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POSSIBILITIES FOR INTER-EUROPEAN MIGRATION FROM THE NETHERLANDS,

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During the conference on „La fédération européenne et le problème de l'équilibre démographique” at Saint Vincent, September–October¹⁾ last year, we had the opportunity to make some remarks about overseas migration in relation to a European migration policy. It was pointed out on that occasion, that, when considering the possibilities for inter-European migration, it is not sufficient to establish the number of workers who are needed in the future in the different parts of Europe on the one side, and the total number of the available labour-forces on the other side, to come to the conclusion, that migration from one region to another is desirable and possible. It is not only a question of a certain surplus here and shortage of labour elsewhere; to make migration possible and successful, people who are superfluous in a certain region must be suitable, as to professional training, standard of living, age-group, socio-cultural background, etc., to fill the vacancies in an other region. Only a close study of the conditions in the surplus-areas and of the workers who are available on the one side, and of the kind of labour which is wanted and of the conditions in the areas which show a shortage of labour on the other side, can tell us if migration can solve the problems of both areas.

In discussions about a possible inter-European migration, besides Italy, the Netherlands is often mentioned — because of its high surplus of births — as one of the countries in Western Europe which might be one of the sources for additional labour for those areas in Europe where a shortage of labour is threatening in the future. The fact that during the last years an important number of Netherlanders migrated to overseas countries seems to be an indication that Dutch workers are available to reinforce the labour-force of those countries in Europe, which are in need of additional labour. In the following we shall try to give an answer to the question, what are in fact the possibilities of a Dutch contribution to an inter-European migration. In this investigation not all factors mentioned above as important in relation to migration will be taken into account. To establish, for example, the influence of socio-cultural phenomena on a migration of the Netherlands to other European countries in the future, one would have to know exactly the regions which would receive those migrants and about this we can only make disputable assumptions.

Before going into our proper subject it may be useful to make a theoretical remark about the process of migration, because it can help us to understand the probable attitude of the different sections of the Dutch active population towards inter-European migration. It seems to us that in the long and not always enlightening discussions about the forces which influence migration, a very important contribution has been made by Stouffer²⁾, when he formulated his theory of the “intervening opportunities”. This theory proposes, “that the number of persons, going a given distance, is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities”. The theory combines in one the well-known fact,

that in general the number of migrants declines according to the distance from the place of origin to the place of resettlement and the likewise undeniable fact that the migrant, when migrating, tries to attain certain ends. Whether a person migrates or not is — according to this theory — decided by the spatial distribution of satisfactory opportunities for the individual. If there are satisfactory opportunities in one's place of origin, one does not migrate; if there are none, then one seeks them elsewhere. If there are opportunities close by, one migrates only a short distance; if not, one moves further away.

Of course, this theory — as Stouffer points out himself — does not cover all aspects of the rather complicated process of migration, but empirical evidence shows, we think³⁾, that the spatial distribution of opportunities is by far the most important factor in determining the volume and the direction of migration. So the spatial distribution of opportunities for the Dutch people in the future will be the most important factor to determine if and in what way it will take part in an inter-European migration.

When speaking of “opportunities” in relation to migration one can think of opportunities of a different kind, but if we consider free migration and leave out for the moment the socio-cultural aspects, we have to think in the first place of socio-economic opportunities, the opportunities for employment and the opportunities to get a higher income outside one's place of origin. The most important reason for migration, from the socio-economic point of view is undoubtedly unemployment; it gives a stronger motive for migration than the wish to get a better living. Therefore an analysis of unemployment and threatening unemployment may give us an important indication of the propensity of the Dutch active population to migrate in general and to take part in an inter-European migration in particular.

Table 1 gives a condensed survey of unemployment in the Netherlands at the end of July 1952 and the end of January 1953 and the average of those two figures. For various reasons the number of unemployed labour was in 1952 rather high, higher than in any year after the war. It amounted to 2.75 per cent of the total labour-force in July and about 4.25 per cent in January, the average being about 3.50 per cent. At first sight, this percentage gives the impression, that the Dutch labour-force shows a certain surplus, which opens a possibility for migration from the Netherlands to other parts of Europe. But a closer study of the composition of the unemployed labour-force shows that the problem is not so

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Table 1.
Number of unemployed men in the Netherlands 1952/1953.

