

Some preliminary conclusions concerning internal migration of families and individual males and individual females in the Netherlands,
based on new statistical data

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It can hardly be denied and it may be emphasized here again, that, up to now, internal migration is one of the most neglected subjects of demography. There are, of course, many interesting studies on internal migration and especially the studies of the sociological aspects of internal migration, which were made during the last few years in the United States, are promising. But even there we are far from a clear picture of internal migration as a social process. In other fields of demography - especially in the study of the problem of natality - an extensive theoretical framework guides the student, but in the field of internal migration such a framework is hardly in existence or at least still in its infancy. Therefore research still often shows a more or less haphazard character.

It is hardly necessary to point out here, that more detailed research in the field of internal migration is of great scientific and practical interest. Internal migration is one of the most important forces in the process of adjustment of the population of a certain country to the possibilities this country offers for providing the material and spiritual needs of its inhabitants. A high degree of internal mobility is an essential factor in achieving the maximum well-being of every nation. Therefore an adequate knowledge of the process of internal migration is necessary for the formulation of founded welfare policy.

The most important reason for this unsatisfactory situation in the study of internal migration is doubtless the lack of adequate statistical data. Up to now population statistics mostly gave relatively little attention to internal migration. It is perhaps characteristic, that in the Demographic Yearbook of the United Nations, there is not a single figure on internal migration! Even in the Netherlands, which can boast

of well developed and well organized population statistics, besides census data, which give some insight into migration phenomena, only yearly data on the total number of males and females, who migrated from or to the one of the - about 1000 - municipalities in the Netherlands, were available. Statistics divided these migrants only into two groups, migrants which came from, or went to, a place in the same province and migrants, which came from, or went to, one of the other ten provinces. So there was no possibility, for example, to make, on the basis of these statistics, a distinction between migrants from rural regions to towns and cities and migrants from one rural region to other rural regions. There was no possibility either to divide the migrants in groups according to age, profession, marital status etc.

In view of this general situation as to our knowledge of internal migration it is perhaps of importance to draw attention here to the fact that during the last years conditions with regard to the available data on this subject in the Netherlands have much improved. Extensive new material has become available.

Most important is that since the end of the war the Central Bureau of Statistics has collected far more detailed data on internal migration than it did formerly and that this material has been arranged in such a way, that it is much better suited for research purposes, than the limited data, which were published before the war.^{x)} It may be useful to mention here too that during the last years the author's department at the Agricultural University of Wageningen collected data on the number of births

x) The Netherlands internal migration statistics are based on the entries into and the removals from the population-register in each of the 1.014 municipalities (the smallest regional administrative units). These data refer only to the moving from one municipality to an other. Changes of residence within the boundaries of each municipality are excluded from these statistics. The local authorities of the municipalities from which the migrants depart to an other municipality send the so-called "moving forms" to the Central Bureau of Statistics. The characteristics of the migrants mentioned on these forms are derived from the "personal cards" in the population-register. Detailed data have just been published by the C.B.S. in the publication: "Internal Migration Statistics, 1948-1952".

and deaths and on the number of migrants of all 1000 municipalities in the Netherlands over the period 1850 - 1950. For the first decades of this period, the material came for the greater part from unpublished sources. This material enables us to get a picture of the historical development of the pattern of internal migration in this country over a rather long period, though these data are, of course, far less detailed than the recent data of the Central Bureau of Statistics. It will still take a considerable time to study adequately all this new material and it is impossible to give already a full account of its meaning for the improvement of our insight into the phenomenon of internal migration in the Netherlands. It is only to illustrate its importance, that some preliminary remarks will be made here about one aspect of migration, which can be studied now for the first time on an adequate statistical basis ^{x)}, viz. the difference in migrational behaviour between migrants moving in family units, and men and women migrating individually. Table 1 shows the results when a distinction in this respect is made.

Table 1
Internal migration (migration from municipality to municipality) in the Netherlands. Yearly average 1948 - 1952.

