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**Geographical Imaginations and Migration
Intentions: a case study of Chinese graduate
students in the Netherlands**

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Preface

The purpose for me to write my graduate thesis on migration topic is that I have been long interested in how international students change their role from passers-by to residents. This interest started when I once did my bachelor in Canada. I found out that peers around me have quite diverse intentions on migration to Canada. Some came and studied only for the aim of settling down, but some just intended to gain some knowledge and then went back to China. When I came to the Netherlands, a less popular country for Chinese to migrate, I also saw how different people's migration intentions could be. Therefore, I decided to study it from the perspective of human geography.

I discussed my interest with my supervisor, Mr. Pieter. He inspired me a lot by introducing the Theory of Planned Behaviour to me. When I was reading relevant papers, the idea of finding a way to make up for its weakness came into my mind, together with a rather vague idea of bringing in the concept of geographical imaginations. After several appointment with Pieter, we finally came up with a research design focusing on examining migration intentions of Chinese graduate students. During the next few months, I organized interviews, collected data and did the analysis.

I am a Chinese international student with rich migration history, which helps me to understand my respondents better during interviews. We share the same language, same cultures, similar migration history, so we know each other. But I tried to view my research from an objective view, and this brought me back to be a researcher. Hope that the thesis can be a good read and help my readers to gain better understanding of Chinese graduate students in the Netherlands.

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Jinye Wu

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Special thanks go to all respondents. It was my great honour to be trusted by my respondents and to be given the chance to talk to them. They were very willing to help and good at communicating. Some of them even gave me helpful feedbacks to improve my interview questions. This inspired me to strengthen my interview skills. Different perspectives inspired me to think about my own case, and their optimistic and hardworking characteristics really touched me a lot. I felt more proud of being part of the community.

Moreover, I would like to thank my family and friends who supported me during the last year. You helped me go through all the different phases of my master programme.

Abstract

To face with the future shortage of highly-skilled workers and to promote economic development especially in knowledge industry, it is important to retain well-educated international students whose abilities and skills are scarce in the job market of the Netherlands. Chinese graduate students, as the second largest foreign population in Dutch educational system, should be one of the focuses. This research paper uses qualitative methods (surveys and interviews) to collect first-hand data from 24 respondents. It is about Chinese graduate students' migration intentions in terms of staying in the Netherlands, returning to China, or moving to other countries, by using an extended TPB model with dimensions of geographical imaginations included. Another purpose of this paper is to provide insights into how the abstract concept of geographical imaginations could shape and also be shaped by both migration history and migration intentions. Furthermore, results would provide academic evidence for Dutch immigration governmental sectors to formulate more effective policies towards international students, and if necessary, towards specific ethnic groups.

Key words: geographical imagination; migration intentions; Chinese students; Dutch immigration policy

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Netherlands, one of the most diverse countries around the world, has aimed to attract talented international students, who are expected to help deal with future shortage of high-skilled workers and boost economics in Netherlands, to stay. This chapter will identify the societal relevance and the contribution to geography.

1.1 A drastic need for high-skilled workers in the Netherlands

International students have a positive effect on the domestic economy. A recent study by Statistics Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, CBS) showed that the net-inflow of international students to the Netherlands has a positive effect on the Gross Domestic Product (CBS, 2012).

Besides, according to a recent OECD report, in 2025 the Netherlands will have a shortage of high-skilled workers. Whereas the demand for high-skilled workers is expected to increase with 2.4 million, the labour supply is estimated to grow by only 1 million (VSNU, 2016). This expected shortage of high-skilled labour will exist primarily in sectors that require technical or mathematical qualifications. An OECD report published in 2016 therefore concluded that the Dutch government should adopt strategies to cope with this shortage of high-skilled workers (OECD, 2016).

One of the possible solutions is to retain international students that are already in-country. Because international students have already lived in the Netherlands for a period of time, they possess some advantages compared to other foreign high-skilled workers. First of all, this group has a degree from a Dutch higher education institution, which will therefore certainly be recognized by Dutch employers. Moreover, during the period they stayed, they are likely to have become familiar with the local culture and language.

1.2 National policies for international graduates

Some national policies are implemented to regulate how international graduates find a job. Most importantly, Dutch employers who want to employ highly skilled foreigners in the Netherlands need work permits in most cases. Only residents with an EU, EEA or Swiss nationality, excluding Bulgarians and Romanians, can work without their employer obtaining a work permit for them. No one is allowed to start to work before a work permit has been granted; otherwise, the employer risks being fined.

The 30% Ruling is a personal income tax reduction for select employees in the Netherlands. It applies to specialized foreign employees who are brought to the Netherlands because their skills are scarce in the Dutch market place. For the evaluation of whether an entered employee possesses specific expertise that is scarce or absent on the job market in the Netherlands, a minimum salary requirement was introduced. For employees under the age of 30 who have obtained a master degree, the minimum required taxable salary to get a 30% tax ruling is €28,3501.

However, each application for a work permit can cost the company money, and only companies recognized by the IND (Immigration and Naturalisation Service) are able to apply for a work permit. Therefore, it can be imagined that getting a work permit is not an easy thing. To relieve the pressure of international job-seekers, some policies have been implemented.

Firstly, the international graduates have the option to apply for a temporary residence permit, which gives them the opportunity to seek a job as a highly educated migrant for a maximum period of one year after having completed studies. During this job-seeking year, the international students are permitted to work to earn a living, and a work permit is not required. Once the international graduates have found a job in the Netherlands, with a gross annual salary of at least €2,314 gross per month, they are eligible for a regular residence permit. This wage criterion is much lower for graduated international student migrants than for other highly educated migrants (see Figure 1).

¹ Source: <https://www.expatax.nl/30ruling.php>

Salary criteria

Highly skilled migrants 30 years or older	€ 4.404 gross per month
Highly skilled migrants younger than 30 years	€ 3.229 gross per month
Highly skilled migrants following an orientation year for highly educated persons, or without an orientation year permit within 3 years after graduating or work as a scientific researcher*	€ 2.314 gross per month
European Blue Card	€ 5.160 gross per month

Figure 1. Salary criteria for applying for a residence permit²

Secondly, since 1 January 2009, the Highly Educated Migrants Scheme has applied to third-country nationals who graduates from one of the top 200 universities in the world or who obtained their Master Degrees at an accredited educational institution in the Netherlands, as well as to third-country nationals who obtained a Doctorate Degree in the Netherlands. In the case of Highly Educated Migrants Scheme, the students may leave the Netherlands, but that he or she is allowed to return to the Netherlands within a maximum period of three years in order to seek a job as a highly educated migrant for a period of one year.