GROUP		Number of unemployed July 1952	Number of unemployed January 1953	Average number of unemployed
1	Manufacture of bricks, glass etc.	846	3928	2387
2	Processing of diamonds etc.	160	261	211
3	Printing etc.	350	413	382
4	Building industry	17715	37322	27519
5	Chemical industry	190	254	222
6	Manufacture of wood, cork etc.	2333	3163	2748
7a	Manufacture of clothing	1954	2469	2212
7b	Cleaning	559	622	592
9	Manufacture of leather and leather products	1243	1248	1246
10a	Mining and quarrying	99	175	137
10b	Peat-digging	1178	2707	1943
11	Metal industry	10438	13792	12115
14	Manufacture of paper and paper products	1026	537	782
15	Manufacture of textiles	2625	1743	2184
17	Manufacture of food, beverages etc.	3629	4348	3989
18	Agriculture	14718	27985	21352
19	Fishing and hunting	278	1342	810
20	Commerce	4038	5583	4811
21a	Hotel personal	1867	4038	2953
21b	Navigation personal	1424	1789	1607
21c	Non-navigational transport and communication	6173	8792	7483
24a	Clerks, civil servants, teachers etc.	7068	7998	7533
24b	Social workers etc.	78	75	77
24c	Artists etc.	1437	1826	1632
27	Domestic personal	58	73	66
P.A.	Personal in general service, including casual, unskilled labour	31496	40139	35818
Total		112980	172622	142801

simple as it appears. Unemployment is not evenly distributed over all branches of economic activity. Unfortunately, there is not an absolute reliable basis for the calculation of the relative importance of unemployment in the different branches of industry. The 1947 census of occupations is no longer up to date, because in 1947 economic life in the Netherlands was still strongly influenced by the war and afterwards changes of the distribution of the active population over the different occupations occurred. The 1950 census of enterprises is essentially not a census of the labour-force and refers only to manufacturing industries, mining, commerce and transport, and communication. But carefully using these two sources and some other data, we can make not too inaccurate estimates. Such estimates show that for an important number of the groups mentioned in table 1 unemployment is no more or less than what is mostly regarded as needed as "friction-unemployment" for a smooth shifting of labour. This holds for group 3 (printing, etc.), 5 (chemical industry, etc.), 7 (clothing, etc.), group 10 a (mining and quarrying), 15 (manufacture of textiles, etc.), 17 (manufacture of food, beverages, etc.). In fact it holds too for group 1 (manufacture of bricks, glass, etc.). The manufacture of bricks is a typical seasonal industry and it is only because of the seasonal unemployment, that the average is rather high. The most important group except agriculture, metal industry, shows a percentage which is markedly below average, notwithstanding the very rapid development of the metal industry after the war in the Netherlands showed a definite retardation in 1952. The number of unemployed has been far less than the yearly increase of employment in this branch of industry during the last years.

Among the important groups, high percentages shows in the first place the group of persons in general service, for the greater part consisting of unskilled, casual workers and group 4 (building industry). The high figures for the building industry are partly caused by the seasonal character of this industry, partly by the curtailment of the building-program for 1952 by the Dutch government, because of the position of the balance of payment in the beginning of that year.

Another important reason for the high figure is, that this group contains a large number of workers who in fact belong to the group of the unskilled workers (especially those who are registered as navvies and hodmen). Those sub-groups of unskilled workers in the building industry in particular show high percentages of permanently unemployed. The same is true for sub-groups of some other groups which show considerable numbers of unemployed, e.g. group 21 (transport

and communication). It is not possible to consider here all groups and sub-groups in detail, but in general we can conclude, that especially those groups and sub-groups which belong to the unskilled workers, show high percentages of unemployed.

