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Between Welfare and Farewell

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Welfare systems in the context of free mobility

Free mobility of labour has been acknowledged as one of the fundamental freedoms of the common market established by the European Union (EU) (Koikkalainen, 2011). To enable such interstate mobility, the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union in principle guarantees equal treatment of EU citizens across member states – including access to their welfare systems.¹ Although initially limited to workers, in the 1990s the right to move was extended to various categories of economically inactive persons (Mantu & Minderhoud, 2016). Next to this legal expansion, since 2004 the EU grew rather rapidly in size as it moved from 15 to 28 member states.² Following these changes, intra-European migration increased over the past decades (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2014; Eurostat, 2011; Recchi, 2005, 2008), and today intra-European migration makes up a significant share of the migration flows to and from EU member states (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016).

The extension of movement rights and the equal treatment principle from workers to EU citizens raised concerns about the impact of EU migration on national welfare systems and fuelled a discourse on ‘welfare migration’ or ‘welfare tourism’ in many EU countries. The relationship between free movement of people and welfare systems is also critically discussed in the scientific literature (Freeman, 1986; Legrain, 2008; Martinsen & Pons Rotger, 2017; Ruhs, 2015). According to this literature, under a free migration regime, nation states have little capacity to respond to and control welfare-motivated migration (Martinsen & Werner, 2018). In result, policy makers may feel the need to reform their welfare systems to limit a ‘magnet effect’ of welfare, opening a race to the bottom (Greve, 2014; Sinn, 2002). However, knowledge on whether EU migrants actually take welfare systems into account when deciding whether and where to move is limited.

¹ Article 45, Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). Although also often referred to as ‘mobility’ in EU policy discourse, in this thesis I mainly use the terminology ‘EU migration’ to acknowledge the specific dynamics of a move across national borders.

² In 2004, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia joined. Bulgaria and Romania became EU member states in 2007; Croatia in 2013.

With this thesis, I therefore aim to contribute to the scientific and political debates by addressing the question:

How and to what extent are intra-European migration decisions influenced by welfare systems in both origin and destination countries?

As I will argue below, previous literature on the subject is limited in its theoretical argument, as well as by the analytical approach typically employed. Specific features of migration and the organization of welfare in Europe further signal the need for a more tailored way of investigating the role of welfare systems in migration decisions for this particular context. Combining different analytical approaches as well as theoretical frameworks I therefore aim to provide a more comprehensive view on this relation.

1.2 Theory

1.2.1 *Welfare as a pull-factor*

Welfare states can be described as the total sum of social insurance, welfare benefits, social investment and public services provided by governments to citizens (Legrain, 2008). Together with informal welfare providers, these arrangements form the welfare system of a country. Central to the scientific literature on welfare systems and migration is the ‘welfare magnet hypothesis’, which expects migrants to cluster in destinations with the most generous welfare provisions (Giulietti, 2014). Borjas (1999) was one of the first scholars to speak of ‘welfare magnets’ in the context of international migration. The author mentioned three ways for a welfare magnet effect to come about. First, welfare benefits may attract migrants who otherwise would not have moved. Second, the safety net of the welfare system may discourage ‘failing’ migrants to return to their home country. Third, interstate differences in terms of welfare benefits may affect the residential choices of international migrants and place a heavy fiscal burden on relatively generous states. However, in his theoretical argument, Borjas mainly elaborated on the third mechanism to explain a clustering of migrants in generous welfare states. The hypothesis is motivated from an economic framework which perceives individuals as rational actors who aim to maximize their life-long utility. First,

welfare state arrangements are assumed to enter cost-benefit calculations on migration as an alternative form of income. A second assumption is that the costs of choosing the ‘right’, i.e. the most generous state are low once people have accepted the costs of migration (Borjas, 1999). This reasoning suggests that welfare systems become important *after* the initial decision to migrate (contrasting the first mechanism), yet *before* settlement (contrasting the second mechanism). Furthermore, the framework expects generous welfare state arrangements to attract particularly those individuals most likely to benefit from them.

With the removal of many legal barriers within the EU, it has become easier for EU citizens to move between member states and make use of welfare state arrangements while living abroad. Regulations of the EU aim to safeguard the social rights of mobile EU citizens, but do not harmonize or replace national welfare systems. Applying the welfare magnet hypothesis to the EU, welfare-motivated migration could therefore be expected towards countries with the most generous welfare systems (Razin & Wahba, 2015).