All family members of migrants are permitted to stay in the Netherlands for a maximum period of three months without a residence permit for the purpose of family visit. However, a disadvantage of the Highly Educated Migrants Scheme is that the highly educated third-country national and his family are not permitted to work without a work permit during this job-seeking year, which is contrary to the regulations applicable in the job-seeking year for international student graduates.

1.3 The role of Chinese students

The number of Chinese students that follow a degree programme, or a part of a programme, in the Netherlands has dramatically increased over the last two decades. Whereas in the year of 2000 there were only 185 students enrolled in a Dutch higher education institution, in 2012 this number rose to more than 4000 students. Now,

² Source: https://ind.nl/en/Pages/income.aspx#Highly_skilled_migrants_and_European_Blue_Card

among all international students, Chinese students have accounted for the second largest proportion, following the Germans (see Table 1).

Rank	Nationality	Population
1	Germany	22189
2	China	4347
3	Italy	3347
4	Belgium	2976
5	UK	2778
6	Greece	2370

Table 1. The population of international students in the Netherlands³

Despite the large percentage of Chinese international students, the working stay rate of Chinese students is relatively low, in comparison with students from other non-EEA countries. About 49% Chinese students plan to stay in the Netherlands to work, continue studying, or look for a job (Hong et al., 2017). The percentage is much lower than the average level, which is 70% of the total (Lundberg, 2016). The reason behind this phenomena is still unknown, but it is time to figure it out in order to attract more talented Chinese international students.

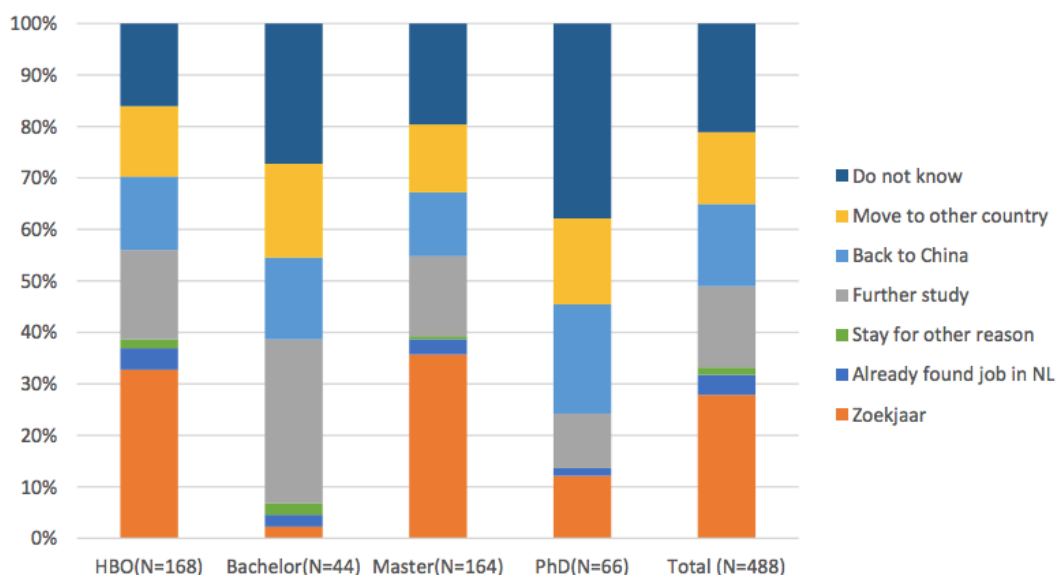


Figure 2. Migration intentions of Chinese students in the Netherlands (Hong et al., 2017)

³ Source: www.studyinholland.nl

1.4 Theoretical significance

The past few decades have witnessed important developments in psychologically-oriented studies of migration behaviour. New decision-making models that incorporate place perceptions and motivational constructs provide a context for the studies of migration intentions (Fawcett, 1986). One of them is the Theory of Planned Behaviour. Although it is a quite popular model to theoretically construct individual motivational factors as determinants of the likelihood of performing migration behaviour, it has received much critics for its static explanatory nature which lead to failure to account for how migration history might influence future migration intentions.

Geographical imaginations can be used to reveal how migration decision making in life is influenced by forces at larger scales, connected to the course of individuals' migration history, and tied to geographically specific differences in resources and power between their origins and destinations (Marcus, 2009; Thompson, 2017). However, only a small number of studies have explored the impact of it on migration decision-making, interrogating the relationship between place and mobility (Fujita, 2004; Teo, 2003; Marcus, 2010; Timmerman et al., 2012). This thesis is about to build up the extended TPB in migration studies by incorporating the concept of geographical imaginations. In this way, more spatial aspects will be added to the model.

The definition of geographical imaginations was broadened. Existing literature on geographical imaginations only lay emphasis on that human beings are able to imagine somewhere they have been to. Nevertheless, if situating geographical imaginations in a relational time and space framework provided by Harvey (2007), human beings can also imagine somewhere they have not been to, and even the future image of their currently lived space, since space and time are fully entangled and do not exist alone.

In previous studies, future dreams act as a powerful inspiration factor in people's decisions to migrate (Marcus, 2009). The geographical imagination is embedded in the minds of those who wish to migrate to search for their "dream", such as the most well-known "the American dream". Similarly, migration history is thought to be

important in migration decision making. But the mechanism is still quite ambiguous. The most crucial addition is that this thesis is about to show how past experiences drive knowledge experience and meaning which in turn drive attitudes which are one of the dimensions of behavioural intentions, as well as how past experiences drive awareness which in turn drive perceived behavioural control. It no longer analyses geographical imagination as a whole, but breaks the concept down into components, helping to explain the chain of causality. In the end, the extended-TPB model is going to be more powerful when it is used to predict one's migration intentions.

Chapter 2

Theory

This chapter is about to introduce the theory of TPB as well as the concept of geographical imaginations, to see how the two can be combined to create an extended TPB with stronger predictive power. In the end of this chapter, research questions will be raised, based on a conceptual model.

2.1 The Theory of Planned Behaviour

Various explanations have been put for migration intentions, one of which is the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB), an extension of the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA; Fishbein, 1967). TRA states that the best predictor of behaviour is the individual's attitude toward the behaviour along with the social norms that influence the likelihood of performing the behaviour. Ajzen (1985) added perceived and actual control to TRA in order to capture the influence of perceived obstacles and constraints that might prevent behaviour from occurring. TPB is summarized in Figure 3. It has been widely used in predicting health behaviours, such as smoking, drinking, HIV prevention behaviours, and also migration decision making (Lu, 1988; Willekens, 2016; Yazdanpanah & Zobeidi, 2016).