Group 18 (agriculture) also shows a high number of unemployed, in particular if is taken into account that the agricultural labour-force consists only for about 30 per cent of hired labour. The average number of unemployed in agriculture in 1952 probably amounts to about 10 per cent of the hired labour-force. This high figure partly originates, of course, from the seasonal character of agriculture, but the figures of table 1 show that even in July an important number of farmhands were not employed. But there is some reason to expect, that this situation is only temporary. Especially since the end of the war the sons of farmhands show an increasing tendency to seek employment in non-agricultural jobs. Many of them attend schools for craft and industry and other schools which prepare them for professions outside farming. So the hired agricultural labour-force is probably ageing very rapidly and at the moment we even fear a shortage of farmhands in the Netherlands in the near future.

But besides the registered unemployment of farmhands there is an unregistered unemployment in agriculture of farmers' sons who try in vain to get a farm and are now in fact superfluous workers on the farms of their fathers or their brothers. In the greater part of the Netherlands the birthrate of the farmers' group is still rather high, and mostly the farmers still consider it as normal that their sons are educated to be farmers again. But because of lack of land and the impossibility to split up farms ad infinitum, many of these sons never have the chance to buy or to rent a farm. The number of these superfluous farmers' sons is not known exactly, but probably there are some ten thousands.

A group which still demands our attention are the white-collar workers, clerks, commercial travellers, etc. In the Netherlands as well as in other countries parents in the labour class and the lower middle class still think that the best way to give their children the opportunity to climb the social ladder is to educate them for a white-collar job. This results in a permanent surplus in this group of workers.

So as far as there is a surplus of workers in the Netherlands, this concerns primarily the unskilled workers, the farmers' sons and the white-collar workers. Unfortunately the opportunities for these groups of workers in Western Europe outside the Netherlands are few. As to the unskilled workers, this groups is also more or less abundant in the other countries

Table 2

Number of unemployed men according to age and period of unemployment. End of November 1952. Absolute figures.

GROUP	Younger than 25					25—39					40 and older					Total number of unemployed
	Period of unemployment										less than 1 month	1—3 months	3—6 months	6 months and more	sub-total	
	less than 1 month	1—3 months	3—6 months	6 months and more	sub-total	less than 1 month	1—3 months	3—6 months	6 months and more	sub-total						
Manufacture of bricks, glass etc.	380	505	23	15	923	408	531	62	51	1052	357	615	90	117	1179	3154
Processing of diamonds etc.	13	25	9	10	57	3	12	11	7	33	50	26	38	47	161	251
Printing etc.	27	27	14	5	73	25	39	26	23	113	29	41	24	59	153	339
Building industry	2316	1362	322	152	4152	4970	3611	906	757	10244	6304	4496	1568	2143	14511	28907
Chemical industry	21	21	7	—	49	19	23	5	19	66	23	12	11	32	78	193
Manufacture of wood, cork etc.	172	137	68	20	397	271	307	158	133	869	257	324	241	369	1191	2457
Manufacture of clothing	69	66	59	25	219	119	162	215	262	758	111	208	305	527	1151	2128
Cleaning	38	26	11	6	81	56	79	48	49	232	39	66	49	69	223	536
Manufacture of leather and leather products	55	72	25	13	165	84	120	72	94	370	63	118	84	211	476	1011
Mining and quarrying	51	19	2	—	72	20	6	2	—	28	1	5	4	7	17	117
Peat-digging	102	117	15	6	240	210	443	84	31	768	298	609	169	312	1388	2396
Metal industry	1332	1224	474	136	3166	1459	1690	726	633	4508	848	1092	639	957	3536	11210
Manufacture of paper and paper products	19	9	6	5	39	29	26	16	22	93	7	23	27	43	100	232
Manufacture of textiles	157	98	56	33	344	147	154	147	116	564	99	111	135	237	582	1490
Manufacture of food, beverages etc.	235	199	59	27	520	263	354	175	172	964	307	422	345	853	1927	3411
Agriculture	1420	569	89	67	2145	2581	1517	406	493	4997	3002	1951	732	1180	6865	14007
Fishing and hunting	29	8	2	—	39	56	39	2	1	98	127	101	13	22	263	400
Commerce	159	206	63	24	452	374	551	328	419	1672	406	613	456	1021	2496	4620
Hotel personal	220	254	40	11	525	289	602	158	67	1116	347	992	310	297	1946	3587
Navigation personal	234	143	32	15	424	192	153	35	37	417	174	181	73	97	525	1366
Non-navigational transport and communication	312	224	66	42	644	852	914	447	398	2611	762	915	571	1038	3286	6541
Clerks, civil servants, teachers etc.	317	555	209	116	1197	335	609	433	758	2135	238	670	554	1868	3330	6662
Social workers etc.	6	2	—	—	8	9	11	3	7	30	8	10	6	15	39	77
Artists etc.	20	21	6	11	58	159	178	95	102	534	133	207	88	210	638	1230
Domestic personal	1	2	—	1	4	2	9	2	4	17	5	12	15	16	48	69
Personal in general service, including casual, unskilled labour	3023	2409	813	740	6985	3163	3742	2046	2900	11851	2530	3605	2302	5890	14327	33163
Total	10728	8300	2470	1480	22978	16095	15882	6608	7555	46140	16525	17425	8849	17637	60436	129554

