outside of cities. Other reasons for knowing the Achterhoek region are because of family or friends (11,3%) or because of living experience in an adjacent municipality (14,5%). When exploring the place of origin of the migrants, 22,3% originated from a place less than 25km away. Nearly 30% had migrated over a distance of more than 100km. Although earlier research (Bijker, 2013; Stockdale, 2006) concluded that migrants to depopulating areas generally had moved over a small distance, this results of this research indicate that for the Achterhoek migration distances vary. This might be explained by the fact that the accessibility of the Achterhoek is better compared to the research areas in Bijker's (2013) and Stockdale's (2006) studies. The Randstad is for example just a little more than an hour away. In 56,4% of the cases households moved from an urban area to the Achterhoek. Since Doetinchem is a small city in the

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[3] There are some validity problems with this variable due to misinterpretation by respondents moving in with a partner already living in the Achterhoek

Achterhoek not all of the migrants can be classified as typical urban-to-rural migrants. It appears that 42,5% of the urban migrants moved to Doetinchem and therefore do not fit the classical interpretation of counterurbanists. The motivations of the remaining urban migrants – 32,7% of all migrants to the Achterhoek – need to be investigated in order to discover whether they can be distinguished as counterurbanists.

Table 3. Previous living experiences (in %)

Familiarity with the area (n=384)		**Distance of previous residence** (n= 380)	
Respondent or partner has lived in the Achterhoek	43,7	Less than 10,0km	5,5
Lived in surrounding municipality	14,5	10,1 - 25,0km	16,8
Recreational experiences	6,6	25,1 - 50,0km	24,2
Via friends or family	11,3	50,1 - 100,0km	22,2
Work experiences	2,3	100,1 - 150,0km	16,6
Other experiences	4,7	150,1 - 200,0km	11,5
Not familiar	16,9	More than 200 km	1,5
		Abroad	1,8
Moved from urban area (n=377)	56,4		
Urban to urban	42,5	**Previous living experience outside a city** (n=387)	78,7
Urban to village	40,6		
Urban to countryside	17,0		

The core discussion of this research revolves around depopulation. Therefore questions were asked to the respondents concerning their knowledge and view on this issue. To my knowledge, previous research has not taken migrants' awareness into account. Consequently it is difficult to compare these findings with other research. Table 4 presents the results. The results reveal that 51,0% of the migrants was aware at the moment of their move that they were migrating to a depopulating region. Other migrants did not know, or in a scarce case, did not remember if they knew. Especially the higher educated were aware of this issue (62,2%). Approximately a third of the lower and moderately educated was acquainted. The respondents were also asked to express their opinion on the effect of depopulation on the supply of amenities such as schools, shops, sports facilities or cultural amenities. A majority of the respondents (64,9%) did think depopulation would affect the supply, while almost quarter (23,3%) though the amenity level would not change due to depopulation. More importantly, half of the respondents (49,8%) did not experience depopulation as a problem and did not expect depopulation to be a problem for them in the future.

Table 4. Opinions related to depopulation

Aware of depopulation (n= 387)		**51,0**
Do you expect depopulation to affect the supply of amenities in your surroundings? (n= 386)		
	Yes	64,9
	No	23,3
	Don't know	11,8
Do you experience depopulation as a problem or do you expect problems in the future due to depopulation? (n= 388)		
	Yes	27,6
	No	49,8
	Maybe	22,7

Motivations

Former theories on migration discussed in the second chapter, showed the importance of the distinction between push- and pull factors in the migration decision. Therefore both topics were discussed in the survey. An overview of the push factors can be found in appendix 3. In order to discover the specific reason for migrating to the Achterhoek, two different questions were asked. First of all, respondents needed to rate a number of propositions on a scale from 1 to 4 on their importance regarding their decision to migrate to the Achterhoek. Secondly, the two most important reasons to locate in the Achterhoek had to be indicated.

Figure 7 shows an overview of the importance of different motivations to locate in the Achterhoek. Space and quietness are characteristics of the Achterhoek which were important for more than 80% of the migrants. Only a little less important were the size and the price of the dwellings. It seems that the praised living characteristics of rural areas - bigger, cheaper houses in peaceful open space- also motivated many migrants to migrate to the Achterhoek. One out of five respondents (20,5%) claimed that the opportunity to fulfil their preference of living in a farmhouse was a (little bit) important in their decision to move to the Achterhoek. It might not be rated as high as other propositions, it does show a certain demand which was also mentioned by Gies et al. (2014). The amenity which is found most important is the supermarket (70,4%). Respondents also indicated that the accessibility of a (big) city was an important reason for choosing to live in their current residence (67,1%). The propositions which are predominantly ranked as not very or unimportant are mainly related to attachment reasons. This is however not a surprise since those propositions were often not applicable for (more than) half of the respondents. Moving closer to family or friends was (a little bit) important for two out of five migrants when moving to the Achterhoek, returning back to their roots for a bit more than a third (36,0%). Keeping in mind that 43,7% of the households had lived in the Achterhoek before, it appears that some households returned more by coincidence, than by an actual desire to come back.

Figure 8 gives an overview of the most important reasons for moving to the Achterhoek. Respondents were allowed to describe the two most important reasons. Since some only described one reason for migrating, the percentages do not add up to 100%. An overview of the primary reason for moving can be found in appendix 4. The survey results reveal that more than a third of the migrants (35,3%) moved to the Achterhoek because of reasons related to the rural idyll. Respondents liked the peace and quiet or the nature in the area. Also the mentality of the people was well appreciated. This finding corresponds with the findings related to Aalten, another municipality in the Achterhoek (Te Lintelo, 2010). However, they differ from the researches in Scotland (Stockdale, 2006) and Norway (Grimsrud, 2011) which concluded that the living environment was not very important in moves to their depopulating areas. This different might be explained by the context of the research. The Achterhoek with its national parks might be more attractive due to its environments compared to remote rural areas in Scotland and Norway. Another important reason for migration was related to family. A quarter (27,6%) of the respondents preferred to live closer to family or friends. This involved children moving closer to parents, but also parents closer to children. The percentage of those migrating to the Achterhoek because of their partner or cohabitation is 25,0%. A majority of this group moved in with a partner already living in the region. Others wanted to live closer to their partner without cohabitation. Subsequently, there were also couples from outside the Achterhoek who wanted to cohabitate in the region. Work or in a rare case education motives were important for a fifth of the respondents. This conclusion resembles the findings in Scotland (Stockdale, 2006). Furthermore the available housing was for 19,1% of the migrants the reason to move to the Achterhoek. These finding contrast the results of Andersen (2011) and Bijker (2013), who both conclude that housing was the most important reason for moving to their depopulating regions. Housing prices were important to 13,3% of the migrants. This is a similar percentage compared to migrants migrating to depopulating

Space (n=372) — 53,9 | 33,4 | 4,6 | 8,1

Quietness (n=373) — 44,8 | 35,8 | 6,8 | 9,9

Size of dwelling (n=372) — 34,4 | 40,1 | 13,1 | 12,5

Price of dwelling (n= 374) — 42,1 | 29,3 | 9,5 | 19,1

Proximity of a supermarket (n= 372) — 29,7 | 40,7 | 14,7 | 14,9

Type of dwelling (n=368) — 34,9 | 33,9 | 13,0 | 18,2

Accessibility of a (big) city (n=371) — 20,5 | 46,6 | 16,6 | 16,3

Proximity of nature (areas) (n=367) — 30,6 | 36,1 | 16,6 | 16,7

Size of garden/outdoor area (n=368) — 37,4 | 26,9 | 14,2 | 21,5

Contact with neighbours (n=370) — 20,5 | 43,3 | 17,4 | 18,8

Own parking space (n=366) — 26,7 | 36,6 | 11,3 | 25,4

Proximity of medical care (n=375) — 23,1 | 39,7 | 17,4 | 19,8

Recreational facilities in the area (n= 368) — 19,5 | 40,3 | 22,8 | 17,5

Amenities such as sports, music, culture (n= 368) — 17,9 | 37,1 | 20,0 | 25,1

Proximity of restaurants and cafes (n=370) — 14,6 | 36,9 | 26,8 | 21,7

Getting out of the city (n=366) — 24,2 | 19,5 | 23,5 | 32,8

Fixed housing costs (gas, water, electricity) (n=365) — 14,9 | 27,8 | 25,8 | 31,4

Closer to family/friends (n=367) — 22,3 | 19,8 | 7,1 | 50,7

Proximity of a primary school (n=370) — 17,2 | 22,5 | 14,6 | 45,6

Back to roots (n=365) — 19,6 | 16,4 | 5,3 | 58,7

Characteristic buildings (n=368) — 6,4 | 23,2 | 33,2 | 37,2

Moving in with partner already in the Achterhoek (n= 366) — 26,0 | 3,4 | 1,5 | 69,2

