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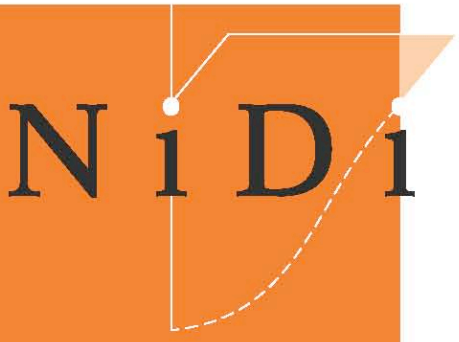

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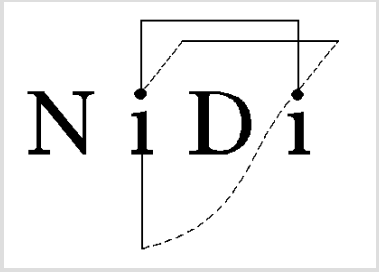

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Contents

Introduction

After the establishment of the European Economic Community in 1957 with the Treaty of Rome, trade in goods rapidly increased between the European Communities (EC). At the same time, however, limited mobility of workers was observed (). Incentives to migrate appeared only strong enough for residents of the poorer regions in the South to move to the richer countries in the North. One reason for the limited mobility of workers is that member states at that time rather invested in national protection instead of promoting intra-EC mobility. With the economic growth in the 1960s and early 1970s, trade unions were strengthened and governments could expend their national welfare states, making it less attractive for citizens to emigrate (Meyer, Bridgen, & Andow, 2013). It was only 14 years after the Treaty of Rome, in 1971, that the first law about the portability of statutory social security rights for mobile workers came in to force (Regulation (EEC), 1971)). This law secured an equal treatment of mobile workers and nationals in the member state in which they work. More recently, the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the subsequent enlargements of the European Union (EU) led to an increase of migration from Central and Eastern Europe to those of the older EU member states. Among others, these developments have resulted in intra-European migration currently making up a significant share of the migration flows to and from EU member states.

Intra-European mobility provides an interesting subject for migration research, as with the removal of many legal barriers the influence of other factors on migration decisions can be better understood. Yet most studies on migration decisions in the European context try to explain migration from mechanisms related to the labour market. From a theoretical perspective, migration is usually explained as a result of individuals' attempts to maximize (family) income and minimize risks (Palmer & Pytlikova, 2015; Stark & Taylor, 1989, 1991). In this logic, migrants are expected to move to countries with low levels of unemployment, and high wages. However, other factors are likely to play a role as well. Welfare systems, for instance, can offer direct and indirect forms of income, affect quality of life, widen the range of choices and provide insurance in the case of risk (Kurekova, 2013). Next to job opportunities and wage differentials, differences in social benefits between the sending and receiving country might therefore have an impact on the situation of an individual or household.

When studying the relationship between welfare benefits and migration decisions, two aspects are of particular importance. First, one should take into account characteristics of the welfare state in the country of origin as well as the country of destination. After all, from a theoretical perspective it can be expected that migrants move to the country were welfare benefits are highest compared to benefits in their the country of origin. Second, characteristics of the migrants themselves might play a role, an aspect which is often neglected in the academic literature. It is likely that the relevance of welfare benefits varies over the life course. People are generally a net burden on the state while they are in state-financed education, net-contributors while they are working, and once again a burden when they are retired or require very expensive medical services (Legrain, 2008). Next to employment status, age and family size are thus vital factors influencing welfare usage. It can be expected that welfare benefits are especially influential on migration aspirations and decisions when an individual anticipates making use of these benefits. Consequently, a generous welfare state might be less appealing to young, single and temporary labour migrants,

compared to migrants who migrate with family members and aim to permanently settle abroad.

Most of the existing literature on the relation between welfare benefits and migration focused on welfare in the receiving country, and did not pay special attention to aspects related to the life course. This working paper aims to respond to these gaps in the current literature. As a first step in investigating whether welfare benefits influence migration decisions, recent intra-European flows of migrants to and from the Netherlands are described, as well as migrants' characteristics. Although most EU member states produce annual statistics on immigration and emigration, information is not yet comparable across countries. Data on immigration and emigration are not always fully available and are not consistently measured across countries and time (see, e.g., (EMN, 2013)). By focusing on the inflows (immigration) and outflows (emigration) of migrants for a single country, consistent, detailed and recent data on migration can be used. The Netherlands forms an interesting case study, as for many years the country has been characterized by considerable immigration as well as emigration flows. Next to migration between the Netherlands and traditional migration countries such as Belgium, Germany and the UK, the subsequent enlargements of the European Union increased migration flows between the Netherlands and the new member states. In addition, the Netherlands provides a relevant context due to its unique welfare state. In the classical typology of Esping-Andersen (1990), the Netherlands is characterized as a 'hybrid' welfare state, roughly half-way between the social-democratic and the corporatist type (de Beer, Wildeboer Schut, & Vrooman, 2001). It is on the one hand characterized by the universal target group (most manifest in the national insurance schemes), generous benefit conditions and high costs of funding typical for the social-democratic system, and on the other hand by the low 'employment incentives', limitations on the labour supply of women and less productive workers, and the protection of the acquired standard of living typical for the corporatist countries. Our paper focuses on migration flows between 2003 and 2013. This period was chosen as it comprises the recent enlargements of the European Union in 2004 and 2007 as well as a time in which free mobility for citizens in the EU was promoted irrespective of their economic activity. In this study we are interested in the influence of these enlargements and free mobility options on migration patterns to the Netherlands. In addition, with the selected time span, consequences of the global economic crisis that started in 2008 on intra-European migration can be observed.

The working paper is divided in two parts, in line with the two main research questions we address. First, how did intra-EU migration to and from the Netherlands evolve over the years between 2003 and 2013? Hereby the migration flows of different countries of origin are compared to each other, as well as over time. We also describe the length of stay of immigrants from different countries of birth in the Netherlands. Second, what types of European migrants moved to and from the Netherlands between 2003 and 2013? Hereby we are interested in migrant characteristics related to the life course: age, gender and position within the household. Again, differences between countries as well as variations over time are taken into account. Finally, we will reflect on our findings, whereby the discussed developments in migration and migrant characteristics are connected to welfare arrangements in the country of origin and destination. If the reasoning that welfare benefits are important for migration decisions (see before) holds true, relatively large flows from less generous welfare states to the Netherlands should be found, and relatively small flows the other way around. Furthermore, we expect migrants from less generous welfare states to stay longer in the Netherlands than migrants from more generous welfare states. Finally, welfare benefits are expected to attract especially migrants who migrate with family members, or outside the working ages.

Background

For about 50 years, the European Union has engaged actively in promoting free movement of workers between its member states, and establishing a legal framework to facilitate such movement. The free movement of workers is warranted in Article 45 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (European Commission, 2015). EU citizens are entitled to look for a job in another member state; they can work abroad without a work permit and also reside there for that purpose. In addition, EU citizens are allowed to stay in the other member state even after employment has finished, and enjoy equal treatment with nationals in access to employment, working conditions and other social and tax advantages. The free movement applies to EU nationals who work in another EU country, but under certain conditions also to those who move to look for a job, EU nationals who return to their country of origin after having worked abroad, and family members of the previous mentioned groups. The free movement of workers holds in general terms as well for the countries in the European Economic Area, i.e., Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. Despite the possibilities for free movement between member states, only a small proportion of the EU population actually exercises this right: according to calculations of the Eurobarometer this was 4% of the EU population (EU27) in 2008 (Bonin et al., 2008). Nevertheless, the absolute number of EU citizens migrating to another EU country has increased over the years, as has the share of European migrants. The expansion of the European Union over the past decade seems to be an important driving force behind this growth.

With the increasing number of migrants, voices of critics who fear for sustainability of the welfare state have become louder. These critics warn that people from poorer EU countries can migrate freely to richer ones in the EU and claim welfare benefits there. This would pose a heavy economic burden on rich-country tax payers, and could undermine political support for the welfare state (Greve, 2014). Others however tend to be more optimistic. They argue that as long as migrants remain in the work force they will be net contributors to public finances. If economic growth increases due to migration, the welfare burden would even decline (Legrain, 2008). Clearly central to this debate is the question to what extent migration decisions really are influenced by the welfare state and related benefits.

To date, the 'welfare magnet hypothesis' – the expectation that more generous welfare states attract more migrants– has been tested in different studies and for diverse contexts. Most of the empirical evidence on the relationship between welfare benefits and migration/mobility comes from studies that examine the relationship between welfare programs and migration between the states of the USA (Giulietti, 2014). Yet results found for interstate migration in the United States do not necessarily generalize to the European context. After all, numbers of interstate mobility are relatively higher in the US compared to mobility within the European Union (Giulietti & Wahba, 2012). In addition, internal migration within the US takes place within one larger nation state, whereas intra-European migration involves crossing national borders. As a result, in the US migration policy and welfare eligibility criteria are largely set and enforced at the federal level, whereas there is not (yet) a binding common policy for access to welfare benefits in the European Union. Restrictions to access and transferability of benefits thus possibly affect European migrants more than their American counterparts. In addition, language barriers might hinder European migrants in their attempts to compare welfare benefits between countries. Europe thus provides an alternative set of circumstances in which to study the welfare magnet hypothesis.

The empirical analysis of De Giorgi & Pellizzari (2009) showed that migrants into the pre-enlargement EU choose their destination -among other considerations- on the basis of the generosity of welfare. Migrants were more likely to move into countries with more generous welfare benefits. Giulietti (2014) on the other hand concludes that when focusing on particular programs such as unemployment benefits, the evidence of a welfare magnet in European countries is weak or non-existent. Instead, factors such as income, unemployment rates (as an indicator for job opportunities), and the presence of previous migrants in the receiving country appear to be the major determinants of immigration flows. These studies illustrate that the empirical evidence on the relation between migration and welfare is inconclusive. Several studies have found no evidence that welfare attracts immigrants (e.g., (Giulietti, Guzi, Kahanec, & Zimmermann, 2013; Josifidis, Supic, Pucar, & Srdic, 2014), whereas others document the existence of a welfare magnet effect – albeit the economic impact is often moderate (e.g., (De Giorgi & Pellizzari, 2009; Pedersen, Pytlikova, & Smith, 2008). With this paper we aim to bring two innovations to the debate. First we not only focus on the country of destination but include the characteristics of the country of origin as a crucial aspect for studying the role of welfare. Second we add factors related to migrants' life course to the debate, and study these factors for the Dutch context.

Data & Methods

Data

The descriptive overview we present in this working paper on migration flows to and from the Netherlands, as well as their characteristics, is based on data from Statistics Netherlands (2014). In the Netherlands, residents are obliged to register with the municipality in which they live. Registration takes place on the basis of either a Dutch birth certificate or a declaration of stay or residence (Van der Erf, Heering, & Spaan, 2006). The data used for this study are based on these population registers, that include information on date of birth, country of birth, gender, address, household composition, immigration and emigration. We will focus on data for the period between 2003 and 2013, as this 10 year-period involves subsequent European enlargements, potentially altering intra-EU dynamics.

Measures

In the first part of the paper we will look at the absolute migration numbers to and from the Netherlands between 2003 and 2013. As we only focus on the Dutch case, migration is defined the same way throughout all figures. *Immigration* is thereby defined as the settlement of persons from a foreign country in the Netherlands. *Emigration* is defined as the departure of persons (Dutch nationals as well as foreigners) from the Netherlands to a foreign country. Nevertheless, it should be remarked that the Dutch statistics also have their pitfalls. To be included in Dutch register data, immigrants need to be enrolled in the municipal registers. However, persons are only enrolled when their expected stay in the Netherlands surpasses a minimum of four months. Furthermore, emigrants are only unsubscribed from the municipal registers when they expect to stay abroad for at least eight months. Consequently, unregistered migration, as well as short term or circular migration are not included in these definitions, although such forms might be increasingly important in the European context (e.g. short-term seasonal workers, international students, retirement migrants). However, the figures correct for unreported migration by administrative corrections that take into account registration or deregistration from the municipal registers for other reasons than birth, death, settlement, departure or changes in municipal boundaries, as such changes are likely the result from international migration. In order to calculate *net migration rates*, the number of emigrants is subtracted from the number of immigrants. To compute the *return rate* of immigrants by country of birth, information on the duration of stay of immigrants is used. Immigrants' duration of stay is calculated as the total number of years that have passed since the date of settlement at January 1st of a respective year.

Next to the absolute and net migration inflows and outflows, we separately investigate the development of migration flows over time for the largest European migrant groups. With this aim in mind, we selected the top 10 EU countries with the largest numbers of migrants for any of the years between 2003 and 2013. For immigration the main countries of origin were Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Romania and the UK. For emigration, the main countries of destination were Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Sweden and the UK. Together this resulted in a selection of 13 countries. The analyses are based on migrants' country of birth. For some migrants the country of birth is also the

country of residence directly before moving to the Netherlands or elsewhere. However, this does not hold true for all migrants, as some migrants move from one foreign country to another. Interestingly, this appeared to occur more often for some countries of birth (e.g., Belgium) than for others (e.g., Bulgaria). To gain insight in this distribution, we will present the shares of immigrants born outside the country of origin by country of birth. In addition, we will discuss the country of birth of emigrants grouped by country of destination, to estimate the share of return migrants for each of these countries.

In the second part of the paper we will investigate some life course related characteristics of migrants. We will present data on the age and gender distribution and the household type at the time of migration, again grouping migrants by their country of birth. To uncover possible variation in the characteristics within countries over time, we will start each section with describing such developments. Subsequently, the distributions for age, gender and household are discussed in more detail for the 13 selected countries. For the *age and gender distribution* of migrants the period 2003-2013 is investigated. For the *household type* of migrants the observed timeframe is 2003-2009, as for the years after 2009 these data were no longer collected. In this paper, the household type of migrants concerns the situation at the time of migration. Persons are considered to migrate together when they migrate simultaneously with members belonging to the same family from the same address. A person migrates as 'single' if no other member of the same family moves simultaneously from the same address. Cohabiting couples cannot be distinguished; they are treated as singles in the data. Persons in a married couple household are migrants who move with their husband or wife, or children with their married parents. Persons in a single parent household with the father are males who migrate with their children, or children migrating with their father; persons in a single parent household with the mother are females migrating with their children, or children migrating with their mother. Finally, persons in a cohabiting couple household are migrants who move with their unmarried partner and at least one common child, migrants who move in a registered partnership, possibly with children, and children moving with their unmarried parents. Due to fluctuations in the distributions over time, it is deemed undesirable to select a single year to describe migrants' characteristics. Data is therefore presented grouping all years in the selected timeframe.

Migration Patterns

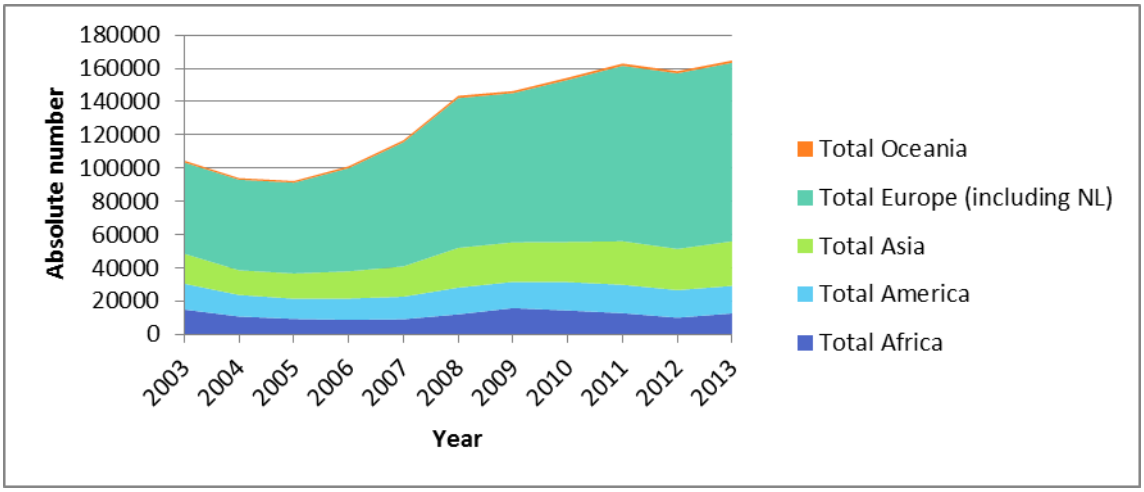
Inflows

Development of Total Immigration to the Netherlands

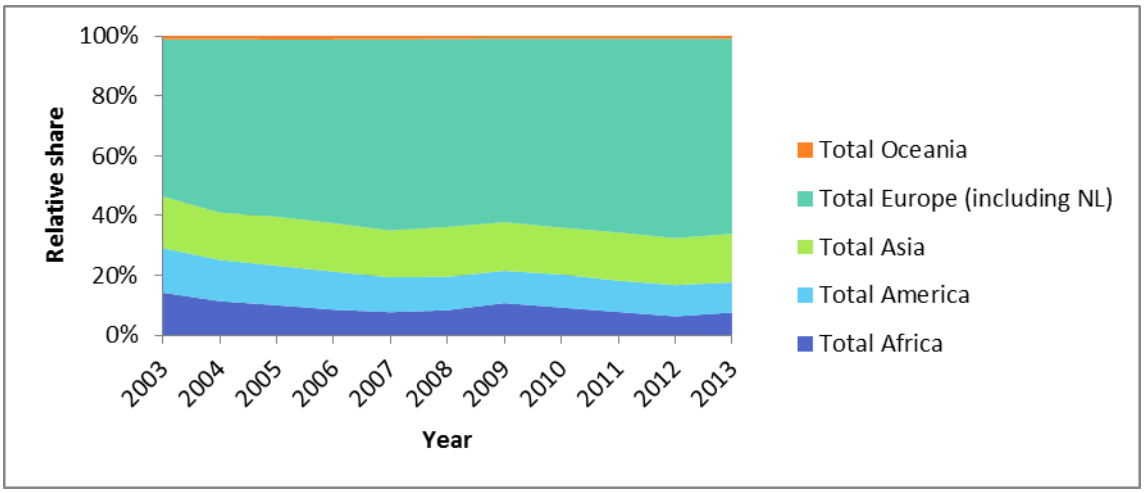
Figure 1 provides an overview of the absolute numbers of immigration (a) and the share of different regional origins in the total immigrant flow (b). Figure 1a clearly shows that the absolute number of immigrants slightly decreased between 2003 and 2005, from 104,514 to 92,297. However, after 2005, the number of immigrants almost doubled, reaching 164,772 in 2013. The fastest growth was observed between 2005 and 2008. After 2008, the growth somewhat stagnated, but continued after 2009. In 2012 a small decline can be observed. Figure 1b, on its turn, reveals that migration from European countries (including return migration from Dutch emigrants) made up the largest share over the entire period studied. Furthermore, the share of European migrants on the total immigration volume increased from 53% in 2003 to 65% in 2013. In contrast, the share of Asian, American, African and Oceanian immigrants were much smaller, constituting respectively 16%, 10%, 8% and 1% of the total migration inflows in 2013.

Figure 1. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: Immigration by region of origin (country of birth)

a. Absolute number



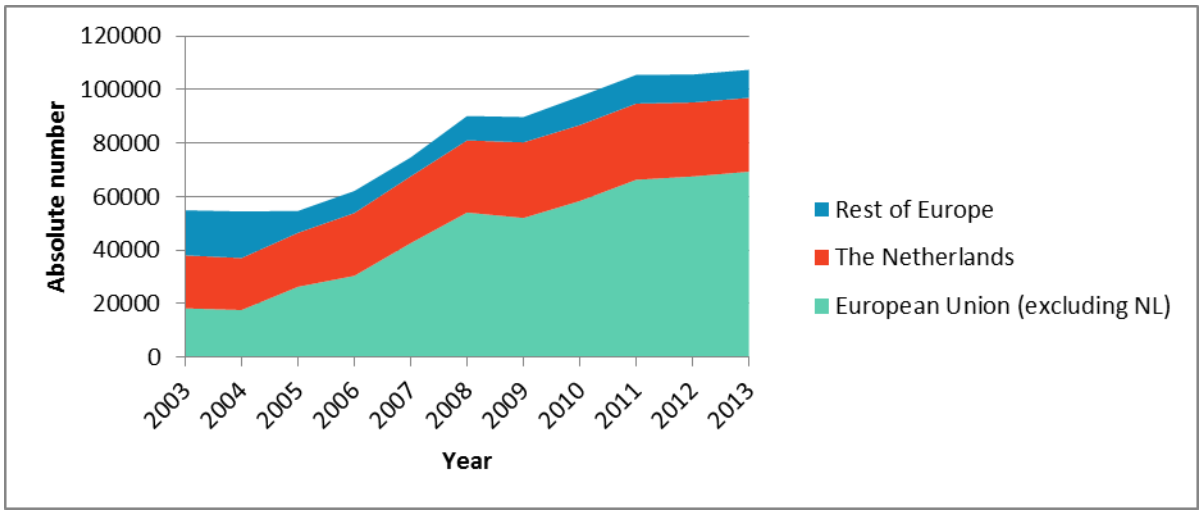
b. Relative share in total immigration by region of origin (country of birth)



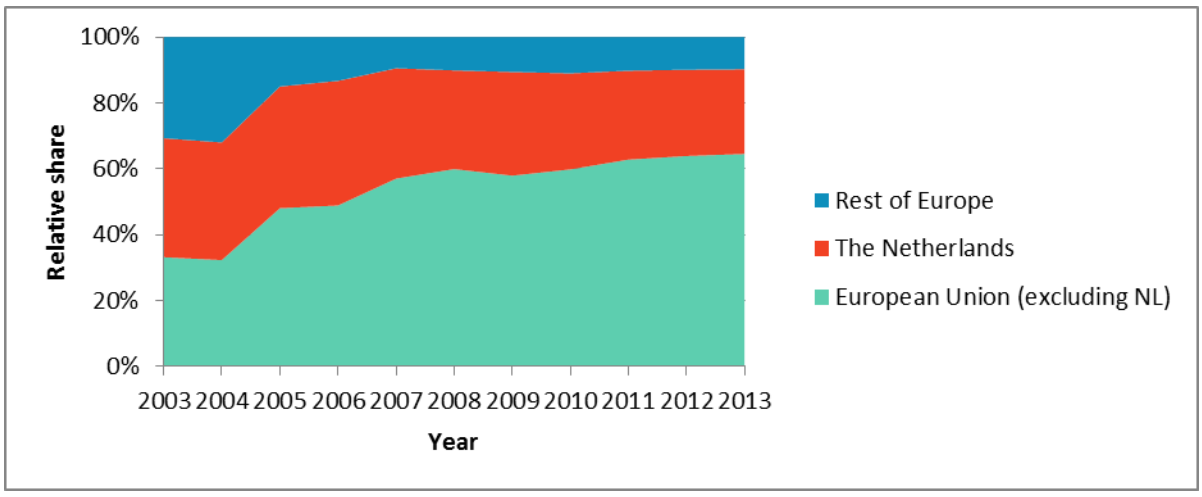
Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

In figure 2, the absolute numbers of European immigration (a) and the share of different regional origins in the total European immigrant flow (b) are presented. Between 2003 and 2013, the share of immigrants born in one of the EU member states on total European immigration increased from 33% to 65%. This increase is likely the result of the EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007, whereby the number of EU member states increased from 15 to 27. Along with this increase, the share of immigrants born in non-EU European countries decreased, from 31% in 2003 to 10% in 2013. In the same time span the share of Dutch return migrants declined from 36% to 26%.

Figure 2. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: European immigration by region of origin (country of birth)
a. Absolute number



b. Relative share in total immigration by region of origin (country of birth)



Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

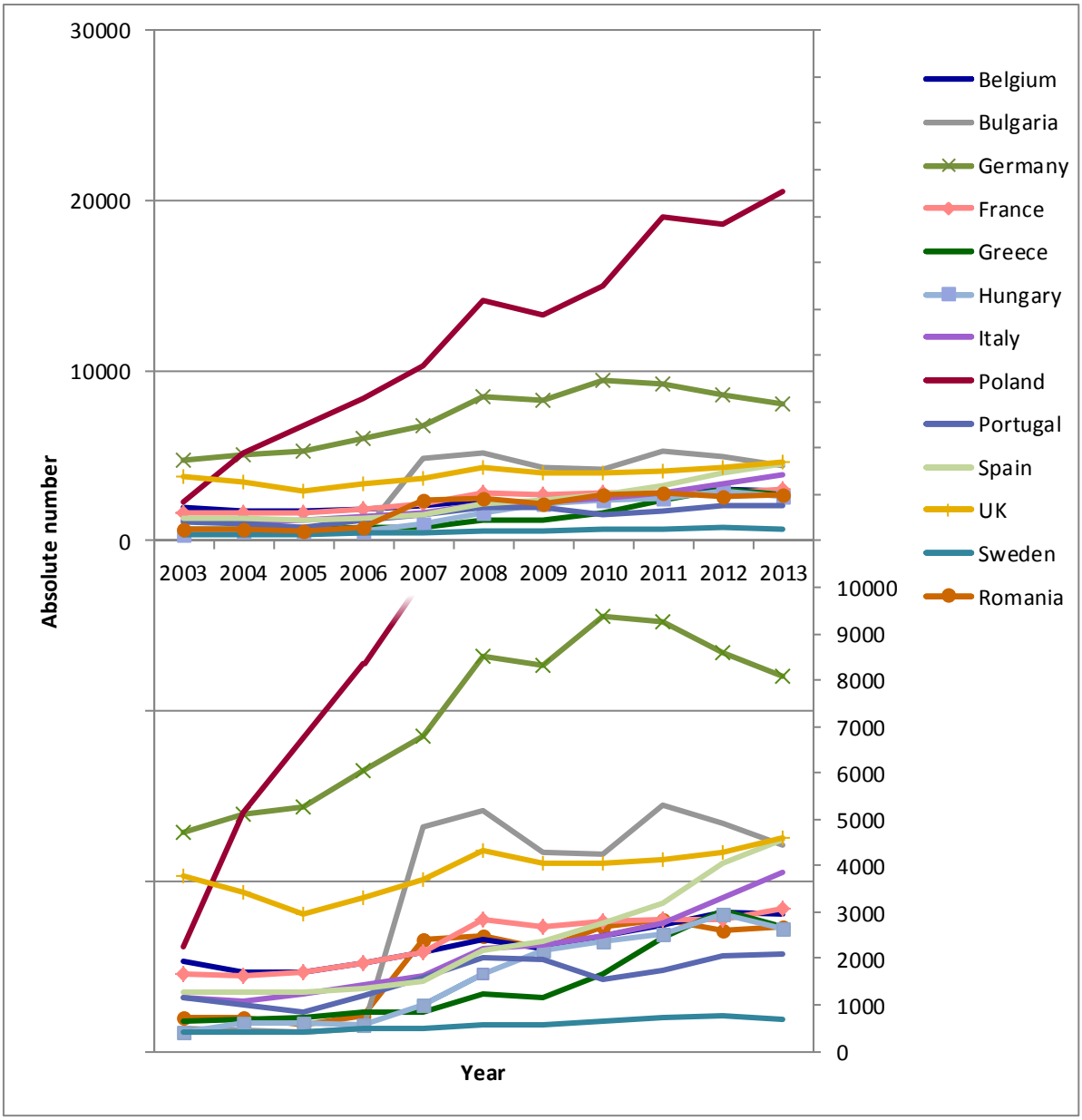
Development of Immigration to the Netherlands by Country of Birth

The development of immigration flows to the Netherlands between 2003 and 2013 for migrants born in the 13 selected countries is presented in figure 3. As can be observed, for all countries of birth the number of immigrants to the Netherlands was higher in 2013 compared to 2003. The countries with the largest increases were Poland, Bulgaria and Germany. In 2003, most immigrants to the Netherlands were born in Germany, followed by immigrants born in the UK and Poland. This order changed in 2004, with Polish immigrants becoming the largest group. Furthermore, the number of immigrants born in Bulgaria passed that of the UK in 2007. In a similar vein, it can be observed that – albeit not as high in absolute numbers in comparison with Bulgaria – migration from Romania also notably increased in 2007. These patterns might reflect an impact of subsequent European enlargements on migration flows towards the Netherlands. In sum, from 2007 onwards, the three largest groups of immigrants to the Netherlands were born in Poland, Germany and Bulgaria. The numbers of immigrants from the remaining countries were somewhat lower, and quite close to each other (see the lower part of figure 3).

The increase in the number of immigrants born in *Poland*, from 2,234 in 2003 to 20,532 in 2013, is most noticeable. This upward trend was only interrupted twice: in 2009, right after the start of the economic crisis, and once more in 2012. Immediately after entering the European Union in 2004, Polish migration became the main migratory inflow in the Netherlands, and the difference with other migration flows only grew bigger in the following decade. As the Polish migration flow possibly distorts the interpretation of the migration flows from other countries, we present the immigration patterns of the other countries in the lower part of figure 3. Four main migration patterns can be discerned for these countries. First, migration from new member states of the European Union overall increased. From the ten countries that joined the European Union in 2004, only the migration flows from Poland and Hungary are represented in the main migration flows towards the Netherlands. In contrast to migration from Poland, however, the number of *Hungarian* immigrants to the Netherlands did remain very stable until 2006. After this year, the number of Hungarian immigrants steadily increased, from 586 in 2006 to 2,646 in 2013. The accession of Bulgaria and Romania into the EU in 2007, on their turn resulted in a similar pattern as Polish migration. A steep increase in the number of Bulgarian and Romanian immigrants to the Netherlands can be observed after this enlargements. Migration from *Romania* increased from 777 in 2006 to 2,412 in 2007; from *Bulgaria* from 473 in 2006 to 4,840 in 2007. After this initial growth, the number of immigrants from Romania remained largely stable in the following years, a small decrease in 2009 aside. For Bulgaria, the number of immigrant slightly increased to 5,174 in 2008. Thereafter, alternately decreases and increases can be observed, with decreases in 2009-2010 and 2013, and a peak in 2011. Second, migration from most of the EU-15 member states increased until 2006-2007, and remained remarkably stable or decreased in the period thereafter. The largest influx of EU15-migrants consists of migrants born in *Germany*. The number of German immigrants almost doubled from 4,719 in 2003 to 9,391 in 2010, with only a small decrease in 2009. After 2010, the number of German immigrants somewhat decreased, reaching a number of 8,077 in 2013. Between 2003 and 2013, the number of *French* immigrants increased slowly but steadily, from 1,677 to 3,059. The growth was fastest in 2008, but stagnated in 2004 and 2009. Approximately the same pattern can be observed for immigrants born in *Belgium*, who increased in number from 1,952 in 2003 to 2,970 in 2013. Third, migration from Southern European countries increased in recent years. The

number of immigrants from *Greece* increased from 635 in 2003 to 2,687 in 2013. The fastest growth was observed between 2009 and 2012. *Spain* and *Italy* started off with similar levels of immigration in 2003: 1,280 for Spain and 1,175 for Italy. Between 2003 and 2009 the number of immigrants born in these countries increased at practically the same rate. After 2009, the number of immigrants increased somewhat faster for Spain, resulting in a higher number of immigrants born in Spain (4,558) than those born in Italy (3,855) in 2013. Interestingly, the Portuguese migration patterns follows a different dynamics compared to other Southern European countries. The main growth of Portuguese immigration can be observed before the crisis, between 2005 and 2008, when the number of *Portuguese* immigrants increased from 830 to 2,002. After 2008 the growth stagnated, and in 2010 the immigration number declined to 1,530. However, an upward trend can be observed again since 2010, with 2,079 immigrants in 2013. Finally, for some countries, a remarkable stable trend over the ten years studied can be observed. This is the case for the UK and Sweden. For migration from the *UK*, a small increase in migration from 3,779 in 2003 to 4,593 in 2013 can be detected. With 2,948 UK immigrants, a low point was reached in 2005. Yet in the years to follow the immigration number soon increased again to the level observed in 2003, and more recently even somewhat higher. The number of *Swedish*-born immigrants was rather stable between 2003 and 2013, with numbers of immigrants between 414 and 683.