1.2.2 European ‘welfare magnets’?

Across Europe, considerable variation exists in the way countries have structured their welfare state arrangements (e.g., De Beer, Wildeboer Schut, & Vrooman, 2001). In an attempt to summarize the main differences, Esping-Andersen (1990) distinguished between three types of welfare regimes: the liberal, the corporatist and the social-democratic regime type. The *liberal* regime is characterized by minimum social assistance, only covering the basic needs. Benefits are means-tested and only provided to those who are incapable of working. Within Europe, the United Kingdom (UK) approximates this type of welfare regime most closely. The *corporatist* regime links social insurance to individuals’ employment history, wage and paid premiums. Family is placed at the centre of welfare provision. France, Belgium and Germany approximate the corporatist welfare regime. In the *social-democratic* regime, generous social benefits are provided to all. The generous universal benefits are paid for through high general taxation. Scandinavian countries best represent the social-democratic welfare regime.

Next to these three ‘worlds of welfare’, the southern European countries are sometimes distinguished as a fourth type of welfare regime. Southern European welfare systems are characterized by a rudimentary nature of many social provisions, while simultaneously having generous pensions (Fenger, 2007; Gal, 2010). According to the clustering of Fenger (2007), the post-communist countries should be classified as a separate welfare regime as well. After the collapse of communism, many eastern European countries began their transition towards ‘western-type’ welfare regimes, although hampered by economic and political instability. Eastern European welfare systems have high take-up rates of social security, yet relatively low benefit levels (Aidukaite, 2009).

According to the social policy literature, the generosity of welfare state arrangements depends on the one hand on the level of benefits, and on the other hand on the eligibility criteria that regulate access to them (Clasen & Clegg, 2006; Martinsen & Werner, 2018). Universal benefits are typically understood to be the most generous type as they are available to everyone within the category of support, regardless of income or employment status (Anttonen, 2002). Insurance benefits on the other hand depend on the individual’s employment history and income, whereas social assistance can be seen as a safety net for only the very poor. The social policy literature further reveals that European countries prioritize different areas of welfare support (Kuitto, 2011; Scruggs & Allan, 2006). Rather than using broad organizational differences as summarized in the welfare regime typology, it is therefore important to differentiate between welfare domains when determining which country has the most generous welfare state arrangements.

1.2.3 Categories of support

The role of welfare systems in migration decisions can be expected to depend on how individuals are affected by them (Jackson, Ortmeyer, & Quinn, 2013; Schulzek, 2012). When studying this relation, it therefore appears important to consider who can expect the highest returns from a generous welfare system. In the literature this notion is often translated by looking at individuals who expect the lowest returns from the labour market (Josifidis, Supic, Pucar, & Srdic, 2014). However, European welfare systems do not just redistribute between income

groups through social assistance, but also between individuals in different phases of life through social insurance and universal benefits (De Graaf & Maier, 2017). In fact, many welfare state arrangements are targeted at people in specific phases of life. Gaining access to welfare state arrangements in turn often marks a transition in the life course, such as the passage from work to unemployment, from being single to setting up a family, from work to retirement, and so on. Whether someone is a net receiver or net contributor to the welfare system therefore does not just vary between individuals, but also over the life course.

1.2.4 Introducing the life course approach

For a long time, migration research has been characterized by a focus on the working life, as traditional migration flows consisted mainly of labour migrants. Yet this approach does not do justice to the current context of free movement of *persons* within the EU, which also encompasses people outside the working ages such as retirees or families moving with children (Koikkalainen, 2011). Furthermore, the flexible nature of intra-European mobility patterns is at odds with the conceptualization of migration as a once in a lifetime, life-long decision (Carling & Collins, 2018; Engbersen & Snel, 2013; Van Hear, Bakewell, & Long, 2018). King (2002) argued that to fully understand contemporary European migration, a double embeddedness of migration should be recognized: At the macro scale, the study of migration must be embedded in the societies and social processes of both the places of origin and destination, and at the individual scale, migration must be embedded in a migrant's life course.