of Western Europe. They are the least wanted group of workers. The young farmers want land and in general land is scarce as well in Europe as a whole as in the Netherlands. Even the opportunities in France are relatively few. As Dumont ⁴) pointed out, from the point of view of rural welfare, the number of farmers even in the greater part of France is still too high at the moment. In his recent publication Baade ⁵) tried to show that in several parts of Europe even an increase in production pro ha is hampered by a too dense agricultural population and that a favourable development of agriculture, as well as of industry in Europe will mean a decrease in the number of workers in agriculture. As to the white-collar workers, migration of this group is of course practically impossible, because of the difference in language.

So the occupational composition of the surplus of the Dutch active population as it is at the present shows to be unfavourable for an inter-European migration.

Important too is the age composition; for older people the opportunities to adapt themselves to a new environment and to find a decent living in a foreign country are far less than those for younger people. Table 2 shows the age composition of the different groups of unemployed men at the end of November 1952 in absolute numbers, table 3, the percentage the different age groups form of the total number of unemployed in the different groups and of the active population as a whole, according to the census of occupations in 1947. Table 3 shows the well-known fact that of the older workers a higher percentage suffers from unemployment than of the younger one. About one half of the unemployed are over 40 and for this reason for an important part less suited for migration. Only 18 per cent of the unemployed are younger than 25. So the age composition of the unemployed too is not favourable for migration.

Of importance also is duration of unemployment. If unemployment lasts only for a short period, the workers still can hope to find again a job in their place of origin within a reasonable time. Table 2 shows, that only 20 per cent of the unemployed had no job for more than 6 months. About $\frac{1}{3}$ was unemployed for less than one month, about $\frac{2}{3}$ for less than 3 months. Of the total number of those unemployed for longer than 6 months $\frac{2}{3}$ consists of people older than 40 years, the percentage of people younger than 25 who are unemployed longer than 6 months is negligible. This means that the group of unemployed which will gradually have lost hope to find employment again in their own environment is rather small and that especially the age groups, which are suited for migration are not driven by long lasting unemployment to do so.

Occupational composition, age composition and the duration of unemployment of the Dutch unemployed labour-force are all such, that they do not favour migration to other countries of Europe. With a little exaggeration one could say that for those who could find suitable opportunities for employment abroad, there are too many intervening opportunities near home in their own country, those who find no opportunities near home will not find them in other parts of Western Europe either.

As was pointed out in the beginning, besides the opportunities for employment, the opportunities to get a higher income and a better living in general than in the place of origin, are also of importance as an urge for migration. In this respect also conditions in the Netherlands do not favour an inter-European migration. As compared with other Western European countries wages in the Netherlands are not very high, but on the other side costs of living are rather low. So in general the level of living of the working-class is not unfavourable as compared with the rest of Europe. In some countries conditions are a little better perhaps, but the differences are not such that they are a strong inducement to migration.