Closer to work (n=362) — 14,8 | 9,7 | 6,4 | 69,1

New job (n=365) — 15,4 | 8,6 | 6,5 | 69,5

Proximity of Germany (n=371) — 3,4 | 17,9 | 21,7 | 57,0

Preference for farmhouse (n=360) — 12,1 | 8,4 | 13,9 | 65,6

Closer to family in need of care (n=363) — 6,8 | 10,3 | 8,7 | 74,1

Study opportunities in the region (n=363) — 3,9 | 4,6 | 8,3 | 83,2

Legend:
- Important
- A little bit important
- Not very important
- Unimportant/ not applicable

0% | 20% | 40% | 60% | 80% | 100%

Figure 7. Motivations for moving to the Achterhoek

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regions in the northern part of the Netherlands (Bijker, 2013). Although the previous paragraph showed that nearly half of the respondents have a household member who lived in the Achterhoek before, only 12,6% declares going back to their roots was the main reason for their move to the region. Finally, similar to Aalten (Te Lintelo, 2010) the (man-made) amenities were fewest mentioned a the most important reason to migrate to the Achterhoek (7,2%). Those who did move because of this reason especially appreciated the presence of schools and the train station. Other reasons mentioned by respondents were often related to the fact that migrating to the Achterhoek was no deliberate choice. They were either in need of care or got a house allocated in the region.
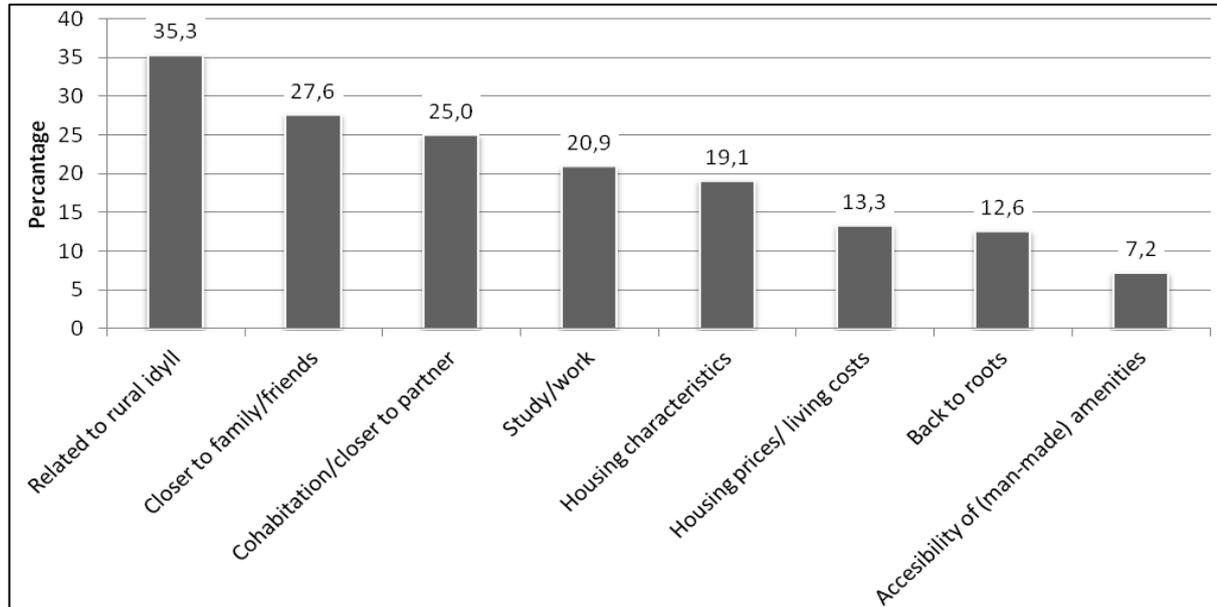
Figure 8. Main reasons for moving to the Achterhoek (n=387)

5. Analysis

5.1 Migrants and their motivations

To determine whether the motivations for moving to the Achterhoek are related to migrants with certain characteristics, logistic regression was performed. Table 5 to 7 present 18 models focusing on 6 of the 8 most important motivations for moving to the Achterhoek. The motivations related to amenities and housing prices will not be discussed in this report since those models were insignificantly capable of finding relationships between migrant motivations and characteristics (appendix 5). For each motivation 3 models were estimated. The first model describes migrants' personal characteristics. The second model investigates whether motivations differ between migrants who were and were not aware of depopulation. The third model seeks to discover differences between different regions within the Achterhoek. All the variables in the three models were tested on multicollinearity. No Pearsons Correlations values higher than 0,456 were found, indicating that multicollinearity did not influence the results.

A third of the respondents mentioned motivations related to the rural idyll as an important reason for their move to the Achterhoek. This motivation is more often mentioned by the age group 35-64 than by those younger than 35. The oldest age group, those older than 64, did not appreciate the Achterhoek significantly more because of this reason than the youngest age group does. This finding differs from the results of Bijker (2013) who observed that all age groups above 35 preferred depopulating areas because of living environment characteristics. This difference might be explained due to differences in methodology. Respondents in this survey were only allowed to recall the two most important reasons for moving to the Achterhoek. In Bijker's survey, migrants were not limited to only two main reasons. Maybe the older age groups do appreciate the rural idyll, but find other motivations even more important. Additionally, couples with children are 2,8 times (exp. 1,043) as likely to mention motivations concerning the rural idyll compared to single person households. This relates to the general view of families wanting to raise their children outside cities in natural environments (e.g. Aner, 2014). Furthermore, migrants from villages are 1,8 times (exp. 0,603) as likely compared to migrants from cities to have moved because of the rural idyll. This suggests that counterurbanisation might not be a very important phenomenon in the migration flow to the Achterhoek. This ascribes Grimrud's (2011) conclusion that the classical idea of counterurbanisation is not applicable to every rural area.

Moving closer to family and friends was especially important for those who had lived in the Achterhoek before. They are 3,1 times (exp. 1,120) as likely to have moved because of this reason compared to migrants new to the area. The finding that return migrants are more likely to have moved because of family and friends was also mentioned by Bijker (2013) and Niedomsyl & Amcoff (2011). In addition to these researches, the results reveal that the lower income groups (< €1500) mentioned this reason more often than the higher income migrants (> €2500). It was also more often mentioned by migrants who grew up in villages compared to those who grew up in cities. Although previous research did not mention these findings, they are not a surprise. On average, lower educated prefer to live closer to family than higher educated (Kullberg, 2010). Since lower educated often earn less than the higher educated, this explains the differences discovered in the model. It is striking however, that in the presented model only a difference between different income groups can be observed and not between education levels. Furthermore, the differences between citizens and villagers can be explained, when considering the general opinion that citizens are more individualistic than villagers. As for example Fisher (1982) denotes, citizens often have fewer local connections than villagers since friends and family live further away. Therefore having experienced this individualism in your youth and being used to friends and family further away, it is not surprising to find living closer to friends and family less important in later life.

Examining the migrants who migrated to the Achterhoek to move in with or live closer to their partner, it seems that age plays an important role. Migrants younger than 35 were more frequently motivated to migrate in order to live nearer to/with their partner than those above 50 years old. Furthermore, the lower/middle educated are 2,5 times as likely to have mentioned this motivation

compared to those who finished higher education (exp 0,910). Both of these findings are in the expected direction.

Moving to the Achterhoek because of study/work related reasons is mentioned more often by the younger age groups. Those under 35 are 8,1 times more likely to have moved because of this reason compared to the 50-65 year olds. This is not a remarkable finding since at a young age moving for work motives is more common. Youngsters are still at the beginning of their career searching for the best jobs or a higher incomes (Smits et al., 2013).The coefficients for the age group 65 years and older compared to those under 35 is very high and also shows a high standard error (not displayed). This can be explained by that fact that in the Netherlands up until 2014, 65 was the retirement age. Therefore, there is only one observation in this group, making the estimates of the coefficients less precise. Migrants earning more than €4.500 a month are more likely to move to the Achterhoek because of work than those earning less than €1.500. One would therefore expect the higher educated

Table 5. Logistic regression analysis of motivations for moving to the Achterhoek