Figure 3. The Netherlands, 2003-2013. Immigration by country of birth[1]



[1] Based on the migrant inflow in the respective years

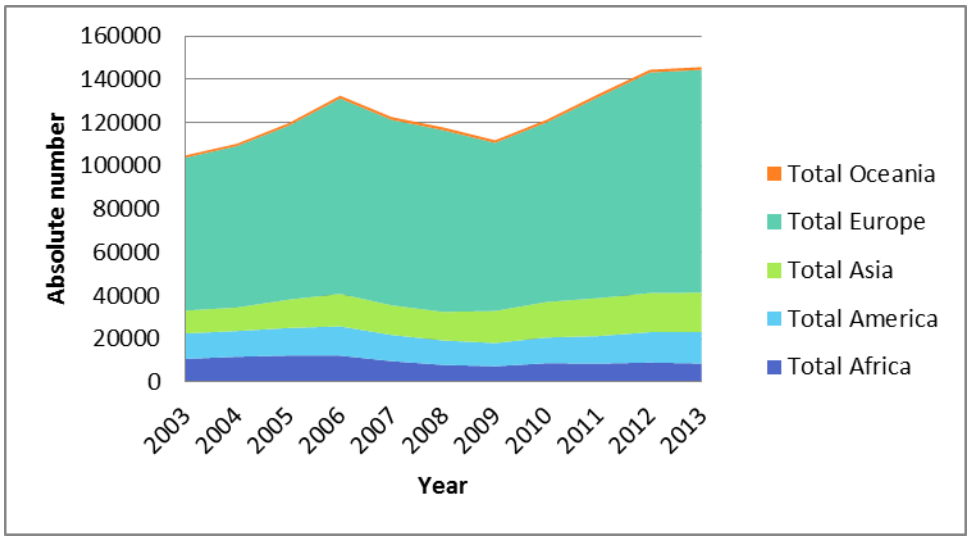
Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

Outflows

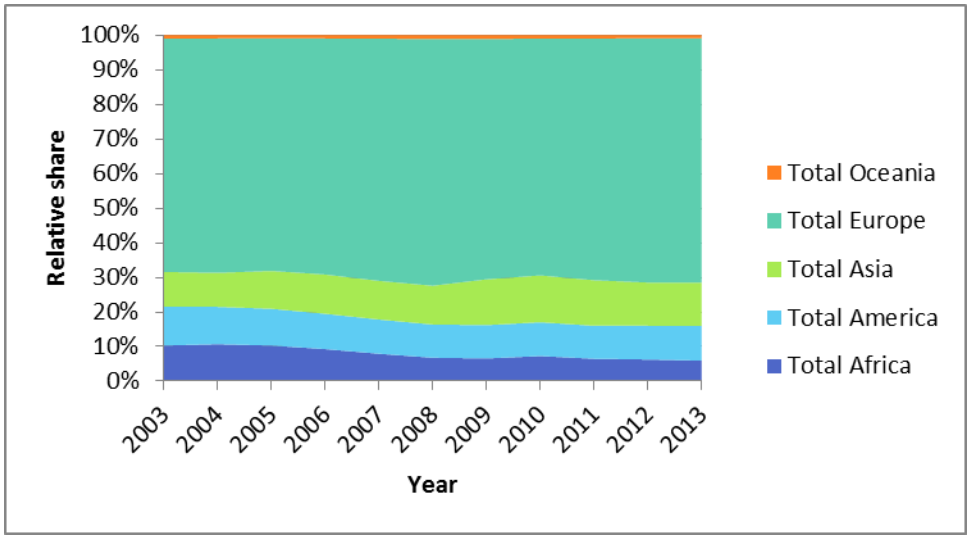
Development of Total Emigration to the Netherlands

In figure 4, the absolute number of emigrants (figure 4a) and the share of different regional origins in the total emigration flow (figure 4b) are presented. The absolute number of emigrants to the Netherlands increased from 104,831 in 2003 to 119,725 in 2005. After 2005, however, the number of emigrants decreased, resulting in emigration levels in 2009 that were almost as low as in 2003. After 2009, the number of emigrants increased to 145,669 in 2013, with a stagnation of growth after 2012. As figure 4b shows, the share of the different regional origins in the total emigrant flow are comparable over the years under study. With 71% in 2013, European migration made up the largest share. Asian, American, African and Oceanian emigrants respectively made up 12%, 10%, 6% and 1% of the total emigrant flow in 2013.

Figure 4. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: Emigration by region of origin (country of birth)
a. Absolute number



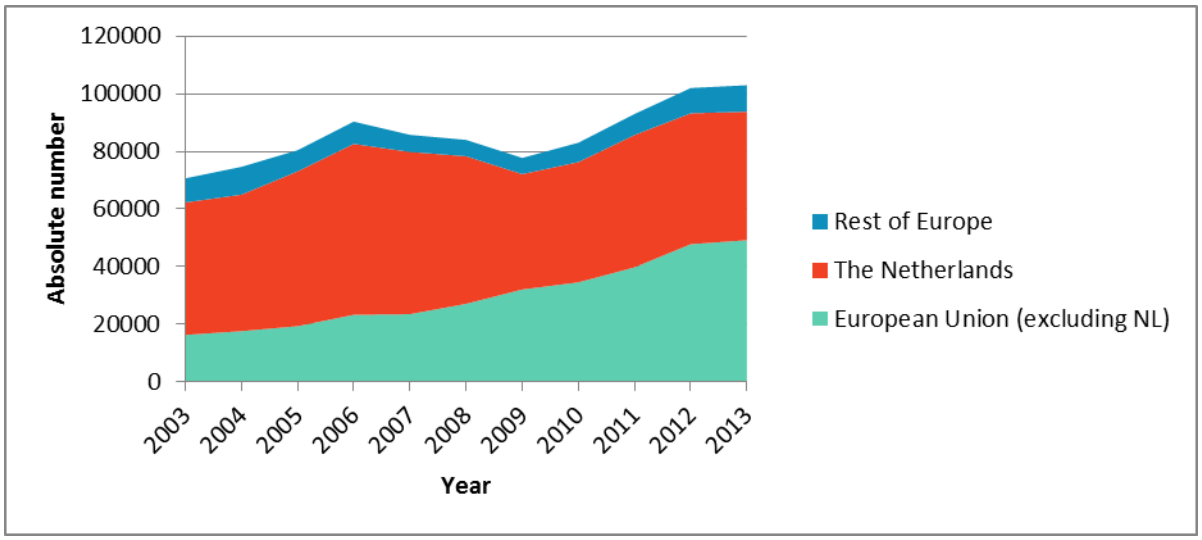
b. Relative share in total emigration by region of origin (country of birth)



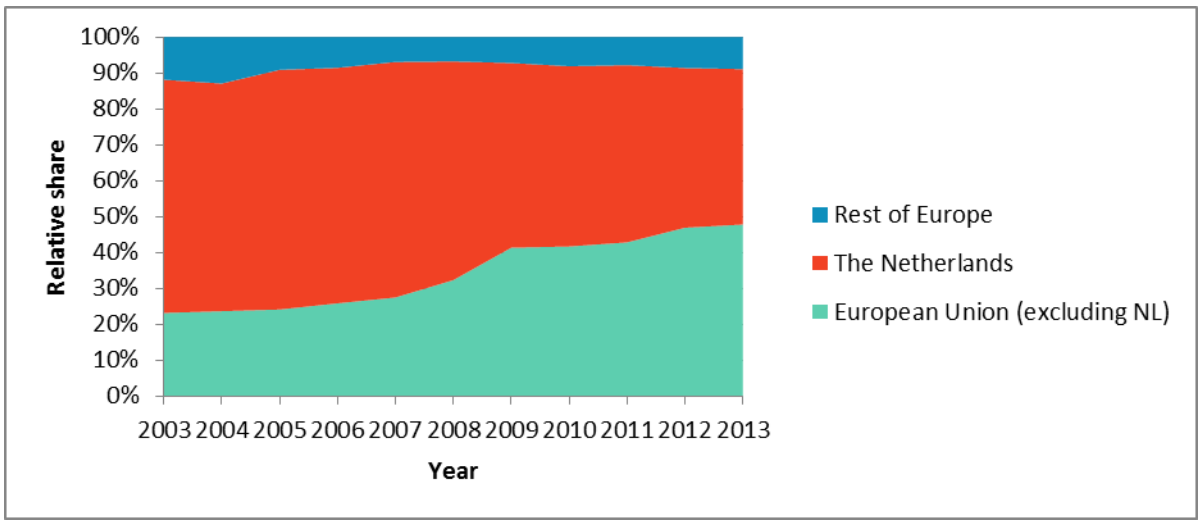
Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

Figure 5 presents an overview of the absolute numbers of European emigration (figure 5a) and the share of different regional origins in the total European emigrant flow (figure 5b). Logically, Dutch emigrants make up the largest share of the total European emigrant flow, although their relative share is significantly decreasing in recent years, from 65% of the total share of European emigrants in 2003 to 43% in 2013 (figure 5b). This evolution mainly results from a decline in the number of Dutch emigrants after 2006 (figure 5a) These developments potentially point to an effect of the economic crisis as well, inducing increasing return migration from EU citizens to other destinations (including their country of origin). In line with this reasoning, figure 5b reveals that the share of emigrants born in a European Union country increased from 23% to 48% between 2003 and 2013. In addition, this relative increase in European migrants among emigrants from the Netherlands might also reflect subsequent EU enlargements. The share of emigrants born outside the EU, in contrast, experienced a slight decrease, from 12% in 2003 to 9% in 2013.

Figure 5. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: European emigration by region of origin (country of birth)
a. Absolute number



b. Relative share in total emigration by region of origin (country of birth)



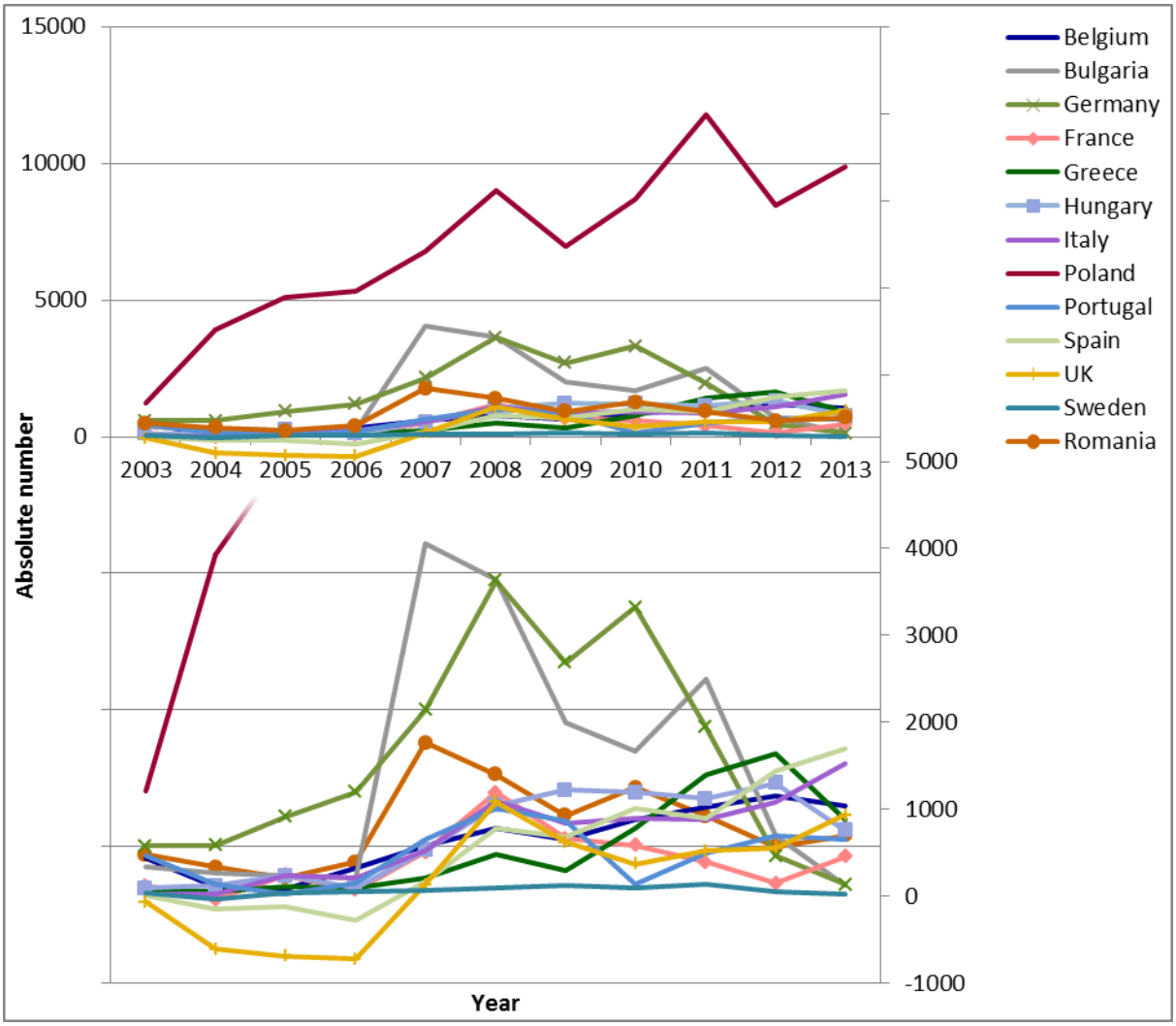
Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

Development of Emigration to the Netherlands by Country of Birth

In figure 6, flows of emigrants leaving the Netherlands are displayed between 2003 and 2013 for the 13 selected countries of birth. For all countries except the UK, the number of emigrants increased between 2003 and 2013. The number of emigrants increased the most for Poland, Bulgaria and Germany. Prior to 2007, emigrants born in Germany made up the largest group, followed by the UK and, at a much lower level, France. In 2005, Poland entered the top 3 and outnumbered British emigrants by 2007, as well as those born in Germany by 2008. Since 2012, the group of Bulgarian emigrants have outpaced the British emigrants as well. The number of emigrants born in the remaining countries was overall much lower. For a better view of the countries with lower emigration numbers, the bottom part of figure 6 zooms in on these countries.

Considering the EU-member states that joined after 2004, the number of emigrants born in *Poland* rapidly increased after entering the EU in 2004, from 1,020 in 2003 to 10,662 in 2013. The growth stagnated in 2007, and again in 2010. The fastest increase compared to the year before was observed in 2012. Although *Hungary* entered the EU as well in 2004, the number of emigrants did not increase much until 2008. Between 2007 and 2013, the number of emigrants born in Hungary steadily increased from 462 to 1,962. Since *Bulgaria* entered the EU the number of Bulgarian emigrants has strongly increased, from 257 in 2006 to 4,300 in 2013. The steepest increases were observed in the periods 2006-2009, and 2011-2012. After 2012 the increase of the number of emigrants levelled off. Also for *Romania* the number of emigrants continuously increased after entering the European Union, from 383 in 2006 to 1,927 in 2013. Considering the EU15 member states, *Germany* is characterized by a high number of emigrants in all years between 2003 and 2013. The already high level of emigrants in 2003, 4,142, increased even further in the years to follow, up to 7,960 in 2013. The fastest growth occurred in 2011. The number of emigrants born in the *UK* did not change much between over the whole period under study, from 3,842 in 2003 to 3,658 in 2013. The largest change was observed between 2006 and 2008, when the number decreased from 4,028 to 3,236. In the period under study the number of *French*-born emigrants increased from 1,551 to 2,600. In 2005 a small decrease was observed, directly followed by an increase in the emigration number the year after. Between 2007 and 2008, the number of emigrants remained stable. After 2008 the number increased, to decrease again a bit after 2012. The number of emigrants born in *Belgium* was stable between 2003 and 2013, and was situated between 1,512 and 1,927. Also the number of *Swedish* emigrants remained relatively stable, with a slight increase from 371 in 2003 to 662 in 2013. Furthermore, emigration from the Netherlands evolved comparably for *Spain* and *Italy*. The number of emigrants slightly fluctuated over the years, but overall increased between 2003 and 2013. The number of Spanish emigrants was somewhat higher in all years, and more than doubled from 1,268 to 2,855. The number of Italian emigrants doubled from 1,150 to 2,329. The number of emigrants born in *Portugal* also significantly increased from 693 to 1,431 in the observed period. The fastest increases occurred in 2006 and 2010. Finally, the number of *Greek* emigrants more than tripled, from 554 in 2003 to 1,799 in 2013. Most of this change took place from 2011 onwards.

Figure 6. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: Emigration by country of birth [1]



[1] Based on the outflow in the respective years

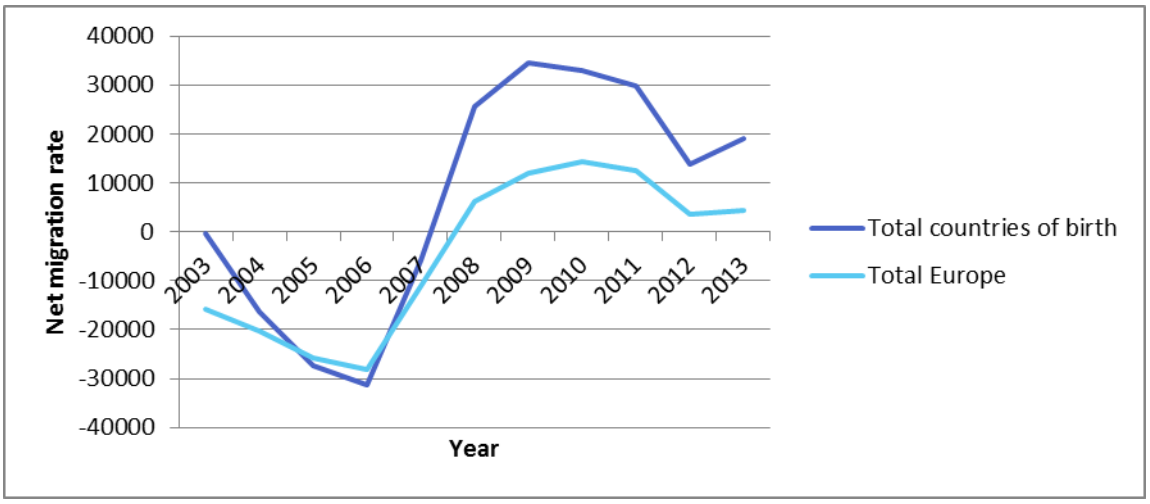
Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

Net migration

Development in Net Migration by Country of Birth

In figure 7, net migration to the Netherlands is presented. Values lower than zero in the period 2003-2007 indicate that in these years the number of migrants entering the Netherlands was lower than the number of migrants leaving. The Dutch net migration rate decreased after 2003 and reached its lowest point in 2006. After 2006, net immigration can be observed, with a migration surplus in 2007 and the following years. After a peak in 2009, the migration surplus somewhat decreased again. Net migration rates of European migrants in the Netherlands approximately follow the same pattern.

Figure 7. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: Net migration.



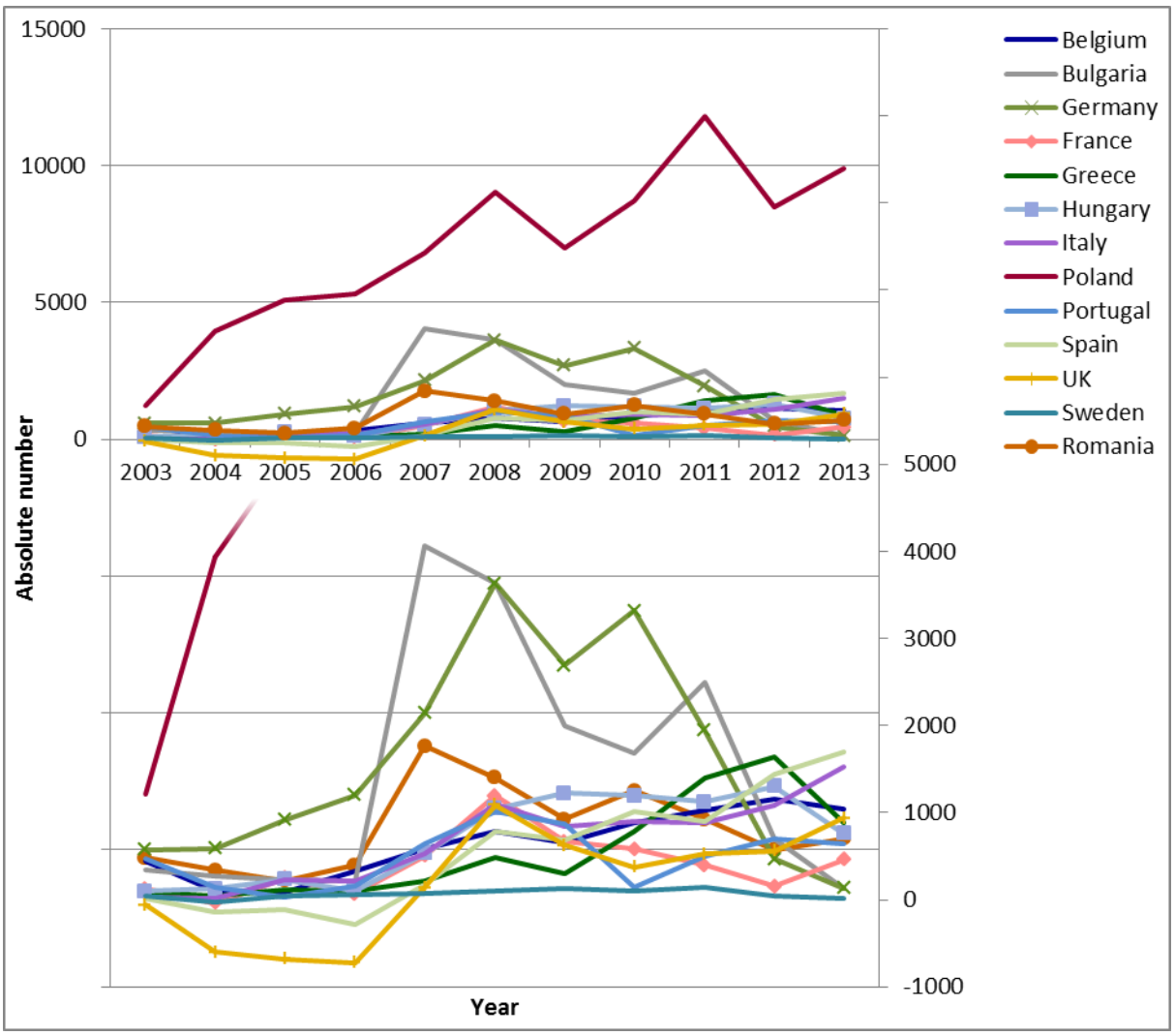
Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

In figure 8, net migration between 2003 and 2013 is displayed for the selection of 13 countries. For Bulgaria, Germany and Sweden, net migration was lower in 2013 compared to 2003. As for these countries both the immigration and emigration number increased within this time frame, we can conclude that the number of emigrants has increased at a higher rate than the number of immigrants in this time period. For all other countries, the net migration increased since 2003, indicating that the number of immigrants has increased faster than the number of emigrants. The only exception is the UK, for which the increasing net migration can also be partly explained by a decrease in the number of emigrants. The largest increases in the immigration and emigration numbers occurred for Poland, Bulgaria and Germany. The largest change in net migration since 2003 was observed for Poland, Spain and Italy. Over the whole period under study the net migration is clearly the highest for Poland. The net migration was much lower for all other countries under study, although between 2006 and 2012 the numbers were relatively high for Germany and Bulgaria as well. For the remaining countries the net migration was closer to zero between 2003 and 2013, with values lower than zero for Sweden, Spain and the UK prior to 2007.

Between 2003 and 2013, the migration surplus was the largest for *Poland*. Peaks are observed in 2008 (9,023) and 2011 (11,782); low points are observed in 2009 (6,974) and 2012 (8,467). For *Hungary* the net migration increased since 2006, from 103 to 1,299 in 2012. In 2013, the net migration was somewhat lower than the years before (759). A steep increase in the net

migration is observed for *Bulgaria* between 2006 (216) and 2007 (4,056). After 2007 the net migration of Bulgaria decreased again, to 1,676 in 2010. In 2011 the net migration increased again to 2,492, but after this year the net migration has been decreasing, approaching zero in 2013. Between 2006 and 2007, the net migration of *Romania* increased rapidly, from 394 to 1,767. After 2007 the net migration decreased again to 927 in 2009. In 2010 the net migration increased again somewhat to 1,254. Between 2010 and 2012 the net migration of Romania has been decreasing, but in 2013 it was somewhat higher than the year before. For *Germany*, the net migration increased from 577 in 2003 to 3,630 in 2008. In 2009 the net migration decreased to 2,688, to increase again in 2010 to 3,321. From 2010 onwards, the net migration from Germany however has been decreasing, approximating zero (134) in 2013. In the period 2003-2006, the net migration was negative for the *UK*, meaning that more migrants born in the UK left the Netherlands compared to those who enter the country. After 2006, the net migration increased from -722 to 1,090 in 2008. Since then, the net migration decreased to 562 in 2012, to increase again somewhat in 2013. For *Belgium* the net migration largely increased between 2005 and 2013, from 83 to 1043. Between 2004 and 2009 the net migration increased for *France*, from -35 to 1,198, yet after 2008, the net migration declined to 153 in 2012. In 2013 the net migration increased again somewhat, to 459. For *Sweden*, approximately as many migrants entered the Netherlands between 2003 and 2013 as the number that left, which is illustrated by a net migration rate close to zero in any of the years. Between 2005 and 2008, *Portugal* experienced an increase in the net migration from 32 to 1,015. Between 2008 and 2010 the net migration decreased again to 137, but after 2010 the net migration has been increasing, to 648 in 2013. The net migration of *Greece* was close to zero between 2003 and 2006, but increased up to 1,645 in 2012. In 2013 the net migration was with a level of 888 lower again. For *Spain* and *Italy* the net migration increased between 2003 and 2013: for Spain from 12 to 1,703, and for Italy from 25 to 1,526. The steepest increase was observed between 2006 and 2008.

Figure 8. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: Net Migration by country of birth[1]



[1] Based on migrant in- and outflows in the respective years

Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

Duration of stay

Average Length of Stay by Country of Birth

Figure 9 illustrates the average length of stay of migrants entering the Netherlands in 2003, 2008 and 2013 by country of birth. The lines present developments in the share of migrants still living in the Netherlands over the first ten years after migration. The data indicate that the average length of stay of migrants varies between countries as well as over time. Variations over time are most noticeable for Bulgaria and Romania. In 2003, 60% of the migrants born in Bulgaria still lived in the Netherlands 6 years after migration. However, in 2008, 40% of the Bulgarian migrants left within 3 years after entrance, and in 2013 this percentage was already reached after just one year. Also for Romania, 60% of the migrants migrating to the Netherlands in 2003 still lived in the Netherlands 6 years after entrance. In 2008, 40% of the migrants left within the first 3 years, and of the migrants entering in 2013 more than 30% left within the first year. This decrease in the length of stay is likely the result of the enlargement of the European Union, which facilitated back and forth movements for Romanian and Bulgarian migrants. For the other countries of birth, changes over time where more gradually. Of the migrants born in Belgium and Poland, 40% left within 4 years after entering the Netherlands. The same share of the Portuguese migrants left within the first 3 years. Of the migrants born in Germany, France and the UK, 40% migrated again within 2,5 years. For Greece, Hungary, Spain and Italy, 40% of the migrants left after 2 years. Swedish migrants re-migrated fastest, with 40% leaving within 1,5 years after arrival.

Differences between countries are also visible when looking at the shares of migrants still living in the Netherlands ten years after arrival. 46% of the Poles who entered in 2003 was still living in the Netherlands ten years after migration. Of the Belgian migrants who arrived in 2003 this was 43%. 35% of the German migrants entering in 2003 still lived in the Netherlands in 2013, 32% of the Portuguese, 29% of the Hungarian, 28% of the Italian, 27% of the Greek, 25% of the Spanish and British migrants, and 24% of the French migrants. The highest return rate was observed for the Swedish migrants, of whom only 22% of the ones entering in 2003 was still living in the Netherlands ten years later. This percentage probably will even be lower for Swedish migrants entering in 2008 and in 2013, considering the increase in the return rate for the first years after migration. Of the Bulgarian migrants entering in 2003, 51% was still living in the Netherlands after ten years. However, it can be expected that this percentage will be much lower for the migrants who entered in 2013. The same can be said for migrants born in Romania; 50% of the ones entering in 2003 still lived in the Netherlands after ten years.

Decision to Stay by Age Category

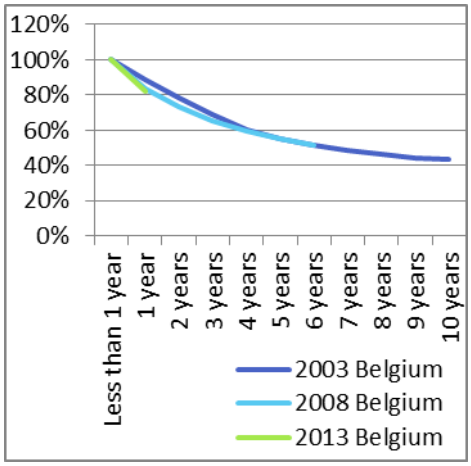
Apart from the length of stay, we would like to explore for each country of birth *which* migrants are most likely to return. Figure 10 shows the proportion of migrants who entered the Netherlands in 2008 and still lived there five years later, grouped by age at migration. For migrants who according to this figure do not live in the Netherlands anymore we cannot tell whether this is the case because they migrated again or because they died. As we will see later, the number of emigrants in high age categories is low for most countries. Therefore, we expect that a large part of the migrants entering at high ages does not live in the Netherlands after five years anymore because of death. Further, in the higher age categories sharp contrasts can be observed, with either all of the migrants who entered in 2008 still living in the Netherlands in 2013, or none. This might be due to a generally small

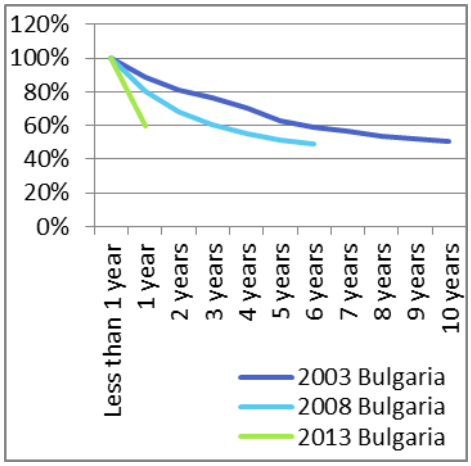
number of migrants migrating at higher ages. Therefore, these categories should be interpreted with care.