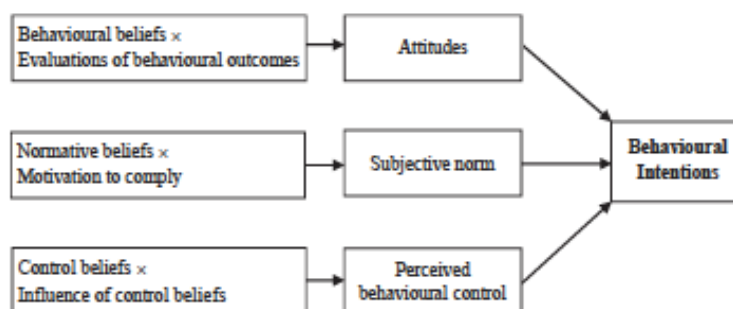


Figure 3. Conceptual framework of TPB model (Ajzen, 1985)

Three beliefs determine and intention to act, i.e. migrate (see Figure 4). The first is the behavioural belief that **migration is beneficial to one's future well-being**. It

is the basis for a positive attitude towards migration. This may be an outcome of a conscious calculus, but may also be a result of limited and biased information received from others. The second is the normative beliefs that **significant others approve of the migration**, and this determines the subjective norm. The third is the control beliefs that **one has the capabilities to remove obstacles and to make migration a success**. That control belief determines the perceived behavioural control. Attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioural control are predictors of the intention to perform a behaviour. Predictors can be influenced by other background factors, including those personal factors and societal factors. The stronger the predictors are, the stronger the intention is (Willekens, 2017).

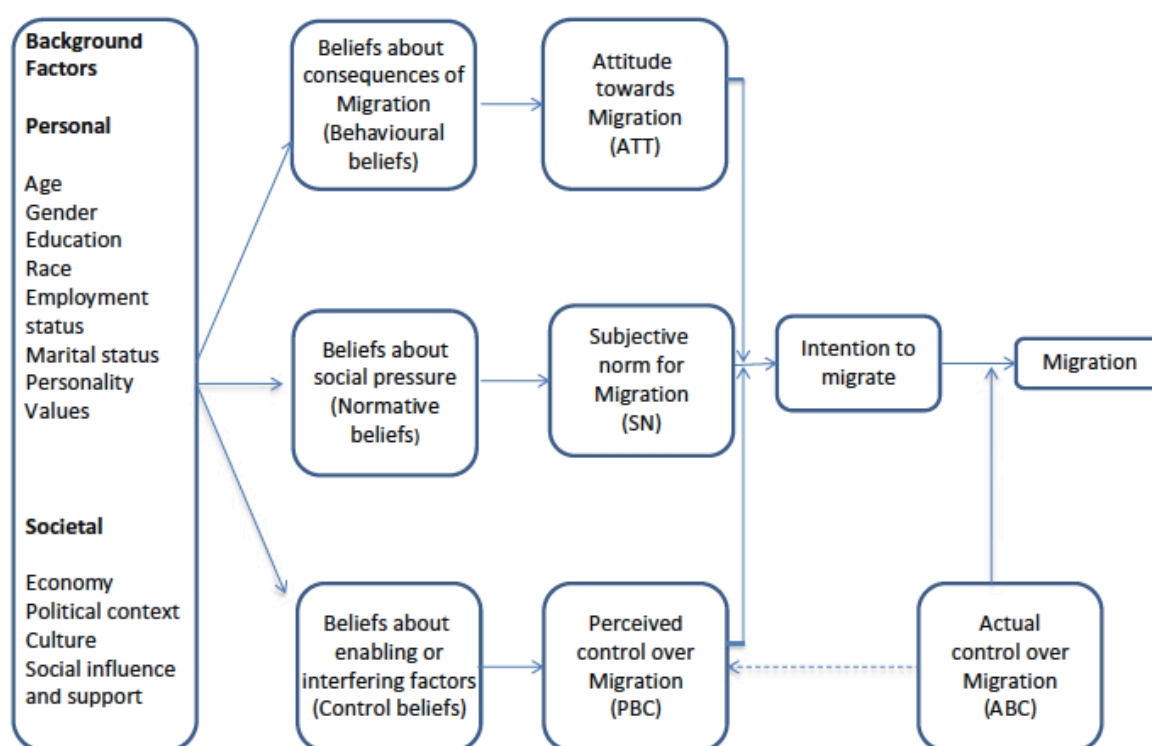


Figure 4. Schematic presentation of the theory of planned behaviour (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010)

Some researchers have recently worked on an extended-TPB model in many fields. For example, in migration studies, Zhang et al. (2017) expanded the theory of planned behaviour by interrelating behavioural changes in multiple domains (jobs, residences, and family life) from the perspective of migration decision-making process.