Variable	Rural Idyll			Family/ friends		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.
Age in years (Ref. younger than 35)						
35-49	1,043 ***	1,028 ***	1,167 ***	-,102	-,102	-,131
50 - 64	1,564 ***	1,491 ***	1,308 ***	-,143	-,144	,035
65 and older	,372	,239	,155	,627	,625	,697
Civil status (Ref. single)						
Couple	,561 *	,494	,438	-,348	-,349	-,303
Single parent	,162	,084	-,035	-1,440	-1,441	-1,206
Couple with children	1,043 **	,994 **	,918 **	-,497	-,499	-,440
Other	-,625	-,619	-,685	-1,243	-1,242	-1,140
Education (Ref. Low/middle) High	,165	,035	,065	,354	,351	,346
Income (Ref. < €1500)						
€1500 - €2500	-,288	-,318	-,168	-,452	-,452	-,554
€2500 - €3500	-,210	-,299	-,203	-1,036 **	-1,037 **	-1,096 **
€3500 - €4500	-,152	-,184	-,192	-1,407 **	-1,406 **	-1,472 **
> €4500	-,594	-,700	-,756	-1,424 **	-1,426 **	-1,477 **
Previous living environment (Ref. urban)						
Village	,603 **	,684 **	,841 ***	,116	,117	,052
Countryside	-,347	-,356	-,347	-,497	-,497	-,466
Distance between previous and current residence	,000	,000	,001	,000	,000	-,001
Place of origin (Ref. urban)						
Village	-,458	-,496	-,570	,969 **	,968 **	1,041 ***
countryside	,140	,134	-,110	,957 *	,956 *	1,160 **
Lived in the Achterhoek before (Ref. no)	-,202	-,268	-,257	1,120 ***	1,119 ***	1,137 ***
Lived outside a city (Ref. no)	-,344	-,389	-,539	-,414	-,415	-,355
Aware of depopultation (Ref. no)		,570 ***	,430		,011	,147
Muncipality (Ref. Doetinchem)						
Oude IJsselstreek			,990 *			-,474
Bronckhorst			1,171 ***			-,763 **
Constant	-,994*	-1,060*	-1,603***	-0,931	-,933	-,699
N	323	323	323	323	323	323
Degrees of freedom	19	20	22	19	20	22
-2 Log likelihood	382,250***	377,898**	360,554***	324,679***	324,678	318,759*
Nagelkerke R2	0,212	0,228	0,286	0,208	0,208	0,230
* p <0,10 ** p < 0,05 *** p < 0,01						

to move more often for work than lower/middle educated. However the results indicate a reverse relationship. Although only significant on a 0,1 p-level, lower/middle educated are 2,1 times more likely to have moved to Achterhoek because of work than the lower educated. Also distance plays a role in work related migration. Labour migrants frequently moved over a longer distance compared to migrants for whom work was not an important reason to move. This is not remarkable since literature claims that the primary reason for migration over longer distances is related to work (Feijten & Visser, 2005). Those who have previously lived in the Achterhoek have less often moved with study/work as one of the most important reasons, compared to those migrants who are new to the Achterhoek (0,377 times as likely). This contrasts with Niedomsyl & Amcoff's (2011) findings since they declared that return migrants more often than non-return migrants migrate because of work. However, Niedomsyl & Amcoff explain in their paper that they suspect that employment made the return move possible but that the move was actually driven by social reasons. This might explain the difference between their findings and this research. Since respondents were only allowed to recall two motivations for choosing the Achterhoek, they might have prioritized family above work.

Table 6. Logistic regression analysis of motivations for moving to the Achterhoek

Variable	Cohabitation / partner			Work		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.
Age in years (Ref. younger than 35)						
35-49	-,213	-,210	-,083	-,595	-,617	-,682
50 - 64	-1,224 ***	-1,153 ***	-,920 **	-2,097 ***	-2,161 ***	-1,790 ***
65 and older	-2,698 ***	-2,613 ***	-2,380 ***	-21,019	-21,126	-20,940
Civil status (Ref. single)						
Couple	-,617 *	-,577	-,503	-,256	-,282	-,187
Single parent	,878	,934	1,134	1,089	1,063	1,291
Couple with children	-3,168 ***	-3,075 ***	-2,941 ***	-,325	-,362	-,082
Other	,469	,450	,391	-,097	-,070	-,145
Education (Ref. Low/middle) High	-,910 ***	-,795 **	-,771 **	-,745 *	-,817 **	-,866 **
Income (Ref. < €1500)						
€1500 - €2500	1,045 *	1,070 *	1,258 **	,888	,866	,887
€2500 - €3500	1,451 ***	1,476 ***	1,722 ***	,571	,535	,536
€3500 - €4500	1,855 ***	1,832 ***	2,137 ***	,469	,463	,450
> €4500	1,000	1,027	1,097	2,098 ***	2,077 ***	2,139 ***
Previous living environment (Ref. urban)						
Village	,025	-,005	,052	,004	,025	,041
Countryside	-,562	-,545	-,579	-,122	-,137	-,314
Distance between previous and current residence	,005 *	,005 *	,004	,008 ***	,008 ***	,008 **
Place of origin (Ref. urban)						
Village	-,187	-,188	-,212	-,177	-,204	-,159
countryside	-,875	-,907	-1,000	,004	,010	,279
Lived in the Achterhoek before (Ref. no)	-,384	-,338	-,369	-,974 ***	-1,008 ***	-,983 **
Lived outside a city (Ref. no)	,607	,634	,516	-,251	-,253	-,064
Aware of depopultation (Ref. no)		-,359	-,244		,253	,429
Muncipality (Ref. Doetinchem)						
Oude IJsselstreek			,973 *			-,932
Bronckhorst			-,527			-1,330 ***
Constant	-1,272*	-1,229*	-1,362*	-,988	-1,023	-,860
N	323	323	323	323	323	323
Degrees of freedom	19	20	22	19	20	22
-2 Log likelihood	268,397***	267,217	259,627**	233,584***	233,099	221,048***
Nagelkerke R2	0,289	0,294	0,323	0,288	0,290	0,341

* p <0,10 ** p < 0,05 *** p < 0,01

Regarding the motivations concerning housing characteristics, it appears that households with children are more inclined to have moved to the Achterhoek because of this reason compared to single households. The results also indicate migrants who moved over a shorter distance find the housing characteristics more important than migrants who moved over a longer distance. This is in coherence with the general finding that migration over short distances is often related with changed preferences in housing characteristics (Feijten & Visser, 2005).

The models related to the return migrants are significant on 0,1-level (p = 0,501). This indicates the variables in the model do not predict the dependent variable (choosing a specific motivation) very well. This indicates that a mixed group of people migrated to the Achterhoek because of wanting to return to their roots. The only variable which has a significant influence (p < 0,05) on the model is related to the place in which the respondent grew up. Those who grew up in the countryside are 5,2 times more likely to have moved to the Achterhoek because of the preference to return to their roots than migrants who grew up in cities.

Table 7. Logistic regression analysis of motivations for moving to the Achterhoek

Variable	Housing characteristics			Back to roots		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.
Age in years (Ref. younger than 35)						
35-49	-,797	-,788	-,863 *	-,812	-,825	-,874
50 - 64	,105	,123	-,147	-,610	-,691	-,898 *
65 and older	,300	,326	,128	,140	-,031	-,213
Civil status (Ref. single)						
Couple	,543	,555	,512	-,043	-,105	-,148
Single parent	2,090 **	2,102 **	2,038 **	,458	,418	,336
Couple with children	1,231 **	1,236 **	1,143 **	,577	,457	,333
Other	-19,074	-19,078	-19,116	-,459	-,467	-,504
Education (Ref. Low/middle) High	,175	,199	,243	-,649 *	-,785 **	-,791 **
Income (Ref. < €1500)						
€1500 - €2500	1,074	1,083	1,182	,017	-,024	,052
€2500 - €3500	,645	,666	,667	,499	,444	,415
€3500 - €4500	1,001	1,009	1,016	,747	,760	,774
> €4500	1,418 *	1,442 *	1,461 *	-,133	-,208	-,179
Previous living environment (Ref. urban)						
Village	-,230	-,243	-,169	-,796 *	-,742 *	-,738
Countryside	,788	,790	,816	-,580	-,618	-,671
Distance between previous and current residence	-,007 **	-,007 **	-,006 **	,000	,000	,001
Place of origin (Ref. urban)						
Village	-,672 *	-,665 *	-,696 *	,931 *	,863 *	,863 *
countryside	-,504	-,505	-,675	1,654 **	1,630 **	1,575 **
Lived in the Achterhoek before (Ref. no)	,342	,354	,388			
Lived outside a city (Ref. no)	,214	,221	,170	,486	,501	,503
Aware of depopultation (Ref. no)		-,104	-,220		,640 *	,531
Muncipality (Ref. Doetinchem)						
Oude IJsselstreek			,071			-,307
Bronckhorst			,805 **			,504
Constant	-2,368***	-2,359***	-2,661***	-2,358***	-2,552***	-2,689***
N	323	323	323	326	326	326
Degrees of freedom	19	20	22	18	19	21
-2 Log likelihood	283,868***	283,769	277,810*	32,850*	229,875*	227,551**
Nagelkerke R2	0,175	0,175	0,201	0,153	0,169	0,180

* p < 0,10 ** p < 0,05 *** p < 0,01

In the second group of models the variable awareness of depopulation is added. What can be seen is that this variable has very little effect on the predication capacity of the models. The -2 Loglikelihood barely decreases and the Nagelkerke R^2 remains more or less the same. Only two models show a significant improvement; the model related to the rural idyll ($p < 0,05$) and the model related to return migrants ($p < 0,10$). It appears that those who are aware of the depopulation issue compared to migrants who were not aware (or cannot remember if they knew), the former are 1,8 times more likely to move to the Achterhoek because of motivations related to the rural idyll. Also, with a certainty of 90%, migrants who were aware of depopulation are 1,9 time as likely to have moved because of wanting to return to their roots compared to migrants were not aware of the depopulation issue in the Achterhoek. Since awareness has little influence on the models, it is not a surprise that the effects of the personal characteristics on the motivations to move to the Achterhoek hardly change. Only the effect of education level on motivations related to work and returning to your roots alters. The previous model showed a significant difference between the lower/middle educated compared to higher educated on a $p < 0,10$ level. The current models confirm this significant difference with a higher significance level. It appears that higher educated are less likely to have moved to the Achterhoek because of work or the preference to return to their roots than the middle-lower educated.