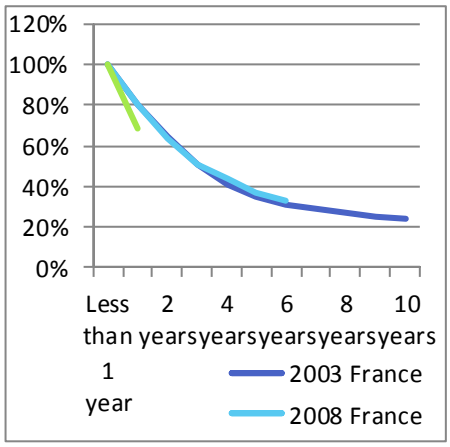
When comparing the graphs, similarities as well as differences between countries can be observed. For most countries, the majority of migrants entering at young ages, i.e., children under 15, were still living in the Netherlands five years later: usually a share around 60% or higher. The most noticeable deviation from this pattern is Sweden. Of the migrants born in Sweden, around 35% migrating at age 0-5 still resided in the Netherlands five years later. For migrants aged 5-10 this was around 20%, and of migrants entering at age 10-15 less than 10% still lived there five years after migration. In fact, for all age categories a relatively low share of the Swedish migrants still resided in the Netherlands after five years. Also for the UK and France the share of migrants younger than 15 who stayed in the Netherlands was lower than 50%. For Greece this was the case only for migrants entering at age 10-15, and for Spain for those at age 5-10.

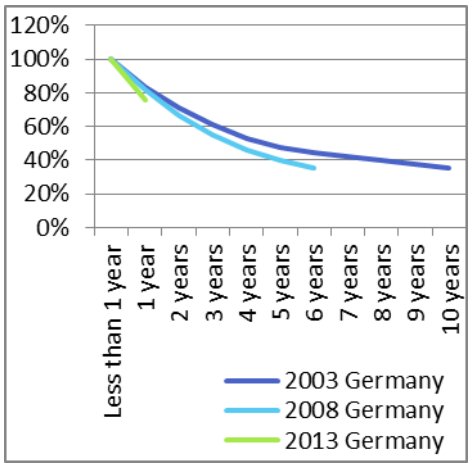
For practically all countries, Sweden excepted, the share of still residing migrants was relatively small for migrants who entered the Netherlands at ages between 15 and 25, as compared to the adjacent age classes . The exact timing of this low slightly differed between countries. For Belgium the lowest share was observed for migrants entering at ages 15-20. For France, Germany, the UK, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Hungary and Bulgaria, the share of still residing migrants was lowest at ages 20-25. For Poland and Romania, the shares of still residing migrants were comparably low for migrants entering in the ages 15-20 and 20-25. Also the size of the re-migrating group differs between countries. For Poland, Romania and Portugal, the shares of migrants who entered at age 15-25 and still resided in the Netherlands after five years are with percentages around 40 the largest. The shares are somewhat lower for Belgium and Bulgaria, with percentages around 30. A quarter of the migrants entering at the ages 20-25 stayed in the Netherlands for France, the UK, Greece and Hungary. For Italy and Germany this was a share of around 20%. For Spain the share of migrants aged 20-25 who stayed for at least five years was the lowest, with a percentage around 15%.

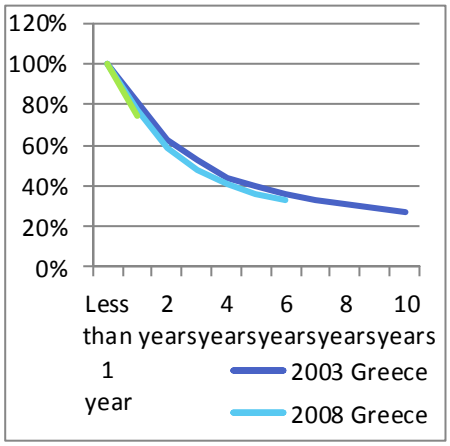
Figure 9. Average length of stay of migrants entering the Netherlands in 2003, 2008 and 2013[1]

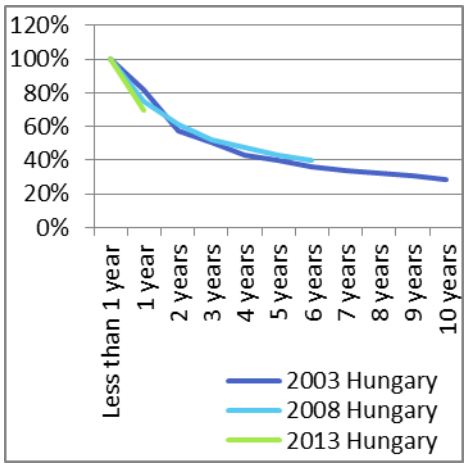


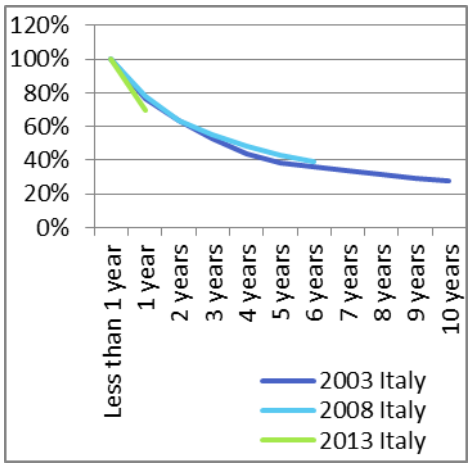


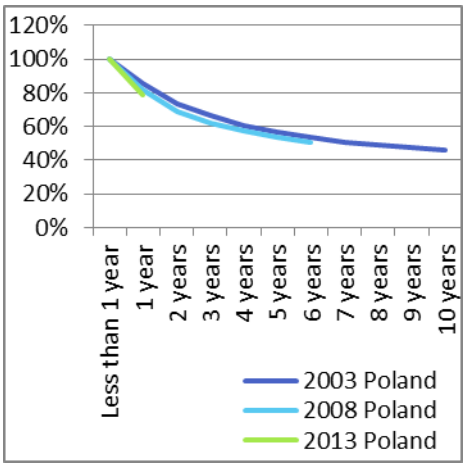


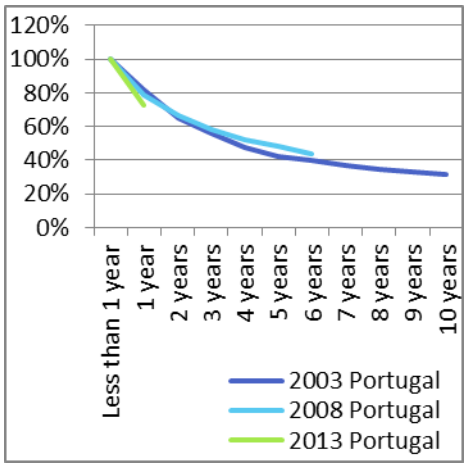


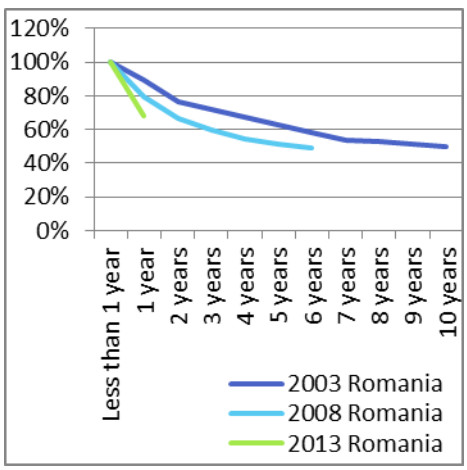


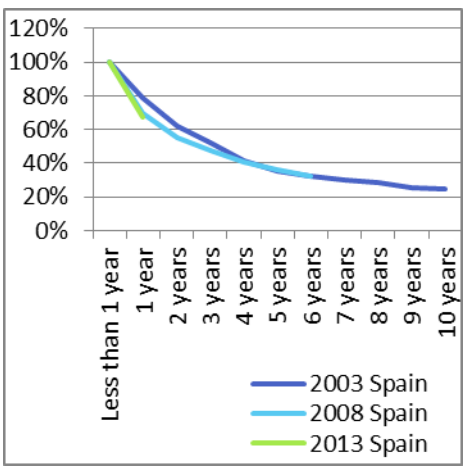


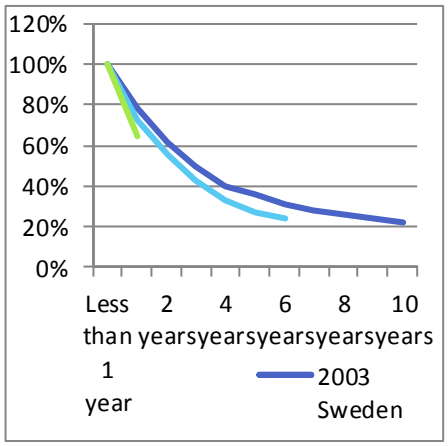


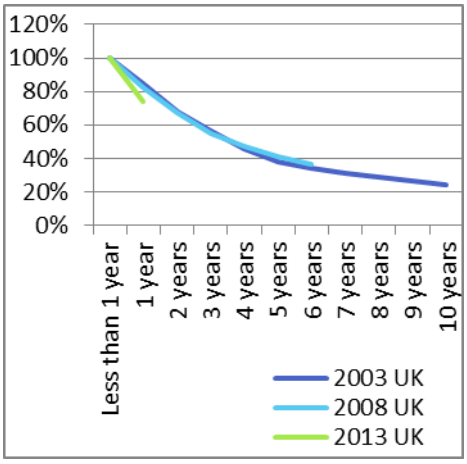






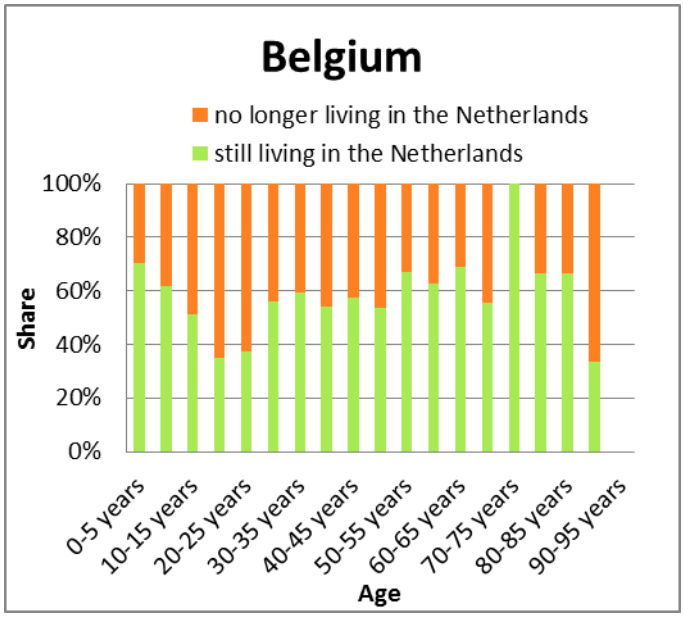


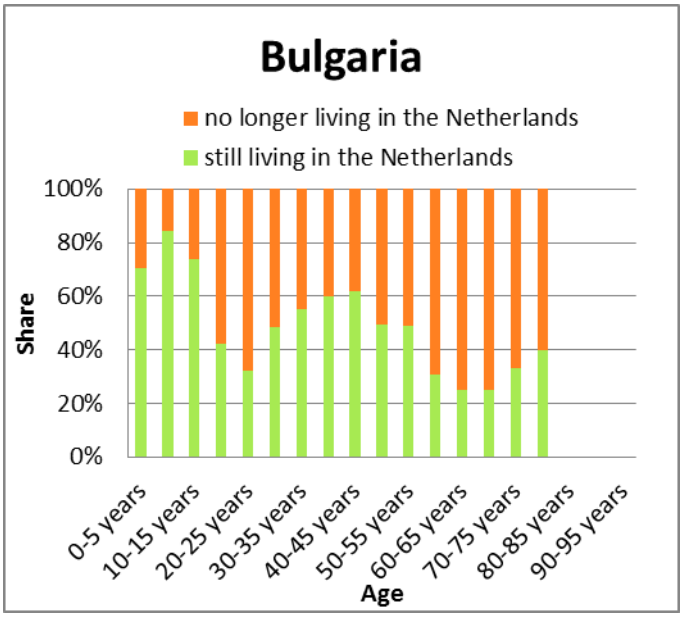


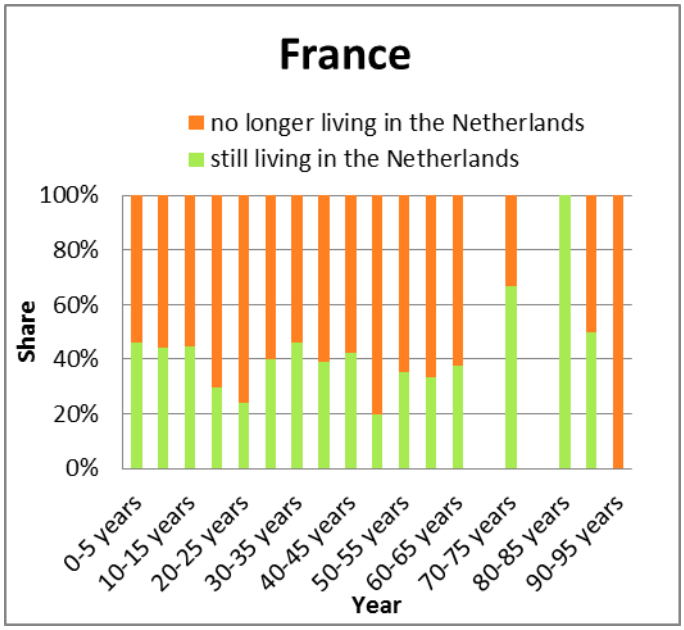


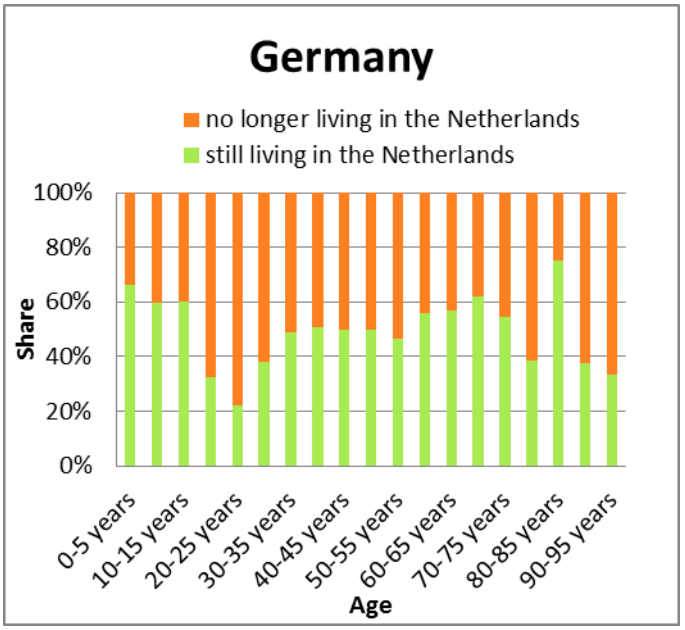
[1] X-axis representing the number of years since migration and Y-axis the percentage of migrants still living in the Netherlands. *Source:* Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

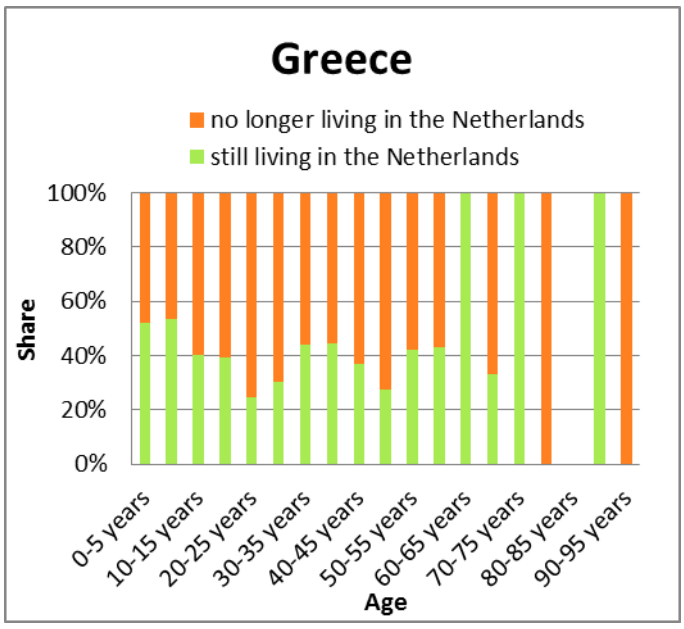
Figure 10. The Netherlands: share of migrants still residing in the Netherlands 5 years after entering in 2008, grouped by age and country of birth

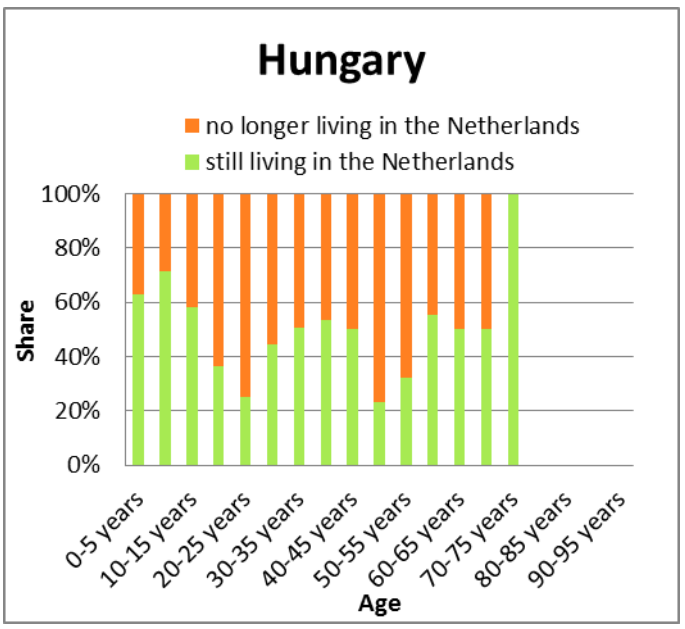


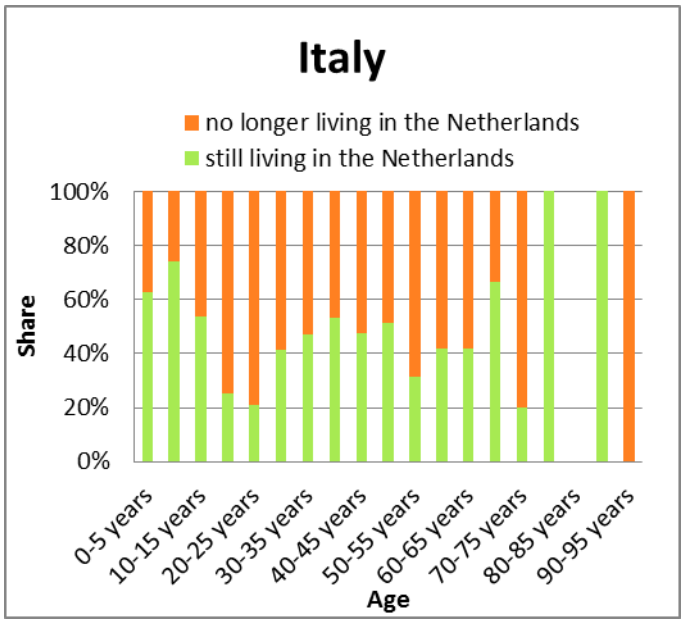


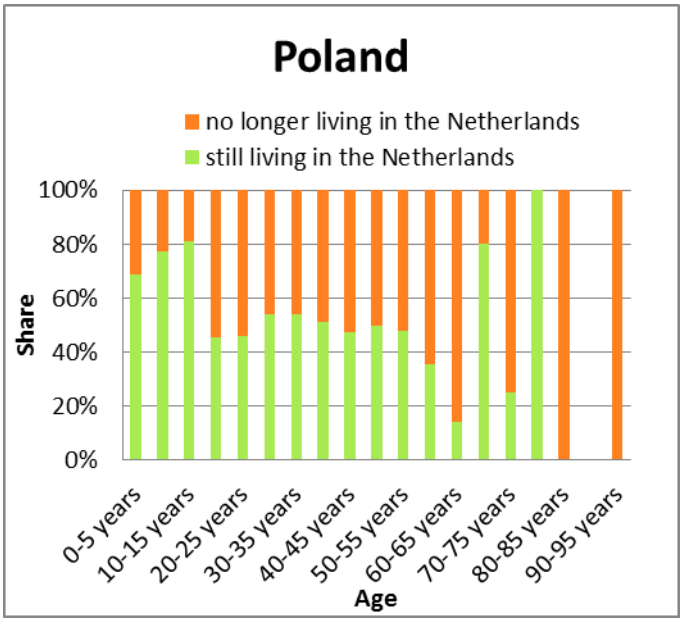









Italy
no longer living in the Netherlands
still living in the Netherlands
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Share
0-5 years
10-15 years
20-25 years
30-35 years
40-45 years
50-55 years
60-65 years
70-75 years
80-85 years
90-95 years
Age


Poland
no longer living in the Netherlands
still living in the Netherlands
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Share
0-5 years
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30-35 years
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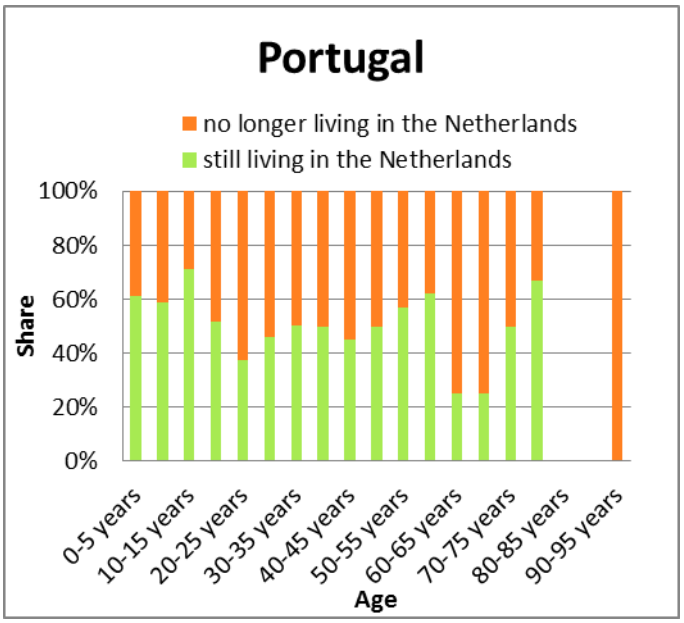
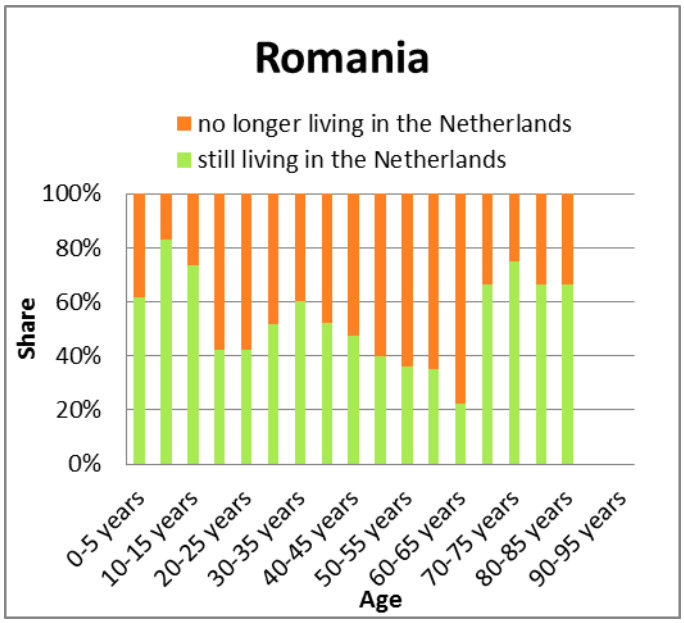
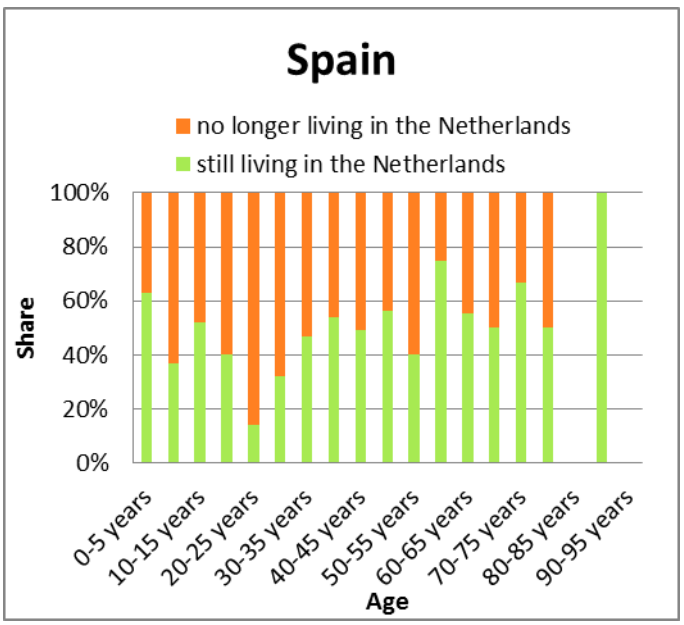
Age


Portugal
no longer living in the Netherlands
still living in the Netherlands
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Share
0-5 years
10-15 years
20-25 years
30-35 years
40-45 years
50-55 years
60-65 years
70-75 years
80-85 years
90-95 years
Age


Romania
no longer living in the Netherlands
still living in the Netherlands
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Share
0-5 years
10-15 years
20-25 years
30-35 years
40-45 years
50-55 years
60-65 years
70-75 years
80-85 years
90-95 years
Age


Spain
no longer living in the Netherlands
still living in the Netherlands
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Share
0-5 years
10-15 years
20-25 years
30-35 years
40-45 years
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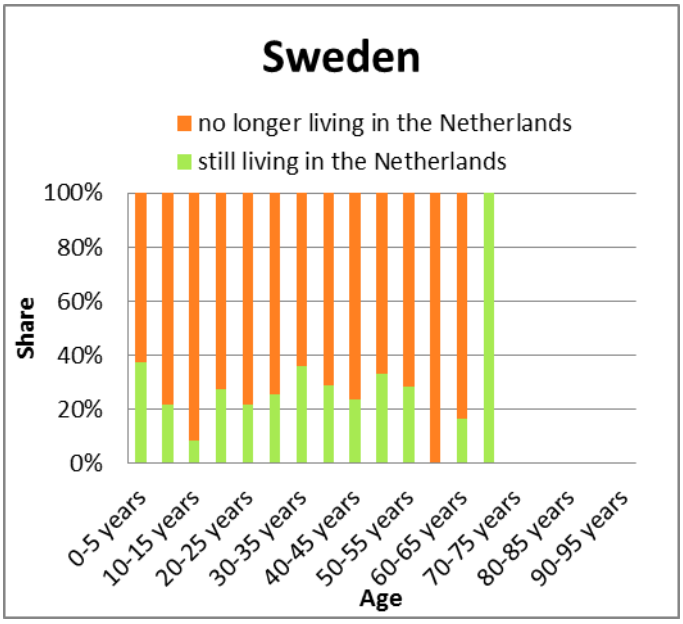
80-85 years
90-95 years
Age


Sweden
no longer living in the Netherlands
still living in the Netherlands
100%
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%
Share
0-5 years
10-15 years
20-25 years
30-35 years
40-45 years
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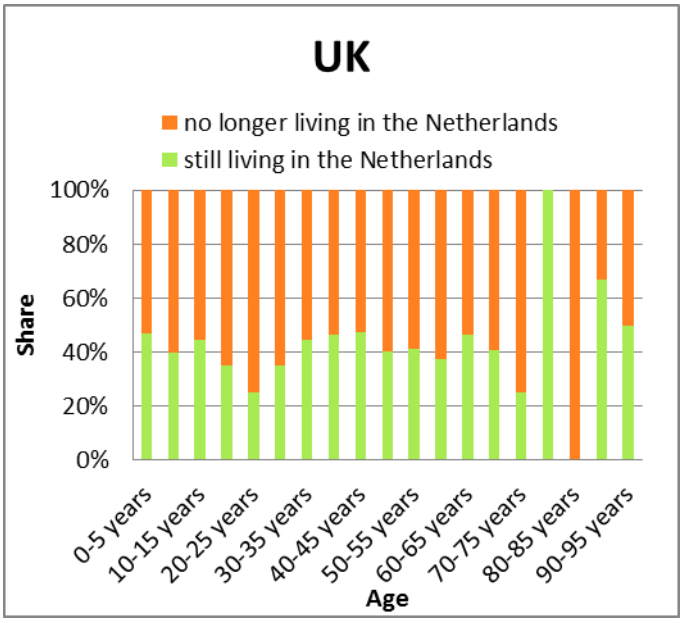
Age



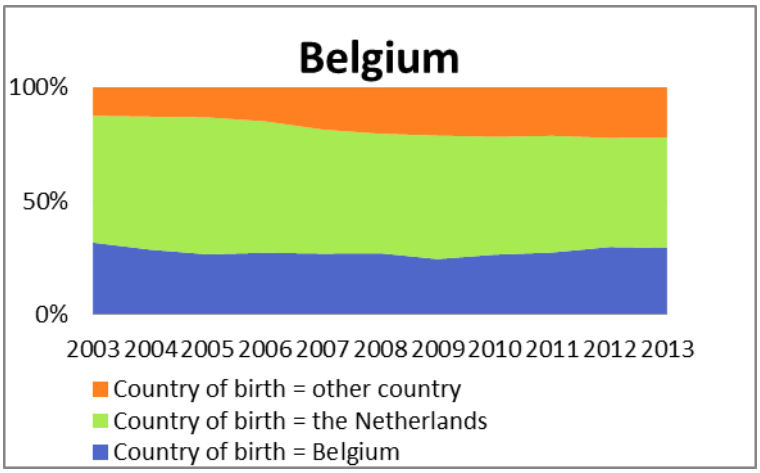
Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

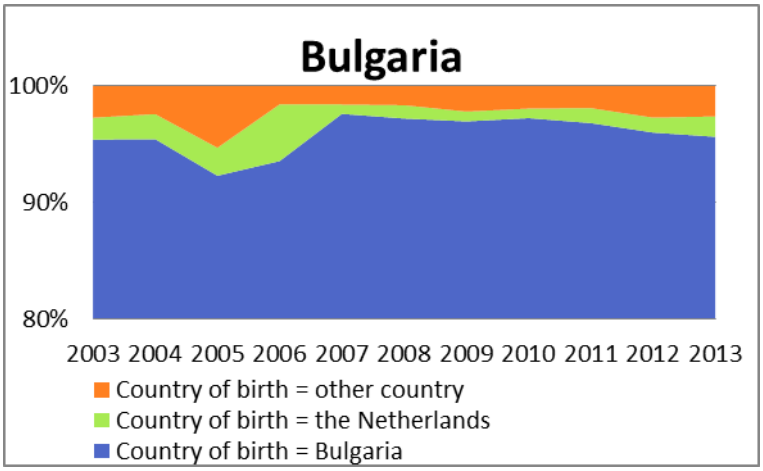
Country of Origin/Destination vs Country of Birth

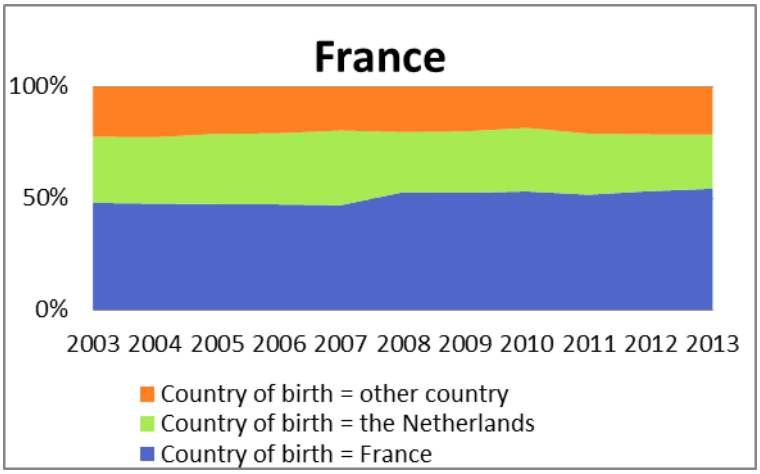
Figure 11 presents the share of the migrant population from the 13 selected countries that are born in the Netherlands, the sending country, or yet another country between 2003 and 2013. For some sending countries, practically all migrants are born in the sending country. This is the case for Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria after 2007. It can be noted that the distribution of Bulgaria looks quite different before and after the country entered the European Union. Especially between 2004 and 2007, the share of migrants born in the Netherland or another country was much larger than after the enlargement. The distributions of France, Germany, Sweden and the UK are comparable, with around 50% of the migrants born in the sending countries, and approximately 25% born in the Netherlands and 25% in another country. These distributions have been rather stable over the years 2003-2013. Belgium is characterized by a relatively large share of migrants born in the Netherlands, around 50-60%, and a relatively small share of migrants born in Belgium. Over the years the share of migrants born in other countries than Belgium and the Netherlands increased from around 10 to 20%. Also for Spain the share of migrants born in the Netherlands was relatively large prior to 2009. For Italy, Greece and Portugal, the share of migrants born in the sending country lay around 60%, migrants born in the Netherlands made up around 10% of the total, and migrants born in yet another country about 20%.