Total number of migrants	in family units	Migrated :	
		males	females
412476 (100)	164717 (39.9)	117757 (28.6)	130002 (31.5)

We can assume, that under conditions prevailing in the Netherlands only a relatively small percentage of the children younger than 15 years will migrate individually. If we assume too, that in general only those who are unmarried will migrate individually, this would mean that the males and females, who are in a position to migrate individually, are approximately the same group as the unmarried men and women over

x) For the country as a whole at least. A study in this field concerning the migrants from and to the city of Amsterdam was already made by the Municipal Bureau of Statistics of this city in 1936.

15 ^{xx)}. According to the census of 1947 11.4 % of the population of the Netherlands consisted of unmarried males and 10.8 % of unmarried females of over 15, the rest being 77.7 percent. So the number of migrants, migrating in family units is relatively far less than the number of those migrating individually. The mobility rate (number of migrants per 1000 of the population) of males who can migrate individually, is about 5 times as high, and that of females who can move individually about 6 times as high, as that of people who can move only in family-units. The fact that those who move individually are on the average relatively young is one of the reasons for this difference, but it shows too, that marrying and founding a family means - at least under conditions as they are in the Netherlands - an immobilization of the population to a rather high degree.

A further analysis of the data collected by the Central Bureau of Statistics corroborates this picture of the relatively immobile family.

Table 2

Distance of migration of different groups of migrants. Yearly average 1948 - 1952.

Distance of migration	Total number of migrants	Migrated :		
		in family units	males	females
Same province	209562 (100)	90490 (43.2)	50862 (24.3)	68210 (32.5)
Adjoining provinces	120598 (100)	45125 (37.4)	37734 (31.3)	37739 (31.3)
Other provinces	82316 (100)	29102 (35.4)	29161 (35.4)	24053 (29.3)

Table 2 divides the 3 categories of migrants of table 1 in short-distance (same province), medium-distance (adjoining provinces) and long-distance (other provinces) migrants. There appears to be a striking difference between families and individual

^{xx)} It has to be emphasized that this is only an approximation. A certain number of married men move first individually (housing difficulties!) being followed afterwards by their families and a certain number of children under 15 do migrate individually, e.g. children going to boarding schools and children under guardianship of minors protection boards. On the other hand an important number of children over 15, still visiting schools etc., have in reality not the opportunity of migrating individually. So the difference between the total number of those who have the opportunity to migrate individually and the number of unmarried men and women over 15 is not important.

persons, at least between families and individual males, as to distance of migration. Family migration tends to be short-distance migration, as compared to migration of individual males. The total number of those who migrate in family units in the same province is about two times as high as the number of individual males, moving in the same province, but the number of individual males moving over a long distance is even a little higher than the number of migrants in family units, moving over a long distance. Roughly estimated this means that the tendency to migrate over longer distances amongst people who can move as individuals is about seven times as high as amongst people who can move only in family units. Adjustment of the number of the population to the regional differences in opportunities for employment is especially dependent on migration over longer distances, short-distance migration being, as is well known, to a very high degree a moving about in a very limited area, with no economic or demographic consequences at all. If we assume that of people moving in family units, about $1/3$ are males active in economic life and that in the Netherlands, with the exception of university students and a limited number of other students, practically all unmarried male migrants are active in economic life, then it becomes clear how much the value of internal migration as a means of adjustment in the demographic and economic sense is dependent on this relatively very small group of unmarried men. It indicates that it is very important from the scientific as well as from the practical point of view to study very closely all aspects of migration of this group e.g. their motives for migration and non-migration, the direction of their migration, the social, cultural and economic factors, which further or hamper their migration.

Interesting are the figures on table 2 also from the point of view of the difference between the pattern of migration of individual women and that of individual men. Though the total number of migrating females in the Netherlands as well as in the Western world in general is higher than the number of migrating males, the table shows that this is only true in fact for short distance migration. The number of fe-

males migrating within the same province is much higher than the number of migrating males, the number of both sexes migrating to and from adjoining provinces is about the same, but the number of individual males, migrating to and from other provinces is markedly higher than that of the females migrating over the same distance. So it is not only in overseas migration and in pioneer migration to inhospitable areas that the male migrants predominate; even in a quiet, peaceful country like the Netherlands, where the maximum distance over which people can migrate is about 300 miles, migration over some distance still seems to be more or less a manly adventure! This is shown still more clearly when one takes into account that a rather high percentage of individual females, who migrate, do so in connection with forthcoming marriage - according to data of the Central Bureau of Statistics 17.4 % in 1950 against 8.5 % of the migrating males - and therefore cannot be considered as real individual migrants. Especially amongst the females moving outside their own province - medium-distance and long-distance migration according to our indication - the percentage of brides was relatively high.