The third group of models are expanded with the municipality variable. These models estimate whether certain motivations can be related to specific regions within the Achterhoek. With the exception of the model related to return to your roots and family motivations, the predication power of all models improves significantly when the municipality variable is added ($p < 0,05$). All Nagelkerke R^2 increase too, indicating these expanded models are a better fit than the previous models. It can therefore be expected that the motivation to move to the Achterhoek, differs per municipality.

The results show that motivations related to the housing quality and the rural idyll, are more frequently an important motivation to move to Bronckhorst than to Doetinchem. Migrants who moved to Doetinchem compared to those who moved to Bronckhorst were more frequently motivated because of housing prices (appendix 5), work or the desire to live closer to family/friends. The results show no significant differences ($p < 0,05$) between the motivations of migrants who moved to the Oude IJsselstreek compared to Doetinchem. In order to test if significant differences could also be observed between de Oude IJsselstreek and Bronckhorst the models were re-run with Bronckhorst as reference category (not presented in this thesis). It appears that those migrants who moved to the Achterhoek because of the housing prices or because of their partner more often located in Oude IJsselstreek than in Bronckhorst ($p < 0,01$). Since the houses in Bronckhorst are on average more expensive than in Doetinchem and Oude IJsselstreek (Huizenzoeker, 2015) the outcome that migrants migrating due to the housing prices less frequently move to Bronckhorst, is not unexpected.

Adding variables to the model alters the coefficients and significance levels of the variables already present in the model. If the variables are robust, these changes should be minimal. Fortunately, the coefficients and significance levels of the personal characteristics do not change extensively when the municipality variable is added. What does alter is the significant influence of the 'awareness of depopulation'-variable on the rural idyll and partner motivations. The significant effect disappears. This suggests that the primary reason for migrating to the Achterhoek, does not differ extensively between migrants who were and were not aware of depopulation.

5.2 Awareness of depopulation

Despite the fact that the previous models (2 and 3) showed that differences in primary motivation for moving to the Achterhoek between those who are and are not aware of depopulation are not consistent, further investigation is needed to confirm this finding. The next paragraph will present a logistic regression specifically focusing on differences between migrants who are and are not aware of depopulation. The first model focuses on differences in importance of certain motivations in the decision to migrate to the Achterhoek (model 4). Contrary to the models in the previous paragraphs, motivations in the current models are measured on a 1-4 scale, where 4 indicates a motivation being important. In the second model personal characteristics of the migrants are added (model 5).

Table 8 gives an overview of model 4 and 5 estimating migrant's awareness. With a Nagelkerke R² of 0,098, the prediction power of model 4 is not very high. This indicates that the migrant's awareness does not differ extensively per motivation. However, there are two motivations which are more important for migrants who were aware that they were moving to a depopulation region as opposed to those who were not. The more important migrants found the rural idyll, the more likely it is that they knew that they were moving to depopulating areas (p < 0,10). Furthermore returning to your roots was more important for migrants aware of the depopulation issue compared to migrants who did not know about depopulation prior to their move (p < 0,05). Since no follow-up questions were asked, interpreting these results is difficult. It is promising that return migrants return to their roots despite the depopulation. Apparently returning to a familiar area (possible with family and friends) is more important than the challenges the living environment is dealing with. It is also understandable that migrants migrating because of the rural idyll are not affected by the depopulation; peace and quiet is even more present when less people live in a certain place.

Adding personal characteristics to the logistic regression model (model 5) causes Nagelkerke R² to increase to 0,269. This indicates model 5 being a considerable better fit than model 4. There are two personal characteristics influencing migrant's awareness of depopulation; age and education. Migrants older than 65 are 3,1 times as likely to have known about depopulation in the region compared to migrants younger than 35. Migrants who completed higher education are 3,6 times as likely to have known about depopulation in the Achterhoek prior to their move. With regard to the motivation variables the estimates of the coefficients of the rural idyll and return migrants increase, but the significance levels remain unchanged.

Comparing the results of models 4 and 5 with model 2, it appears that the differences between the two groups of migrants are related to only two motivations. When investigating the most important reason for moving, as well as the importance of a motivation on a 1 to 4-point scale, the rural idyll and retuning to your roots, show significant relationships with the migrants' awareness of depopulation. Despite that the variables are only significant on a 0,05-level in one model, and a 0,10-level in the other, these results do reveal first signs of (small) differences between migrants who are and are not aware of the fact that they migrated to a depopulating region.

Table 8. Logistic regression analysis of awareness of depopulation (ref. not aware/cannot remember)

Variable	Model 4	Model 5
	B.	B.
Importance of rural Idyll	,426 *	,477 *
Importance of family/friends	-,100	-,138
Importance of moving in with partner	-,130	,024
Importance of closer to work	,084	,094
Importance of a new job	-,197	-,062
Importance of housing characteristics	,233	-,053
Importance of housing costs	-,136	,103
Importance of retuning to roots	,311 **	,403 **
Importance of amenities	-,180	-,115
Age in years (Ref. younger than 35)		
35-49		,179
50 - 64		,211
65 and older		1,123 **
Civil status (Ref. single)		
Couple		,311
Single parent		-,109
Couple with children		,371
Other		-1,089
Education (Ref. Low/middle) High		1,272 ***
Income (Ref. < €1500)		
€1500 - €2500		,506
€2500 - €3500		,729
€3500 - €4500		-,116
> €4500		1,047
Distance between previous and current residence		-,002
Lived in the Achterhoek before (Ref. no)		-,047
Muncipality (Ref. Doetinchem)		
Oude IJsselstreek		,428
Bronckhorst		,759
Constant	-,771	-3,617***
N	261	261
Degrees of freedom	9	25
-2 Log likelihood	339,307**	300,407***
Nagelkerke R2	0,097	0,269

* p <0,10   ** p < 0,05   *** p < 0,01

6. Conclusion

This research examined migration to depopulation regions. By means of a literature study, a survey spread among new migrants to the Achterhoek and regression analysis of the results an attempt has been made to answer the research question: "*What are the motivations of migrants to move to the depopulating Achterhoek region and to what extent can these motivations be related to migrant's demographic and socioeconomic characteristics?*" This final chapter will summarize the results and come to a conclusion. Subsequently, the final paragraph will reflect on the research process which will result in recommendations for future research.

6.1 Discussion of the results

The first part of this research has tried to discover who migrates to depopulating areas. Literature predicted it to be a diverse group. There was no consensus on the age, education or income of the migrants. For example, some studies revealed an overrepresentation of younger age groups (Bijker & Haartsen, 2012; Stockdale, 2006) while others agreed that mainly 'older' people migrated to depopulating regions (Hjort & Malmberg, 2006; Te Lintelo, 2010). Analyzing the results of this study indicates that there are differences as well as similarities with earlier research. In the Achterhoek, a majority of the migrants tend to be young and well educated; 45,5% is younger than 35 years old and 61,6% has completed higher education. Considering income, the group is mixed. Low and high incomes are all well represented in the Achterhoek; approximately half of the households earn between €1.500 - €3.500 a month. A factor the literature did agree on was related to the previous residence. A majority of the migrants moved over a small distance and has living experience in rural areas (Bijker, 2013; Stockdale, 2006). Likewise, the survey results show that a majority of the migrants (78,7%) has lived outside a city. Moreover, 43,7% has living experience in one of the municipalities in the Achterhoek. Nevertheless, in contrast to the literature the mobility circles are more varied. Nearly a third has migrated over a distance of more than 100km and also nearly a third moved from an urban area to a rural region in the Achterhoek.