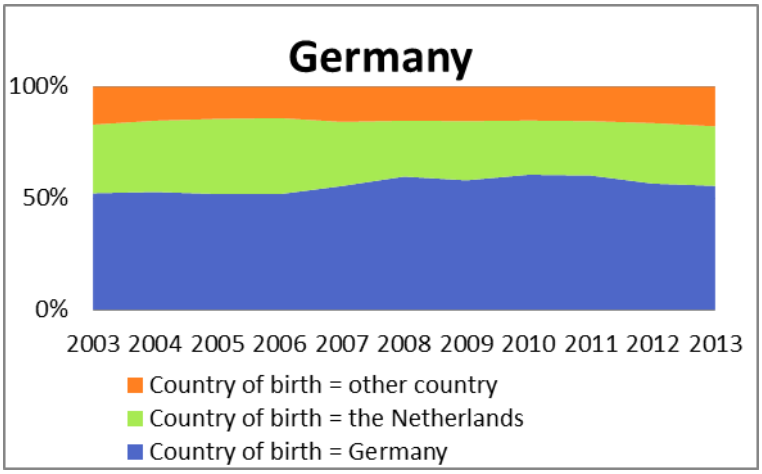
In figure 12, the shares of emigrants born in the Netherlands, the receiving country or another country are presented for 13 receiving countries between 2003 and 2013. The share of migrants born in the receiving country was relatively large for Poland, Romania and Bulgaria. Interestingly, this share has been increasing over time for each of these countries at the expense of migrants born in the Netherlands. This could indicate increased circular migration when movement from these countries to the Netherlands became easier. Also remarkable in this figure is the low percentage of return migration to Belgium: around 10%. The majority of emigrants to Belgium was born in the Netherlands, although the share of migrants born in another country increased over the years from around 10% to above 30%. The distributions of France, Germany, Sweden and Spain were comparable between 2003 and 2013, with a relatively large but decreasing share of migrants born in the Netherlands, and increasing shares of migrants born in the Netherlands or another country that were approximately of the same size. For Italy, Hungary, Greece and Portugal the share of migrants born in the receiving country was somewhat larger, and the share of migrants born in another country somewhat smaller. For these countries the share of return migrants increased between 2003 and 2013 at the expense of migrants born in the Netherlands. The UK is characterized by a larger share of migrants born in countries other than the UK and the Netherlands for all years under study.

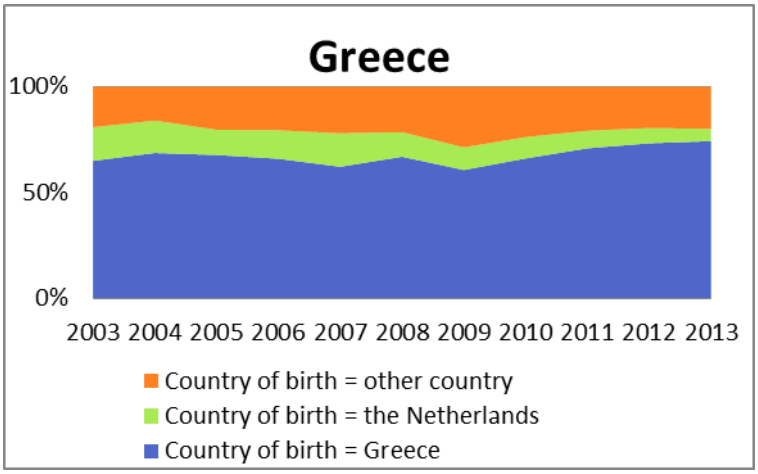
Figure 11. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: shares of immigrants born in the Netherlands, the sending country or another country grouped by sending country[1]

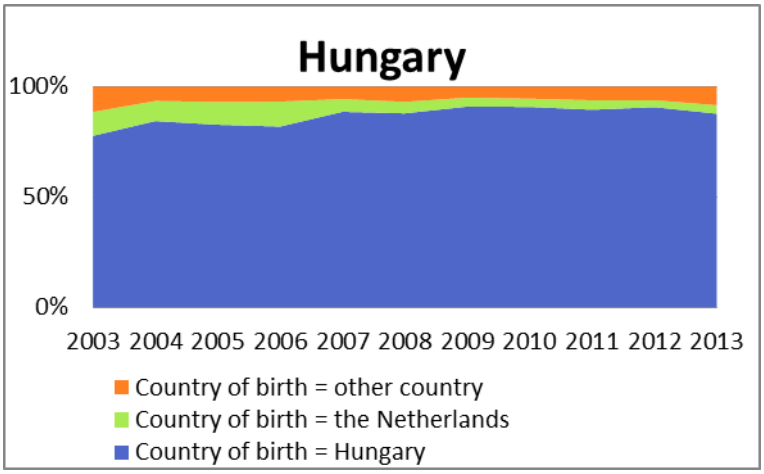


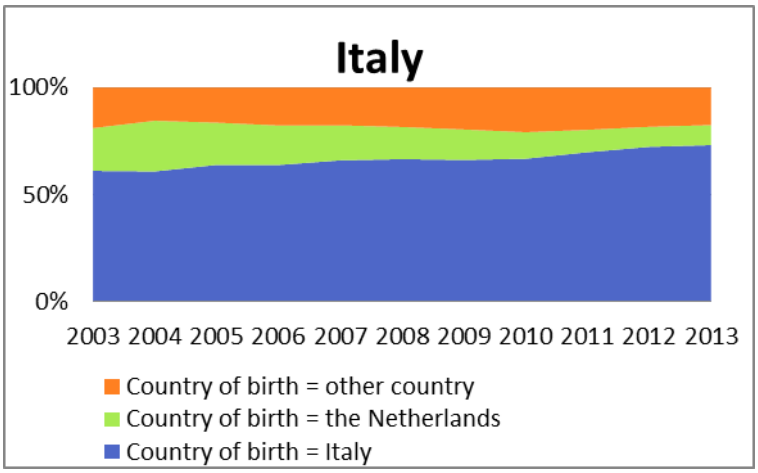


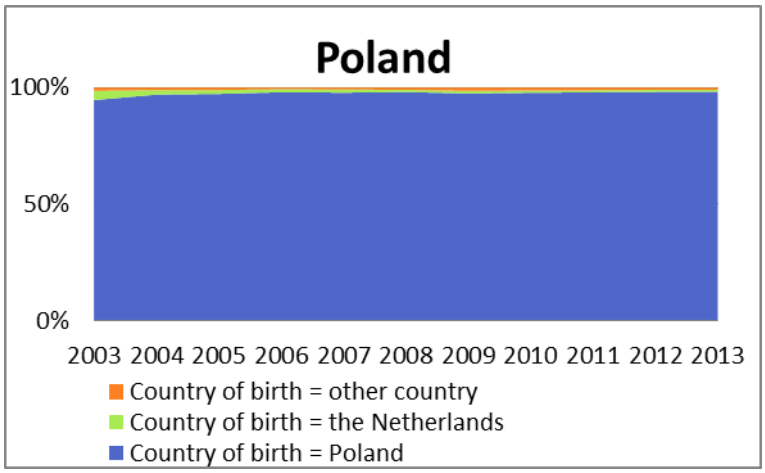


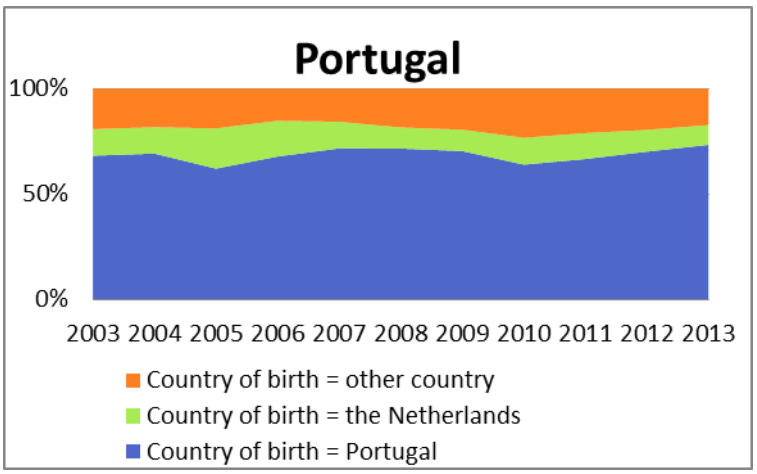


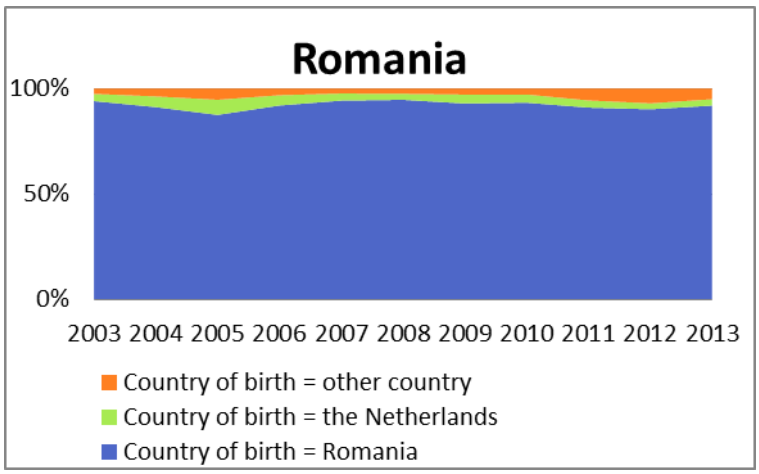


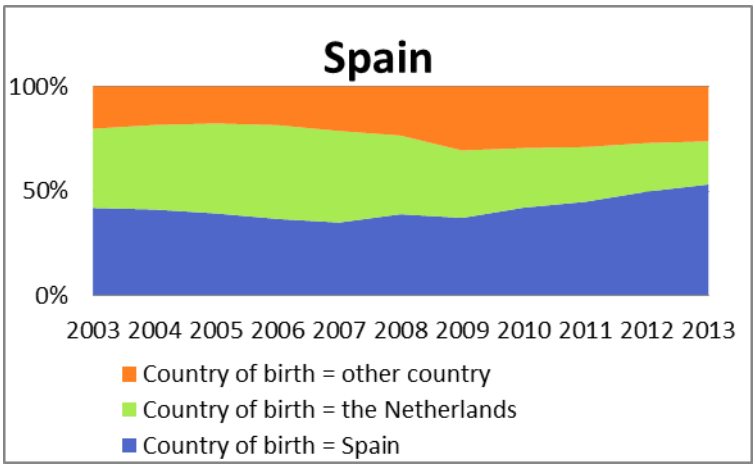


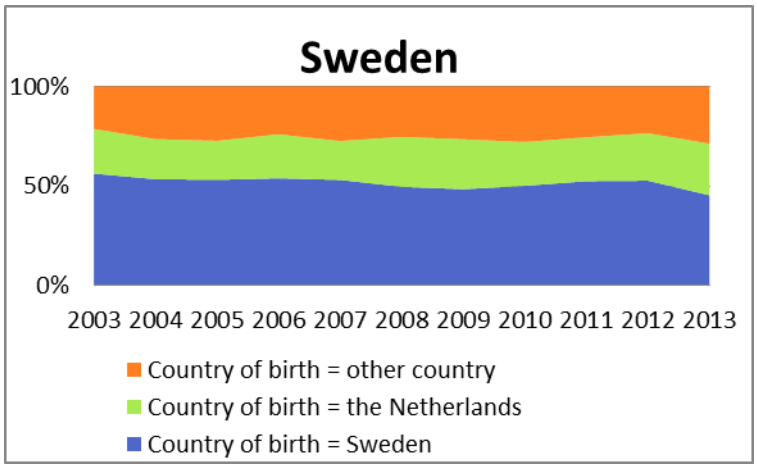












[1] X-axis representing the year and Y-axis the share of the total migrant group

Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

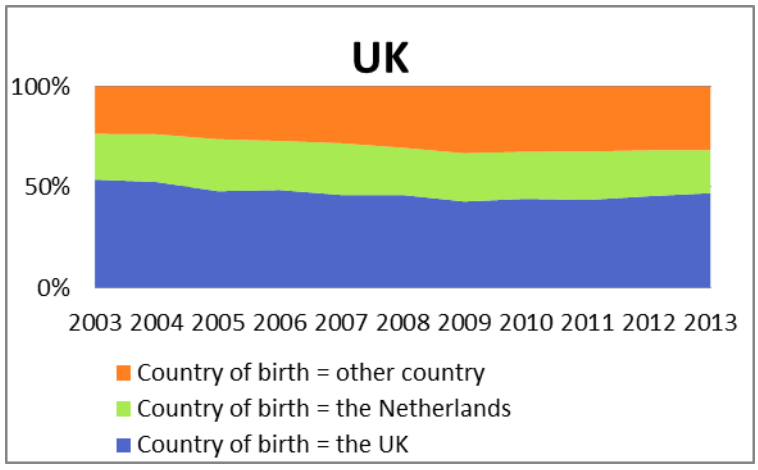
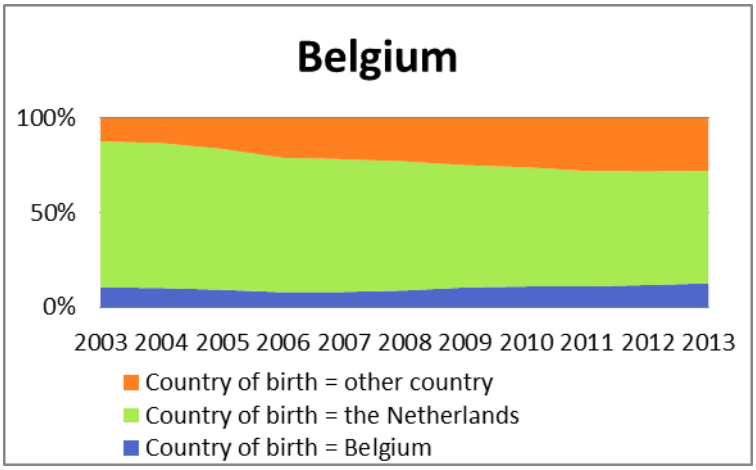
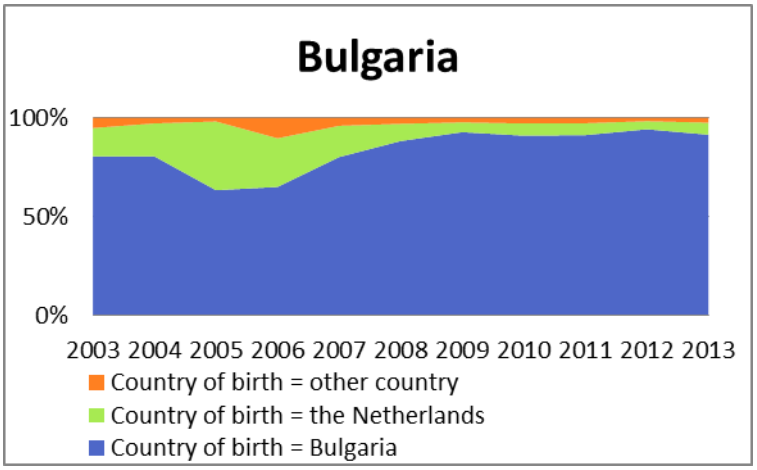
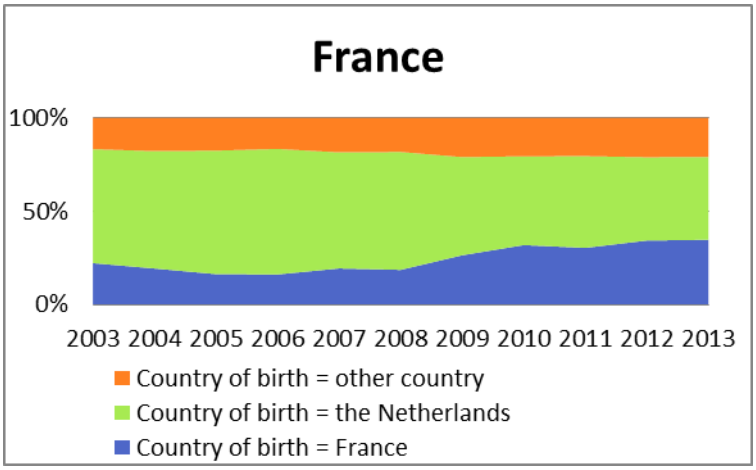
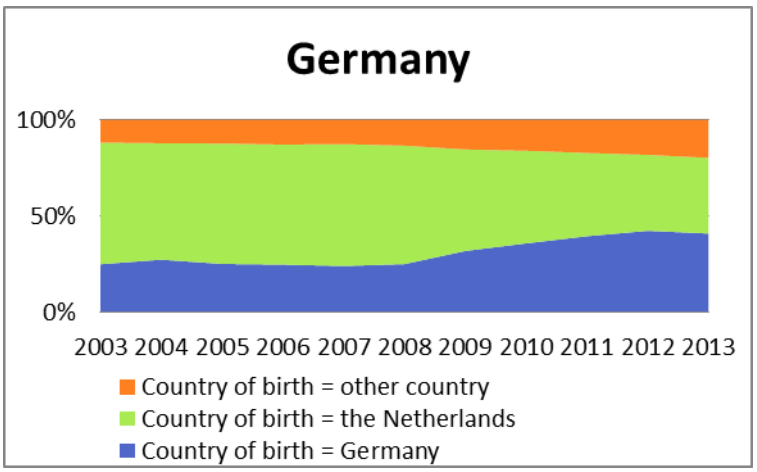


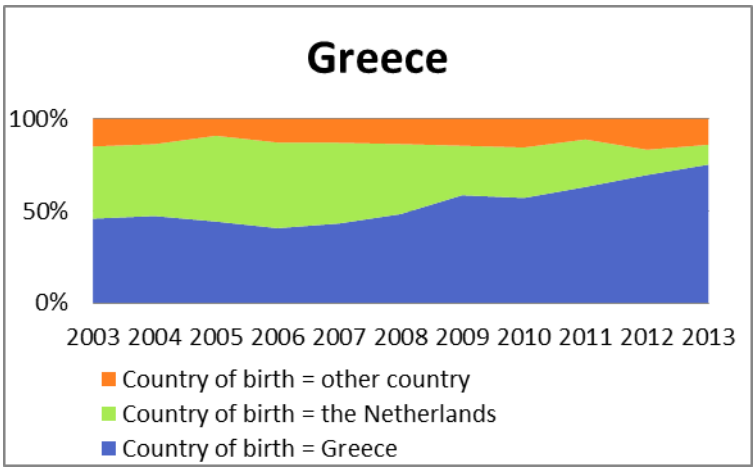
Figure 12. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: shares of emigrants born in the Netherlands, the receiving country or another country, grouped by receiving country[1]

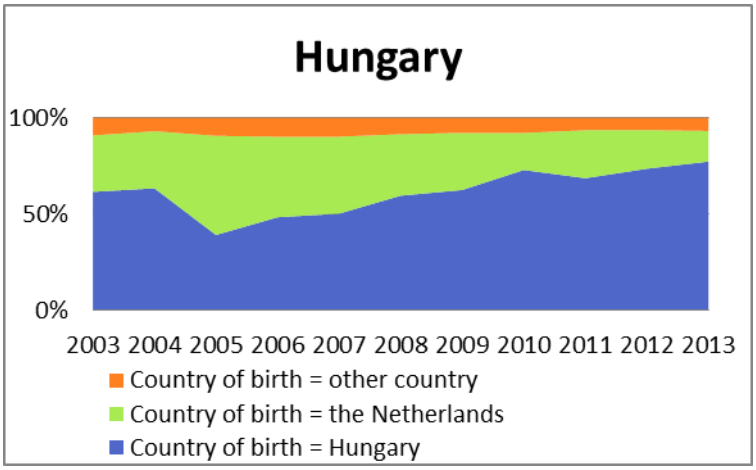


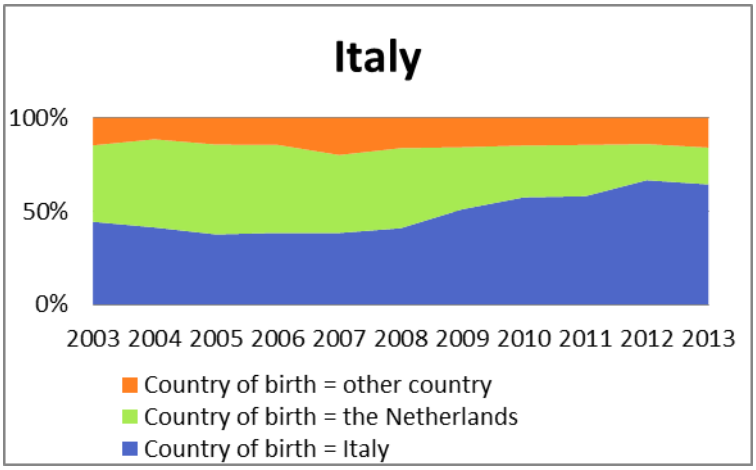


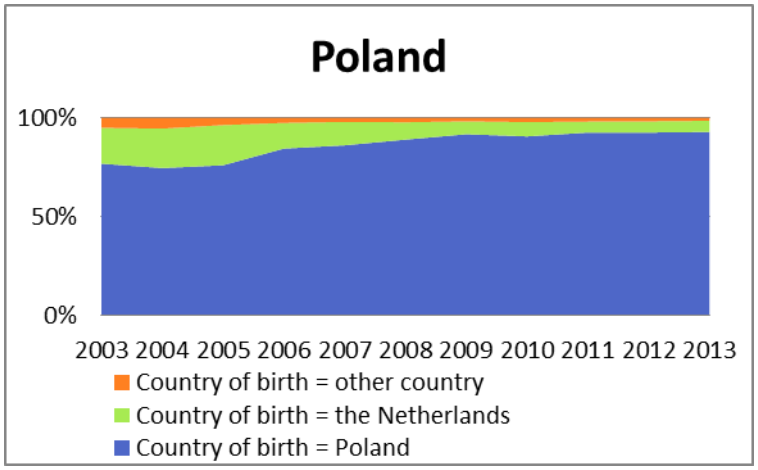


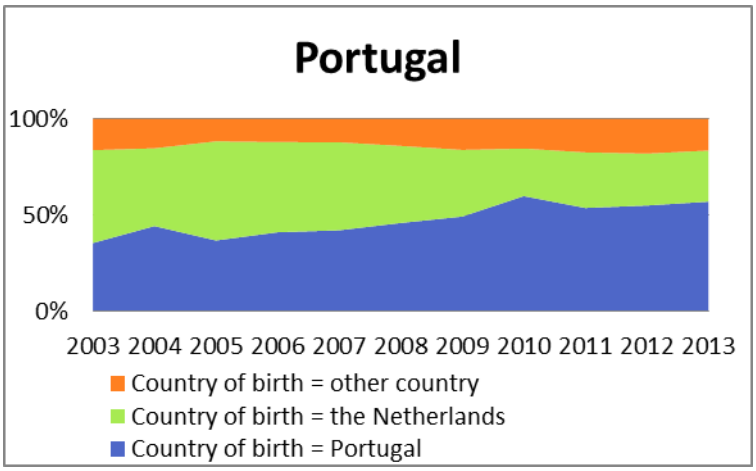


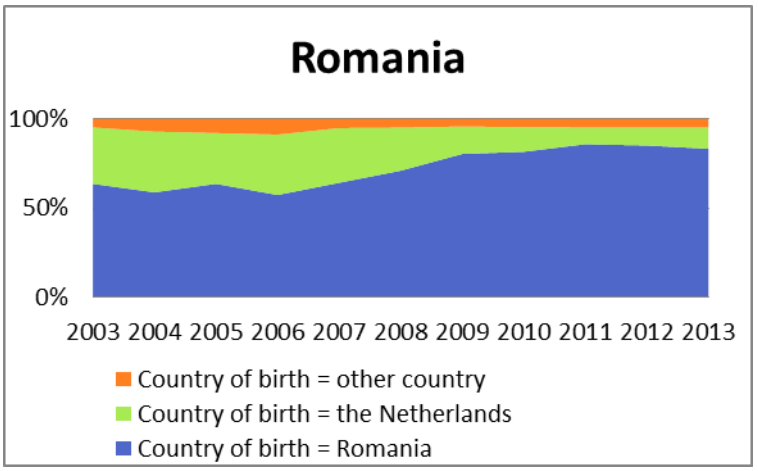


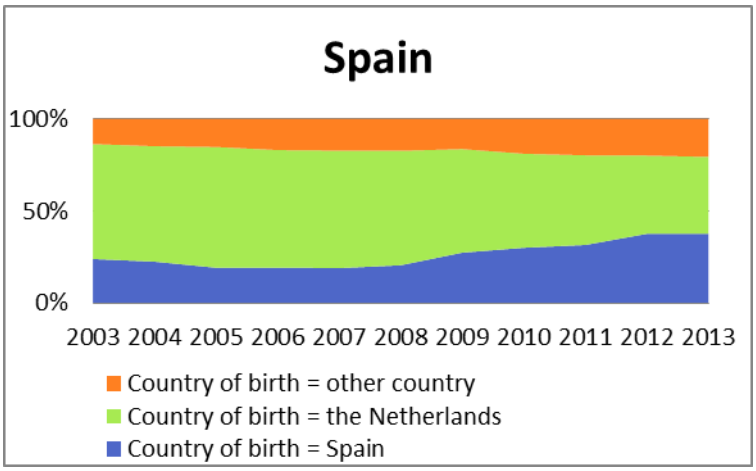


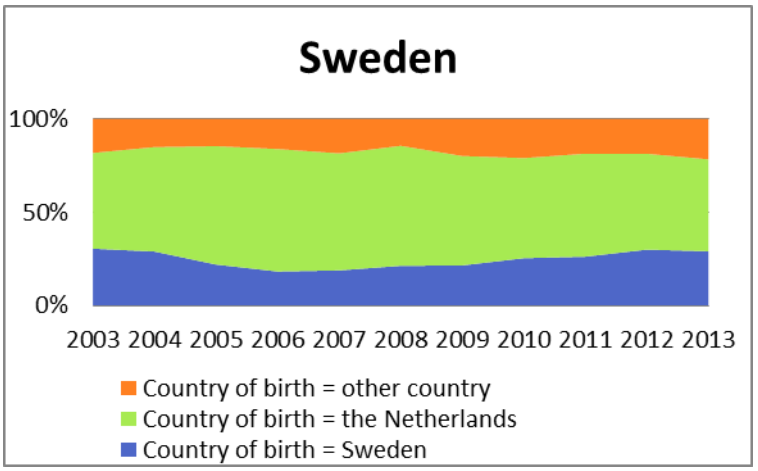






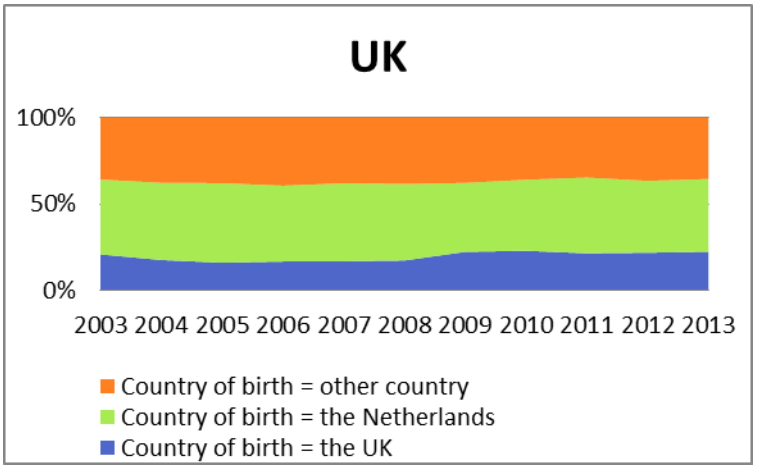






[1] X-axis representing the year and Y-axis the share of the total migrant group

Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).