The life course approach provides a suitable framework to account for this 'double embeddedness', as it deals with the complex interplay of structure and agency over time. The life course approach is built around five heuristic principles (Elder, 1995; Levy & Buhmann, 2016): life-span development, agency, time and place, timing and linked lives. The first principle, life-span development, explains that life must be viewed as a cumulative process, and therefore should be studied as a whole. The principle of agency acknowledges the possibility of individuals to, at least in part, select which paths they follow. The principle of time and space states that life courses are located historically as well as spatially, and as such

cannot be understood without taking into account the social context in which they take place. The timing principle acknowledges that life courses, as any other process, are chronological in time. Previous events are hereby expected to have an effect on subsequent developments. Finally, the principle of linked lives articulates that networks of shared relationships will have an influence on an individual's life course.

The economic framework of the welfare magnet hypothesis assumes migrants to 'choose' the destination where their expected life-time returns from the welfare system are the highest. In contrast, the life course approach connects structure and agency in a more dynamic way and stresses that the personal impact of macro-level factors depends on where individuals are in their lives. This seems particularly relevant when investigating the influence of welfare systems on intra-European migration decisions. As becomes clear from the social policy literature, European welfare systems are largely organized along the lines of the life course. The migration literature further signals that contemporary intra-European migration no longer represents a life-long decision, and that migration decisions are made in various life stages. The impact of welfare state arrangements on intra-European migration decisions in turn can be expected to differ for individuals in different stages of their lives.

1.2.5 Beyond the welfare magnet hypothesis

Although Borjas mentioned three mechanisms for welfare to influence migration decisions, his purely economic framework only explains an attracting impact of welfare in the destination country. Furthermore, the potentially important role of the welfare system in the country of origin as a retaining factor is largely ignored. Insights from the migration literature help to provide a theoretical background to these additional mechanisms.

First, in the migration literature, the idea of migration as a rational choice to maximize income has been challenged. An alternative framework has been proposed which argues that migration is better understood as a strategy to spread income risks within families, and to overcome situations of relative deprivation (De Haas, 2010; Stark & Taylor, 1991). From this perspective it can be expected

that people are less motivated to migrate when the welfare system in the country of residence provides social security in the form of income support, good public schooling, healthcare and housing (Massey, 1998). The welfare system may therefore discourage people to leave their origin country in the first place, or to re-migrate after initial migration. Second, migration theories acknowledge that migration is not always an option for people who find themselves in situations of vulnerability (Carling, 2002; Lafleur & Stanek, 2017b). Individuals who are reliant on welfare state arrangements likely are less resourceful, and therefore less capable to move internationally. Finally, moving to another country is associated with risks and uncertainty (Czaika, 2015). This explains why many people do not migrate, despite promising prospects and opportunities abroad. Rather than an alternative to paid labour, welfare state arrangements may be important to migrants as they protect against risks of income loss. This way, welfare systems may facilitate people to move across borders who otherwise would have stayed, without welfare being their main motivation for migration.

1.3 Empirical background

The welfare magnet hypothesis as formulated and tested by Borjas evolved from a research tradition that studied the impact of a specific welfare arrangement – Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) – on interstate mobility in the United States (Kaestner, Kaushal, & Van Ryzin, 2003; Levine & Zimmerman, 1999; Meyer, 1998; Moffitt, 1992; Walker, 1994). A popular approach in this literature has been to compare the migration behaviour of the welfare-prone group, single mothers, to the migration behaviour of groups that are less likely to receive AFDC benefits (McKinnish, 2007). In his empirical analysis, Borjas indeed found that immigrants to the United States in the demographic group most likely to receive AFDC benefits – namely, female-headed households with children under 18 years of age – were more heavily clustered in states with the highest AFDC benefits than the migrants who were not eligible for these welfare benefits, or than natives.