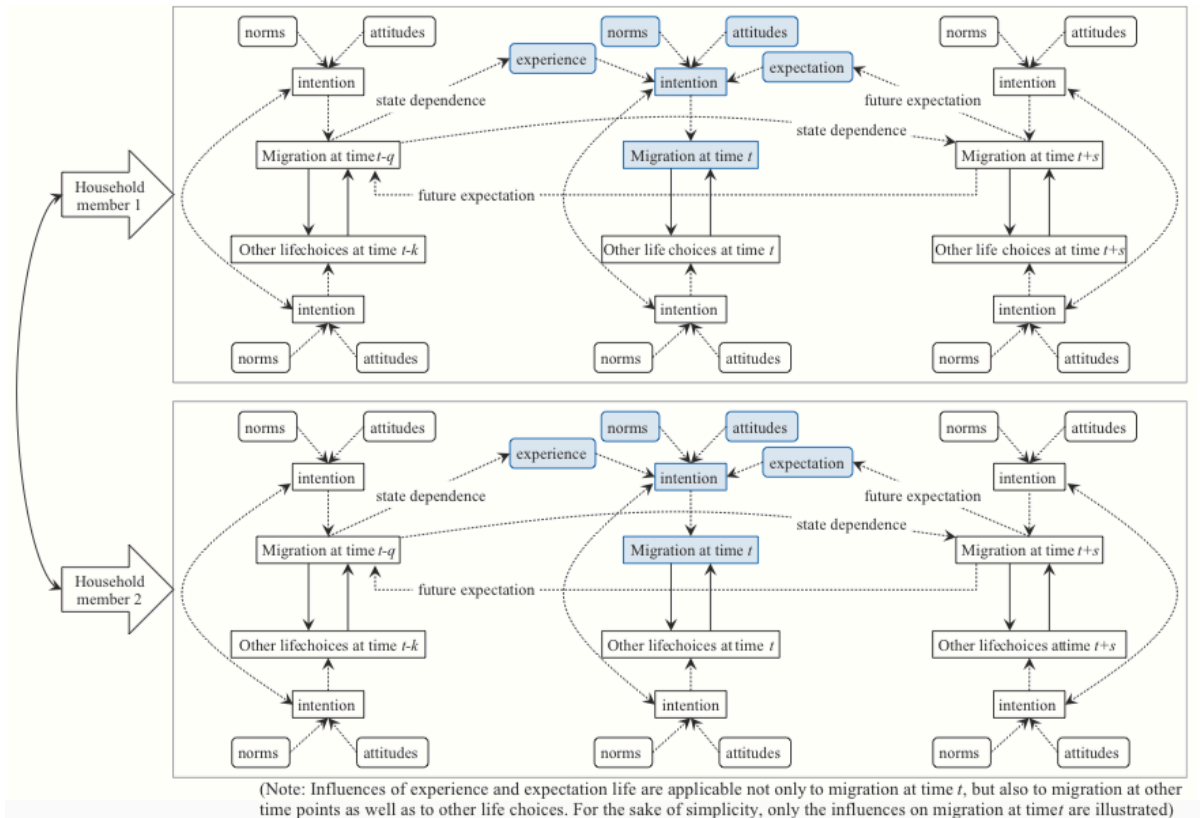


Figure 5. A conceptual framework of behavioural changes and temporal dynamics across life domains (Zhang et al., 2017).

2.2 Geographical imaginations

The concept of geographical imaginations was developed from “sociological imagination”, a conceptual tool for use by individuals to compare their personal biographies to larger social structures within their specific historical era (Mills, 1959). The term “geographical imagination” was first officially coined by Hugh Prince (1962), and then theorized by Harvey (1975) to be ‘the **knowledge, experience, and meaning one ascribes to a place, along with an awareness of the social, spatial, political, and economic forces** that help to produce and maintain these spaces’. Existing literature on geographical imaginations only lay emphasis on that human beings are able to imagine somewhere they have been to. Nevertheless, if situating geographical imaginations in a relational time and space framework provided by Harvey (2007), human beings can also imagine somewhere they have not been to, and even the future image of their currently lived space, since space and time are fully entangled and do not exist alone.

Each component mentioned in this concept contributes to migration studies. Firstly, knowledge plays its significant role in migration. According to the theory of knowledge, the more brightly the light of our personal knowledge shines upon a region or a problem, the more attracted we are by the obscurities within it or concerning its entire extent. The more there is found, the more the imagination suggests for further search (Wright, 1947).

Secondly, experience refers to both negative practices that people have suffered before and positive practices that impress them. A good example comes from mass tourism which produces geographical understandings from direct experience. Tourist industry is expert at masking uncomfortable geographies of poverty, social and environmental degradation, political and personal violence, economic exploitation and oppression (Harvey, 2005).

Thirdly, meaning can be more personal compared to the first two components. From the inner side, even the same experience can be attached to various meanings by people in different ways. From the outer side, how people give meanings to spaces can be led by mass media (Couldry and McCarthy, 2004).

Finally, awareness of external forces is an on-going process. In this thesis, it is defined by the students' knowledge of why migration is a problem, how it can be solved, and where to seek help. Awareness is acceptable when students know the difficulty and solution for migration decision and where to get aid.

Distinct from the related term geographical imaginary which denotes a more unconscious construction, the geographical imagination can be manifest in the consciousness and a reflective construction. Wright (1947) stated that there are three imaginative processes of importance in relation to geography, in each of which subjectivity of one form or another plays a large part. These are called promotional imagining (controlled by a desire to promote or defend any personal interest or cause other than that of seeking the objective truth for its own sake), intuitive imagining (based on one's personal impressions of selected facts instead of impersonally considering and weighing all pertinent evidence), and aesthetic imagining (promoted by a desire to enjoy the process of imagining itself, and to give satisfaction to others).

2.3 Migration history and future dreams

By far, the theory of planned behaviour has been criticized for its static explanatory nature. It fails to account for how past experience might influence future behaviour. In other words, it excludes some variables, such as the role of emotions beyond anticipated affective outcomes (Conner, Gaston, Sheeran, & Germain, 2013). However, external experiences will indeed cause internal impression (Pred, 1981). In migration studies, migration history can also serve as the potential root for future migration actions. Cresswell (2006, 2010) asserts that while people move, they always carry their norms, values, ideology, and power with them. All these can change and also be changed by students' pathways across different scales.

One way to better predict migration intentions using the TPB model is to take the credit from geographical imaginations. Only a small number of studies have explored the impact of it on migration decision-making, interrogating the relationship between place and mobility (Fujita, 2004; Teo, 2003; Marcus, 2010; Timmerman et al., 2012). However, the concept is closely related to future dreams and migration history. In previous studies, future dreams act as a powerful inspiration factor in people's decisions to migrate (Marcus, 2009). The geographical imagination is embedded in the minds of those who wish to migrate to search for their "dream", such as the most well-known "the American dream". Similarly, migration history is thought to have the ability to shape one's geographical imagination and then migration intentions. Marcus (2009) argued that past experiences may come with unrealistically high expectations, thus inspiring migration. Thompson (2016) claimed that geographical imaginations are relational, and unknown places are imaginatively compared with known ones. But, overall, the mechanism is still quite ambiguous in existing literature.

2.4 Research questions

In conclusion, there exists solid theoretical foundation for both the Theory of Planned Behaviour, but the theory lacks geographical contexts when used to explain spatial behavioural such as migration; at the same time, geographical imaginations can complement it, since the concept has to do with both migration history and future dreams. However, only a small number of studies have explored the impact of geographical imagination on migration intentions, so the mechanism between the two is left to be unclear.

This thesis is upon to link TPB model with geographical imaginations by detecting the dialectic relationship between variables in the TPB model and components of geographical imaginations. The idea is summarized in a new conceptual model (see Figure 6) based on which this paper will seek for a better understanding of migration intentions of Chinese graduate students on the basis of geographical imaginations. The specific research questions are:

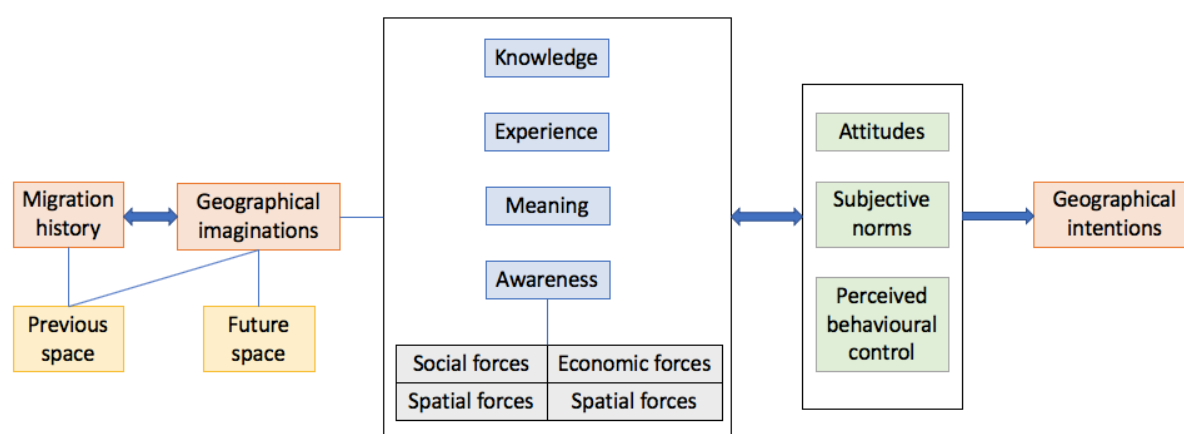


Figure 6. Conceptual framework

- (1) How do past experiences of Chinese graduate students drive knowledge, experience, meaning, and awareness about both the Netherlands and China; and
- (2) How do their knowledge, experience, meaning, and awareness drive their attitudes, received subjective norms, and perceived behavioural controls with respect to staying in the Netherlands and returning to China?

Chapter 3

Methods

The target population of the interviews come from two groups: recent graduates and students that will graduate within a year. For those who were still in the Netherlands, face-to-face interviews were conducted. This approach tends to have the highest response rate and produce more details compared to mail surveys (Lynch, 2013). For those who were not in the Netherlands, online audio call interviews were conducted. This chapter presents the survey design with its two different methods (i.e. online survey and qualitative interviews). Furthermore, it explains the statistical analysis and the variables used in the model as well as the data analysis method of qualitative interviews.

3.1 The interpretive approach

Interpretivism and positivism are the underlying paradigms of qualitative and quantitative research, respectively. Quantitative research needs large sample size of representative cases, and the positivism paradigm is often seen as the scientific approach to research. To answer research questions of this study, the focus is not to use numbers and numerical data to test the hypothesis. Instead, it should be to develop an initial understanding and to identify and explain behaviour, beliefs and actions. Therefore, the interpretive approach is a better choice. Rather than focusing on facts as in the positivist paradigm, qualitative researchers seek to understand subjective meaningful experiences and the meaning of social actions within the context in which people live (Snape & Spencer, 2008).

The way the interpretive approach understand can be viewed from two different perspectives: from that of the researcher using their own frame of reference on the issues, which is referred to as understanding; and from those of the study population by identifying their perspectives on the research issues, which is referred to as *Verstehen*. The concept of *Verstehen* was extensively applied by Webber (1840-1920) who derived it from Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911). Since Chinese graduate students

share similar cultural values that are unique from others, it is better to combine the two different perspectives together and not to forget the importance of Verstehen, which refers to understanding the life of Chinese graduate students from their own perspective, in their own context and describing their own words and concepts.

3.2 Online survey

Interviews are a widely used instrument for gathering data in qualitative research. It suits the best for this study whose aim is to seek information on individual, personal experiences from people about migration or returning. However, to increase reliability of interviews, respondents should be carefully selected and ensure diversity in migration backgrounds. A self-administrated online survey was developed to help select the best matched respondents.

First comes the problem of gaining information about more potential interviewees so that there is better chance to find out the proper ones. The research did not use a paper-based survey because the link to an online survey can be much more easily spread among Chinese students who might become target interviewees, via the Internet. The snowball strategy was used to distribute the link. Each repost of the link helped the survey reach more Chinese graduate students.

Second comes gaining more helpful information from those participants, so that representative interviewees can be efficiently distinguished from others. This has to do with questions in the online survey (see Figure 7). Question 1 gathers information about migration history, while Question 2 asks about students' future destination. It is possible that some students have not made up their mind and they might be considering different options at the same time. Therefore, Question 2 only asks for the best suitable description to their migration intentions. Also, it is possible that one can neither intend to stay nor intend to return, so another option is provided for those who would like to move on to other countries. It is also important to see their opinions in this research. Question 3 consists of four semi-questions and each reflects on one dimension of the TPB model respectively. It uses a ten-point scale to assist students to clarify how strong their opinion is. It is noticeable that Ajzen (2002) suggested a step-by-step guidance for a full-version of TPB questionnaire, but in this study, it is unnecessary to use that version only in preparation for a quantitative analysis,

because the purpose of the online survey is built to have an overall understanding of migration intentions of Chinese graduate students studying in the Netherlands before going to more in-depth interviews.

- 1) Please list your place of birth and any other places you have stayed for more than 6 months. For each place, please include how many years you have been stayed there.
- 2) After graduation, which option is currently the most preferable one for you?
 - A. staying in the Netherlands
 - B. returning to China
 - C. moving to another country (please mention a specific country if applicable: _____)
 - D. others: _____ (e.g. stay in the Netherlands first and then move to another country)
- 3) To what extent do you agree with the following statements?
 - 3-1: You intend to stay in the Netherlands after graduation:
extremely unlikely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 extremely likely
 - 3-2: Staying in the Netherlands is overall a good thing:
definitely false 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 definitely true
 - 3-3: People around you think it is better for you to stay in the Netherlands:
definitely false 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 definitely true
 - 3-4: For you, staying in the Netherlands is an easy thing to do:
definitely false 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 definitely trueCould you give reasons for your choice? _____

Figure 7. Online survey question list

The whole process of the study was anonymous, so no place was given in the survey to fill in the name. Since personal characteristics and societal characteristics are not the focus of the study, the online survey did not ask students to provide their personal information, such as age and family backgrounds.

Based on the information gathered from these three questions, respondents with several types of migration history will be discovered, such as rural-to-urban migrants, those urban/rural born and bred, and those with overseas experiences (or any other possible types). Next, respondents with similar migration histories will be grouped, and several typical, extreme and critical samples with different extent of migration intentions in the same group were invited for following interviews.

3.3 Semi-structured interviews

There are several different types of interviews, which mainly differentiate by their level of structure. While a structured interview has a rigorous set of questions which does not allow one to divert, a semi-structured interview is open, allowing new ideas

to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says. Since the main purpose of this paper is to extend the TPB by adding geographical context, semi-structured interviews would work better to figure out what geographical dimensions are relevant to respondents. This approach aims to ensure that the participants in the interviews answer the questions based on their own relevance system and not according to the theoretical assumptions of the researcher.

The interviewer in a semi-structured interview generally has a framework of themes to be explored. In this study, an interview guide was used (see Figure 8). Although each respondent has their own stories to tell and unexpected topics can rise from time to time, this interview guide is useful to lead the interview and ensure that important issues are not missed. In the interview guide, an introduction is given to inform students of the purpose and details of this research, and then opening questions are asked to make them feel comfortable at the very beginning. In the part of key questions, their migration intention will be first clarified by the question “Have you made up your mind whether to stay or return?”, and then attitudes and control will be examined by the following questions. In the end of the interview, the research will again confirm their migration intentions. This gives interviewees another chance to carefully think about their decision. Especially, for those who are not clear about their migration intentions, they might change their first decision after a deep discussion with someone else, which would be an interesting point to analyse.