In addition to identifying who these migrants are, it is also interesting to know what motivates them to move to a depopulating area. Theory showed that it is important to distinguish between push and pull factors since the reason someone leaves an area, does not have to be related to the reason to move to a specific place (Lee, 1966). Literature revealed several motivations related to migration to depopulating areas. All articles mentioned more or less the same reasons which could have influenced the location decision. However, no consensus was discovered in what reasons was most important. Some conclude housing (Andersen, 2011; Bijker, 2013), others the environment (Te Lintelo, 2010) or family (Grimsrud, 2011). A fourth research mentioned life course changes such as cohabitation (Stockdale, 2006), and to conclude, McCarthy (2008) associates the flow to the countryside with 'amenity migration'. Denominating all these motivations in a questionnaire, it becomes clear that the most important reasons for migrating to the Achterhoek are related to the rural idyll. More than a third of the migrants (35,3%) indicated this motivation was the (second) most important reason for migrating to the Achterhoek. Migrants especially appreciated the peace and quiet in the living environment. Living closer to family (27,6%) or reasons related to cohabitation (25,0%) were also important motivations to migrate. Man-made amenities were least frequently mentioned as the main reason to move (7,2%). Although housing was not the most important reason to migrate to the Achterhoek, the percentages presented in this research are comparable to other researches in the Dutch context (Bijker, 2013; Te Lintelo, 2010). Furthermore, it seems that McCarthy's 'amenity migration' is only partly applicable to the Achterhoek: migrants migrate because of the natural, but not because of the man-made amenities. The fact that literature shows no consensus on most important migration motivation, and considering that this research again reveals a different main migration motivation compared to the existing literature (apart from the local research also performed in the Achterhoek), what can be concluded is that motivations related to migration to depopulating regions are context specific. The characteristics of the living environment play an important role in determining why someone migrates to a depopulating area.

The next step in this research was to combine the motivations with the characteristics of the respondents. With help of logistic regression, relations between these two variables could be displayed either confirming or rejecting the composed hypothesises. The results reveal that motivations related

to the rural idyll were more often mentioned by respondents in the age group 35-64 than by those younger than 35. The migrants aged 65 years and older did not mention this motivation more often compared to migrant younger than 35. The hypothesis that older households appreciate the rural idyll more than younger households, is therefore only partly confirmed. In addition, couples with children were more motivated to move because of the rural idyll compared to single households. This confirms the classic view of families moving to the countryside, instead of busy cities. Furthermore, the models revealed that villagers are more often motivated to move because of the rural idyll than citizens. This suggests that counterurbanisation might not be a very important phenomenon in the migration flow to the Achterhoek. This conforms Grimsrud (2011) conclusion that counterurbanisation is context specific and not applicable to every rural region. What must be kept in mind though, is that the findings do not imply counterurbanisation is not occurring at all. It simply reveals that villagers mention the rural idyll more often than citizens.

Moving closer to family and friends was especially important for the lowest income group (< €1.500 a month), as well as those who grew up in villages and return migrants. Younger age groups as well as the lower/middle educated are more often related to cohabitation and work motives than older age groups or higher educated. However, strikingly, the highest income group mentions work motives more than the lowest income group. The work motive can furthermore be related to migrants moving over longer distances and non-return migrants. Housing characteristics are especially an important reason to migrate for households with children and short-distance migrants. They mentioned this motivation more often than single households and households migrating over longer distances. Finally, migrants who preferred to live in the Achterhoek because of returning to their roots more often grew up in the countryside than in a city. They also on average have a lower education level compared to migrants who did not mention this reason.

Based on these outcomes the second hypothesis related to the link between migrants characteristics and their motivations cannot be confirmed completely. Differences between income groups are discovered in the data set, however these are not related to the rural idyll or to housing qualities. Rather income groups differ on motivations related to family, cohabitation and work. The hypothesis related to return migrants was again only partly confirmed. Return migrants were more often motivated to move to the Achterhoek because of attachment reasons. However they were only attached through family and friends. Non-return migrants were also attached to the region, but in this case via work.

The research continued with an analysis of migrants' awareness of depopulation. The motivations of the migrants who were and were not aware of this issue were compared in order to discover why one would specifically move to a depopulating region. No prior literature had focused on this variable, therefore the outcomes provide new insights in migration to depopulating regions. Interestingly, the logistic regression models showed that some differences do exist between the two groups. Those who were aware of depopulation were more likely to have moved because of the rural idyll and the desire to return to their roots. However, these differences disappeared when the municipality they migrated to, was taken into account. This indicates that the municipality is a more important indicator explaining migrants' motivation than their awareness of depopulation is. Nonetheless, a second analysis on migrants' awareness was performed, this time with awareness of depopulation as dependent variable and motivations measured on scales rather than binary. The results reveal that the same two motivations are related to migrant's awareness as found in the previous model; motivations related to the rural idyll and the motivation to return to your roots. Even when the municipality variable is added to this equation, the differences between the two groups of migrants remain. Therefore, based on the outcomes of these two logistic regression models and despite the fact that both variables are only significant on a 0,05-level in one model and a 0,01-level in the other, the results reveal first signs of (small) differences between the motivations of migrants who are and are not aware of the fact that they are migrating to a depopulating region. Assuming that in the future more people will be aware of the depopulation issue in the Netherlands, these results indicate that migration motivations -and therefore migration behaviour- of migrants to depopulating areas, might change moderately in the future.

The final step of this research was to investigate differences in motivations to migrate to the different areas within the Achterhoek. Three different municipalities were taken into account, each with their own characteristics. Bronckhorst was the most rural of the three, while Doetinchem has the

most urban characteristics. The results reveal that motivations related to the housing quality and the rural idyll, are more frequently an important motivation to move to Bronckhorst than to Doetinchem. Migrants who moved to Doetinchem compared to those moving to Bronckhorst were more often motivated because of housing prices, work or the desire to live closer to family/friends. Furthermore it appeared that those migrants moving to the Achterhoek because of the housing prices or because of their partner were more often moving to the Oude IJsselstreek than to Bronckhorst. No significant differences were discovered between the motivations of migrants moving to the Oude IJsselstreek as opposed to Doetinchem. Based on these findings, the final hypothesis relating work motivations with semi-rural regions (Doetinchem) and housing characteristics and the rural idyll with the rural municipalities, can be confirmed.

6.2 Acknowledgements & recommendation

Although this research has been prosecuted with great accuracy, there is always room for improvement. What must be acknowledged regarding the results is the fact that the household variable in this research is not very accurate. The question asked in the survey was interpreted in multiple ways. Those migrating to the Achterhoek in order to join their partner in the region describe their households both as single households and as couples. Due to this misinterpretation differences between single households and couples are difficult to detect. Additionally, the work motive reveals a remarkable finding. The outcome that lower educated are more related to work motives than higher educated, while at the same time the high incomes migrate more often because of work compared to low incomes, is paradoxical. This is possibly caused by the large share of higher educated in the data. Further research needs to be performed in order to expose possible differences between these single households and couples as well to confirm or reject the paradoxical finding in the work related migration motive.

Furthermore, an important feature of this research to reflect on, is the inclusion of Doetinchem in the study area. Although, including the municipality in the thesis has been a deliberate choice (it improves the representativeness of the results for the Achterhoek), there are two challenges related to the inclusion of Doetinchem. First of all, other studies on migration to depopulating areas in for example the Northern Netherlands, Norway and Scotland (Bijker, 2013; Grimsrud, 2011; Stockdale, 2006) focus on (remote) rural areas only. Since more than a third of the respondents lived in the city of Doetinchem, the general motivations for moving the Achterhoek are bound to differ from the motivations of migrants migrating to a complete rural areas. This makes comparison between previous research and this research more difficult. Secondly, this research investigated differences between migrants who are and are not aware of depopulation during their location decision. The results indicate that certain differences in motivations between these groups exist. What must be kept in mind however, is that not all areas within the depopulating Achterhoek region are experiencing the same degree of population decline. The population in the city of Doetinchem is for example still growing, while the surrounding areas within the municipality experience different population developments. The respondents who lived in the city might by definition live in a depopulating region, however their daily living environment is still experiencing population increase. It seems logical that their opinion regarding depopulation differs from the migrants who migrated to a depopulating village or countryside. Moreover, this research is based on 'only' 400 migrants in the Achterhoek. It would therefore be recommended to duplicate a similar research in other depopulating areas. This would expand the knowledge related to migration to depopulating regions and discover whether similar findings are found in other depopulation areas. This will determine whether the differences discovered in this research are characteristics for depopulating regions or specifically related to the Achterhoek. Further research will also provide more solid ground for the prediction that migration behaviour of migrants to depopulating regions might change moderately in the future.

An important topic related to rural migration is counterurbanisation. The models in this research suggest that counterurbanisation might not be a very important phenomenon in the migration flow to the Achterhoek. However, logistic regression is not the best method to analyze this since it only investigates differences between groups. Villagers might be more motivated to move due to the rural idyll but it does not imply citizens do not appreciate the rural idyll. Moreover, the method used in this thesis only investigates the previous place of residence of the migrant but does not consider the living environment the migrant migrates to. Citizens and villagers moving to a city environment are also

taken into account in this logistic regression. It is quite unlikely that they migrated to a city because of the rural idyll. Since there are more city-to-city migrants than rural-to-city migrants, this might also explain why differences between citizens and villagers exist in this models. A different method is needed if one wants to find out more about counterurbanists.