The study by Borjas has inspired various scholars to test the relationship between welfare and international migration for a broader set of destination

countries. Generic welfare spending was often used in these studies as an indicator of welfare generosity, and related to the size of migration flows to test whether larger flows could be observed towards countries with the highest social expenditure. Empirical evidence on this relationship has been rather mixed. Some researchers documented the existence of a welfare magnet effect, albeit the economic impact was often moderate (Beine, Docquier, & Ozden, 2011; De Giorgi & Pellizzari, 2009) or varied with other macro-level circumstances in the destination country like unemployment rates (Warin & Svaton, 2008). Others found no evidence that generous welfare systems attracted migrants (Giulietti, Guzi, Kahanec, & Zimmermann, 2013; Pedersen, Pytlikova, & Smith, 2008; Skupnik, 2014). Structural constraints to migration (Pedersen et al., 2008) or welfare access (Beine et al., 2011) have been mentioned *ad hoc* as possible explanations for unexpected findings. This highlights the importance of studying the impact of welfare systems on migration decisions in the absence of restrictive migration policies, as is the case for the EU (Razin & Wahba, 2011). Yet so far only few studies specifically focused on free migration *within* the EU as opposed to more restricted migration *into* Europe (for exceptions, see Giulietti et al., 2013; Razin & Wahba, 2015; Skupnik, 2014).

Whereas studies on the American context investigated the link between the height of a specific benefit and the migration behaviour of the target group, studies including multiple destination countries typically used a less targeted approach. By investigating the size of migration flows, these studies implicitly assumed that welfare is equally important to all migrants. However, welfare state arrangements can be expected to particularly influence locational choices as far as individuals or families anticipate making use of them. The few studies that recognized this for the European context focused on low-skilled migrants (e.g., Razin & Wahba, 2015) or asylum seekers (Schulzek, 2012). However, migrants' life course characteristics have not been systematically included in previous research, although they are important indicators of individuals' welfare rights in European welfare systems. Furthermore, the impact of the welfare system on migration decisions may differ between welfare domains (Jackson et al., 2013). Finally, because of the dominant

welfare magnet hypothesis, alternative ways for welfare systems to influence migration decisions remained rather unexplored in previous research.

1.4 Contributions of the thesis

With this thesis, I aim to contribute to the literature in multiple ways. First, the thesis focuses specifically on the relationship between welfare systems and migration within Europe. Empirical evidence on welfare migration initially came from studies that looked at movements within the single welfare system of the United States. More recently, analyses have been conducted for a wider set of destinations, yet policies that regulate migration to these countries may have affected their results. In contrast, international moves within the EU are not bound by restrictive migration regimes, while substantial differences in national welfare systems can be observed across member states. The EU therefore appears an ideal laboratory to study the influence of welfare systems on migration decisions.

Second, the life course is introduced to the debate on welfare systems and migration. Within Europe, life course characteristics are an important indicator of individuals' welfare rights and needs. In turn, the impact of welfare systems on migration decisions can be expected to vary for individuals in different stages of their lives. Whereas previous models on migration are rather static in nature, the life course approach provides the tools to connect a macro-level factor like the welfare system to migration decisions at the individual level in a dynamic way.

Third, in this thesis I move beyond the 'welfare magnet hypothesis' that has been dominating the literature on the subject. For this I complement the largely economic explanations that have been used so far with insights from the migration literature. Besides an attracting impact of the welfare system in the destination country, I consider the possibilities of welfare state arrangements discouraging (re-)migration, or facilitating migration through protecting against risks.

Fourth, throughout the research I pay attention to welfare state arrangements in both destination *and* origin countries. Because of its focus on the welfare system in the destination country as a pull factor, the literature is characterized by a 'receiving country bias'. In the thesis I aim to address this

limitation and consider the role of generous welfare state arrangements in the origin country as a retaining factor.

Finally, I aim to provide a more comprehensive view on the studied relation by combining different analytical approaches. While a macro-perspective is suitable to identify patterns, trends and correlations between migration and characteristics of welfare systems, a micro-perspective is crucial to uncover the mechanisms explaining these patterns. In the thesis I therefore use innovative analysis of existing macro-level data as well as micro-level data collected for the purpose of this study.

The analytical part of the thesis starts from a macro-perspective of flows to investigate to what extent welfare systems affect mobility patterns in Europe (Chapter 2 & 3). In these analyses, life-course characteristics of migrants are linked to welfare state arrangements through the meso-level of policies. In the second part of the thesis (Chapter 4 & 5) a micro-perspective is adopted to study how welfare state arrangements in origin and destination countries are perceived by individuals, and in turn can shape migration aspirations and decisions. Together these theoretical insights and analytical approaches aim to provide a more complete understanding of whether and how welfare systems can influence migration decisions.