Interview Guide

Introduction

This interview is being conducted to get to know the views of Chinese graduate students about migration. I am conducting this research for my master thesis at the University of Utrecht. I am especially interested in your intentions of staying in the Netherlands, going back to China, or moving on. I would like to ask you questions relate to my interests. Everything you tell me will only be used for this research project, and will not be shared with anyone outside the research team. Also your name will not be used, to make sure that no one can identify you with any answers. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Opening questions

- What is your major?
- Can you describe your hometown?

Hints: big or small, traditional or modern, the trend of migration

- Why did you choose to study in the Netherlands?

Hints: affordable cost, better education

- Do you miss your family and friends back in China?

Key questions

- Have you made up your mind whether to stay or return?
- Have you been to the Netherlands before?
- What kind of life did you expect in the Netherlands before you actually came?

Hints: food, climate, relationships, study

- How did you enjoy your life in the Netherlands so far?
- What are the things that you did not expect to experience?

Hints: discrimination, international atmosphere

- What do you know about the Netherlands?

Hints: language, immigration policies

- How difficult do you think is finding a job in the Netherlands?
- Would you at this point like to apply for a search year?
- How would you say that China and the Netherlands mean to you?

Hints: a stepping stone, home/not-home, a place to study/live

- What do you think about the future of China and the Netherlands?

Hints: economic change, social change, political change

- Is there any possibility for you to change your intention?

Closing question

- Would you recommend your friends to study in the Netherlands?

Figure 8. Interview guide

There are different opinions regarding the minimal sufficient number of participants in a survey. For the purpose of hermeneutical interpretation, a sample of $n=6$ to $n=120$ is considered appropriate. This research did not set a specific number of participants at the beginning. It just ended when no new story is added by doing more interviews. Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes to 60 minutes.

3.4 Thematic text analysis

In order to enable participants to express themselves freely, all interviews were conducted in Chinese. Collected data from interviews are words, texts, and stories. All of them were then be translated from Chinese, native language of respondents, to English, except for parts not relevant for the research.

In this study, the analysis of the qualitative interview data is based on “thematic qualitative text analysis”. According to Kuckartz (2014), it is one of the most frequently chosen data analysis method in qualitative research and has a highly explorative character. Generally, it follows six steps (see Table 2).

Phase	Process	Result
1	Read and re-read interview scripts in order to become familiar with what the data entails, paying specific attention to patterns that occur.	Preliminary "start" codes and detailed notes.
2	Generate the initial codes by documenting where and how patterns occur. This happens through data reduction where the researcher collapses data into labels in order to create categories for more efficient analysis. Data complication is also completed here. This involves the researcher making inferences about what the codes mean.	Comprehensive codes of how data answers research question.
3	Combine codes into overarching themes that accurately depict the data. It is important in developing themes that the researcher describes exactly what the themes mean, even if the theme does not seem to "fit." The researcher should also describe what is missing from the analysis.	List of candidate themes for further analysis.
4	In this stage, the researcher looks at how the themes support the data and the overarching theoretical perspective. If the analysis seems incomplete, the researcher needs to go back and find what is missing.	Coherent recognition of how themes are patterned to tell an accurate story about the data.
5	The researcher needs to define what each theme is, which aspects of data are being captured, and what is interesting about the themes.	A comprehensive analysis of what the themes contribute to understanding the data.
6	When the researchers write the report, they must decide which themes make meaningful contributions to understanding what is going on within the data. Researchers should also conduct "member checking." This is where the researchers go back to the sample at hand to see if their description is an accurate representation.	A thick description of the results.

Table 2. Six steps of thematic analysis

The analysis of this research begins from generating start codes, and then try to combine some codes together into themes. For research question 1, expectation of the Netherlands before and after coming is coded into positive and negative sides.

Other potential migration destinations are coded independently. For research question 2, related themes include: awareness of (1) social forces: picking up languages, blind dates, high competition, working overload, entertainment, relationship, friendship, discrimination; (2) political forces: immigration policy, constitution revision, safety, family, respect, social organizations; (3) spatial forces: climate, food, clothes, urbanization, environment, pollution; (4) economic forces: house and car, income, CSC funds, tax rules. For research question 3, related themes include: past travelling experiences, future prediction on the Netherlands and China, and etc.

By reviewing contents under each code, it is found that some codes are related to the general topic but fail to answer the specific research questions, so they are deleted. To be more specific, only those showing patterns in how knowledge, experience, and meaning changed students' attitude, those showing changing awareness of forces, and those showing the relationship between past experiences and imaginations, will be analysed and shown in chapter 4.

3.5 Evaluation of the method

In conclusion, this research is a typical qualitative research. Semi-structured interviews help to explain why certain subjective meanings are attached to places, and why people hold varying attitude towards the same thing. Stories and voices are unique and cannot be represented by numbers and statistics. Since migration intentions are a rather complex issue to discuss, a great number of topics can arise during the process. Therefore, by applying a thematic text analysis, the large volume of scripts can be analysed logically. In addition, the contribution of online survey is obvious. It helps to find out proper respondents to hold interviews and gives an overview of migration intentions of Chinese graduate students.

Chapter 4

Results

In this chapter, some important findings of the conducted Chinese international student interviews will be presented. It shows how knowledge, experience, and meaning, as components of geographical imaginations, influences attitudes, norms, and control in different time plots. Representative quotes are used to further exemplify the arguments of the researcher. Those Chinese slangs that cannot be translated accurately will remain in Chinese, but with explanations in the footnotes.

4.1 Overall migration intentions

In total, 36 online surveys were received and the whole results received from the online survey can be found in the appendix. 34 of them were valid samples. Among all valid samples, 22 students were considering about staying in the Netherlands, 13 students preferred to return to China, and 11 said they might move on in other countries (one can choose two intentions, so the sum of three items is over the total). The samples were relatively evenly distributed among three types of intentions, with staying in the Netherlands slightly outnumbering the other two.