Migrant Characteristics

Age at Migration

Age of Immigrants: Developments over Time

In figure 13, changes in the age distribution of immigrants are displayed for the years between 2003 and 2013 by country of birth. Hereby ages are grouped as five stages of the life course: children under 15 years old, who likely migrate accompanied by family members; young adolescents aged 15-25 in the phase of study or early career; workers in the ages 25-40 who are most likely to have or start a young family; workers in the ages 40-60, for whom work and family life are expected to have stabilized; migrants above 60 years who are close to or above the legal retirement age. For all countries of birth, the share of immigrants aged above 60 has been close to zero and stable over the years. Also the proportion of immigrants in the age category 40-60 has been rather stable for most of the countries of birth. The most noticeable exception to this rule is Bulgaria, for which the share of immigrants aged 40-60 increased after 2005, from less than 10% to close to 20%. Also for Hungary the share increased somewhat after 2005, whereas for Germany and the UK slight decreases are observed. Between 2003 and 2013 the share of immigrants in the ages 40-60 made up around 10% of the total immigrant population for almost all countries, with the highest share (around 20%) observed for the UK and the lowest (around 5%) for Spain.

For the remaining age categories, more variation is observed between countries as well as over time. Among immigrants, the group of children under the age of 15 was relatively small for those born in Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Portugal and Romania, with shares of 10% or lower. In 2003, Bulgaria was one of the countries with the lowest shares of immigrants under 15, but after 2007 the share increased rapidly, up to 20% in 2013. For Germany, a reversed pattern can be observed: the share of children decreased from around 15% in 2003 to well under 10% in 2013. Also for France and Sweden decreases can be observed. The share of immigrants under 15 years old was the largest for Belgium (around 25%) and the UK (close to 20%).

For many countries of birth, the group of young adolescents, aged 15 to 25, increased over the years under study. The largest increases are observed for Germany, from around 25% in 2003 to above 50% in 2013; the UK, from just above 10% to 30% in 2013; Sweden, from around 20% in 2003 to around 35% in 2013; Italy, from 20% in 2003 to above 35% in 2013 and France, from around 35% in 2003 to around 45% in 2013. Belgium, Greece, Romania and Spain experienced smaller and less consistent increases. For Bulgaria the share of young adolescents actually declined between 2005 and 2007: from above 40% to just above 20%. In the following years, the share of young adolescents increased somewhat again to a level around 30% in 2013. Also Hungary and Poland experienced decreases in the share of immigrants aged 15-25 between 2003 and 2013. For Portugal just a small dip is observed in 2007.

For Greece and Hungary, immigrants aged 25-40 made up approximately half of the total immigrant population. These shares remained stable over the years. For Poland the share of immigrants in the ages 25-40 increased after 2003, to make up 50% of the immigrant population in the following years as well. Among the immigrants born in Bulgaria, the share aged 25-40 was with over 50% the highest in 2007, but decreased in the following years to less than 40% in 2013. For several countries, the share of immigrants in the ages 25-40 decreased between 2003 and 2013: for the UK this was a decrease from 45% in 2003 to just above 30%; for Sweden from 50% in 2003 to 40% in 2013; for Germany from 40% in 2003 to 30% in 2003; for France from 40% in 2003 to just

above 30% in 2013 and for Belgium from around 35% in 2003 to less than 30% in 2013. Smaller and less consistent decreases are observed for Italy, Portugal, Romania and Spain.

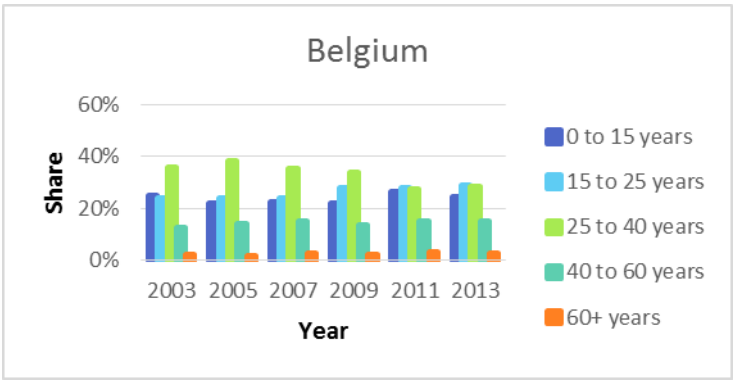
Age of Emigrants: Developments over Time

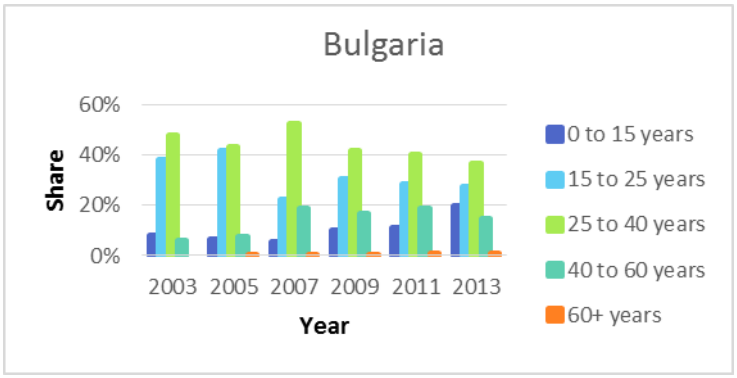
In figure 14, the age distribution of emigrants over time is displayed by country of birth. Ages are again grouped as five stages in the life course. Also for emigrants, the share aged above 60 is stable over time for most countries, and relatively low. The highest share of elderly emigrants is observed for Spain prior to 2009. Spain is also the country with the most noticeable change among emigrants aged above 60: the share decreased from around 15% in 2003 to no more than 5% in 2013. Also for Germany the share of elderly emigrants slightly decreased. Overall, mainly small fluctuations were observed between 2003 and 2013 with regards to the share of emigrants aged 40 to 60. Germany forms an exception: the share of emigrants aged 40-60 decreased for this country from around 35% in 2003 to just above 10% in 2013. The share of children among emigrants changed most for Bulgaria, from close to 0% in 2003 to almost 20% in 2013. For France the share of emigrants under 15 years old decreased from above 15% in 2003 to just above 5% in 2013. Also for Germany the share of children among emigrants steadily decreased over time.

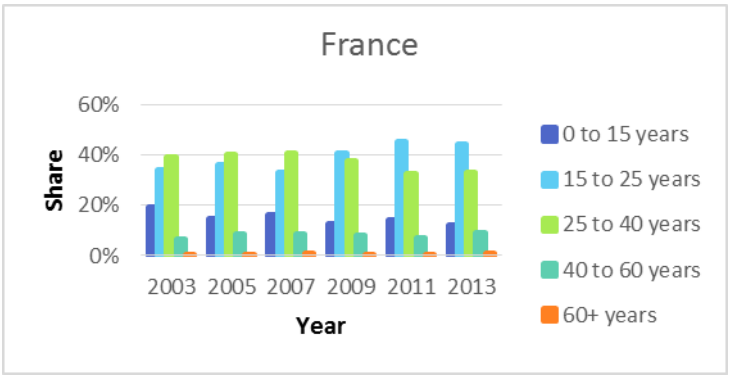
More changes over time are observed for emigrants in the age category 15-25. For Germany, the share of young adolescents increased from 15% in 2003 to 35% in 2013; for France from close to 20% in 2003 to almost 40% in 2013; for Spain from above 15% in 2003 to above 30% in 2013; for Belgium and Sweden from 15% in 2003 to around 25% in 2013 and for the UK from 10% in 2003 to 20% in 2013. Smaller increases were observed for Romania, Portugal and Italy. The share remained more or less the same for Greece, Hungary and Bulgaria, and decreased for Poland, from 30% in 2003 to 20% in 2013.

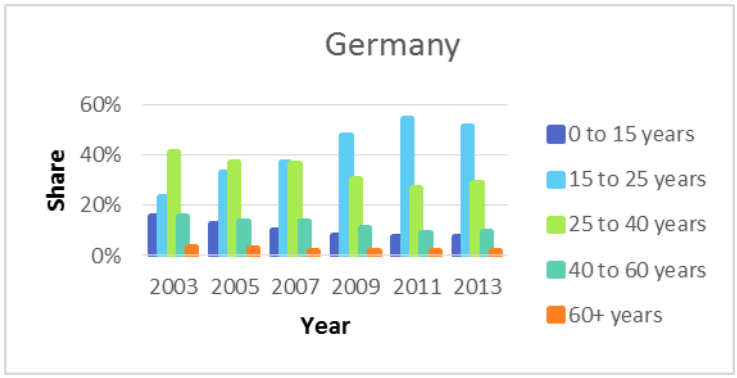
Between 2003 and 2013 the group of emigrants aged 25-40 decreased for Belgium from 45% to just above 30%, for Bulgaria from 60% to 40%, for France and Portugal from 50% to around 45% and for the UK from 45% to around 35%. The share increased somewhat for Germany, from around 40% in 2003 to 45% in 2013, and from 45% in 2003 to above 55% in 2013 for Poland. Small fluctuations in the share of emigrants aged 25-40 are observed for Sweden, Spain, Romania, Italy, Hungary and Greece.

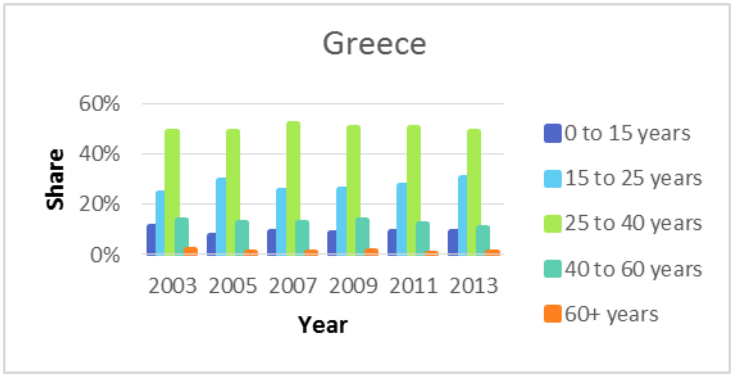
Figure 13. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: Age distribution of immigrants by country of birth

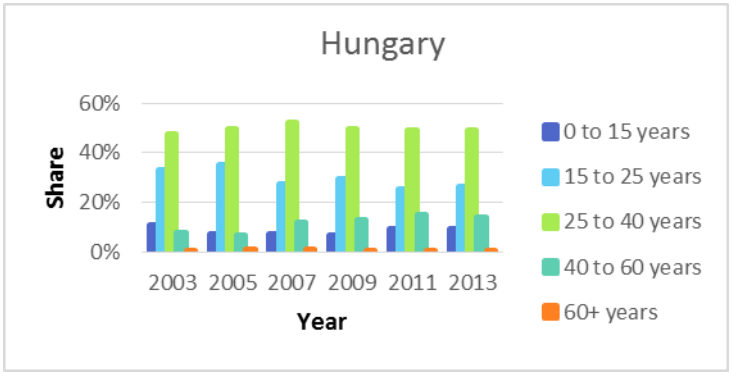


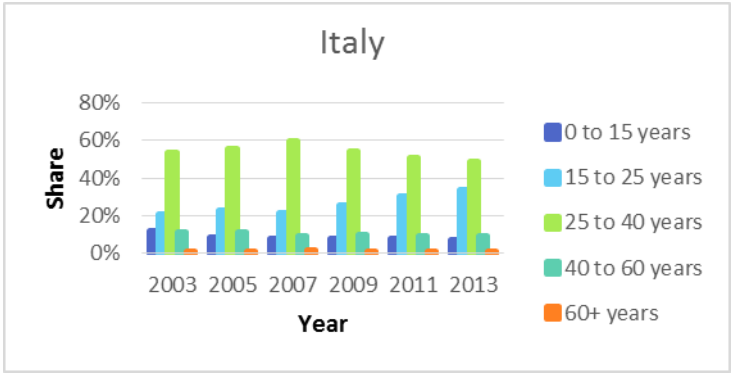


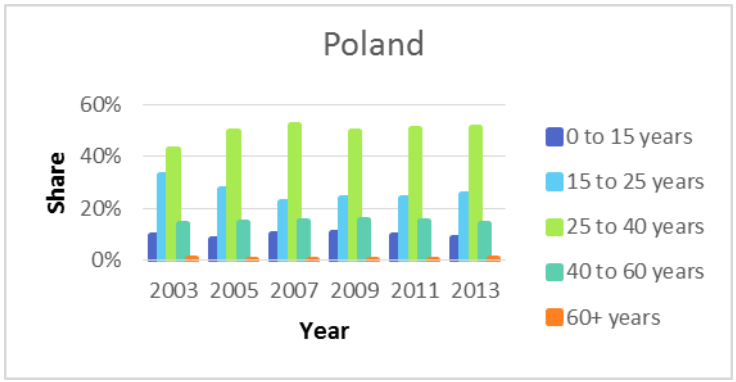


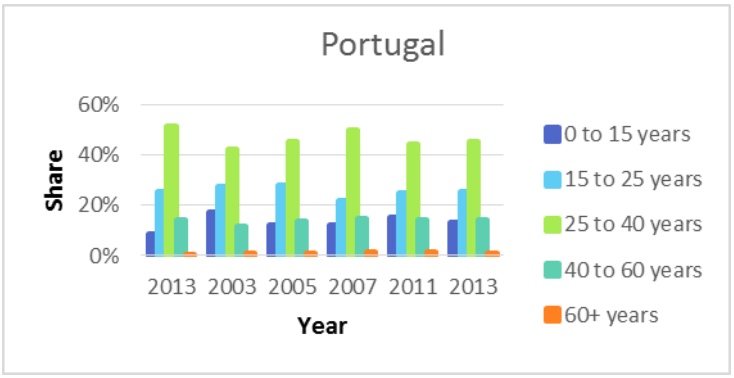


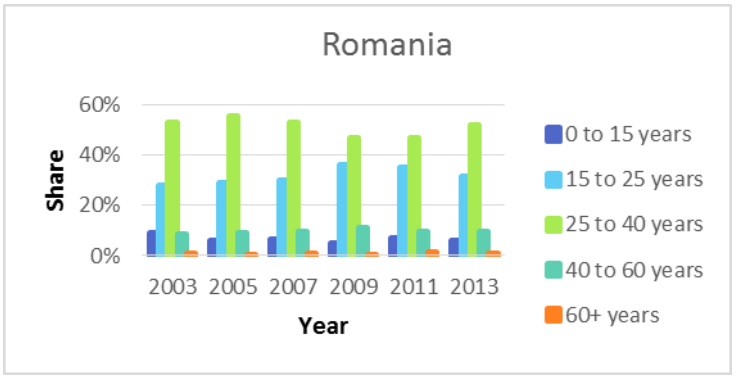


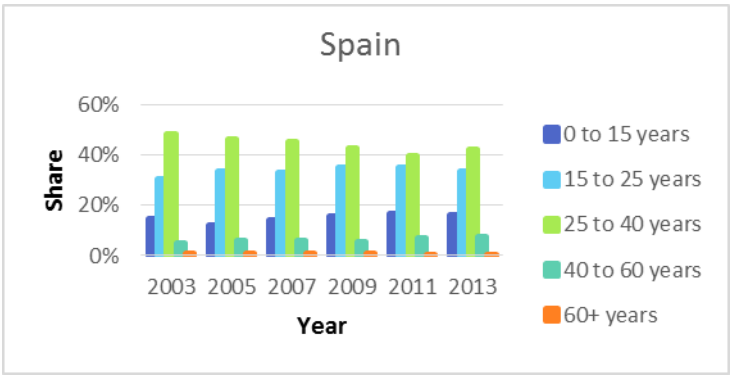


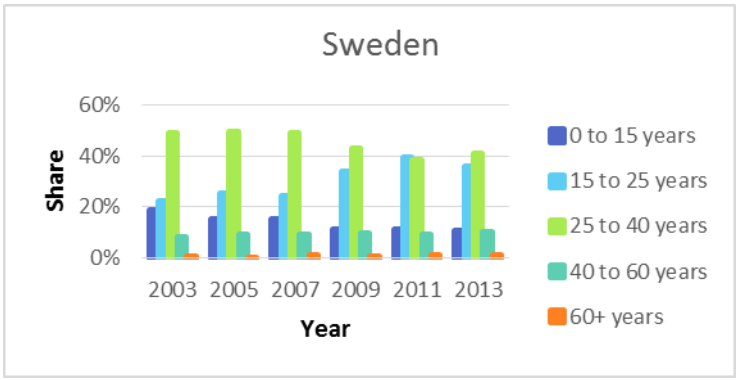


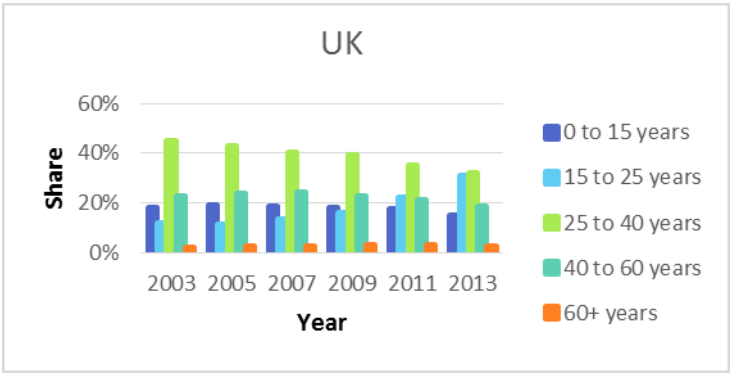






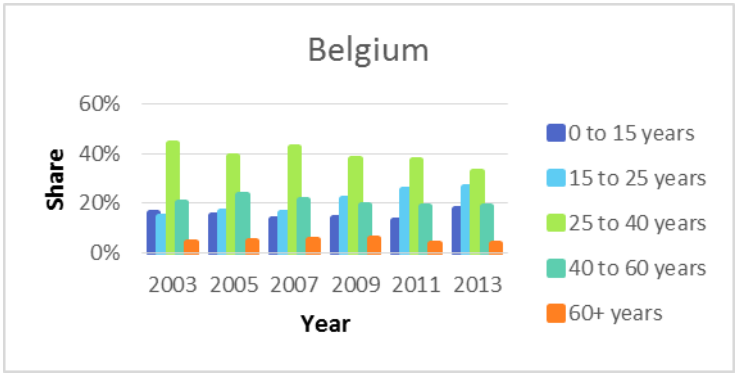


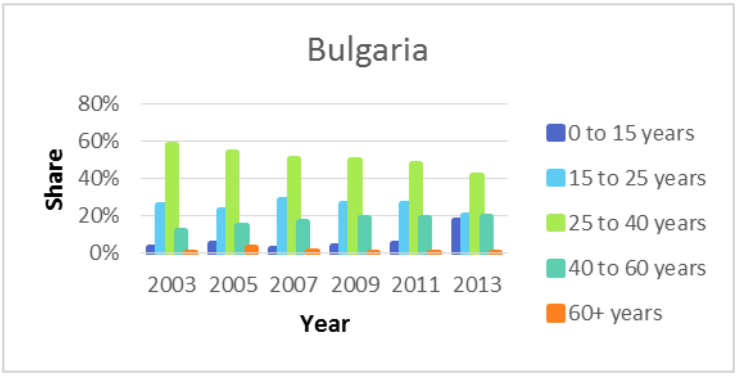


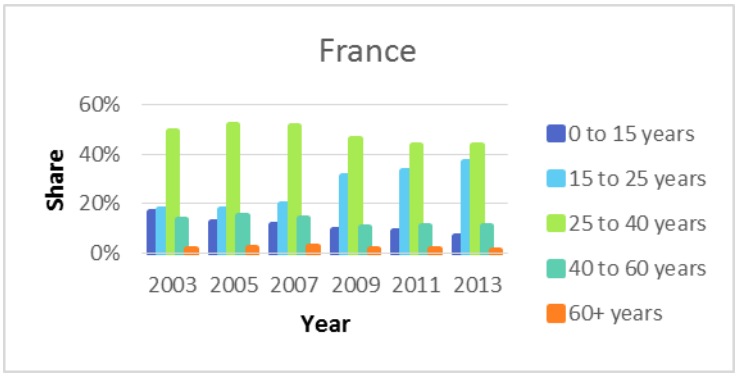


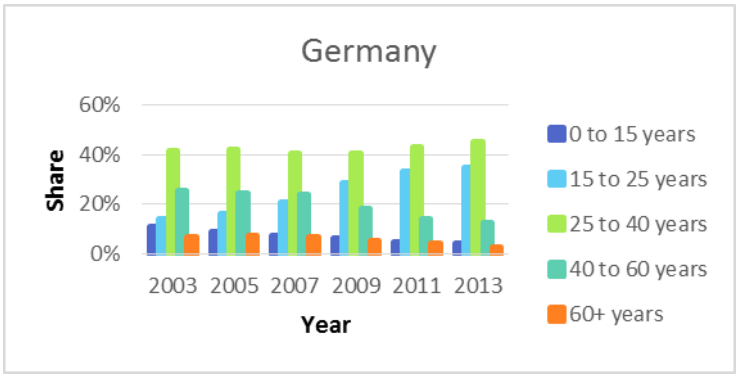
Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

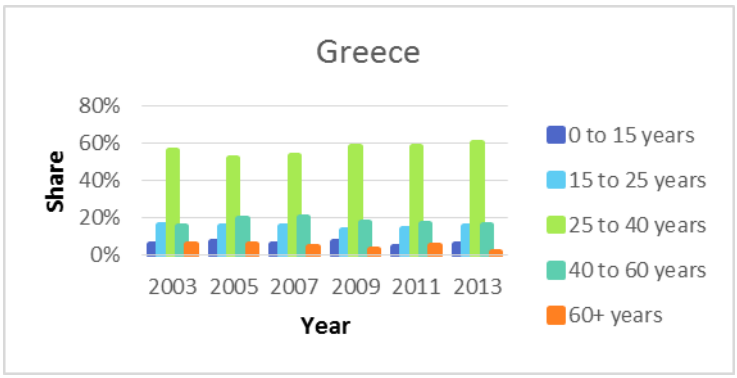
Figure 14. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: Age distribution of emigrants by country of birth

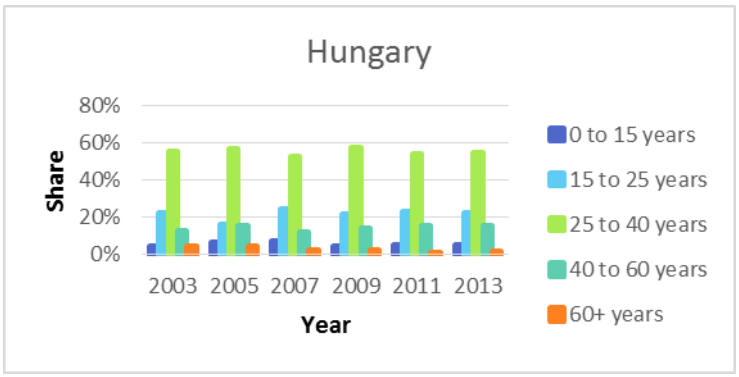


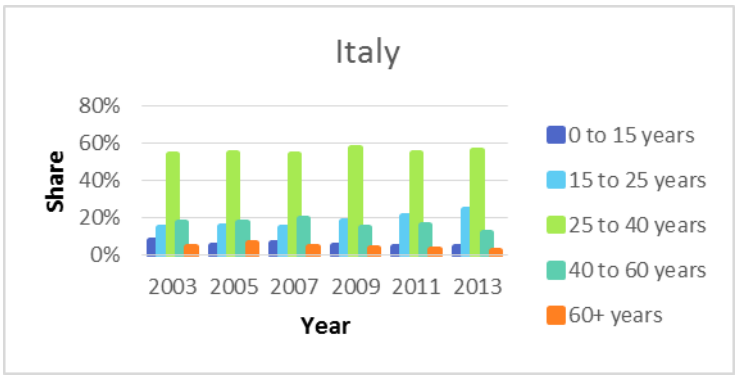


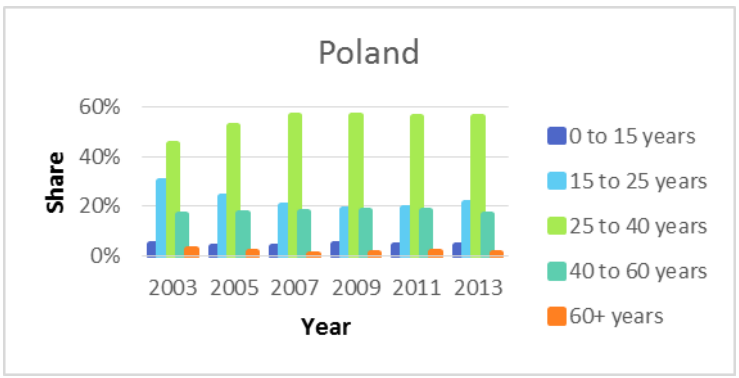


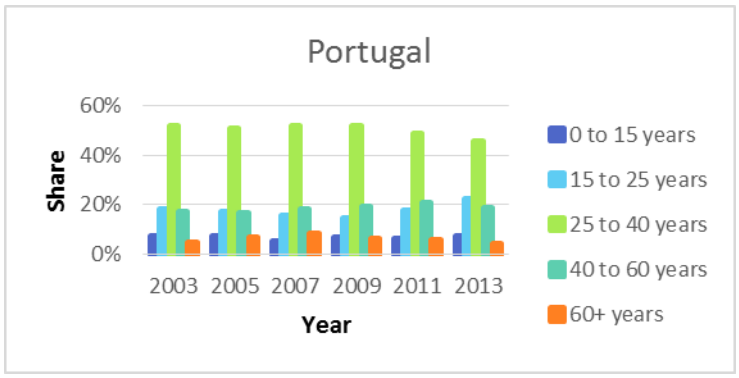


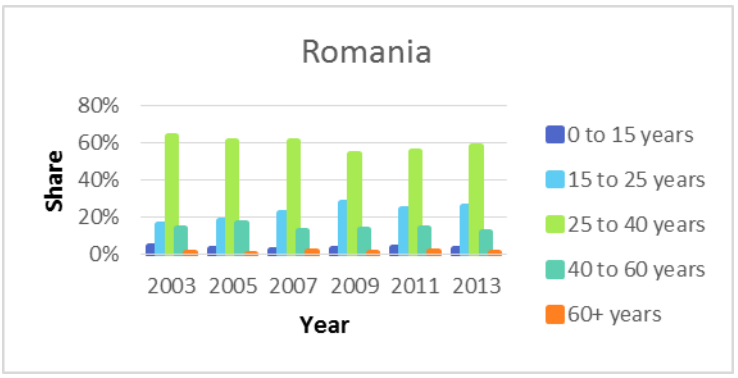


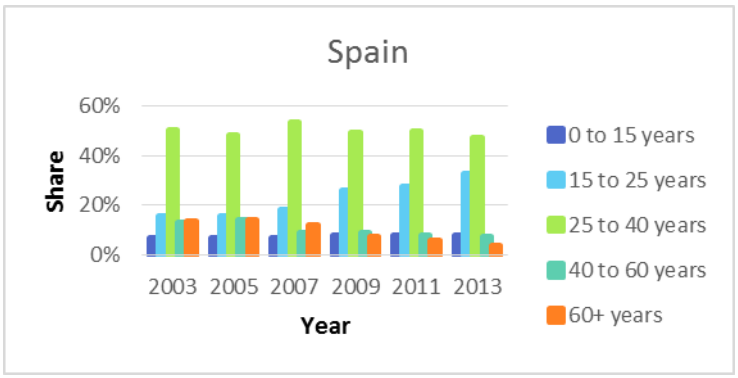


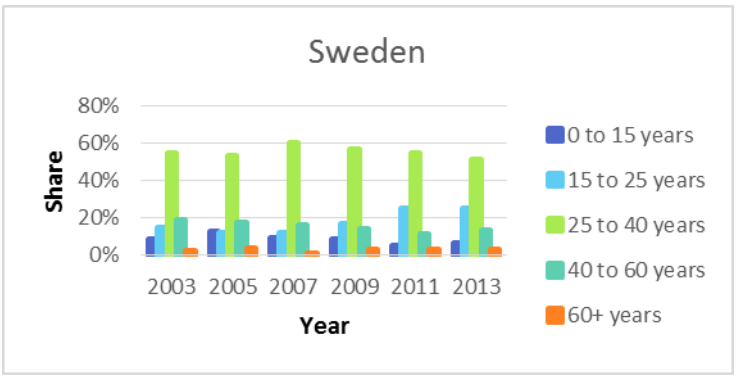












Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

Because of the variation in the age distributions of migrants within countries over the years, choosing one year to compare characteristics of migrants of the different countries of origin would be somewhat arbitrary. The age and gender distributions are therefore displayed in figure 15 and figure 16 grouping the number of migrants for the period 2003-2013 per country of birth.

Age & Gender Distribution Immigrants

From figure 15 it follows that for all countries of birth most immigrants are between 20 and 30 years old at the time of migration. However, differences in the relative shares of elderly and children can be observed. The age distributions of immigrants are comparable for Germany, France and Spain, as they are characterized by small shares of migrants under 20 and above 35, with most migrants being aged between 20 and 25. Hungary, Italy, Greece and Poland also have small shares of migrants under 20 years old, but the share of migrants above 25 is larger for these countries, with the majority of the immigrants being between 25 and 30 years old. The distribution of Romanian immigrants falls a bit in between these two groups. Finally, Belgium, the UK and Bulgaria are characterized by relatively large shares of children and migrants above 30 years old.

Also concerning the gender distribution, differences between countries are observed. For several countries of birth, male immigrants outnumbered females between 2003 and 2013 at least in some of the age categories. This is the case for immigrants from Greece in the ages 25-30, Poland in the ages 25-35, Hungary in the ages 30-35, and Italy, Portugal and the UK for all age groups above 20. In other cases, women outnumbered men: immigrants from Belgium, Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, Poland , Spain and Sweden in the ages 20-25, and immigrants from Romania in the ages 20-30.