1.5 Research context

In Chapter 2, 4 and 5, the Netherlands is used as a case study. Although most EU member states produce annual statistics on immigration and emigration, information is often not fully available and comparable across countries and time (Raymer, Wiśniowski, Forster, Smith, & Bijak, 2013). By focusing on this single country, consistent, detailed and recent data on migration from the Population Register are available. Furthermore, as I expect that migration decisions are shaped by the situation in both the country of origin and destination, keeping one of these contexts constant in part of the analyses enables to disentangle their effects. In Chapter 2 and 4, the Netherlands is considered as the receiving context, and in Chapter 5 as the country of origin. In Chapter 3, the Netherlands is

included in the analyses together with 24 other European origin and destination countries.

The Netherlands provides an interesting context to study the relationship between intra-European migration and welfare state arrangements. In the typology of Esping-Andersen the Netherlands is often characterized as a ‘hybrid’ welfare regime, roughly half-way between the social-democratic and the corporatist type (De Beer et al., 2001; Kammer, Niehues, & Peichl, 2012). The country is characterized by generous redistributive benefits that are typical for the socio-democratic regime; however, benefits are largely financed by social insurance contributions as in the corporatist regime. The Netherlands further forms a relevant case as for many years the country has been characterized by considerable European immigration and emigration. Next to longstanding migration between the Netherlands and (neighbouring) countries such as Belgium, Germany and the UK, the most recent enlargements of the EU increased migration flows to and from the new member states (Van Mol & De Valk, 2016). While migration originating from the main non-western countries to the Netherlands decreased over the last decades, migration from other EU member states has increased (De Valk, Noam, Bosch, & Beets, 2009). In fact, EU citizens nowadays make up the largest share of migrants to and from the Netherlands (see Figure 1-1 & Figure 1-2).

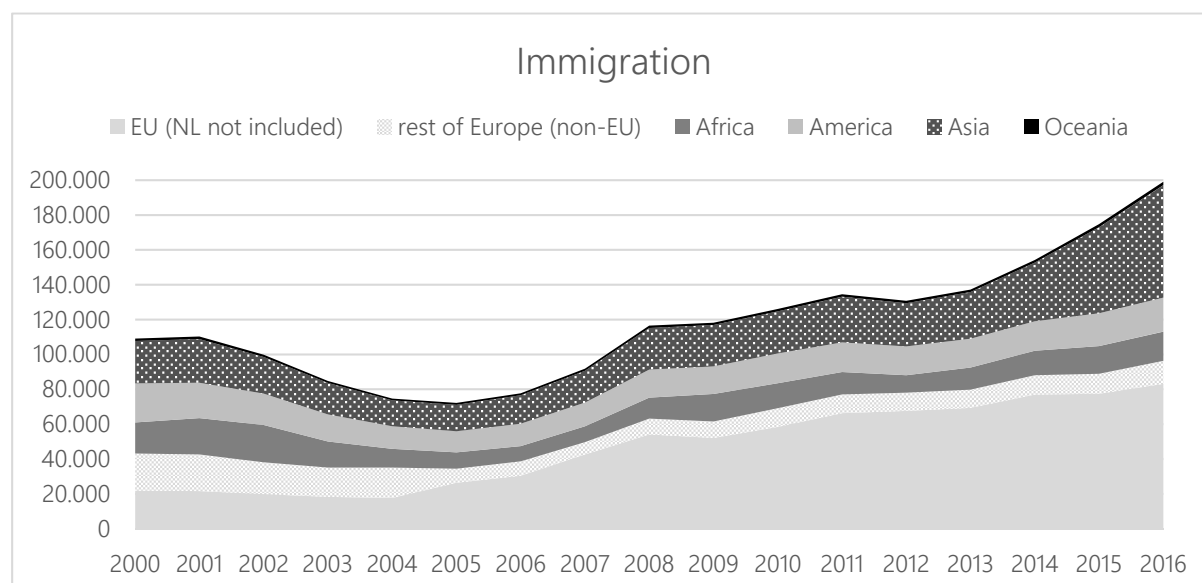


Figure 1-1 The Netherlands, 2000-2016: immigration by region of origin (country of birth) in absolute numbers

Source: Statistics Netherlands' Statline Database (2017)