Does this mean, that there will be no inter-European migration of any importance from the Netherlands? To a certain extent, yes. As long as conditions in the Netherlands remain more or less the same, there will be no inclination of the active population in the Netherlands towards a long distance migration on a large scale to other European countries. So it is no use, for example, to make plans for migration on an important scale of Netherlanders to France or to Norway, except perhaps for farmers' sons, if land could be provided.

But inter-European migration cannot be seen as a short-term problem, its importance at the moment is even less than in the

future. As all calculations of the future population of the European countries show ⁶), it will take still some time before the population of different countries will become stationary and begin to decline. So it is only after a certain number of years that inter-European migration gets its highest urgency. In the meantime conditions as to the possibilities of migration from the Netherlands can change and can be changed intentionally.

How can factors influencing the possibilities of migrations from the Netherlands to other European countries change or be changed in the future? When we try to get an insight in these possible changes, we have to take into account again the two main factors determining the process of migration, distance and opportunities.

As to the opportunities, if the socio-economic situation in the Netherlands would become worse, if unemployment would increase sharply and affect too important groups, which are suited for migration to other European countries and if the level in the Netherlands would fall far below that of Western Europe in general, so if, according to Stouffer, the number of intervening opportunities in their own country would decrease, the propensity of the Dutch workers to migrate to other European countries would increase. But it is the duty of every Dutch government, of course, to prevent, that such a situation will come into being. So the fight of the Dutch government and the Dutch people against the possible unfavourable consequences of a large surplus of births means too a fight against the possibilities of inter-European migration from the Netherlands. The means to fight a worsening of the socio-economic situation are the furtherance of the economic development of the Netherlands itself and . . . migration!

This brings us to the apparent contradiction between the conclusions, drawn above and the facts, that after the war thousands and thousands of Netherlanders have migrated to overseas countries and that this migration is encouraged as much as possible by the Dutch government. The difference between inter-European migration and overseas migration is, that overseas migration offers opportunities to the Netherlanders which are not offered by their own country and other European countries. To landless farmhands and farmers' sons it offers land, to workers in general higher wages and often a better social position. It is due to these better opportunities that so many Netherlanders are willing to accept all difficulties of a long-distance migration. As long as the conditions in the Netherlands, the other European countries and the overseas countries remain as they are at present and migration from the Netherlands remains free migration, inter-European migration cannot, take the place of overseas migration.

But besides the general socio-economic conditions in the Netherlands as compared with those in other countries, we found other factors, which had an unfavourable influence on inter-European migration from this country. The main point is that the occupational composition of the active population, and because of that, of the group of unemployed, was not in accordance with the needs, seen from the point of view of inter-European migration. In this respect improvement is possible and probable. If the ten thousands of unemployed workers had been sufficiently trained and if the numerous farmers' sons had had a non-agricultural vocational training, a considerable labour-force would be available, which would be far better suited for migration than it is at present. Because, after all, the number of migrants, who can find an opening in overseas countries is limited; this would mean higher possibilities for inter-European migration too. The number of boys and girls in the Netherlands, who get a formal vocational training, is increasing very rapidly, especially after the war; it can be expected that in the future, the number of unskilled workers will be far less than at the moment. Important in this respect is too, that the farmers become more and more convinced that it is not right to educate all their sons as farmers. More and more they send their children to schools for crafts and industry. In this way the Dutch labour-force gradually will become better adapted not only to the future development of Dutch economic life, but also to future migration in Europe. Special training for would-be-migrants — languages, etc. — as is done now already for overseas migrants would facilitate migration. As was pointed out, the age composition of the surplus labour-force is another problem. The fact that in economic life young workers for different reasons are preferred and, because of that, a relative high percentage of older people will be un-

Table 3

Number of unemployed men according to age and period of unemployment. End of November 1952. Percentages.