Though detailed sociological research would be needed to determine the background of this difference in migrational behaviour of individual males and females, it is almost certain, of course, that two factors are of importance. Professional career has mostly still quite an other meaning for women than for men and therefore it is almost self-evident, that migration, which is so strongly related to the development of the professional career, will show an other pattern for women than for men. Further we have to take into account, that after all, even in modern times, most parents consider it more necessary to keep an eye on their daughters than on their sons. So there will be more opposition from their side against long distance migration of the daughters than of the sons.

Using the older, less detailed data on internal migration, table 3 was produced. It shows, that in general the number of migrants has a tendency to decline. Especially the number of short-distance migrants (same province) is relatively much smaller than

50 years ago. But it is remarkable, that migration from and to other provinces (medium- and long-distance migration) showed too some decrease of the number of men taking part in it, but no decrease and even a tendency to an increase of the number of women. This means, that the ratio between males and females, migrating individually over medium and long distances has changed in favour of the females. It indicates, that - as could be expected - the forces, which keep down migration of individual females over longer distances, are losing strength.

Table 3
Internal migration per 1000 of the average population in some periods between 1900 and 1952.

Period	Migration :						Total general		
	Same province			different provinces			M	F	T
	M	F	T	M	F	T			
1900 - 1904	37.6	38.3	37.9	24.1	20.7	22.3	61.7	59.0	60.2
1905 - 1909	37.6	39.7	38.7	24.6	22.2	23.4	62.2	61.9	62.1
1910 - 1914	36.5	38.7	37.6	23.9	22.0	22.9	60.4	60.7	60.5
1920 - 1924	33.3	37.6	35.5	22.9	22.8	22.8	56.2	60.4	58.3
1925 - 1929	35.3	39.3	37.3	23.0	23.3	23.2	58.3	62.6	60.5
1930 - 1934	31.5	36.7	34.1	20.0	20.9	20.5	51.5	57.6	54.6
1935 - 1938	27.3	34.0	30.6	18.8	20.5	19.7	46.1	54.5	50.3
1946 - 1950							45.1	49.5	47.3
1951 - 1952	19.7	23.4	21.5	21.5	20.7	21.1	41.2	44.1	42.6

The difference in migrational behaviour between family units, individual males and individual females has important social and demographic consequences, which still call for closer study. An interesting phenomenon, which shows itself already clearly if we look only superficially at the now available data, is the influence of this difference in the pattern of migration on the process of gradual shifting of the population of the country-side to the large cities and industrial areas. The well-known tendency to a "step by step" migration, can, because of the new arrangement of the data, now be traced in the Netherland's migration statistics. If we take for example the two most northern provinces of the country, Friesland and Groningen, both still dominated to a high degree by agriculture, and showing an emigration surplus, we see that the administrative and commercial centres of these provinces, the city

of Leeuwarden of ± 80.000 inhabitants and the city of Groningen of ± 140.000 inhabitants respectively, show an immigration-surplus with regard to the surrounding rural districts, but an emigration-surplus with regard to the national centres of commerce, traffic, banking and government-administration in the western parts of the country and with regard to several industrial areas in other parts of the country. Farmers, farmhands and their offspring and other inhabitants of the country-side migrate to the provincial trade centres and from these provincial centres, people who have lived there for some time, more often perhaps the offspring of families who have lived there for one or more generations, migrate frequently to the western part of the country and to industrial areas elsewhere. But what is interesting from the point of view which was discussed here, the stream of migrants flowing to these provincial centres differs in composition from the stream flowing from these cities to the rest of the country. What could be expected, after what has been said before about short- and long-distance migration, becomes clearly evident in the migration to and from these centres. The predominantly short-distance immigration from the country-side to the provincial centres shows a surplus of migrants migrating in family units, the migration from these cities to other parts of the country, being predominantly medium- and long-distance migration, shows a surplus of males migrating individually and also of females migrating individually. As a result Leeuwarden and Groningen both have an immigration-surplus of migrants, moving in family units and emigration-surplus of migrants moving individually. As the data show, especially the emigration-surplus of individual men and women is in proportion to the total number of unmarried men and women above 15 rather high, so that this remarkable character of the streams of migrants has a noticeable influence on composition of the population of these cities from the demographic as well as from the social point of view. As far as this can be seen from the available statistical data, the provinces of Groningen and Friesland are no exceptions. In other parts of the country