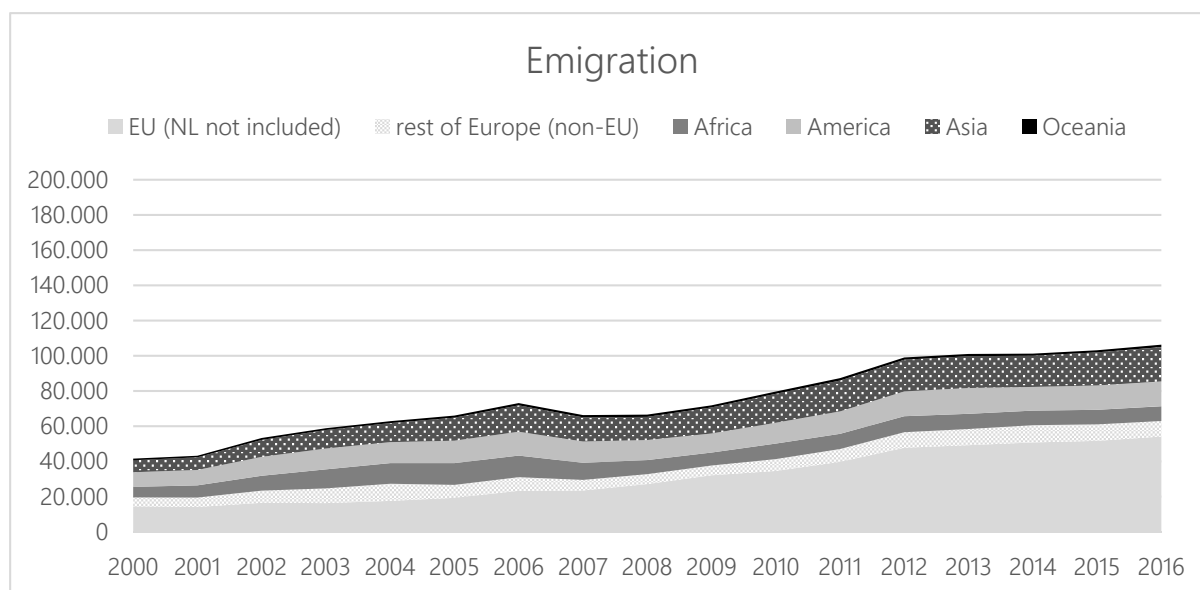


Figure 1-2 The Netherlands, 2000-2016: emigration by region of origin (country of birth) in absolute numbers

Source: Statistics Netherlands' Statline Database (2017)

The first part of the research (Chapter 2 & 3) focuses on intra-European migration over the period in which concerns of welfare migration in Europe took shape, that is, the years leading up to and following the EU enlargements of 2004 and 2007. For the two final studies (Chapter 4 & 5), two new data sets are used that I collected in the Netherlands for the purpose of this research in 2016 and 2017.

1.6 Data

1.6.1 Secondary macro-level data

The first study (Chapter 2) relies on aggregated register-based social statistics from Statistics Netherlands. These data are partly derived through the online database Statline (Statistics Netherlands, 2017), and partly from the research report 'Migrantenmonitor' (Statistics Netherlands, 2013, 2015), which captures migrants' labour market status from 2007 onwards. Data of Statistics Netherlands include all persons registered in the Dutch Population Register. European citizens are obliged to register in the Netherlands when their expected stay exceeds a minimum of three months (Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2013).

In the second study (Chapter 3), bilateral migration flow data obtained from the Integrated Modelling of European Migration (IMEM) database are analysed.

This database contains the posterior distribution of harmonized migration flows among 31 EU and European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries and the rest of the world between 2002 and 2008. The posterior distribution has been created by combining available data on migration, covariate information and expert knowledge within a statistical model (see Raymer et al., 2013). To my knowledge, IMEM is the only database providing complete information on bilateral migration flows between European countries together with information on the age composition of these flows. Migration flow data between 25 European countries are included in the study for the years 2003-2008. The data are enriched with country level indicators like distance, migrant networks, unemployment rates and social expenditure retrieved from databases of the Centre d'Etudes Prospectives et d'Informations Internationales (CEPII)³, Migration Modelling for Statistical Analyses (MIMOSA)⁴, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)⁵ and World Bank⁶.