Belgium is characterized by a large share of immigrants under the age of 5, and a relatively high number of immigrants above 35 years of age. Immigrants in the age category 20-25 are the largest group, but also immigrants from 25 to 35 years old make up a considerable share. Women are slightly overrepresented in the age category 20-25. Compared to most other countries of origin, *Bulgaria* has a large proportion of immigrants under twenty. Although most immigrants are aged 20-30 when entering the Netherlands, Bulgaria is characterized by a relatively large share of immigrants above 35. The population pyramid of *Germany* illustrates that the majority of German immigrants enters the Netherlands at ages between 20 and 25. Women hereby outnumber men. The share of immigrants aged 25-30 is already much smaller, and only small shares of immigrants can be found in the higher and lower age categories. For *France*, the gender distribution of immigrants is largely equal. Most immigrants are between 20 and 25 years old The largest share of *Greek* immigrants is between 25 and 30 years old; men make up the largest part of this group. *Hungarian* immigrants are mostly between 20 and 30 years old, whereby women outnumber men in the age category 20-25, and men outnumber women in the age category 25-30. Immigrants aged 30-35 also make up a considerable share of the Hungarian immigrants. Among the *Italian* immigrants, men outnumber women in practically all age categories. The majority of immigrants is aged between 20 and 35, with immigrants between 25 and 30 forming the largest group. For *Poland*, female immigrants outnumber males in the ages 20-25, whereas among the immigrants aged 25-35 male immigrants form a majority. Over all, most migrants are between 20 and 35 years old at the time of migration. For *Portugal*, men outnumber women in the ages above 20. The largest group of immigrants is 25-30 years old. Most *Romanian* immigrants are between 20 and 30 years old. Female migrants outnumber males in this age group. Of the *Spanish* immigrants, the largest share is between 20 and 30 years of age. Women form the largest share of immigrants between 20 and 25

years old. A relatively large share of children under 5 years of age can be observed for Spain as well. Most *Swedish* immigrants enter the Netherlands aged 20-30. In this age group women outnumber men. The share of immigrants under 5 years old is relatively large. Finally, among the *British* immigrants men outnumber women in most age categories. The largest share of female migrants is aged 20-25, whereas for males migrants between 25 and 35 years old form the largest group. The shares of migrants under 10 years old, and above 35 are also well represented.

Age & Gender Distribution Emigrants

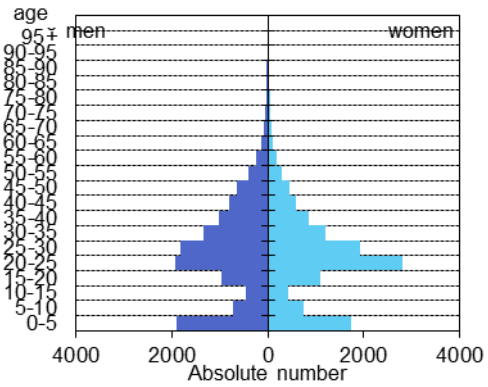
In figure 16 the age and gender distributions of emigrants are displayed per country of birth. Also for emigrants, roughly three groups can be distinguished based on the age distributions. First, for Germany and France most emigrants are between 20 and 25 years old. For Greece, Hungary, Italy and Poland, emigrants aged between 25 and 30 form the largest group. Spain and Romania fall a bit in between these two groups. Belgium, the UK and Bulgaria again clearly stand out because of their larger groups of children (especially Belgium and the UK) and emigrants above age 35.

Also for emigrants, the gender distribution is not equal for all countries. This is especially noticeable for emigrants from Greece, Italy and the UK, where men outnumbered women in all age categories above 25. Men are also stronger represented among Polish emigrants between 20 and 40 years old, and Portuguese emigrants aged 20-40. Women make up the largest share among emigrants from Hungary and Spain in the ages 20-25, and emigrants from Germany, Romania and Sweden in the ages 20-30.

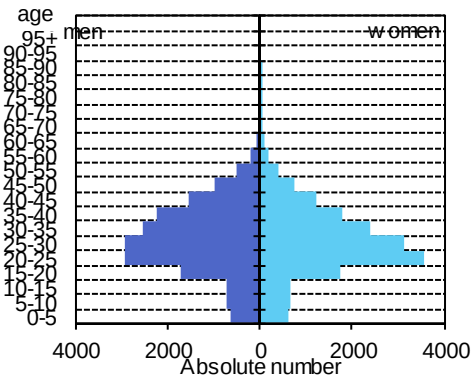
Most emigrants born in *Belgium* are between 20 and 35 years old. In the ages 20 to 30, women outnumber men. Compared to most other countries, Belgium is characterized by a particularly high share of emigrants under 20 and above 35. Most *Bulgarian* emigrants are between 20 and 35 years old. The gender distribution is rather equal. The share of emigrants above 35 years is relatively substantial as well. The gender distribution for *French* emigrants is quite equal, with slightly more men in the ages 25-30. Migrants between 20 and 25 years old are the largest group. Among *German* emigrants, the largest group is between 20 and 30 years old. In this age group, women clearly outnumber men. Most *Greek* emigrants are between 25 and 30 years old. In the ages of 25 and higher, much more male emigrants than females can be found. Among *Hungarian* emigrants, the largest age group is 25-30. In the ages 20-25, female emigrants are represented more strongly than men. For *Italy*, the share of male emigrants is larger than the share of females, especially in the age category 25-30. Emigrants aged 25-30 form the largest age group for *Poland*. In the ages above 30, men outnumber women. Among *Portuguese* emigrants are more men than women, especially in the largest age group, aged 25-30. Portugal is further characterized by a high number of elderly, aged 65-70. Female emigrants outnumber male emigrants from *Romania* in the ages 20-30, the largest age categories. Most emigrants from *Spain* are between 20 and 35 years old. The share of emigrants aged 65-70 is relatively large for Spain. For *Sweden*, female emigrants slightly outnumber male emigrants. The largest age group is between 25 and 30 years old. Between 2003 and 2013 more *British* men than women emigrated from the Netherlands. Most emigrants can be found in the ages 30-45, but the emigrants in younger and older ages are represented well too.

Figure 15. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: Age & gender distribution of immigrants by country of birth

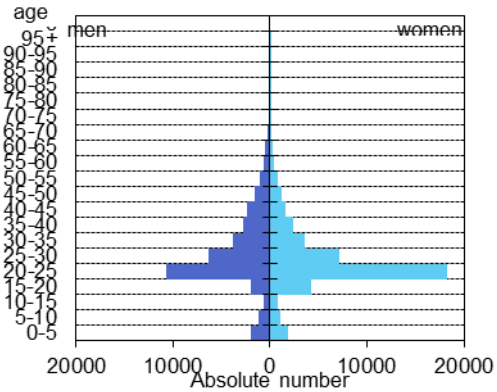
Belgium



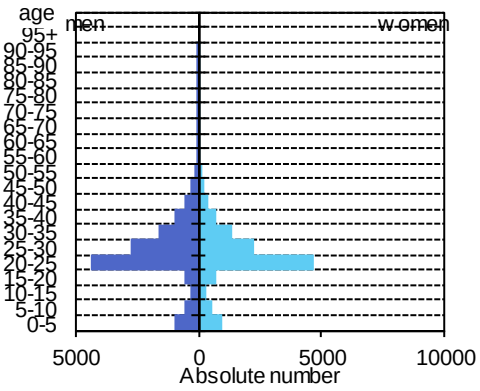
Bulgaria



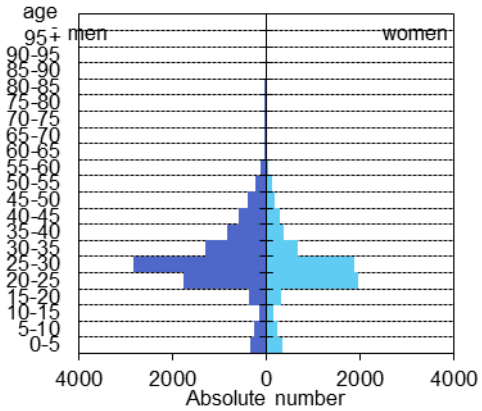
Germany



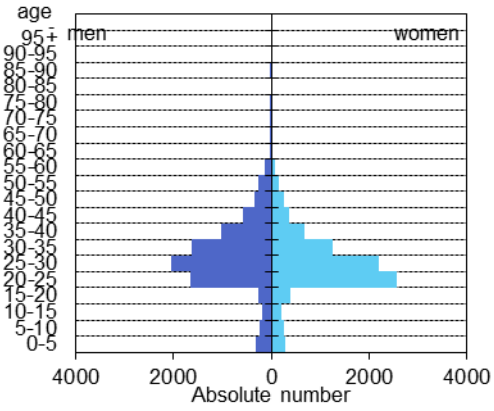
France



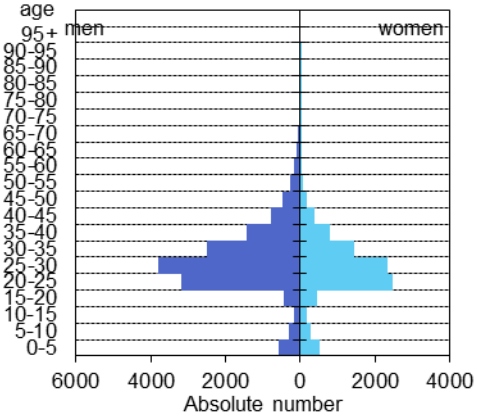
Greece



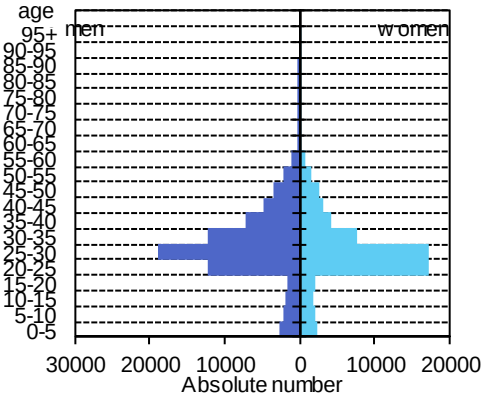
Hungary



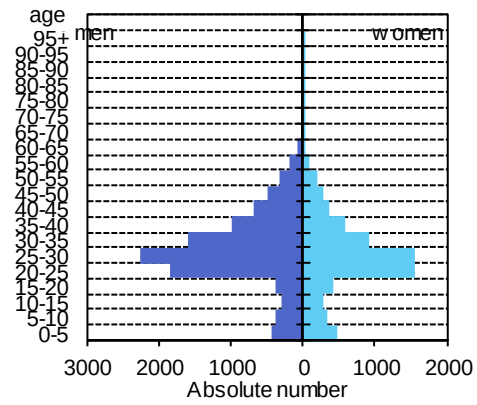
Italy



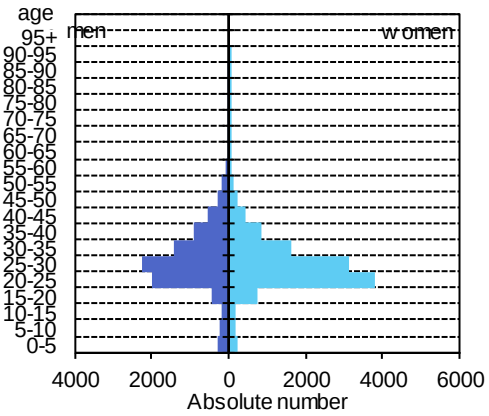
Poland



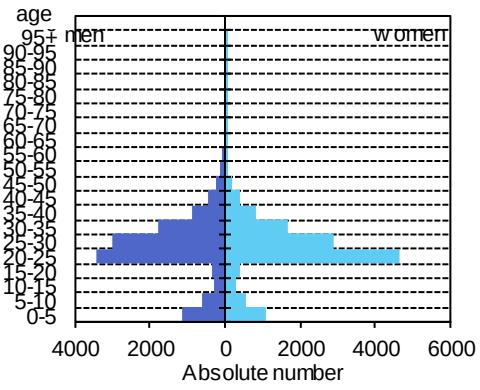
Portugal



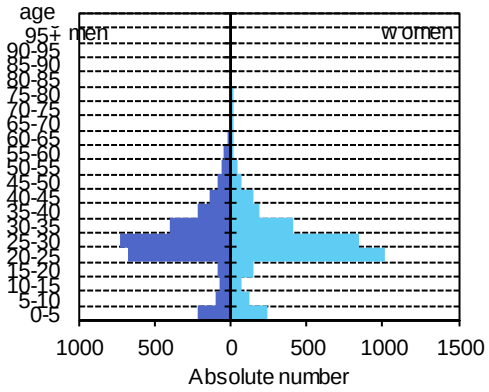
Romania



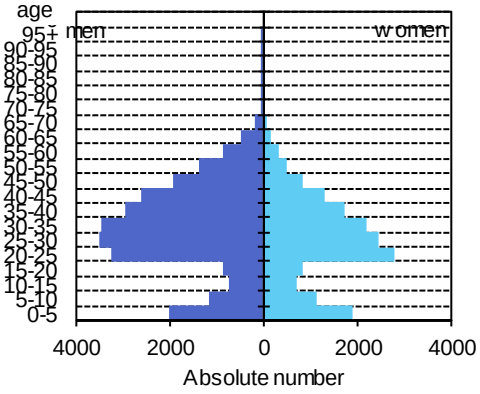
Spain



Sweden



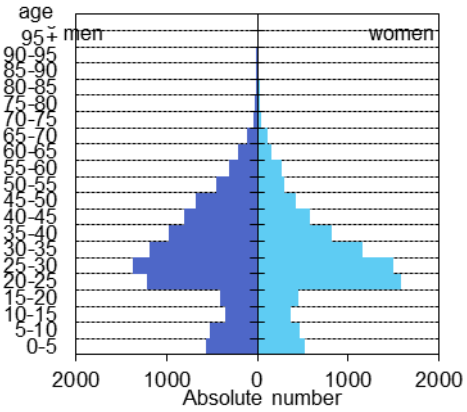
UK



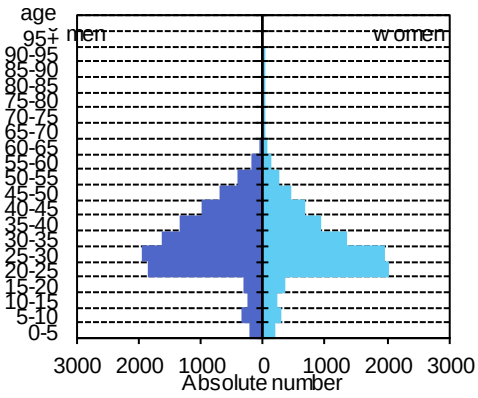
Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

Figure 16. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: Age & gender distribution of emigrants by country of birth

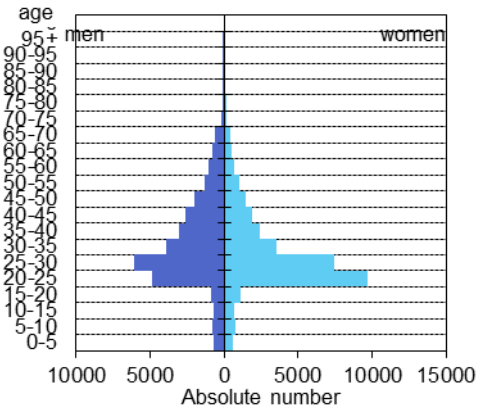
Belgium



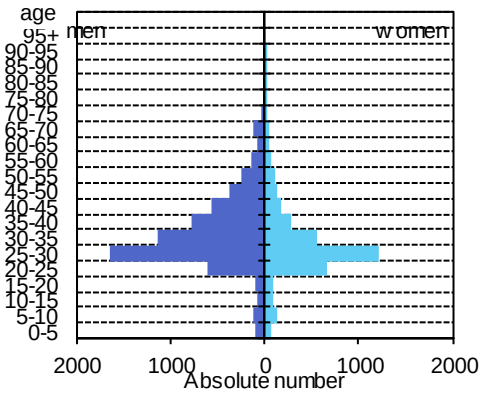
Bulgaria



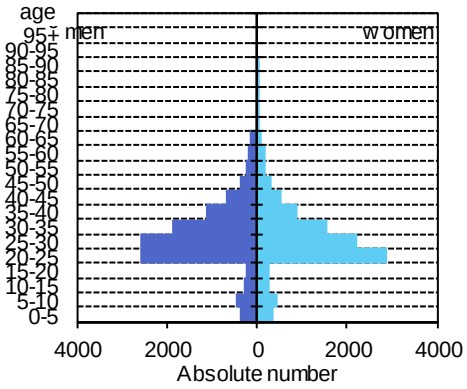
Germany



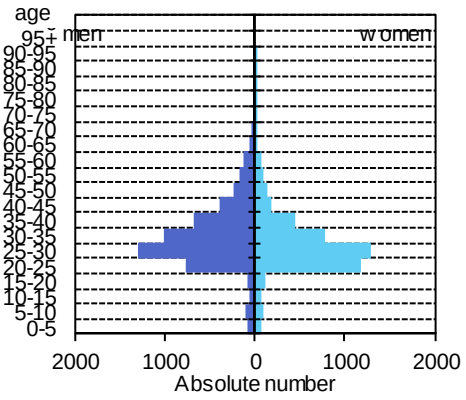
Greece



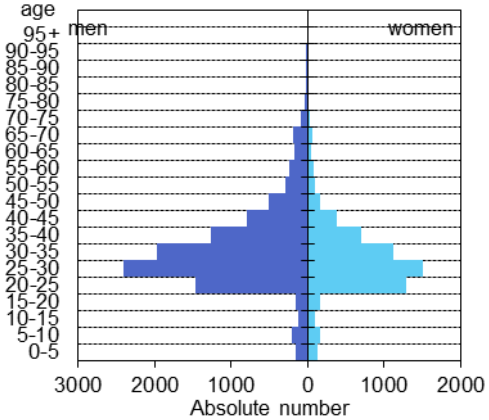
France



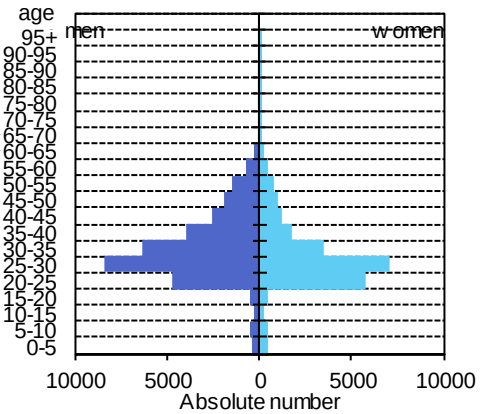
Hungary



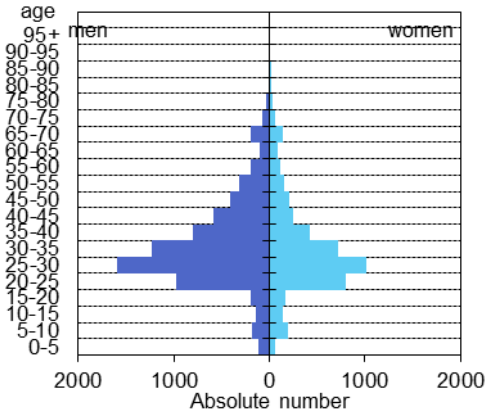
Italy



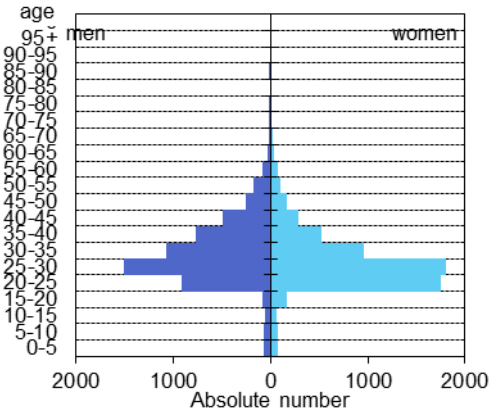
Poland



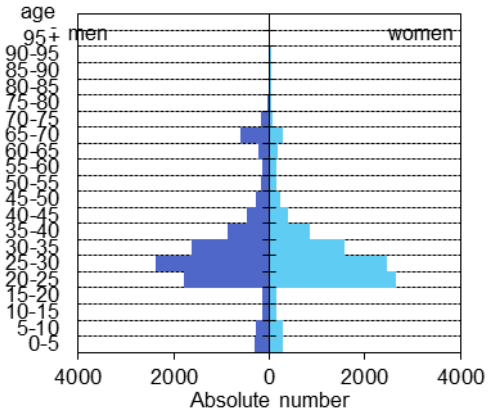
Portugal



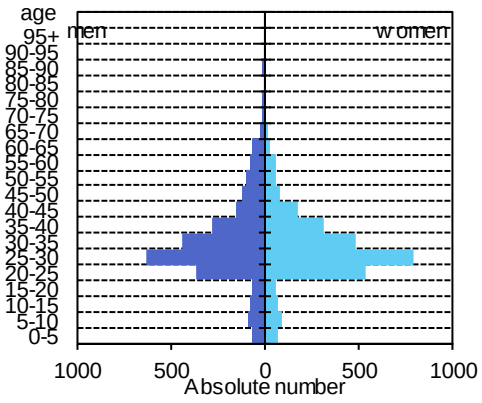
Romania



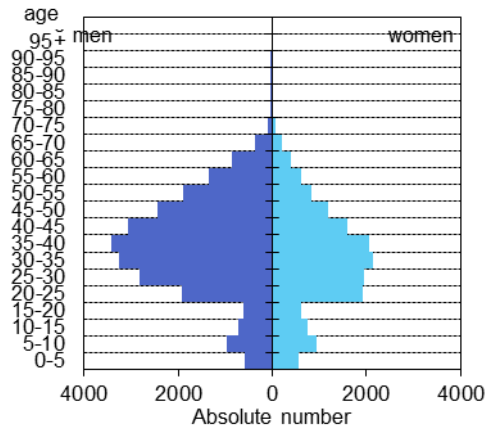
Spain



Sweden



UK



Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

Position in the household

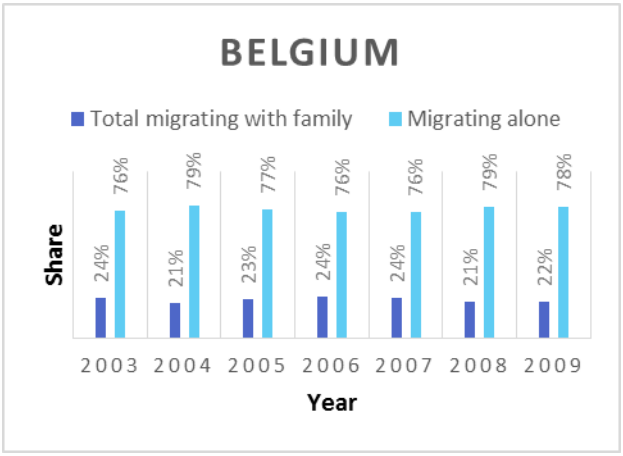
Immigrants Migrating with Family: Developments over time

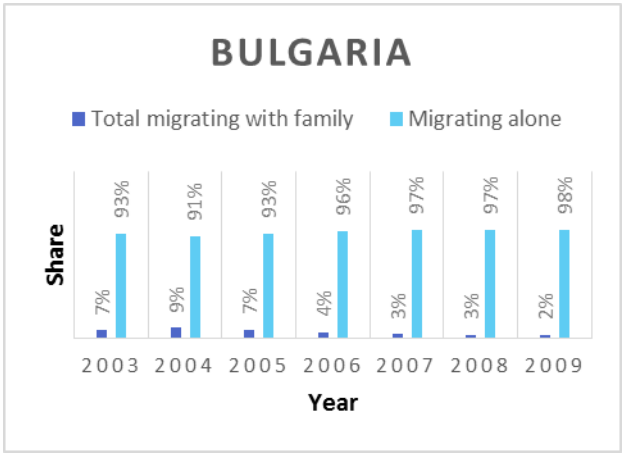
Figure 17 presents the share of immigrants that migrate with a family member by country of birth, for the period 2003-2009. After 2009, data on migrants' position in the household were no longer collected by Statistics Netherlands. The figure shows that the share of migrants migrating with family members is much smaller than the share of migrants migrating alone. For *Belgium*, *Greece* and *Portugal* the distribution fluctuated somewhat over time, but changes were only small. For *Bulgaria* the share of migrants migrating with family members decreased from 9% in 2004 to 2% in 2009. The share of *Hungarian* immigrants migrating with family declined from 11% in 2003 to 5% in 2009. For the *Italian* immigrants a decrease from 12% to 7% can be observed, and for *Romanians* one from 12% to 6%. Also for *Germany* the share of immigrants migrating with family members has decreased over the years, from 16% in 2003 to 9% in 2009. For immigrants born in *France* the share that migrated with family members was with 18% and 19% somewhat higher in 2006 and 2007 than the years before, but decreased to 11% in 2009. Also for *Poland* the share of immigrants accompanied by family members was with 19% and 23% the highest in 2006 and 2007, but after this decreased again to approximately the same levels as observed in the years before, around 13%. A similar pattern can be observed for immigrants born in *Spain*: the levels changed from 8% in 2003 to 11% in 2007, to drop to 6% in 2009. For the *UK* the temporary increase in the share of immigrants migrating with family members was somewhat earlier, with the largest share, 20%, observed in 2004 and 2005. The share of *Swedish* immigrants migrating with family initially increased from 10% in 2003 to 15% in 2004, but afterwards gradually decreased to reach a level of 6% in 2009.

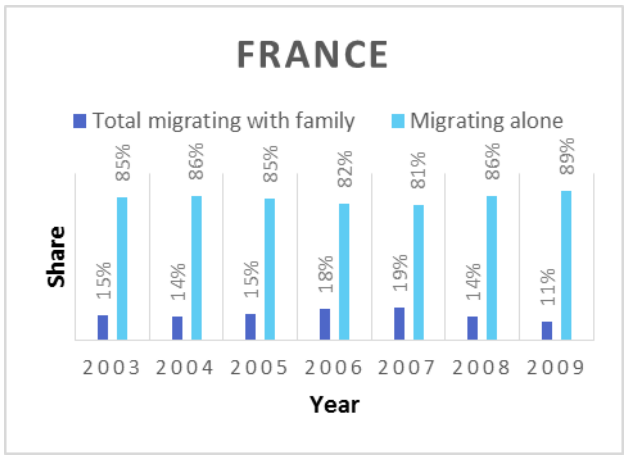
Emigrants Migrating with Family: Developments over time

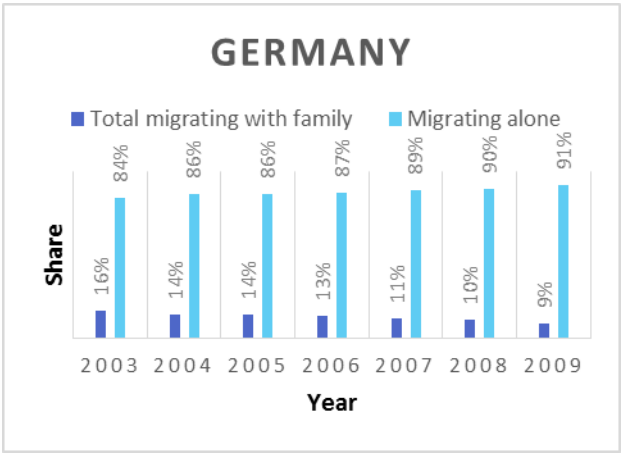
In figure 18, the share of emigrants migrating with family members is presented by country of birth for the years 2003-2009. Although the share of emigrants migrating with family members is noticeably larger for emigrants than for immigrants, still the large majority of emigrants migrated without family for all countries of birth. 40% of the emigrants born in *Belgium* migrated with family members in 2003. In 2009 this share was reduced to 32%. Also for *Germany* the share of emigrants migrating with family declined over time, from 32% in 2003 to 18% in 2009. Among emigrants born in *Romania* the share migrating with family members decreased from 24% in 2003 to 9% in 2009. For *Spain*, this share decreased from 27% to 17% between 2003 and 2009. The same trend is observed for *Italy*, from 26% to 15%, and for *France*, from 40% to 22%. For emigrants born in *Sweden* the share migrating with family initially increase from 27% in 2003 to 34% in 2004, but decreased after this year, to reach a level of 22% in 2009. Also for *Bulgaria* the share of emigrants migrating with family members initially increased somewhat, from 6% in 2004 to 19% in 2005, but after this the level decreased to 6% in 2008 and 2009. For *Greece* a decline was observed after 2005 from 20% to 11% in 2009, and for *Hungary* from 25% in 2005 to 9% in 2009. For *Poland* the largest share of emigrants migrating with family members was observed in 2006, with 27%. After this year the share of emigrants migrating with family reduced again, to 17% in 2009. For the *UK* the largest share of emigrants migrating with family members, 37%, was observed in 2007, whereas the lowest share was with 27% observed in 2009. Only small fluctuations over time were observed for *Portugal*.