A final recommendation, for future research it is interesting to elaborate on the concept of return migrants. There are two points which can be made regarding this topic. First, in this research return migrants were classified as those migrants who had previous living experience in the Achterhoek region. Although this approach of classifying was also applied by Elbersen (2001) it might be interesting to have known if a migrant had lived in the same municipality before. This would have made it possible to compare the results to other scientific literature. Second, nearly 50% of the households which moved to the Achterhoek indicated that at least one member had previously lived in the region. It seems that for this group, returning to a familiar area is more important than the challenges the living environment is dealing with. It might be interesting to investigate more thoroughly who these migrants are and what made them return since return migrants might be a target group which can help mute the depopulation. However, what must be kept in mind is that nothing is known about the people who did not return. In order to discover whether depopulation is really not an issue for return migrants, the awareness of depopulation and the motivations of those who did not return should be investigated.

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Appendix

1. Introduction letter and survey

Geachte heer, mevrouw,

U bent nog niet zo lang geleden verhuisd naar een woning in de Achterhoek. Wij zijn geïnteresseerd in de reden(en) van uw verhuizing en de voorkeur die u had voor een bepaald type woning en/of woonomgeving. Daarom is deze enquête opgesteld.

Invullen van de vragenlijst

Om een zo goed mogelijk beeld te krijgen van de verhuismotieven, hopen wij op zoveel mogelijk reacties. Wij willen u daarom vriendelijk vragen om onze vragenlijst in te vullen; dit kost ongeveer 10 tot 15 minuten. U mag de vragenlijst invullen als u 18 jaar of ouder bent en als u zelf invloed heeft gehad op de beslissing om in uw huidige woning in de Achterhoek te gaan wonen. **Onder alle volledig ingevulde vragenlijsten wordt een VVV bon ter waarde van €50,- verloot!**

U kunt de vragenlijst zowel digitaal (online) als schriftelijk invullen. Onze voorkeur gaat uit naar de digitale versie (in verband met het verwerken van de gegevens). Door onderstaande stappen te doorlopen, kunt u de vragenlijst digitaal invullen:

1. Ga naar de website: www.thesistools.nl/Achterhoek
2. Vul het volgende wachtwoord in: **achterhoek2015**
3. U kunt nu de vragenlijst invullen

Mocht dit om wat voor reden dan ook lastig zijn, dan kunt u de vragenlijst ook schriftelijk invullen en per post terugsturen. De vragenlijst kunt u dan via bijgevoegde enveloppe gratis verzenden. Een postzegel is dus niet nodig!

Het invullen van de vragenlijst is mogelijk t/m 5 juli 2015.

Met deze enquête proberen wij antwoord te krijgen op een aantal vragen over de verhuismotieven van mensen om in de Achterhoek te gaan wonen. Wij richten ons hierbij op mensen die de afgelopen 3,5 jaar zijn verhuisd naar een woning binnen de gemeenten Bronckhorst, Doetinchem of Oude IJsselstreek.

De enquête levert belangrijke informatie op, waarmee de Achterhoekse gemeenten nu en in de toekomst zo goed mogelijk kunnen inspelen op de woonbehoeften van mensen die naar de Achterhoek verhuizen. De enquête is daarnaast onderdeel van een breder afstudeeronderzoek naar de relatie tussen persoonlijke kenmerken (zoals leeftijd, opleiding), verhuismotieven en de (positieve) kenmerken van regio's die te maken hebben met een daling van het aantal inwoners. Deze enquête wordt daarom in samenwerking met de gemeenten Bronckhorst, Doetinchem en Oude IJsselstreek, Achterhoek Agenda 2020 en de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen uitgevoerd.

Vervolg

De gegevens die u invult, worden vertrouwelijk behandeld. De resultaten van de enquête worden bovendien volledig anoniem verwerkt. De door u gegeven antwoorden zullen dus niet naar u als persoon te herleiden zijn.

Wilt u weten wat de uitkomsten van dit onderzoek zijn? Laat dan uw e-mailadres achter aan het einde van de enquête. De resultaten worden u dan in het najaar van 2015 toegestuurd. Mocht u verder nog vragen hebben over de enquête, dan kunt u contact opnemen door een e-mail te sturen naar r.c.mulder.3@student.rug.nl of telefonisch via 06-30391080.

Alvast hartelijk dank voor uw medewerking!

Met vriendelijke groet,

Roxanne Mulder

In de vragenlijst zal verschillende keren de term 'Achterhoek' worden gebruikt. Hieronder verstaan wij de gemeenten Aalten, Berkelland, Bronckhorst, Doetinchem, Montferland, Oost Gelre, Oude IJsselstreek en Winterswijk. Indien niet anders is aangegeven, graag maximaal één antwoord per vraag aankruisen. Bedankt voor uw medewerking!

Huidige woonsituatie

1. Wanneer bent u in uw huidige woning komen wonen? (maand / jaar)

__ __ / __ __

2. Woont u in een huur- of een koopwoning?
- o Huurwoning
- o Koopwoning

3. In wat voor type woning woont u?
- o Studentenwoning
- o Appartement
- o Tussen- of hoekwoning
- o Twee-onder-een-kapwoning
- o Vrijstaande woning
- o Anders, namelijk _____

4. Hoe zou u uw woonomgeving omschrijven?
- o Ik woon in een stad
- o Ik woon in een dorp
- o Ik woon in het buitengebied

5. Wat is de <u>postcode</u> en <u>woonplaats</u> van uw huidig woonadres?

__ __ __ __ __ __   _____

6. *Om de resultaten van deze enquête te kunnen koppelen aan het woningbestand van de gemeente, vragen wij u om uw huisnummer in te vullen. Zoals alle antwoorden van deze enquête, worden ook deze gegevens volstrekt vertrouwelijk behandeld. Mocht u bezwaar hebben uw huisnummer in te vullen, dan kunt u verder gaan met vraag 7.*

Wat is uw huisnummer? _____

Vorige woonsituatie

7. Wat was de <u>postcode</u> en <u>woonplaats</u> van uw vorig woonadres?

__ __ __ __ __ __   _____

8. In wat voor type woning woonde u voor uw verhuizing?
- o Studentenwoning
- o Appartement
- o Tussen- of hoekwoning
- o Twee-onder-een-kapwoning
- o Vrijstaande woning
- o Anders, namelijk _____

9. Hoe zou u uw vorige woonomgeving omschrijven?
- o Ik woonde in een stad
- o Ik woonde in een dorp
- o Ik woonde in het buitengebied

10. Waarom bent u vertrokken uit uw vorige gemeente? (u kunt meerdere antwoorden aankruisen)
- o Huwelijk of samenwonen
- o Scheiding of einde van een relatie
- o Partner overleden
- o Zelfstandig gaan wonen
- o In verwachting van een kind/net een kind gekregen
- o Kinderen zijn uit huis gegaan
- o Gepensioneerd
- o Woning was te ver van (nieuw) werk
- o Woning was te ver van studielocatie
- o Te hoge woonlasten
- o Groter/kleiner willen wonen
- o Liever gaan huren/kopen
- o Andere reden gerelateerd aan de woning
- o Ontevreden met vorige woonbuurt
- o Weg uit de stad
- o Te ver van vrienden of familie
- o Terug naar waar ik /mijn partner opgegroeid ben/is
- o Te ver van zorgbehoevende familie of vrienden
- o Anders, namelijk_____
_____

11. Welke van bovenstaande redenen was de <u>belangrijkste</u> reden om uit uw vorige gemeente te vertrekken? (één antwoord mogelijk)

_____

Locatiekeuze

12. Kende u voordat u in uw huidige woning kwam wonen, de Achterhoek al uit persoonlijke ervaring? Indien meerdere antwoorden van toepassing zijn, graag het antwoord aankruisen wat het meest op u van toepassing is.
- o   Nee, ik kende de Achterhoek niet uit persoonlijke ervaringen
- o   Ja, ik woonde voor mijn verhuizing in één van de omliggende gemeenten net buiten de Achterhoek (Brummen, Doesburg, Lochem, Rheden**,** Zevenaar, Zutphen)
- o   Ja, ik ben hier vaker voor vakantie of recreatieve bezigheden geweest
- o   Ja, ik (of mijn partner) ben (is) hier geboren/opgegroeid
- o   Ja, ik (of mijn partner) heb (heeft) hier vroeger zelf gewoond
- o   Ja, familie of vrienden woonden hier al
- o   Ja, ik kende de Achterhoek door mijn werk
- o   Anders, namelijk_____

13. Kunt u in onderstaand schema omcirkelen, hoe belangrijk de aangegeven factoren voor uw huishouden waren bij uw keuze om naar de Achterhoek te verhuizen.