Statements and Scores				
Items	You intend to stay in the Netherlands after graduation.	Staying in the Netherlands is overall a good thing.	People around you think it is better for you to stay in the Netherlands.	For you, staying in the Netherlands is an easy thing to do
Intend to stay	8.05	8.18	6.73	5.77
Intend to return	5.46	6.15	5.08	6.08
Intend to move on	5.70	6.70	6.00	5.10
All sample	6.53	7.09	6.06	5.12

Table 3. Online survey results

In table 4, the larger the score is, the stronger extent do respondents agree with that statement. Overall, it can be seen that the data were consistent with the TPB model. Chinese graduate students who intended to stay in the Netherlands after graduation gave the highest score to the statements, “staying in the Netherlands is a

good thing” and “people around think it is better to stay in the Netherlands”. However, they did not think staying in the Netherlands is an easy thing to do, and they gave only a 5.77 to that statement, even lower than that given by the group of students who intended to return. One possible explanation for this is that those who intended to stay are those who had already gained some knowledge and who had already tried to find a job, so they become more aware of how hard it could be. By contrast, those who intended to return might not even know about the restrictions faced by those who intended to retain, so they gave a 6.08 to that statement. What is worth mentioning is that, any score in the table below only has their meanings when compared with other scores in the table.

In the blank given to fill in difficulties of staying in the Netherlands, topics included: language barrier, find an employment, too far away from home, climate, and social integration. During interviews, these topics occurred as well. By the time of interviews, the imagined images of the Netherlands were quite similar. They all believed it would remain stable in all aspects. By contrast, they all believed that China would develop fast in the future.

4.2 The power of knowledge and experience

Firstly, some Chinese graduate students hold a negative attitude towards staying in the Netherlands because of lack of knowledge. Becoming aware of the environment takes some time, but compared to locals, Chinese graduate students have lived only a few years and had less life experiences in the Netherlands, so they tend to know less about the state. Generally, it is hard for people to make the decision to migrate to an unknown place. Unknown can easily lead to a panic attitude toward migration to that new place. This is also true when applied to Chinese graduate students. If they are not familiar with a certain area, they will fail to derive certain benefits from their prospective migration behaviour. Since Chinese are overall relatively conservative, they are likely to consider something unclear to be something with potential dangers. But this is not the case for those who are used to live independently. Our interviews illustrate that those who have studied or worked alone in somewhere far from home are willing to take more risks in terms of migration.

Indeed, knowledge gap is impossible to disappear, since two countries have totally different cultures and values, but this can be “selling point” of staying in the Netherlands and makes students think staying is beneficial to their personal development since it enriches their life. Learning to settle down in a new country means acquiring relevant new knowledge and gaining some new experiences, which is considered to be an exciting spice to their life. In theory, lack of knowledge promotes curiosity about the unexplored country, and stimulates the imagination to conjure up mental images of what to look for within it (Wright, 1947).

“You know, I was at my rebellious period that time, and I did not want to study in a popular destination just like teenagers around me. Instead, I wanted to go somewhere unfamiliar to everyone, somewhere with lots of mysteries to explore.” (Respondent 11, female)

Secondly, daily experiences and practices parallel social learning through the exposure to a variety of cultural and educational practices (Harvey, 2005) and the more they learn about the Netherlands, the more positively they might think about migration. The knowledge and experience do not have to be embedded by graduate students themselves, but can be embedded by someone they know. Norms that influence migration intentions can be delivered between who have not yet made up their mind and who have previous pleasant or unpleasant migration experiences in various ways, such as sharing stories. Both direct and indirect experience can increase their knowledge about the Netherlands and make them feel more familiar and comfortable, while indirect knowledge and experience are closely related to subjective norms received by Chinese graduate students. For example, Respondent 9, male, said, *“My grandpa once lived in France. When I was a child, I always listened to his stories about Brussel and Paris. It is not hard for me to make some predictions about my life in the Netherlands.”*

If daily practices in the Netherlands go well, Chinese graduate students tend to have a positive attitude towards staying; by contrast, if daily practices in their hometown serve them better, they would prefer to go back. It is a process of weighing both sides. Sometimes, the weighing involves with more destinations. Findings show that, negative experience in other European countries is likely to set the image of Netherlands off, and students build up a relatively positive attitude towards the

Netherlands. For example, Respondent 5 mentioned that she felt strong nationalism in Germany and felt the Netherlands is more open, tolerant, and welcoming in comparison; Respondent 7 mentioned that she felt that the Netherlands was more affordable than UK.

One type of experience that most significantly increase one's geographical knowledge is travelling. Previous international trips helped students form the first impression on the Netherlands. No matter whether they came because of relationship, business, or recreation purposes, it is no doubt that a pleasant journey to the Netherlands got a place for the country in people's good-list. Especially, those who came for visits to important partners or friends, are more likely to be influenced by their peers' opinions on migration. Respondent 2, female, reported, "*My boyfriend asked me to visit him in the Netherlands, so I have been here before. He persuaded me to stay with him. Finally, I am here. I have not decided to migrate or not, so I would say that I'm right in the middle, or even more to his side. I mean, if he wants to stay, then I will stay if there is no specific factor forcing me to go back*". In this case, previous experiences are driven by subjective norm in turn.

Memorable visits to other developed countries, such as Canada and Norway, could let those would like to satisfy their curiosity and taste more assume that developed countries were similar and positive things during trips would also happen in the Netherlands. Or, sometimes, migration to the Netherlands could be expected to be even better.

"I feel that Chinese staying in the Netherlands is overall not as rich as those in Canada, which makes it easier for me, a student from an average-income family, to be part of local Chinese community."
(Respondent 21, Male)

However, when they find out that travelling is quite different from staying for a long time, they are likely to get disappointed by reality and their positive attitude of staying will shift to the other side. Of course, previous travelling experiences are part of ones' good memory gained by visualization, but memory is crucially dependent upon visualization (Harvey, 1995). Their positive attitude towards living in the Netherlands can be highly enhanced by their lovely travels, since what mass tourism depicts is a selected kind of geographical understanding marked by adventure,

engagement with difference, eroticism and culture and particular dark side is evaded (Harvey, 2005). With time going by, it is more likely that people are going to remember those happy things and even further beatify them, which is called aesthetic imagining (Wright, 1947).

"I have been to Norway half a year before I came to the Netherlands, so Norway left an impression of how developed countries would be on me. But these two countries were totally different ball games. I was frustrated about some points, especially discrimination that international students received. I found it hard to assimilate into society like I used to do." (Respondent 17, Male)

"I missed UK a lot when I first moved here. I mean, in most of fields, UK is a better country to live in. For example, educational standards didn't really fulfill my expectation." (Respondent 18, Female)

4.3 Making migration a success

It is admitted that staying in a new state is not an easy thing to do. For Chinese students, they can easily imagine what kind of potential difficulties they might encounter if they decide to stay in the Netherlands. One frequently mentioned difficulty is to find a qualified job in the Netherlands with the help of which they could apply for a residence permit. Their awareness of employment controls develops while they gain more knowledge and experience in the period of job seeking. During the process of searching and sending their CVs to HRs, Chinese graduate students gradually found out their CVs were barely checked out due to English writings instead of Dutch. Respondent 8, male, shared his experience, *"During the interview, the first question I'm asked is always 'Do you have a working permit?' Of course, I can understand why this happens so frequently. After all, they need to apply for a working permit for me, which might cost them 7000 euros"*. Chinese graduate students started to realize that their nationality (political force) and language barrier (lack of language skills) could be a big problem in the workplace. This awareness could even last until they successfully got a job. Respondent 11, female, said, *"Even though I found an English-speaking job, I still felt not as capable as I am in China. Maybe it's because I didn't have enough confidence. I found myself always worrying about whether I was misunderstood by others"*.