GROUP	Younger than 25					25—39					40 and older					Total number of unemployed
	Period of unemployment										less than 1 month	1—3 months	3—6 months	6 months and more	sub-total	
	less than 1 month	1—3 months	3—6 months	6 months and more	sub-total	less than 1 month	1—3 months	3—6 months	6 months and more	sub-total						
Manufacture of bricks, glass etc.	12.0	16.0	0.7	0.5	29.2	12.9	16.8	2.0	1.6	33.3	11.3	19.5	2.9	3.7	37.4	100.0
Processing of diamonds etc.	5.2	10.0	3.6	4.0	22.8	1.2	4.8	4.4	2.8	13.2	19.9	10.4	15.1	18.7	64.1	100.0
Printing etc.	8.0	8.0	4.1	1.5	21.6	7.4	11.5	7.7	6.8	33.4	8.6	12.1	7.1	17.4	45.2	100.0
Building industry	8.0	4.7	1.1	0.5	14.3	17.2	12.5	3.1	2.6	35.4	21.8	15.6	5.4	7.4	50.2	100.0
Chemical industry	10.9	10.9	3.7	—	25.5	9.8	11.9	2.6	9.8	34.1	11.9	6.2	5.7	16.6	40.4	100.0
Manufacture of wood, cork etc.	7.0	5.6	2.8	0.8	16.2	11.0	12.5	6.4	5.4	35.3	10.5	13.2	9.8	15.0	48.5	100.0
Manufacture of clothing	3.2	3.1	2.8	1.2	10.3	5.6	7.6	10.1	12.3	35.6	5.2	9.8	14.3	24.8	54.1	100.0
Cleaning	7.1	4.9	2.1	1.1	15.2	10.4	14.7	9.0	9.1	43.2	7.3	12.3	9.1	12.9	41.6	100.0
Manufacture of leather and leather products	5.4	7.1	2.5	1.3	16.3	8.3	11.9	7.1	9.3	36.6	6.2	11.7	8.3	20.9	47.1	100.0
Mining and quarrying	43.6	16.2	1.7	—	61.5	17.1	5.1	1.7	—	23.9	0.9	4.3	3.4	6.0	14.6	100.0
Peat-digging	4.3	4.9	0.6	0.3	10.1	8.8	18.5	3.5	1.3	32.1	12.4	25.4	7.1	13.0	57.9	100.0
Metal industry	11.9	10.9	4.2	1.2	28.2	13.0	15.1	6.5	5.6	40.2	7.6	9.7	5.7	8.5	31.5	100.0
Manufacture of paper and paper products	8.2	3.9	2.6	2.2	16.9	12.5	11.2	6.9	9.5	40.1	3.0	9.9	11.6	18.5	43.0	100.0
Manufacture of textiles	10.5	6.6	3.8	2.2	23.1	9.9	10.3	9.9	7.8	37.9	6.6	7.4	9.1	15.9	39.0	100.0
Manufacture of food, beverages etc.	6.9	5.8	1.7	0.8	15.2	7.7	10.4	5.1	5.0	28.2	9.0	12.4	10.1	25.0	56.5	100.0
Agriculture	10.1	4.1	0.6	0.5	15.3	18.4	10.8	2.9	3.5	35.6	21.4	13.9	5.2	8.4	48.9	100.0
Fishing and hunting	7.3	2.0	0.5	—	9.8	14.0	9.8	0.5	0.3	24.6	31.8	25.3	3.2	5.5	65.8	100.0
Commerce	3.4	4.5	1.4	0.5	9.8	8.1	11.9	7.1	9.1	36.2	8.8	13.3	9.9	22.1	54.1	100.0
Hotel personal	6.1	7.1	1.1	0.3	14.6	8.1	16.8	4.4	1.9	31.2	9.7	27.7	8.6	8.3	54.3	100.0
Navigation personal	17.1	10.5	2.3	1.1	31.0	14.1	11.2	2.6	2.7	30.6	12.7	13.3	5.3	7.1	38.4	100.0
Non-navigational transport and communication	4.8	3.4	1.0	0.6	9.8	13.0	14.0	6.8	6.1	39.9	11.6	14.0	8.7	15.9	50.2	100.0
Clerks, civil servants, teachers etc.	4.8	8.3	3.1	1.7	17.9	5.0	9.1	6.5	11.4	32.0	3.6	10.1	8.3	28.0	50.0	100.0
Social workers etc.	7.8	2.6	—	—	10.4	11.7	14.3	3.9	9.1	39.0	10.4	13.0	7.8	19.5	50.7	100.0
Artists etc.	1.6	1.7	0.5	0.9	4.7	12.9	14.5	7.7	8.3	43.4	10.8	16.8	7.2	17.1	51.9	100.0
Domestic personal	1.4	2.9	—	1.4	5.7	2.9	13.0	2.9	5.8	24.6	7.2	17.4	21.7	23.2	69.5	100.0
Personal in general service, including casual, unskilled labour	9.1	7.3	2.5	2.2	21.1	9.5	11.3	6.2	8.7	35.7	7.6	10.9	6.9	17.8	43.2	100.0
Total	8.3	6.4	1.9	1.1	17.7	12.4	12.3	5.1	5.8	35.6	12.8	13.4	6.8	13.6	46.6	100.0
Total active male population (1947)					23.9					34.6					41.5	100.0