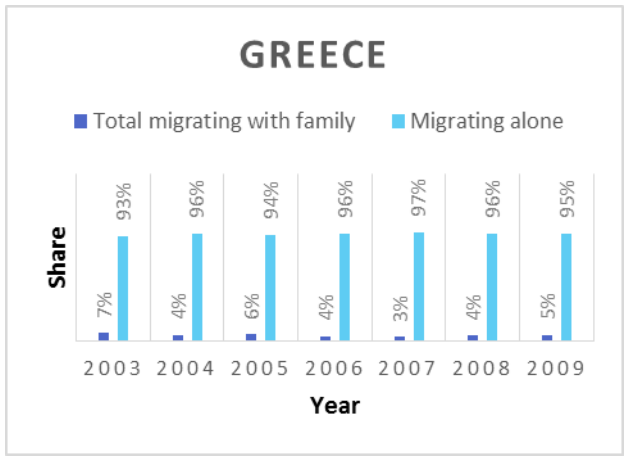
Figure 17. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: Position in the household of immigrants by country of birth

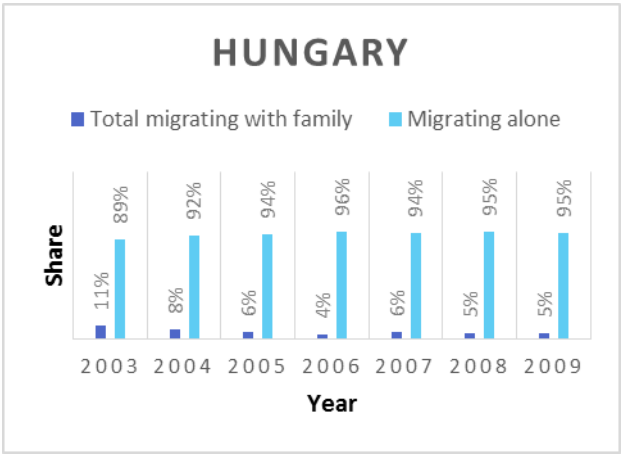


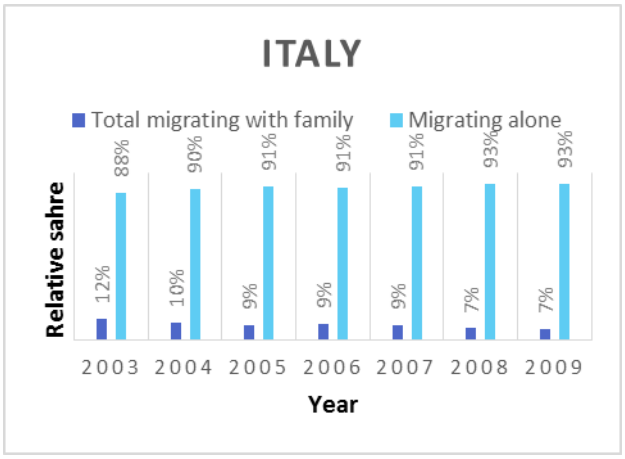


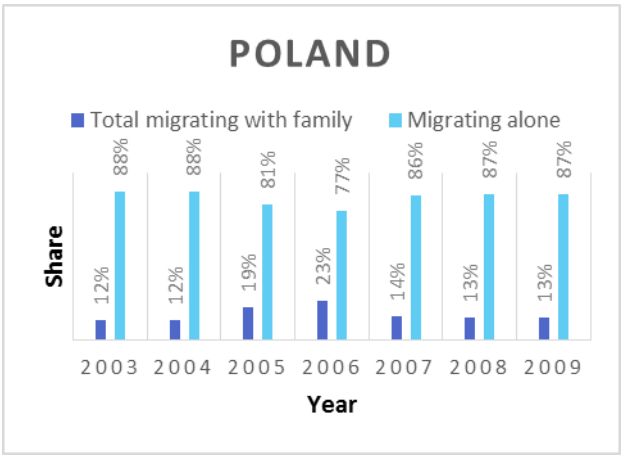


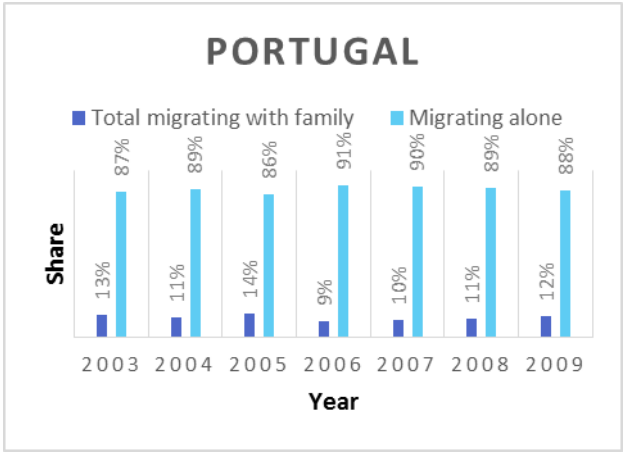


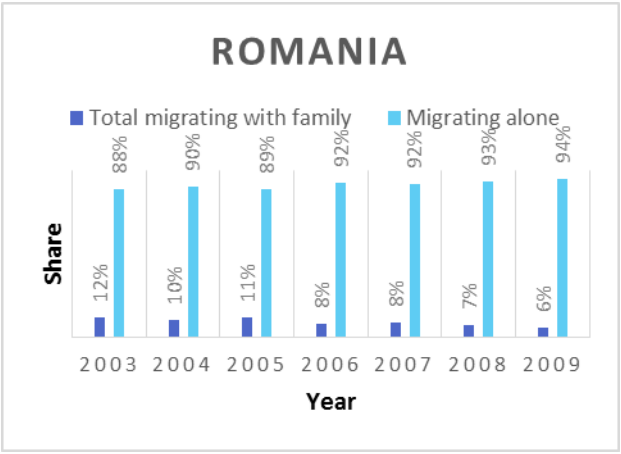


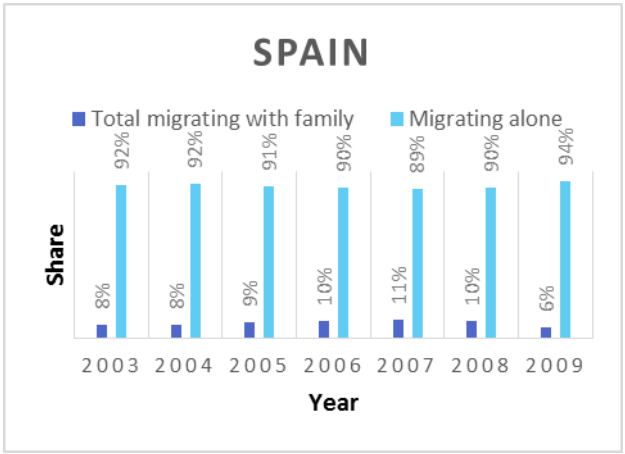


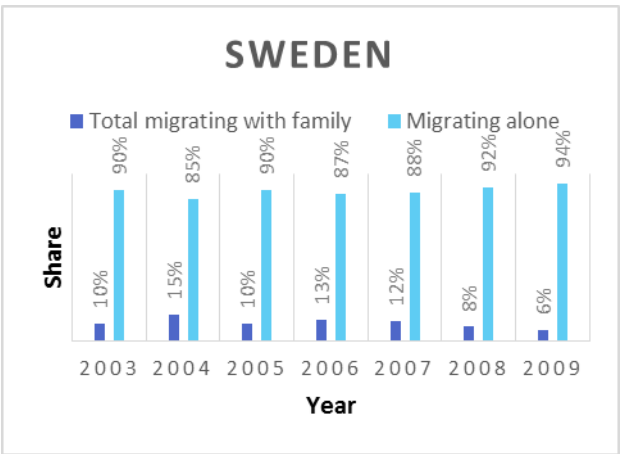












Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

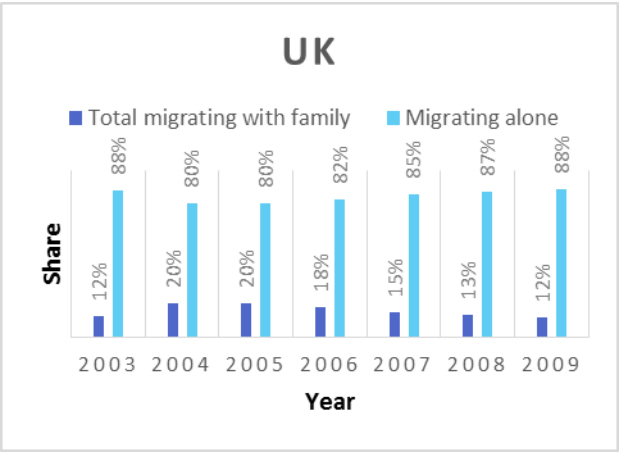
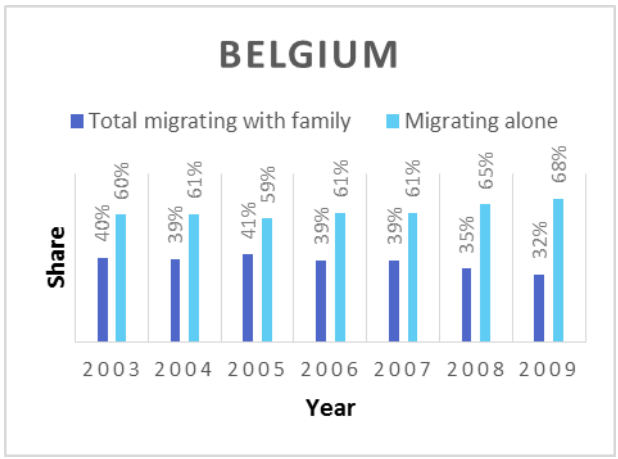
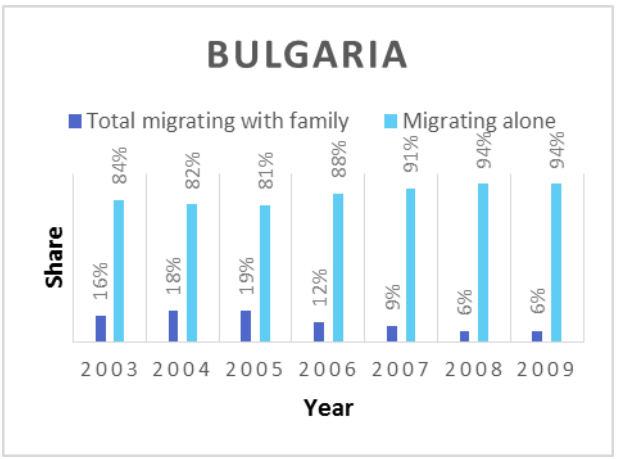
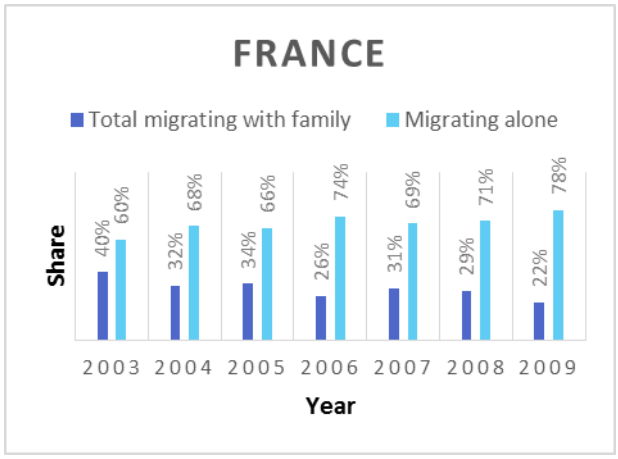
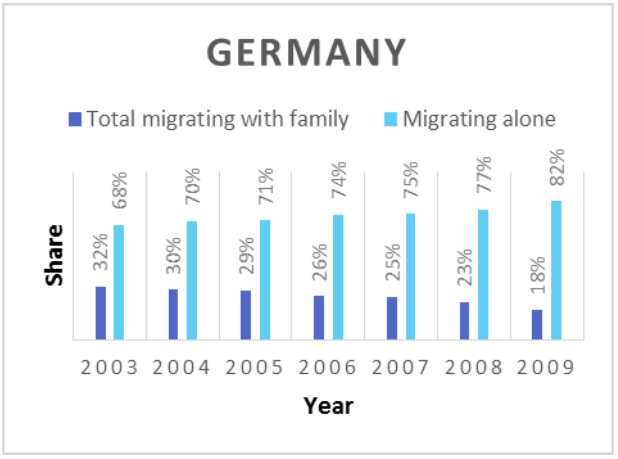


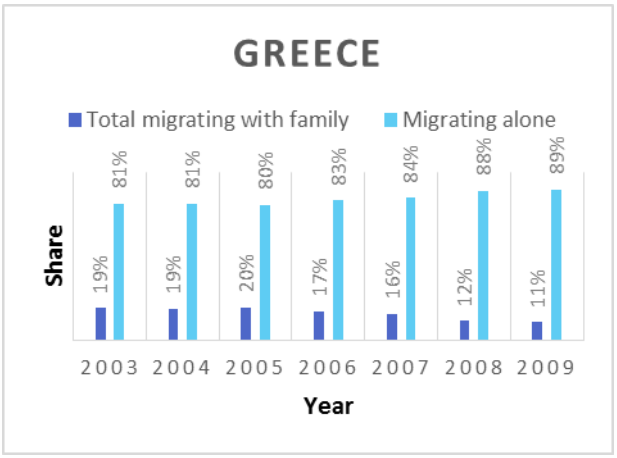
Figure 18. The Netherlands, 2003-2013: Position in the household of emigrants by country of birth

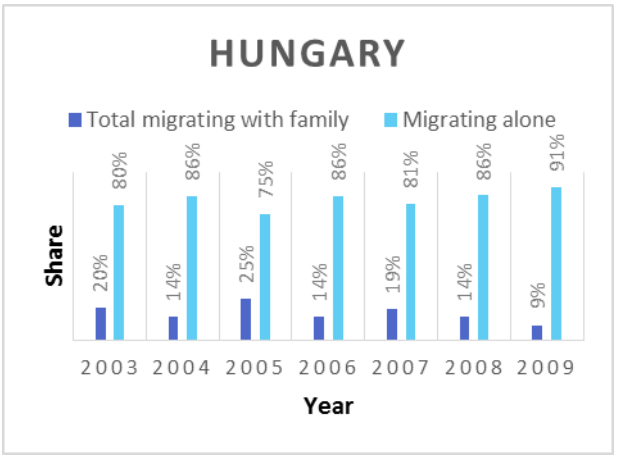


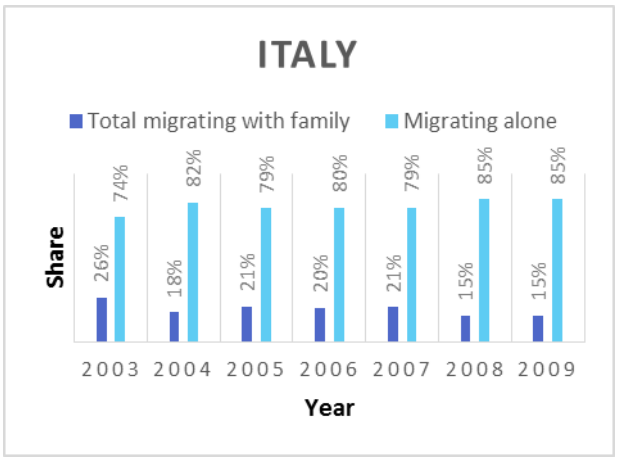


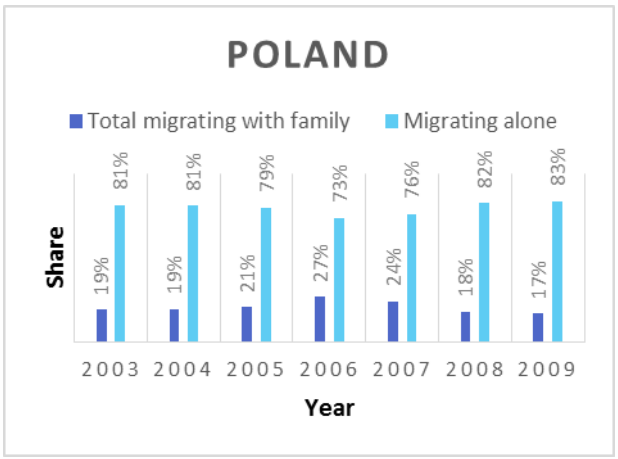


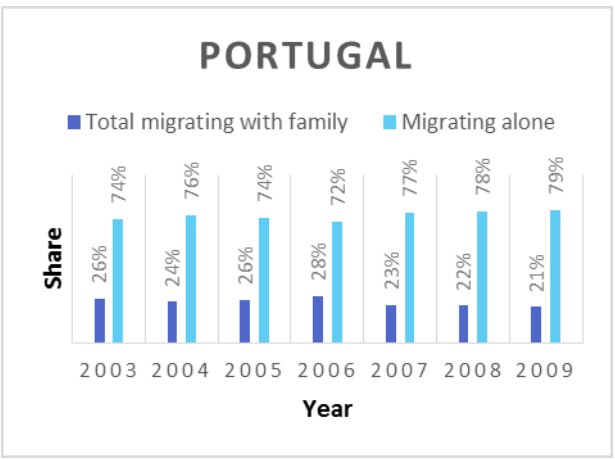


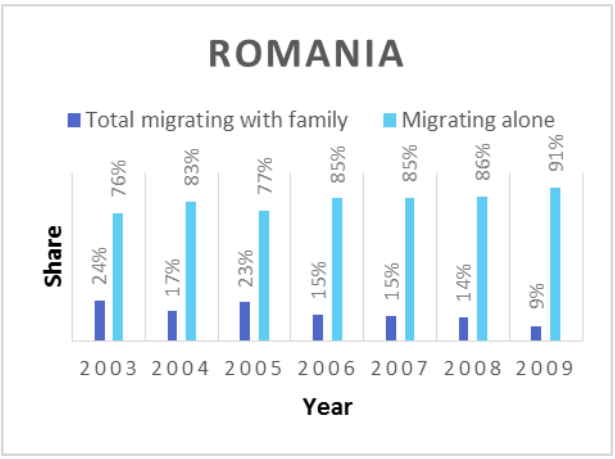


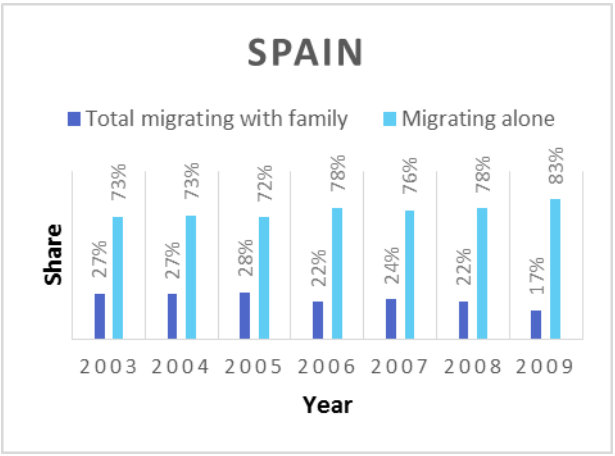


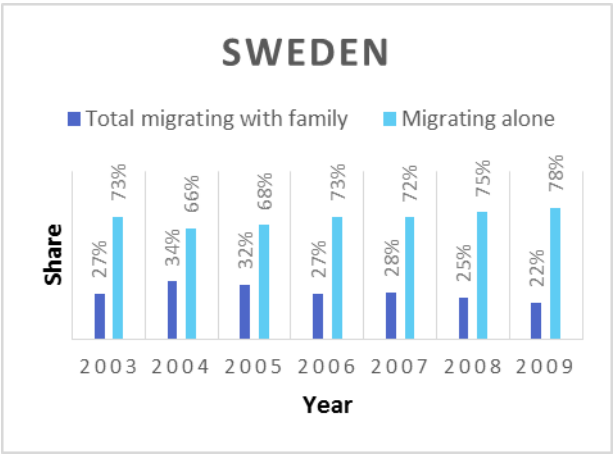


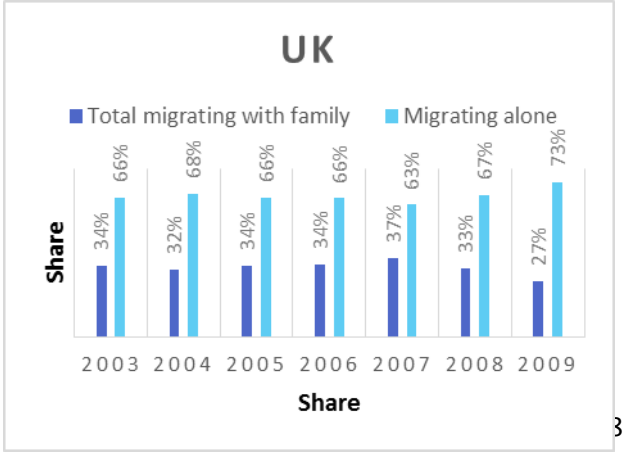












Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

Figure 17 and figure 18 have illustrated that the share of migrants migrating with family members fluctuated over the years in different ways for the different countries of birth. To describe the households of migrants at the time of migration in more detail, we have therefore grouped migrants for the period 2003-2009.

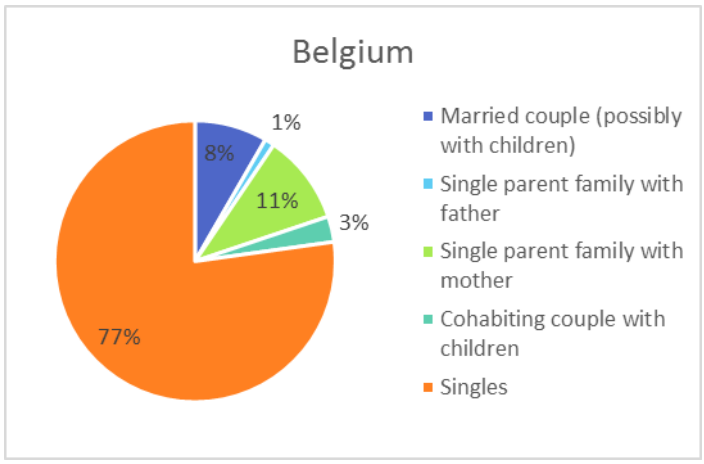
Household Type at time of Migration: Immigrants

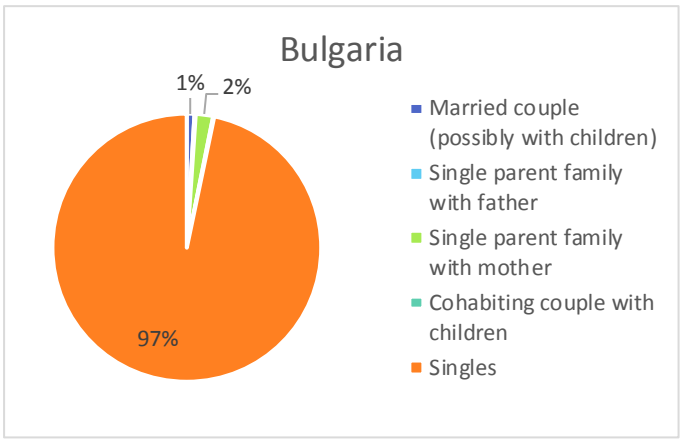
In figure 19, the distribution of household types at the time of migration is presented for immigrants for the period 2003-2013. The largest share of immigrants migrating with family members is observed for Belgium (33%). Shares of immigrants migrating with family members are much smaller for all other countries of birth: 15% for the UK, France and Poland, 12% for Portugal and Germany, 10% for Sweden, 9% for Spain, 8% for Italy and Romania, 6% for Hungary, 4% for Greece and 3% Bulgaria. Of the immigrants migrating with family members, the largest group is formed by immigrants in single parent households migrating with the mother, followed by married couple families (possibly with children) for Belgium, Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania. For immigrants born in France, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the UK, married couple households made up the largest share, followed by single parent households migrating with the mother. For Germany and Greece these two types of households made up equal shares of the total immigrant population. The shares of single parent households migrating with the father, and cohabiting couple households with children are either small or non-existing for all countries of birth.

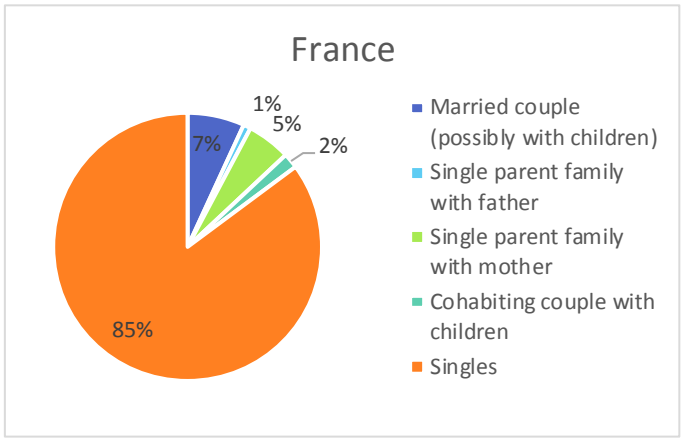
Household Type at time of Migration: Emigrants

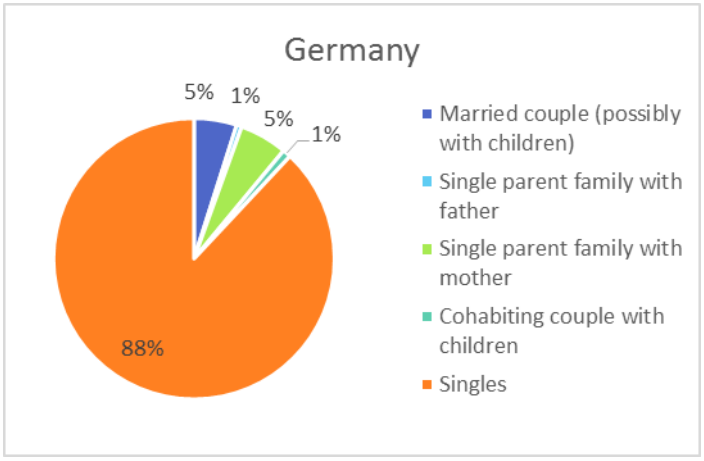
For emigrants, the distribution of household types is displayed in figure 20. Between 2003 and 2009, the share of emigrants migrating in family formation was with 38% the largest among emigrants born in Belgium. The share of emigrants migrating with family members was with 33% also relatively large for the UK. For France this group made up 30%, 28% for Sweden, 26% for Germany, 24% for Portugal, 23% for Spain, 20% for Poland, 19% for Italy, 16% for Greece, 15% for Hungary, Romania 14% and a mere 8% for Bulgaria. The share of persons migrating with family members is clearly larger among emigrants than among immigrants for all countries of birth. Among the emigrants migrating with family members, clearly the largest group in all countries migrated in a married couple family (possibly with children). The second largest group, although overall much smaller, were single parent families migrating with the mother. The shares of emigrants migrating in a single parent family with the father, and cohabiting couple families with children were small or equalled zero for all countries of birth.

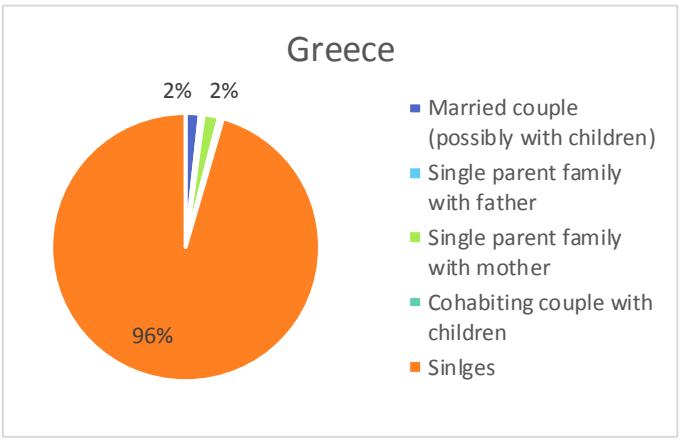
Figure 19. The Netherlands, 2003-2009: Household type of immigrants at migration by country of birth

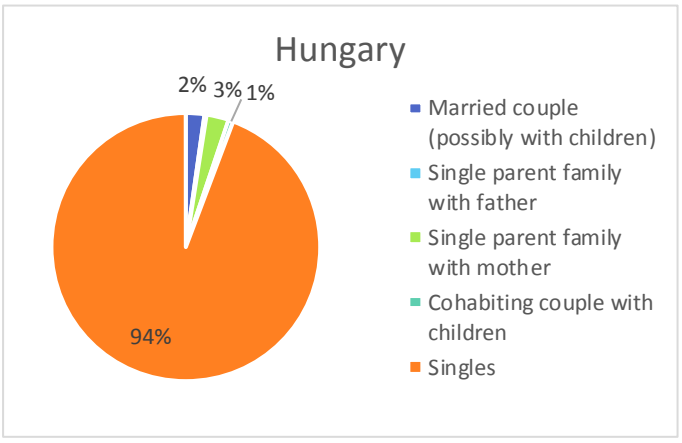


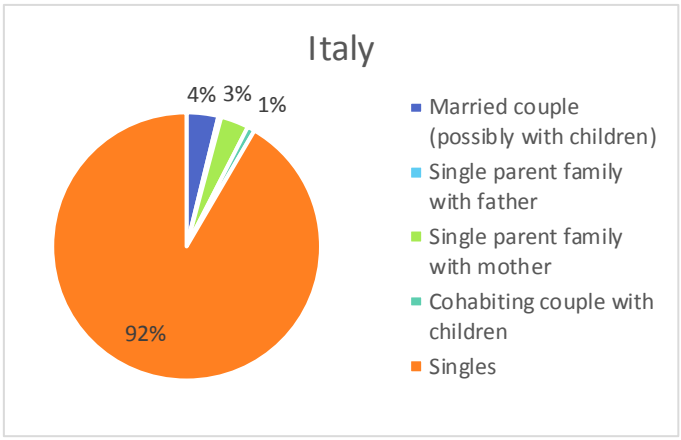


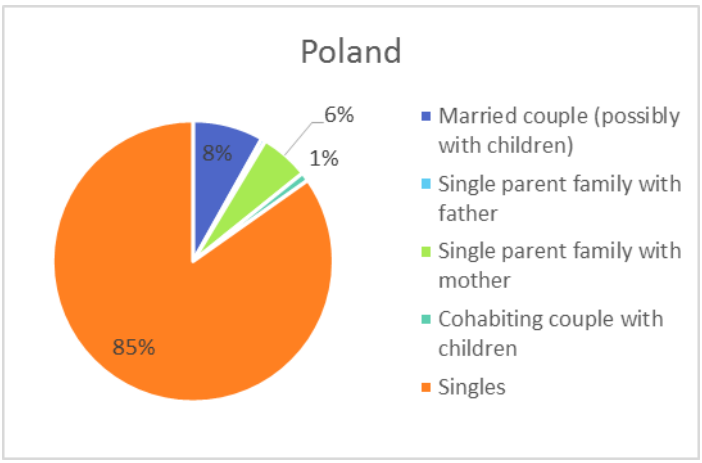


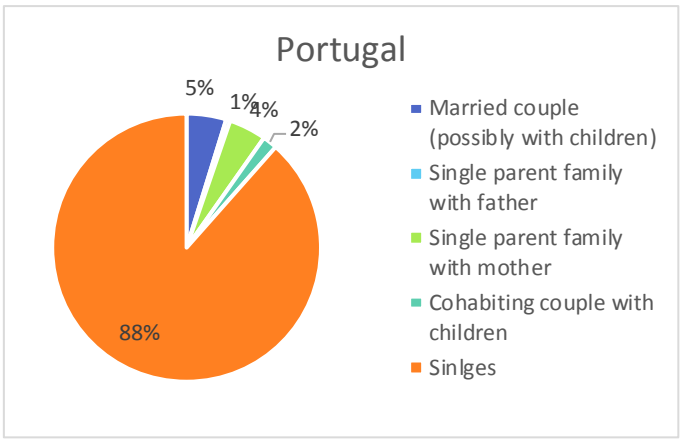


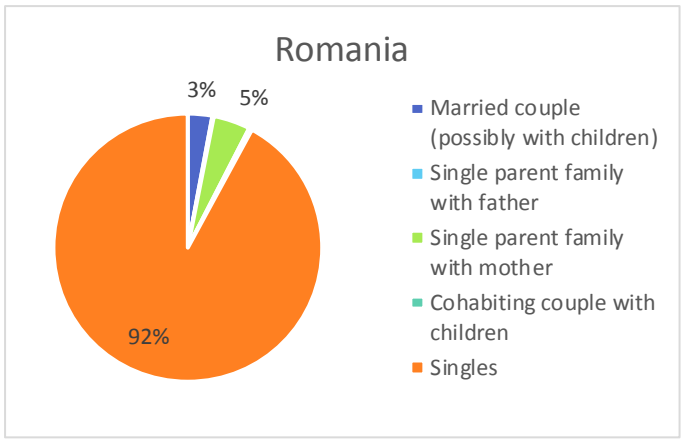


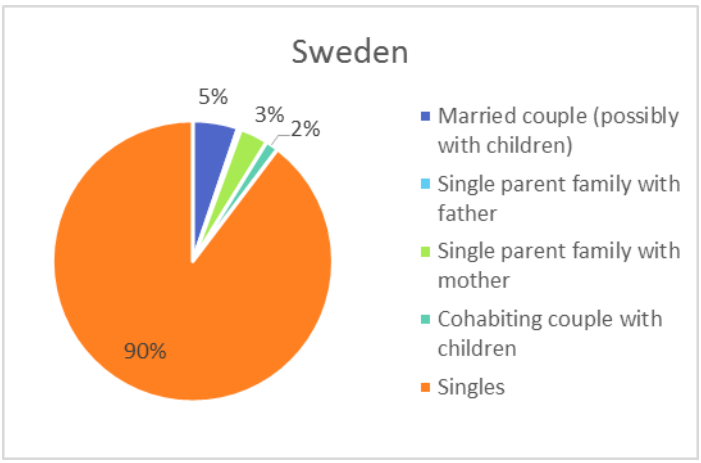


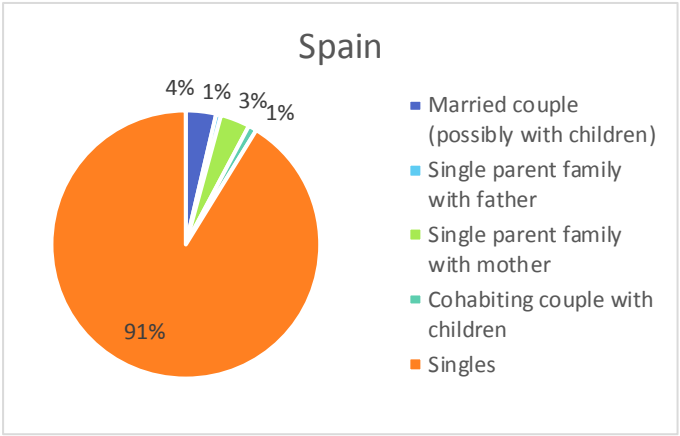

Italy
4%
3%
1%
92%
Married couple (possibly with children)
Single parent family with father
Single parent family with mother
Cohabiting couple with children
Singles