Met betrekking tot de woning		Onbelangrijk	Vrij onbelangrijk	Enigszins belangrijk	Zeer belangrijk
De koop- of huurprijs van de woning		1	2	3	4
De vaste woonlasten (gas, water, elektra)		1	2	3	4
De grootte van de woning		1	2	3	4
Beschikbaarheid gewenste type woning		1	2	3	4
Specifieke voorkeur voor een boerderijwoning		1	2	3	4
De grootte van de tuin/buitenruimte		1	2	3	4
Eigen parkeergelegenheid		1	2	3	4
Woonomgeving					
Rust		1	2	3	4
Ruimte		1	2	3	4
Privacy		1	2	3	4
Wonen in landelijk gebied		1	2	3	4
In de buurt van natuur(gebieden)		1	2	3	4
Recreatie mogelijkheden in de omgeving (bijv. fiets en wandelroutes, vismogelijkheden)		1	2	3	4
Aanwezigheid karakteristieke gebouwen (bijv. kastelen, oude kerken)		1	2	3	4
Weg uit een (grote) stad		1	2	3	4
Goed onderling contact tussen buurtbewoners		1	2	3	4
Bereikbaarheid van een (grote) stad		1	2	3	4
Nabijheid van Duitsland		1	2	3	4
Aanwezigheid van voorzieningen zoals sport, muziek of cultuur in de directe woonomgeving		1	2	3	4
Nabijheid restaurants, cafés en andere uitgaansgelegenheden		1	2	3	4
Nabijheid van een supermarkt		1	2	3	4
Nabijheid van een basisschool		1	2	3	4
Nabijheid van een huisarts/ziekenhuis		1	2	3	4
Verbondenheid aan de regio					
Intrekken bij partner al wonend in de Achterhoek	n.v.t.	1	2	3	4
Dichter bij familie of vrienden wonen	n.v.t.	1	2	3	4
Kunnen zorgen voor familie/vrienden (mantelzorg)	n.v.t.	1	2	3	4
Terug naar de regio waar ik/mijn partner opgegroeid ben/is	n.v.t.	1	2	3	4
Een nieuwe baan in de regio	n.v.t.	1	2	3	4
Dichter bij huidig werk wonen	n.v.t.	1	2	3	4
Studiemogelijkheden in de regio	n.v.t.	1	2	3	4

14. Zijn er nog andere, niet genoemde redenen waarom u in de Achterhoek bent gaan wonen?

_____

15. Kunt u vanuit bovenstaande redenen een top 3 maken van de belangrijkste redenen waarom u in de Achterhoek bent gaan wonen (waarbij 1 de belangrijkste reden weergeeft)?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

16. Was u zich in de periode van uw verhuizing bewust van het feit dat de regio Achterhoek te maken heeft met een daling van het aantal inwoners en er dus steeds minder mensen wonen?
- o Ja
- o Nee
- o Weet ik niet meer

17. Denkt u dat de daling van het aantal inwoners in de Achterhoek gevolgen heeft voor het aanbod van voorzieningen in uw nabije omgeving? (bijv. voor het aantal scholen, winkels, sportverenigingen, culturele instellingen)
- o Ja
- o Nee
- o Weet ik niet

18. Ervaart u het als een probleem dat het aantal inwoners in de regio daalt of denkt u hier in de toekomst problemen van te ondervinden?
- o Ja
- o Nee
- o Weet ik niet

Persoonskenmerken
Tot slot volgen enkele vragen over uw huishoudenssituatie op het moment dat u verhuisde naar uw huidige woning. Indien van toepassing, dienen de vragen met betrekking tot uw partner alleen ingevuld te worden als u en uw partner tegelijkertijd, samen in de Achterhoek zijn komen wonen.

19. Hoe zag uw huishouden eruit op het moment dat u in uw huidige woning kwam wonen?
- o Eenpersoonshuishouden
- o Echtpaar/samenwonend zonder kinderen
- o Eén ouder met thuiswonende kinderen
- o Echtpaar/samenwonend met thuiswonende kinderen
- o Andere samenstelling

20. Indien u heeft aangegeven verhuisd te zijn met thuiswonende kinderen, hoeveel kinderen zijn er met u meeverhuisd?_____

21. In welk jaar bent u geboren? _____ En uw partner? _____

22. Wat is uw hoogst voltooide opleiding?

Uzelf	_Uw partner_
o Lagere school	o Lagere school
o LBO/MAVO/VMBO	o LBO/MAVO/VMBO
o HAVO/VWO	o HAVO/VWO
o MBO	o MBO
o HBO/Universiteit	o HBO/Universiteit

23. Wat waren uw dagelijkse werkzaamheden op het moment dat u naar u verhuisde?

Uzelf	_Uw partner_
o Niet werkzaam	o Niet werkzaam
o Studerend	o Studerend
o Werkzoekend	o Werkzoekend
o Werkend	o Werkend
o Gepensioneerd	o Gepensioneerd

24. Wat zijn uw huidige werkzaamheden?

Uzelf
- o Niet werkzaam
- o Studerend
- o Werkzoekend
- o Werkend
- o Gepensioneerd

Uw partner
- o Niet werkzaam
- o Studerend
- o Werkzoekend
- o Werkend
- o Gepensioneerd

25. Indien u heeft aangegeven momenteel te werken, wat is uw huidige werklocatie?

Uzelf
- o Een baan in de gemeente waar ik nu woon
- o Een baan in de stad Doetinchem
- o Een baan op een andere locatie binnen de Achterhoek
- o Een baan buiten de Achterhoek, elders in Nederland
- o Een baan in Duitsland

Uw partner
- o Een baan in de gemeente waar ik nu woon
- o Een baan in de stad Doetinchem
- o Een baan op een andere locatie binnen de Achterhoek
- o Een baan buiten de Achterhoek, elders in Nederland
- o Een baan in Duitsland

26. In welke inkomensklasse valt het <u>netto gezamenlijk inkomen</u> van uw huishouden?
- o Minder dan € 1500 per maand
- o € 1500 tot € 2500 per maand
- o € 2500 tot € 3500 per maand
- o € 3500 tot € 4500 per maand
- o Meer dan € 4500 per maand

27. In wat voor woonomgeving heeft u het grootste gedeelte van <u>uw jeugd</u> doorgebracht?

Uzelf
- o In een stad
- o In een dorp
- o In het buitengebied

Uw partner
- o In een stad
- o In een dorp
- o In het buitengebied

28. In wat voor verschillende woonomgevingen heeft u in het verleden gewoond? (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk)

Uzelf
- o In een stad
- o In een dorp
- o In het buitengebied

Uw partner
- o In een stad
- o In een dorp
- o In het buitengebied

29. Deze laatste vraag met betrekking tot uw woonverleden is niet noodzakelijk om in te vullen. Wel waarderen wij het zeer als u toch de tijd neemt om ook deze vraag te beantwoorden. Kunt u in onderstaand schema aangeven waar u vanaf uw geboorte tot aan de verhuizing naar uw huidige woning gewoond heeft? In de tweede kolom kunt u een schatting geven van het aantal jaren dat u in de verschillende plaatsen gewoond heeft. Tot slot kunt u in de derde kolom aankruisen of u toen woonde in een stad (S), dorp (D) of in het buitengebied (B).

	Uzelf				
	Woonplaats	Aantal jaren	Stad/dorp/buitengebied		
Van vroeger tot nu			S	D	B

Einde enquête

Indien u kans wil maken op een VVV bon ter waarde van €50,- en/of als u benieuwd bent naar de uitkomsten van dit onderzoek, vragen wij u om uw e-mailadres in te vullen. Uw e-mailadres zal alleen voor dit doeleinde worden gebruikt en zal verder niet gekoppeld worden aan de door u gegeven antwoorden.

Email adres:_____

- o Ja, ik wil graag kans maken op een VVV bon ter waarde van €50,-
- o Ja, ik wil graag op de hoogte gehouden worden van de uitkomsten van dit onderzoek.

Bedankt voor uw medewerking!

2. Classification of motivations

Housing prices	Housing characteristics	Rural Idyll
1. De koop- of huurprijs van de woning 2. De vaste woonlasten (gas, water, elektra)	3. De grootte van de woning 4. Beschikbaarheid gewenste type woning 5. Specifieke voorkeur voor een boerderijwoning 6. De grootte van de tuin/buitenruimte 7. Eigen parkeergelegenheid	8. Rust 9. Ruimte 10. Privacy 11. Wonen in landelijk gebied 12. In de buurt van natuur(gebieden) 13. Recreatie mogelijkheden in de omgeving (bijv. fiets en wandelroutes, vismogelijkheden) 14. Aanwezigheid karakteristieke gebouwen (bijv. kastelen, oude kerken) 15. Weg uit een (grote) stad 16. Goed onderling contact tussen buurtbewoners
Accessibility of amenities	**Cohabitation/closer to partner**	**Family**
17. Bereikbaarheid van een (grote) stad 19. Aanwezigheid van voorzieningen zoals sport, muziek of cultuur in de directe woonomgeving 20. Nabijheid restaurants, cafés en andere uitgaansgelegenheden 21. Nabijheid van een supermarkt 22. Nabijheid van een basisschool 23. Nabijheid van een huisarts/ziekenhuis	24. Intrekken bij partner al wonend in de Achterhoek	25. Dichter bij familie of vrienden wonen 26. Kunnen zorgen voor familie/vrienden (mantelzorg)
Return to roots	**Study/work**	**Others**
27. Terug naar de regio waar ik/mijn partner opgegroeid ben/is	28. Een nieuwe baan in de regio 29. Dichter bij huidig werk wonen 30. Studiemogelijkheden in de regio	18. Nabijheid van Duitsland