employed, can hardly be changed. But to a certain extent this problem is only a reflection of the lack of opportunities for migrants in general. If young people would find enough opportunities outside their own country and would migrate, the older people would take their places and there would be no need for them to migrate.

So especially by a better and more adequate vocational training the opportunities for Dutch migrants in Europe would increase in the future. But it is far more important, in our opinion, to pay attention to the problem of distance. As long as the socio-economic situation in the Netherlands remains on a fairly high level — this means on about the same level as in the other European countries — there will never be a strong inducement for long-distance migration, even if the training of the labour-force improves. But the propensity to migrate increases when the distance the migrant has to go decreases. It is characteristic for this time of planning, that when we think of international migration, we are inclined to think of planned migration, which brings the surplus of labour in a certain place in one leap, over a great distance and in important numbers, to an other place where labour is needed. We forget that the past shows us, that the migration between the Western European countries, which were on about the same socio-economic level, was for the greater part short-distance migration. The history of European migration demonstrates that this short-distance migration develops easily when it is combined or preceded by "border-crossing", by working in a foreign country, in a place near home, by people who still live in their country of origin. This "border-crossing" changes often almost imperceptibly in a moving of the whole family of the worker across the borderline. As for example the history of migration between the Netherlands and Belgium and Germany shows us, this short-distance migration has mostly a mutual character, but the same history proves too, that according to the development of the possibilities for employment in the two countries, the movement in one or another direction predominates⁷⁾. In this way important international shifting of labour can come into being, which in the end even have long-distance repercussions, because it can transmit itself wave-like. A chain of short-distance movements becomes a long-distance movement. So the propensity to migrate from the Netherlands to France was never strong, but between the two worldwars, Belgium showed an immigration surplus with regard to the Netherlands, but at the same time it showed an emigration surplus with regard to France. So in a certain sense, the Netherlands took the places which were left open by the Belgians, who migrated to France and in this way France benefited from the Dutch surplus of births⁸⁾.

Before the first worldwar, this international short-distance migration showed a tendency to a permanent increase. After that its development was hampered by political forces, protection of the national labour-market, monetary difficulties and lack of co-ordination between the system of social security which developed in the different countries.

If inter-European migration in general and inter-European migration from the Netherlands in particular, are to become of importance for the future economic and demographic development of Europe, it will be, in our opinion, primarily in this form of short-distance migration in relation to "border-crossing". Especially for this type of migration are needed: 1) free movement of labour; 2) stable monetary conditions; 3) co-ordination of the systems of social security in Western Europe. The time may not be far, that Europe needs the total labour-force it has at its disposal. Revival and extension of the short-distance migration can be one of the most important means to save people for Europe, who otherwise will try to find a living overseas.

1) E. W. Hofstee, *Quelques remarques sur les migrations vers les pays d'outre-mer dans le cadre d'une politique européenne de migration*. (Unpublished lecture).

2) Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: a Theory Relating Mobility and Distance", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. V (1940), 845 ff.

3) Cf. Stouffer, op cit.; Margaret L. Bright and Dorothy Swains Thomas, "Interstate Migration and Intervening Opportunities", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VI (1941), 773 ff.; E. W. Hofstee, *Some Remarks on Selective Migration* (The Hague, 1952).

4) René Dumont, *Le problème agricole français* (Paris, 1946).