towns and cities in rural districts seem to collect too a surplus of family units from the surrounding country and to send away a surplus of individual men and women.

Summarizing the foregoing, we come to the following conclusions :

- 1) Data on migration of people migrating in family units, and of males and females migrating individually in the Netherlands, show that the mobility rate for males who can migrate individually is about five times, and that for females who can migrate individually, about six times as high as for people who can migrate only in family units.
- 2) Family migration tends to be short-distance migration. The tendency to migrate over a longer distance amongst males who can move individually, is about seven times as strong as amongst people who have to move in family units.
- 3) Migration of individual females tends to be short-distance migration, but it seems, that gradually the difference between individual males and individual females with regard to the pattern of migration is diminishing.
- 4) Cities which function as commercial and administrative centres in rural areas seem to attract especially people migrating in family units and to send away especially men and women migrating as individuals.

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Summary

The slow progress in the study of internal migration as compared with other branches of demography is emphasized in this paper and the author points out that the neglect of the study of this subject is caused by an inadequate development of statistics of internal migration.

In view of this situation it is considered as being useful to draw attention to recent important improvements of the statistics of internal migration in the Netherlands and to demonstrate in a preliminary survey of the now available data on migration of families, individual males and individual females the value of these improvements for the study of internal migration.

The following conclusions are drawn:

- 1) Data on migration of people, migrating in family units and of males and females, migrating individually in the Netherlands, show that the mobility rate for males who can migrate individually is about five times, and for females who can migrate individually, about six times as high as for people who can migrate only in family units.
- 2) Family migration tends to be short-distance migration. The tendency to migrate over a longer distance amongst males who can move individually, is about 7 times as strong as amongst people who have to move in family units.
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Conclusions préliminaires concernant les migrations intérieures
de familles entières ou de personnes seules aux Pays-Bas,
basées sur de nouvelles données statistiques

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Résumé. Cette monographie souligne la lenteur des progrès accomplis dans l'étude des migrations intérieures, par rapport à ceux qui ont été réalisés dans d'autres branches de la démographie; l'auteur en voit la raison dans l'insuffisance des statistiques de migrations intérieures.

Aussi juge-t-il utile d'attirer l'attention sur les améliorations importantes dont les statistiques de migrations intérieures ont récemment fait l'objet aux Pays-Bas. L'intérêt de ces améliorations est montré dans une étude préliminaire basée sur les données actuellement disponibles se rapportant aux migrations de familles entières ou de personnes seules.

L'auteur en expose les conclusions suivantes :

1) Les renseignements sur les migrations intérieures aux Pays-Bas, montrent que les taux de mobilité des hommes et des femmes qui peuvent se déplacer individuellement sont d'environ 5 et 6 fois plus élevés, respectivement, que celui des personnes qui ne peuvent se déplacer qu'avec leurs familles.

2) La migration familiale est, dans l'ensemble, une migration à faible distance. Les migrations sur de longues distances sont environ 7 fois plus fréquentes pour les hommes qui peuvent se déplacer seuls que pour les familles entières.

3) La migration des femmes seules est, dans l'ensemble, une migration à faible distance, mais il semble que peu à peu, la différence de comportement vis-à-vis des migrations entre les hommes et les femmes émigrant individuellement tende à s'amenuiser.

4) Dans les régions rurales, les villes qui font fonction de centres commerciaux et administratifs semblent attirer surtout les personnes se déplaçant avec leurs familles et repousser les hommes et les femmes qui se déplacent individuellement.