3. Overview of pushfactors; what was the reason for moving?

Respondents were asked to tick all boxes of importance indicating the reason why they had left their place of origin. The results can be seen in figure 8. Since the respondents were allowed to tick several boxes, the percentages do not add up to 100%. After analyzing the results it becomes clear that the most often mentioned reason to leave a destination is the result of a marriage or cohabitation (31,3%). The size of the previous dwelling was a push factor in a quarter of the cases (24,9%), being far more important than tenure status (8,8%) or housing costs (4,9%). Being too far from family or friends pushed 18,6% away from their previous homes, comparable to the percentage of migrants who indicated to be too far from their roots (18,4%). Signs of some form of counterurbanisation taking place can be seen in the 14,3% of the migrants who moved because of a desire to get out of the city. Other reasons mentioned to move were often related to preferred characteristics of the living environment (peace & quiet) or the obligation to move due to different circumstances.
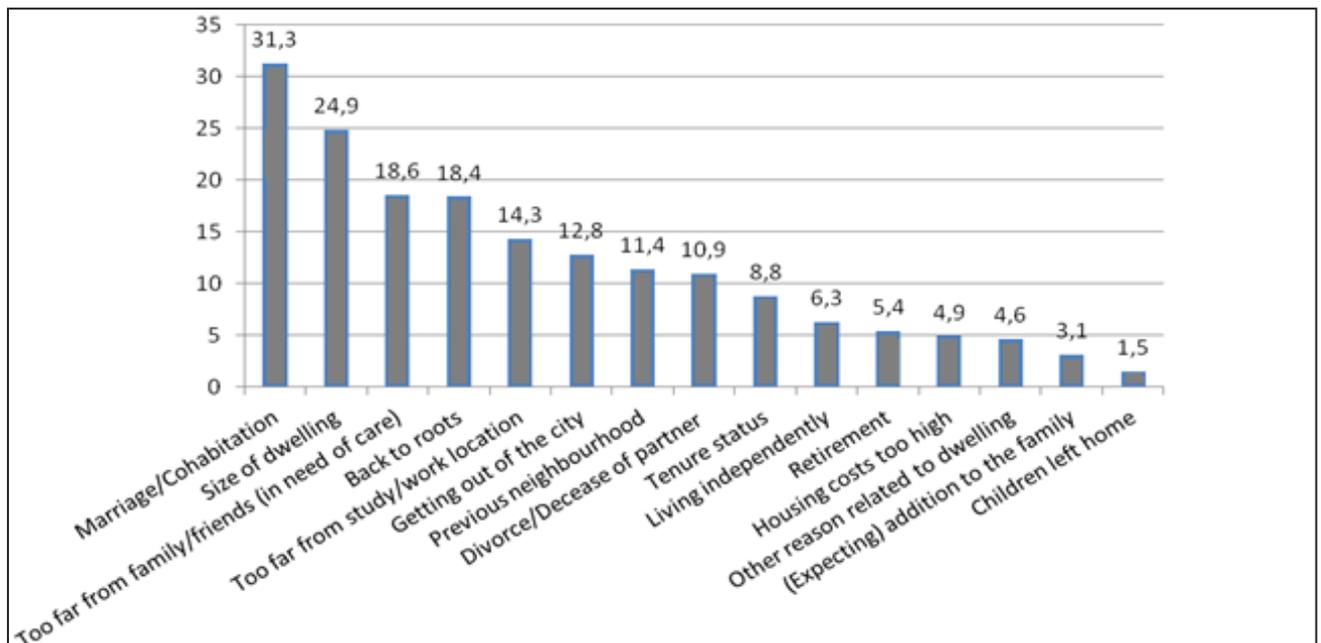
Figure 9. Motivations for moving (n= 383)

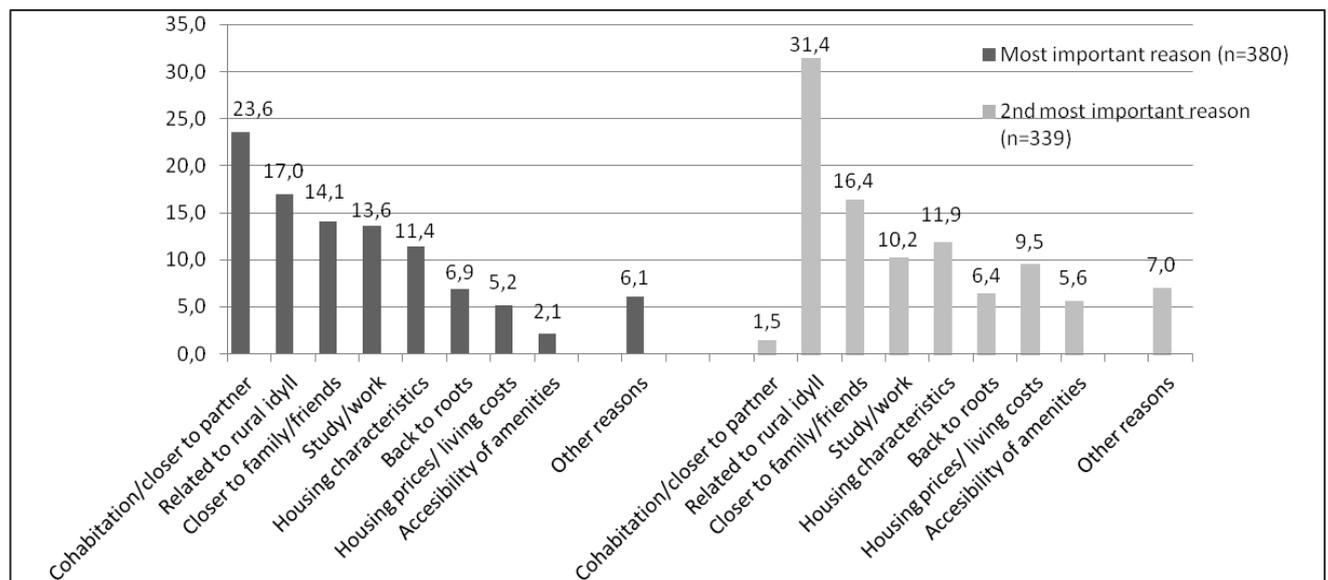## 4. Primary and secondary reason for moving to the Achterhoek

Figure 10. Primary and secondary reason for moving to the Achterhoek

4. Regressions

Variable	Housing costs			Amenities		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.	B.
Age in years (Ref. younger than 35)						
35-49	-,081	-,082	,003	-,237	-,223	-,243
50 - 64	-,335	-,340	,105	,528	,585	,766
65 and older	-,492	-,499	-,255	,135	,194	,047
Civil status (Ref. single)						
Couple	,198	,193	,310	-,470	-,423	-,424
Single parent	-19,205	-19,212	-19,104	,097	,168	,058
Couple with children	,135	,132	,372	,294	,316	,240
Other	,360	,365	,434	,082	,048	,141
Education (Ref. Low/middle) High	,371	,363	,340	,525	,607	,567
Income (Ref. < €1500)						
€1500 - €2500	1,111	1,111	1,204	-,309	-,317	-,553
€2500 - €3500	,943	,940	1,151	-,111	-,082	-,298
€3500 - €4500	,297	,298	,539	,170	,166	-,159
> €4500	,711	,706	,872	-,444	-,385	-,576
Previous living environment (Ref. urban)						
Village	,356	,360	,323	,052	,013	-,124
Countryside	,687	,687	,806	-18,490	-18,444	-18,388
Distance between previous and current residence	-,002	-,002	-,004	-,011 **	-,011 **	-,011 *
Place of origin (Ref. urban)						
Village	,264	,263	,340	,410	,414	,514
countryside	-,694	-,693	-,468	-,127	-,123	,062
Lived in the Achterhoek before (Ref. no)	-,009	-,013	-,060	-,127	-,062	-,010
Lived outside a city (Ref. no)	-,377	-,380	-,366	,236	,280	,455
Aware of depopultation (Ref. no)		,036	,370		-,335	-,273
Muncipality (Ref. Doetinchem)						
Oude IJsselstreek			,468			-19,031
Bronckhorst			-1,364 ***			-,693
Constant	-2,662***	-2,669***	-2,726*	-2,418**	-2,399**	-1,967*
N	323	323	323	323	323	323
Degrees of freedom	19	20	22	19	20	22
-2 Log likelihood	232,572	232,563	219,510***	145,987	145,532	139,798*
Nagelkerke R2	0,075	0,075	0,147	0,113	0,117	0,160

* p <0,10   ** p < 0,05   *** p < 0,01