5) F. Baade, *Brot für ganz Europa, Grundlagen und Entwicklungsmöglichkeiten der europäischen Landwirtschaft* (Hamburg und Berlin, 1952).

6) Notestein's calculations are out of date of course and new estimates, which are made for several countries show that it will take more time before the population becomes stationary, than he supposed.

7) E. W. Hofstee, "De functie van de internationale migratie", *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geographie*, 40ste jaargang (1949), 10 ff.

8) Hyroslav Melnyk, *Les ouvriers étrangers en Belgique* (Louvain, 1952), p. 165; Dudley Kirk, *Europe's Population in the Interwar Years* (Geneva, 1946).

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QUANTITÉ ET QUALITÉ, UN PROBLÈME DE LA MIGRATION INTER-EUROPÉENNE

Dans la discussion autour du problème de la migration inter-européenne, il a été indiqué déjà de plusieurs côtés que c'est non seulement le nombre qui peut jouer un rôle décisif, mais aussi qu'il faudra tenir compte de beaucoup d'autres facteurs. En étudiant les possibilités de migration inter-européenne, on ne tarde pas à constater qu'un résultat ne sera pas obtenu en portant seulement l'attention au côté quantitatif de l'offre et de la demande. Par exemple, on ne peut pas dire, dans le cas où deux pays sont engagés et où est supposé que l'offre et la demande s'équilibrent sur le marché du travail collectif, qu'il n'y ait pas de motif pour une politique active de migration. Puisqu'il est très bien possible que les mains-d'oeuvre dont un pays a besoin soient d'un tout autre caractère que celles dont dispose l'autre pays.

Donc, de quoi il s'agit ici, c'est la question s'il faut donner la priorité au côté *qualitatif* du problème de la migration et ce de façon telle que la discorde entre la qualité de l'offre et de la demande sera déterminante pour les possibilités de migration. Si l'on cherche une réponse à cette question, il faudra admettre en premier lieu que le problème du développement de la migration à l'intérieur de l'Europe, dans le but de créer un équilibre sur le *marché de travail européen*, n'est pas une question qui doit être résolue à courte échéance. Il est important que la réalisation de ces orientations puissent contribuer à atténuer les difficultés d'une surpopulation respectivement dépopulation relatives.

Quels que soient les pronostics à utiliser pour l'accroissement de la population dans le proche avenir, tous en viennent à cette conclusion que dans un nombre de pays européens le moment de la stagnation de l'accroissement de la population s'approche, stagnation qui sera accompagnée d'un vieillissement de la population et d'une charge de plus pour la partie économique active de la population (Notestein). Il est vrai que ces pronostics se rapportent à un procès s'étendant sur un nombre d'années et l'on peut donc dire que les problèmes qui seront à conclure de tels pronostics, n'ont pas encore atteint plus grande urgence.

Cela veut dire que l'occasion se présente toujours de suivre une politique telle que l'influence qualitative de l'offre de travail soit rendue possible, et ce dans ces pays européens qui possèdent dans les éléments plus jeunes avec une aptitude à la productivité, un effectif dont on peut admettre qu'il se trouve au-dessus de l'optimum.

Influence de la quantité par moyen de la formation à la qualité

En tenant compte d'une politique de migration à longue échéance, — ce qui est toujours trop négligé — il serait possible que la qualité joue un rôle essentiel à côté des nombres. Dans la vie pratique cela peut signifier qu'un pays ayant un excédent de population, se met à préparer maintenant — et aussi dans le proche avenir — des émigrants par moyen d'une formation ou d'une formation complémentaire effectives. Ces deux formations doivent être orientées à la demande de mains-d'oeuvre qualifiées qui existe en d'autres pays européens. En passant il faut remarquer que le problème de la formation effective pour la migration joint à un jugement précis des possibilités dans l'avenir, est aussi de la plus grande importance pour la migration d'outre-mer.

L'augmentation de la qualité par moyen d'une formation et d'une formation complémentaire constitue un côté du problème. Dans le cas aussi où l'offre et la demande s'équilibrent, il n'est pas encore sûr qu'une formation ou une formation com-