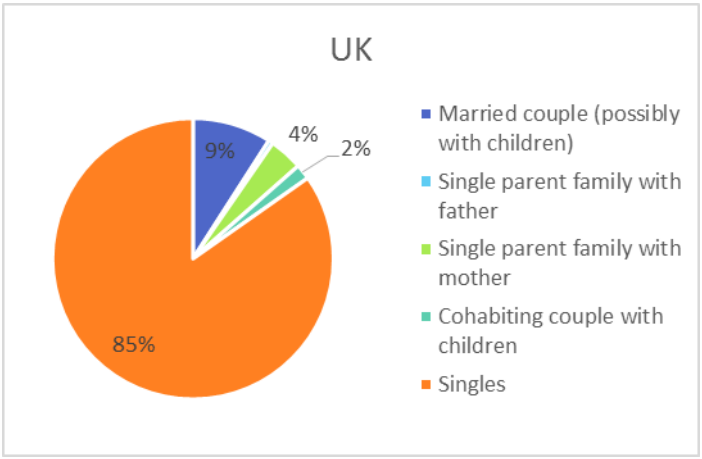

Poland
6%
8%
1%
85%
Married couple (possibly with children)
Single parent family with father
Single parent family with mother
Cohabiting couple with children
Singles


Portugal
5%
1%
4%
2%
88%
Married couple (possibly with children)
Single parent family with father
Single parent family with mother
Cohabiting couple with children
Sinlges


Romania
3%
5%
92%
Married couple (possibly with children)
Single parent family with father
Single parent family with mother
Cohabiting couple with children
Singles

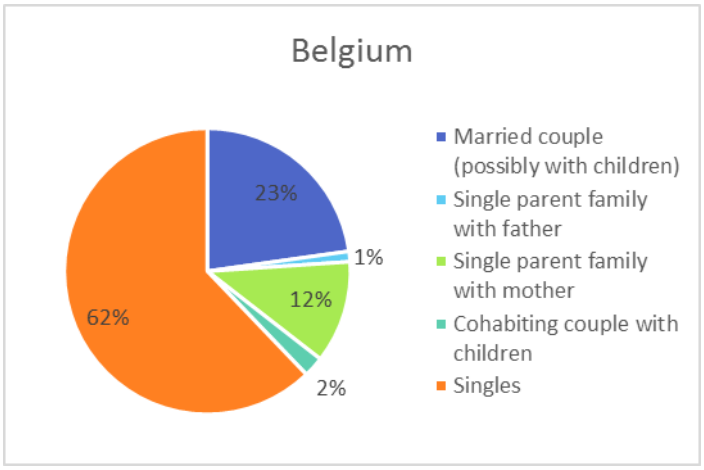

Sweden
5%
3%
2%
90%
Married couple (possibly with children)
Single parent family with father
Single parent family with mother
Cohabiting couple with children
Singles

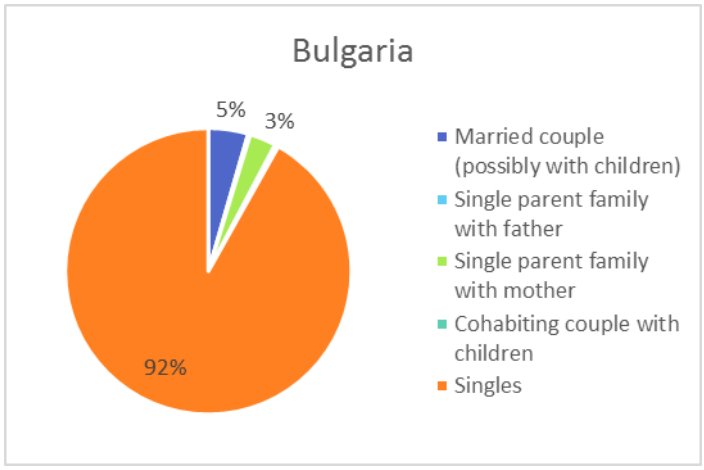

Spain
4%
1%
3%
1%
91%
Married couple (possibly with children)
Single parent family with father
Single parent family with mother
Cohabiting couple with children
Singles

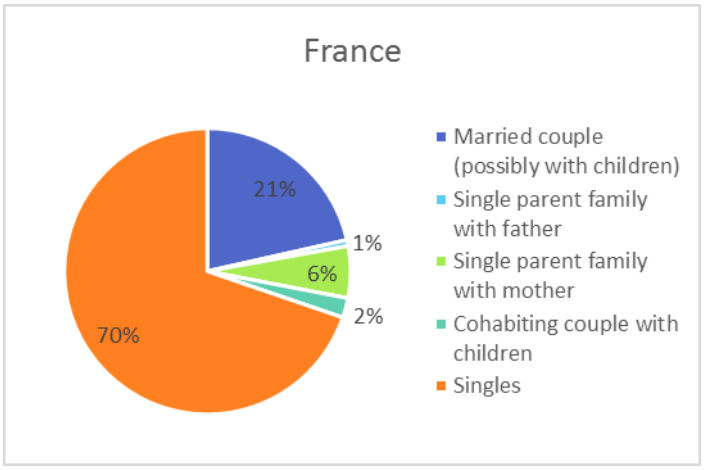


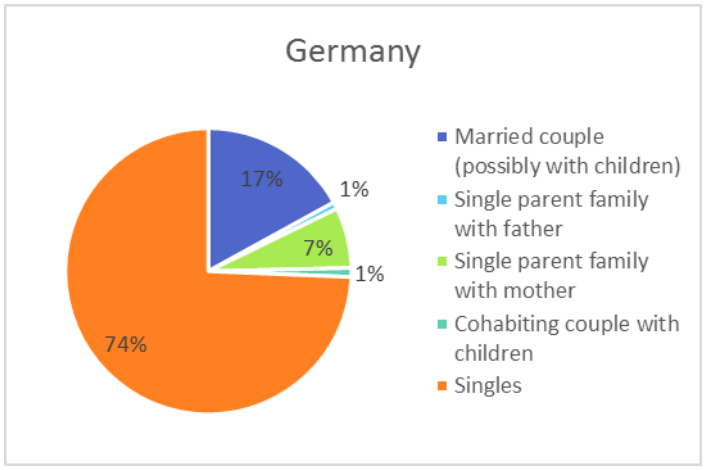
Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

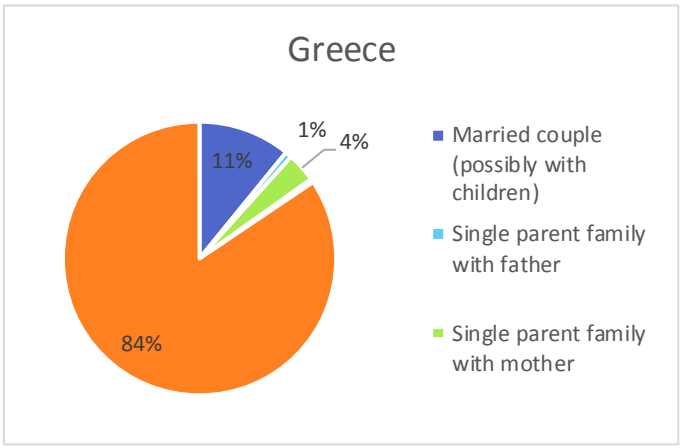
Figure 20. The Netherlands, 2003-2009: Household type at migration of emigrants by country of birth

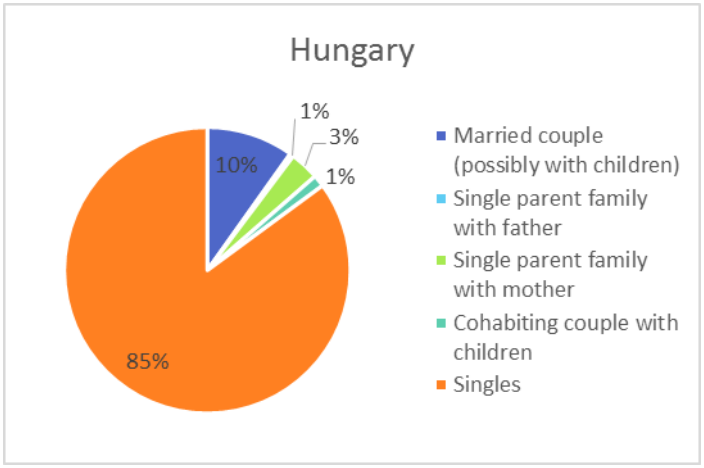


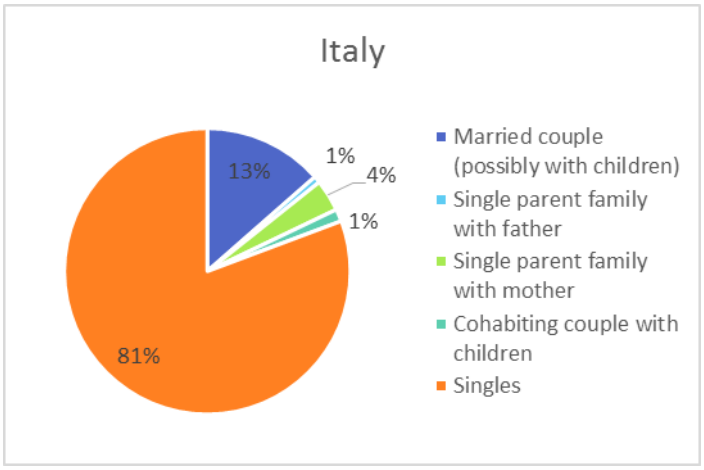


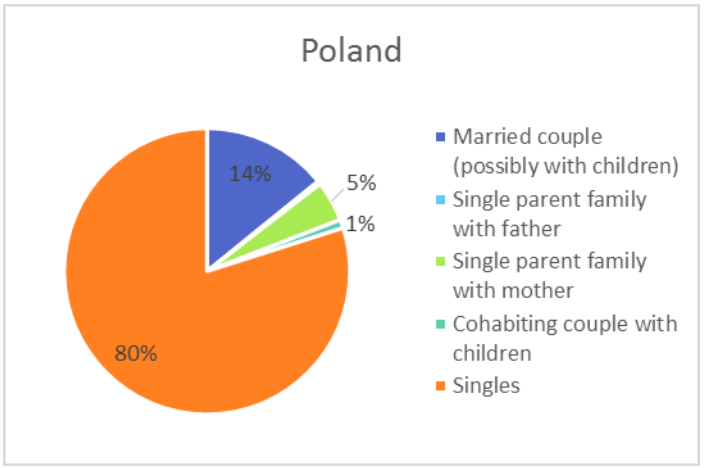


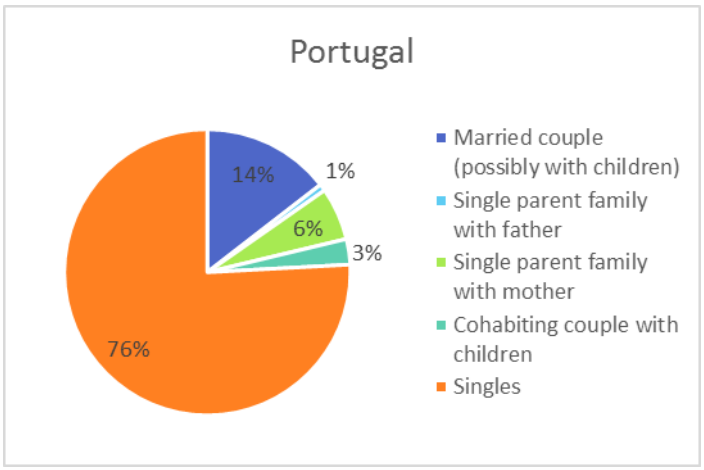


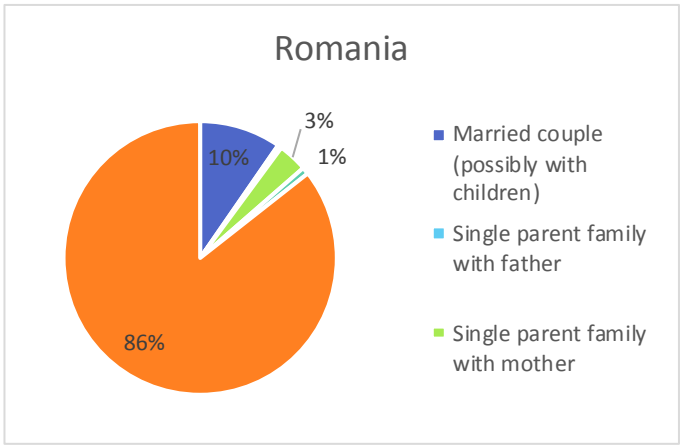


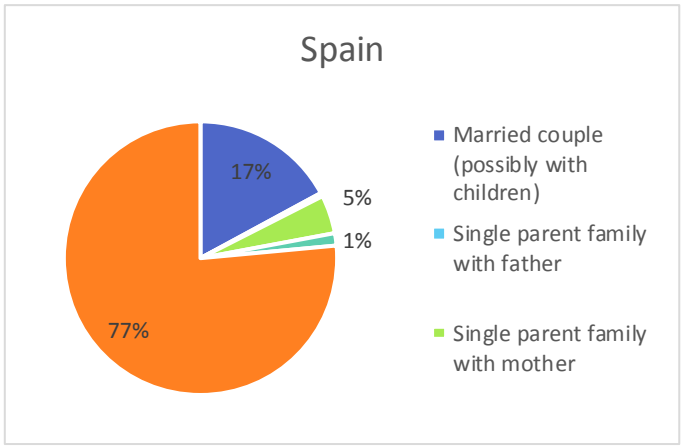


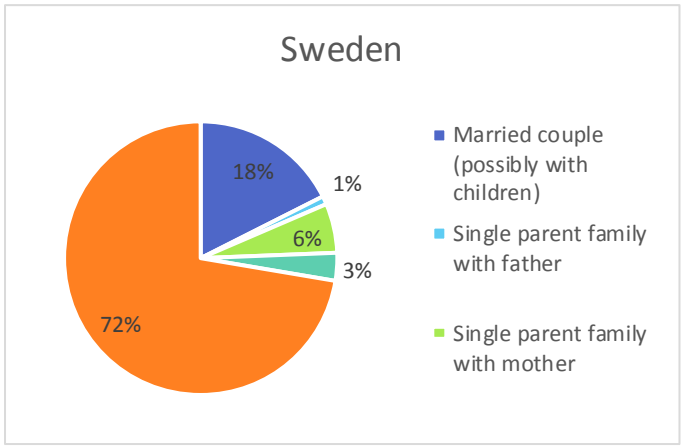

Italy
13%
1%
4%
1%
81%
Married couple (possibly with children)
Single parent family with father
Single parent family with mother
Cohabiting couple with children
Singles

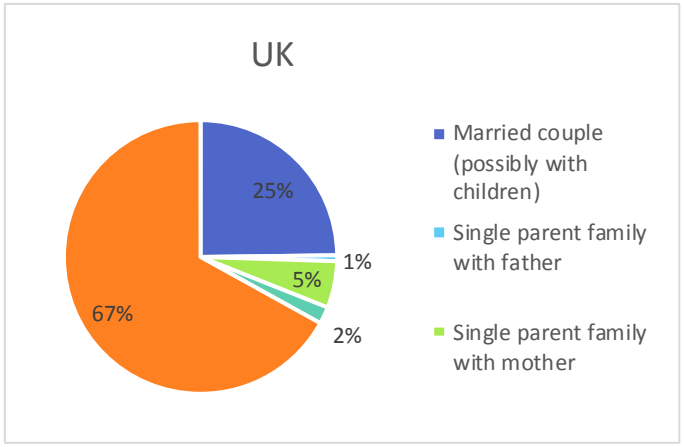

Poland
14%
5%
1%
80%
Married couple (possibly with children)
Single parent family with father
Single parent family with mother
Cohabiting couple with children
Singles


Portugal
14%
1%
6%
3%
76%
Married couple (possibly with children)
Single parent family with father
Single parent family with mother
Cohabiting couple with children
Singles


Romania
10%
3%
1%
86%
Married couple (possibly with children)
Single parent family with father
Single parent family with mother


Spain
17%
5%
1%
77%
Married couple (possibly with children)
Single parent family with father
Single parent family with mother


Sweden
18%
1%
6%
3%
72%
Married couple (possibly with children)
Single parent family with father
Single parent family with mother



Source: Authors' calculations based on Statistics Netherlands StatLine Database (2014).

Conclusions

In this paper, we addressed two main research questions. First, how did intra-EU migration to and from the Netherlands evolve over the years between 2003 and 2013? Second, what types of European migrants moved to and from the Netherlands between 2003 and 2013? Considering the first research question, we revealed that immigration to the Netherlands increased since 2003, with a larger share of incoming migrants being born in another EU member state in recent years. Furthermore, a small decrease in the total immigration number is observed in 2009, shortly after the start of the economic crisis. The same pattern is observed for the number of immigrants born in the EU member states. However, in the following years, the immigration number again increased. In addition, we observed an increase in flows of migrants from the Eastern European countries to the Netherlands after their accession to the European Union. From that moment onwards, Bulgarian and Polish migrants approached or exceeded the number of migrants from Germany and the UK, which were traditionally the main immigrant groups in the Netherlands. Also interesting, and less easily explained, is the increase in the number of immigrants born in Germany between 2003 and 2013.

The absolute emigration number as well as the number of emigrants born in EU member states fluctuated between 2003 and 2013. Likely as a result of the economic crisis, emigration from the Netherlands declined in 2009, to recover again in the subsequent years. However, when we have a closer look at the composition of the European emigration flow, we see that this decrease mainly results from smaller numbers of Dutch emigrants after 2009. In fact, the number of emigrants born in another European member state has been increasing over the whole period under study. Furthermore, the relative share of the EU born on the emigration flow has increased. Once again, the most noticeable growth was observed for the Eastern European countries after accessing the EU, with the emigration numbers of Polish or Bulgarian migrants approaching or exceeding those of migrants born in Germany and the UK. Interestingly, the number of emigrants born in Germany experienced a quite remarkable growth as well.

When looking at the net migration number, we see that the total net migration increased between 2006 and 2009. Since 2008, the number of immigrants has been larger than the number of emigrants. However, from 2009 onwards, the net migration did not increase any further, and even decreased. Over the period 2003-2013, Poland, Germany and Bulgaria were the countries with the highest net migration. However, for Germany and Bulgaria the net migration increased rapidly after 2005 and declined just as fast after 2011, whereas for Poland the net migration was considerably high in all years under study. The UK figured among the countries with the highest numbers of immigrants and emigrants between 2003 and 2013; the low and in some years even negative net migration rate indicate that the number of emigrants was relatively high compared to the number of immigrants.

Around half of the Bulgarian and Romanian immigrants who entered the Netherlands in 2003 were still residing there after 10 years. However, after Bulgaria and Romania entered the European Union, the length of stay of these immigrants substantially dropped. This development seems to result from the right of free movement, which has facilitated migration between these countries and the Netherlands since 2007. Interestingly, a similar pattern could not be observed for Poland and Hungary, EU member states since 2004. The re-migration rate was comparatively low for

Poland and Belgium. The highest re-migration rate was observed for immigrants from Sweden. When looking at the shares of immigrants still living in the Netherlands five years after migration, grouped by age category, we see that migrants who enter in the ages 15-25 were most likely to re-migrate within five years. Migrants entering the Netherlands as a child under the age of 15 were overall more likely to stay in the Netherlands for at least five years, as were migrants entering at ages above 30.

As mentioned earlier, the country of birth is not necessarily the country where immigrants to the Netherlands departed from, or where emigrants migrated towards. Almost all migrants migrating from Poland, Hungary and Romania to the Netherlands were born in the country of origin; for Bulgaria this was particularly the case after the country entered the EU in 2007. Also for migrants from Greece, Portugal and Italy the share born in the country of origin was rather small. For the Northern European countries and Spain, the shares of migrants born in the Netherlands or yet another country were somewhat larger. The smallest share of migrants born in the country of origin was observed for Belgium; most of these migrants were born in the Netherlands. Of the migrants moving from the Netherlands to Bulgaria, Romania and Poland, the large majority was born in the country of destination. Moreover, this share increased after these countries accessed the European Union. A similar pattern can also be observed for the other new member state, Hungary, although the share of emigrants born in the Netherlands is much larger for this country in all years. For Greece, Italy and Portugal the share of emigrants born in their country of destination was relatively large as well, and increased over time. For emigrants to Belgium, the share born in the country of destination was the smallest; a large share of these emigrants was born in the Netherlands.

Regarding the second research question, we can conclude that between 2003 and 2013, most migrants to and from the Netherlands were young, single migrants in their working ages. The shares of migrants under 15 years old and above 40 were overall much smaller. The gender distribution was generally rather balanced. The share of children was relatively large among immigrants born in Belgium and the UK, and emigrants born in Belgium; the share of migrants in the ages above 40 was relatively large among immigrants and emigrants born in Belgium, Bulgaria and the UK. However, it should be noted here that for some countries of birth the age distributions of both immigrants and emigrants has changed over the years under study. For several countries, the share of young adolescents migrating to the Netherlands increased, whereas the share of workers aged 25-40 decreased. This trend is observed most clearly for Germany, the UK, France, Belgium and Sweden. For Bulgaria, Italy, Poland and Portugal, the share of young adolescents on the other hand decreased around 2007, while the share of immigrants aged 25-40 increased. Also for emigrants the age distribution has changed over the years, mostly due to an increasing share of emigrants aged 15-25. Such increases have been most noticeable for Germany, France, Belgium, the UK and Spain. For Germany, furthermore, the share of emigrants aged 40-60 furthermore decreased over the years, and for Spain the share aged above 60. One should thus be aware that migration flows of mostly young adolescents to and from the Netherlands are a rather recent phenomena for certain countries of birth.

Overall, smaller and less consistent changes over time are observed for the family type of migrants at migration. The share of migrants moving together with family members however appeared to decrease rather than to increase over time. As mentioned before, only small shares of immigrants entered the Netherlands simultaneously with other family members. Of the immigrants who did so, most moved in a married couple family or single parent family migrating with the mother. Interestingly, compared to immigrants, the share of emigrants migrating with family

members was usually substantially larger. Of these emigrants clearly the largest share moved in a married couple family. Still, emigrants migrating without family members made up the largest share. The shares of single immigrants were smallest for Belgium, France, the UK and Poland, and largest for Bulgaria, Greece and Hungary. For emigrants, these shares were smallest for Belgium, the UK and France, and the largest for Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Greece.

Finally, we want to connect our findings to welfare arrangements in the country of origin and destination. First, we expected relatively large flows from less generous welfare states to the Netherlands, and relatively small flows the other way around. In line with this expectation, we found the net migration rate to increase for migrants born in the poorer Central and Eastern European countries after they entered the EU. However, only for Poland the net migration rate remained high over the complete studied period. For Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania, after some years of growth the net migration declined again, to approach zero in recent years. Further, in line with our hypothesis, the net migration rate was relatively low for migrants born in Sweden, a country which is known for its generous welfare state. Less obvious to explain are the low net migration rate for the UK and high net migration rate for Germany prior to 2012. The UK is usually classified as a liberal welfare regime, characterized by modest welfare benefits. From this, one would expect a high net migration from the UK to the Netherlands. Germany on the other hand is often classified as a conservative welfare regime. Although the Dutch welfare system might in certain respects be somewhat more generous, these differences do not seem large enough to account for the high net migration from Germany to the Netherlands.

Second, we expected migrants from less generous welfare states to stay longer in the Netherlands than migrants from the more generous welfare states. Interestingly, we observed that migrants born in Bulgaria and Romania tended to stay longer in the Netherlands than any other group before these countries entered the European Union, but that after EU accession the duration of stay decreased greatly. This is not what we would expect comparing the welfare regimes of these counties to that of the Netherlands. Although EU membership likely has facilitated the welfare usage of Bulgarians and Romanians in the Netherlands, access to the EU for these countries resulted in more short-term migration. The relatively long duration of stay for Polish migrants in the Netherlands on the other hand does support the idea that generous welfare benefits have an influence on the remigration decision, as does the short stay of Swedish migrants. The relatively long stay of Belgian migrants in the Netherlands is less easily explained from differences in welfare benefits between Belgium and the Netherlands. Especially migrants who entered the Netherlands as young adolescents turned out to leave again within five years; migrants who entered as a child or in higher (working) ages were more likely to stay. However, this does not hold true for immigrants born in Sweden, for whom the return rate was high in all ages, also for children. It could be the case that more generous welfare provisions in Sweden compared to the Netherlands discouraged Swedish migrants to stay abroad for a long period of time.

Finally, welfare benefits were expected to attract especially migrants who migrate with family members, or outside the working ages. We observed that over the years, the share of young migrants in the working ages increased for several countries. These migrants are expected to benefit less from a generous welfare state. The countries for which we observed this trend are all traditional EU member states, with comparatively the most developed welfare states. For the less developed welfare states a similar development was not observed. For these countries most migrants were in the working ages as well, although overall they were slightly older.

For the Northern EU member states, the share of immigrants migrating with family members was generally somewhat larger than for the Mediterranean and new Eastern European member states, Poland and Portugal excepted. Overall, we saw that the share of emigrants migrating with family members was much larger than the share of immigrants doing so. Most of these emigrants moved together with their husband/wife or married parents. The largest share of emigrants moving with family members was observed for the Northern countries, followed by the Mediterranean countries. The Eastern European countries had the smallest shares of emigrants moving accompanied by family. This could indicate that for all countries most migrants migrate to the Netherlands without family members, but that migrants from the less generous welfare states are less likely to re-migrate from the Netherlands when living with family members. However, this finding might also result from a lower number of migrants from these countries living in the Netherlands with family members. The share of singles was largest among immigrants born in Bulgaria, and also practically all Bulgarian emigrants migrated alone. This might be somewhat unexpected, as we saw that the share of immigrants under 15 and above 35 years of age was relatively large for Bulgaria. However, we should note here that the figures on the family type at the time of migration are based on data for the years 2003-2009, whereas the age and gender distribution is based on data for the years 2003-2013. Since the share of children and older migrants increased for Bulgaria after the country entered the EU in 2007, this probably explains why these figures do not correspond.

The main aim of this paper was to describe intra-EU migration to and from the Netherlands between 2003 and 2013, as well as the type of migrants. In the paper we also made a first attempt to connect these statistics to differences in the welfare regime of the country of origin and destination. However, as we did not include a detailed overview of the welfare regime of the Netherlands, nor of migrants' countries of birth, we cannot make strong claims about the relation between welfare and migration. Further research is needed to test the expectations formulated in the frontend of the paper thoroughly. Still, the paper contributes to our knowledge presenting a comprehensive overview of recent migration for the Dutch context, information that was not readily available yet. In addition, the observed changes of migrants' characteristics over time illustrate the necessity to include developments of the welfare states over time when investigating the relation between welfare and migration. Hereby the paper forms a step away from research explaining migration solely from factors related to the labour market, and towards including characteristics of the country of origin, country of destination and migrants themselves when studying the role of welfare in migration decisions.

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This working paper is part of the MobileWelfare project that studies the role of welfare for mobility in Europe. In this paper we study how intra-EU migration to and from the Netherlands evolved over the past decade (between 2003 and 2013). Migration flows of different countries of origin are compared to each other, as well as over time. We also describe the length of stay of immigrants from different countries of birth in the Netherlands. Second, the paper aims to answer the question of what types of European migrants moved to and from the Netherlands between 2003 and 2013? Hereby we are interested in migrant characteristics related to the life course: age, gender and position within the household. Again, differences between countries as well as variations over time are taken into account. Finally, we will link the discussed developments in migration and migrant characteristics to welfare arrangements in the country of origin and destination. If the reasoning that welfare benefits are important for migration decisions holds true, relatively large flows from less generous welfare states to the Netherlands should be found, and relatively small flows the other way around. Furthermore, we expect migrants from less generous welfare states to stay longer in the Netherlands than migrants from more generous welfare states. Finally, welfare benefits are expected to attract especially migrants who migrate with family members, or outside the working ages.

The Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI) is an institute for the scientific study of population. NIDI research aims to contribute to the description, analysis and explanation of demographic trends in the past, present and future, both on a national and an international scale. The determants and social consequences of these trends are also studied.

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