1.6.2 Primary micro-level data

The third and fourth study draw on two data collections carried out within the broader MobileWelfare project in which this thesis is embedded. The MobileWelfare project is a mixed-methods research project, designed to better understand the role of welfare systems in destination and origin countries for migration patterns within and towards Europe.⁷ Four partner institutions in Poland, Portugal, the Netherlands and the UK collaborated in the project, together with two affiliated partner institutions in Spain and Turkey. As a member of the Dutch research team, I played an active role in both data collections for the Netherlands. Although data were collected at multiple sites, for the purpose of this research I rely on the Dutch fieldwork.

³ CEPII. (2011). GeoDist Database and CEPII. (2014). Language Database, both retrieved from <http://www.cepii.fr>.

⁴ MIMOSA. (2008). Migration Modelling for Statistical Analyses, retrieved from <http://mimosa.cytise.be>

⁵ OECD. (2016). OECD Social Expenditure Database (SOCX), retrieved from <http://stats.oecd.org>

⁶ World Bank. (2017). World Development Indicators from world Bank, retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org>.

⁷ The MobileWelfare project is supported by NORFACE Grant 462-14-150.

The third study (Chapter 4) uses material from qualitative interviews with European migrants in the Netherlands.⁸ The interviews mainly consisted of open-ended questions following a cross-national comparative interview guide, and covered topics like the respondent's situation in the country of origin prior to migration, decisions to migrate or to stay, and perceptions of and experiences with national welfare systems. The 36 EU citizens in the sample were born in Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom, and resided in the Netherlands at the time of the interview.

Data of the fourth study (Chapter 5) were collected by means of a factorial survey targeted at master students. In a factorial survey, an experimental design is combined with survey questions. In the experimental part, respondents indicated for several descriptions of hypothetical destination countries (i.e., vignettes) to what extent they would be willing to migrate there after graduation for a maximum of one year, and more than three years. The vignettes were varied on a restricted number of dimensions in an experimental manner and were randomly assigned to the respondents. The survey included questions on background characteristics like age and partnership status, as well as scales on self-efficacy and risk aversion to measure these aspects of the respondent's personality. Data were collected at nine Dutch universities by means of a Paper-And-Pencil-Interview (PAPI).⁹ The sample included over 300 Dutch master students.

1.7 Outline of the thesis

The analytical part of this thesis consists of four empirical chapters. Chapter 2 focuses on migrants from two origin countries that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007: Poland and Bulgaria. The aim of this study is to investigate whether and how migration patterns and welfare uptake of these groups changed after the EU

⁸ Within the broader MobileWelfare project, in-depth interviews were conducted in seven European countries: Norway, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and the United Kingdom. Respondents were European and non-European migrants residing in each of the seven countries, as well as individuals who never moved.

⁹ Erasmus University Rotterdam, Maastricht University, Radboud University, Technical University Delft, Tilburg University, University of Amsterdam, University of Groningen, Utrecht University, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (VU).

enlargements, using the Netherlands as a case study. To this end, figures on migration patterns and welfare usage of Polish and Bulgarian migrants are related to eligibility criteria that regulate welfare access in the Netherlands.

Chapter 3 broadens the scope of the research and addresses the question whether government spending on welfare state arrangements influenced migration decisions by age between 25 European countries. Within intra-European migration flow data, individuals are grouped in five age categories representing different life phases. Using a conditional logit model, the hypothesis is tested that social expenditure on family, unemployment and old-age benefits particularly affects locational choices of migrants within the age groups covered by the respective programs.

From this macro-perspective, Chapter 4 shifts towards a micro-perspective to gain insights into *how* a structural factor like the welfare system can influence individual migration decisions. To account for varying impacts of the welfare system across different life stages, an innovative conceptual model is proposed which combines insights from migration theories with principles of the life course approach. Qualitative interview data of European migrants in the Netherlands are used to empirically underpin the model.

Chapter 5 aims to disentangle three ways for characteristics of the welfare system to affect migration intentions: attracting, discouraging or facilitating through protecting against risks. To this end, experimental data of Dutch master students are analysed. It is investigated whether these impacts vary under different economic circumstances in the destination country, and for individuals with different psychological profiles.

Chapter 6 summarizes the main findings of each of the four empirical chapters and discusses how the studies together answer the overarching research question. In this final chapter I further elaborate on the scientific and societal implications of my findings and propose avenues for future research.