What is worse, most Chinese graduate students were not aware of 'zoekjaar'⁴ (search year) before they came to the Netherlands, and even fewer students knew about the latest Highly Educated Migrants Scheme⁵ even after they arrived. Job portals like HoiTalent⁶ organized workshops to provide valuable information about immigration policies that are incentives to help them successfully migrate to the Netherlands. With the help of these workshops, more students became aware of controls and the way to address these controls. However, not everyone believed applying for a search year was a wise choice since it could be a costing thing. Also, there exists the possibility that you spend the time and money but ended up with nothing. Respondent 14, female, noticed that, *"For Chinese companies, they always promise that they will give you TWV⁷ during your search year, but in the end, they kick you out for any reason. Some companies were not even qualified to grant a TWV, but they cheat graduates"*. In this case, her bad experiences shaped the way she evaluated the difficulty.

If luckily, by communicating with successful job seekers, Chinese graduate students gained more confidence in migration. They knew about benefits of migrating to the Netherlands from others who consider migration to be a beneficial decision. Here we can see how knowledge drive subjective norms. More importantly, they can understand their own experience and gauge their own fate by locating themselves within the period, that they can know their own life chances in life by becoming aware of those of all individuals in his circumstances (Mills, 1959). This explains why the behavioural control perceived by Chinese graduate students can sometimes be inconsistent with their weighing of past failure experience. They still keep the hope inside, the hope they get to know from others' stories. Driven by the hope of a success settle-down, many of students pick up Dutch either by self-study or by attending language courses, in order to break the language barrier more or less as suggested by others.

⁴ international students in any types of degrees can have a period of one year to apply for a job after graduation, during which they can legally work for any company in the Netherlands without a working permit

⁵ the students may leave the Netherlands, but that he or she is allowed to return to the Netherlands within a maximum period of three years in order to seek a job as a highly educated migrant for a period of one year

⁶ the largest job portal for international talents in the Netherlands

⁷ a legal work permit that allows people work in the Netherlands

“At the very beginning. I think the probability for me to find a job and stay is half-half. But after working in HoiTalent⁸, my thought changed a lot. I think if others can do it, then I can as well, as long as I work hard to learn Dutch well just like them.” (Respondent 10, female)

Another perceived difficulty in terms of retaining is that they will always be the “others” and will not be part of the local society since they are beginners in terms of local cultures and languages. Especially, some knowledge gaps, such as those in terms of traditions and politics, are thought to be hard to fill in, and this worsens their attitude towards staying in a country of quite a different cultural background. Some even start to give up knowing more and quit their migration dreams.

“My professor once mentioned a name that I haven’t heard of before, but all of my classmates knew that name. Afterwards, I found out it was the name of a politician. I felt a strong sense of frustration. How can I know about the Europe like a native? It makes me I’ll just an outsider. I would rather stop pushing myself into the locals.” (Respondent 4, female)

By contrast, there remain those optimists who believe social integration can be addressed properly. They could be those in relationship with Dutch guys and receive lots of help from their partners. They could be those who have a strong intention to stay and imagine in an aesthetical way. They could be those with positive past experiences in terms of social integration in the Netherlands, such as enjoying interesting inter-cultural activities shown on Facebook. Their awareness of the difficulty of getting involved in the community is shaped and developed with the help of better knowledge, future dreams, and past experiences.

Chinese graduate students can also imagine what kind of potential difficulties they might encounter if they decide to return to China. Similarly, there remains the problem of finding a job. Especially, students majoring in particular subjects mentioned their worries about future life in China. Respondent 8, male, who worked an accountant in Nigeria before and intended to become an accountant in the Netherlands after graduation, said, *“Chinese financial system is quite special, so although I have oversea working experiences, I still lack professional knowledge to work in China. For me, continuing to work in foreign countries is a better choice”*. He became fully aware that he lacked knowledge by checking job requirements online.

⁸ HoiTalent is the largest job portal for international talents in the Netherlands

After weighing both sides, he thought it would be much easier to maximize his strength of oversea working experiences in the Netherlands. In addition, students studying human rights knew that human rights were something sensitive in China and it was rather hard to continue their study or realize their career dream in China. They became aware of it due to mass media. Respondent 1, a man majored in human rights laws, shared an extreme story, *“200 human right lawyers were arrested by Chinese authorities in 2015. I can’t just take the risk of being arrested and go back”*. And they became aware due to previous working experiences in China. Respondent 7, a woman majored in international relationships and human rights, shared another story of hers, *“During the time I worked in Beijing, I was doing a project about air quality, but because it was a sensitive topic, lots of information is blocked from the public. I just want to focus on my interests, but it seems that China is not the right place”*.

What might be surprising is that, in the interviews, some Chinese graduate students predicted that it would be rather difficult for them to readapt Chinese lifestyle. Recent news stories have reported that failure to readapt in motherlands forced international students to go abroad again. They are actually in a dilemma where they can also be “others” even if they go back home. Chinese graduate students now live in the Netherlands but China is developing in a quicker speed than ever before, so they frequently find themselves not updated with the latest techniques when they go back to China to spend their holidays. *“I can’t cut in their conversations when they are talking about Alipay⁹ and other services like Huabei¹⁰. Some of my friends are even planning to buy their own house. Sometimes reunion with my old friends is not a pleasant thing for me”* (Respondent 23, Female). To some extent, it is lack of knowledge about China that makes graduates afraid of being thrown away by their peers back in the motherlands.

To sum up, it is important to understand awareness on controls as a process rather than a state. Their awareness of forces came from their own knowledge and experience or others’ stories. Sometimes, intervention of organizations accelerated their understanding of how to make migration a success. After becoming aware of

⁹ China’s leading third-party online payment solution

¹⁰ also known as Credit Pay, an instalment solution provided by the same company of Alipay

controls on migration, whether they considered them to be an influential barrier or not varied from person to person.

4.4 Dynamics of meaning

Although migration is definitely not easy, some have no choice but to insist on their migration intention, while some are not forced by reality but still willing to deal with all obstacles on their roads. The latter group are likely to be driven by strong attitude that migration is beneficial to future well-being. In other words, they believe migration is a definitely worthwhile decision to make. The following diagram shows how special meaning of space drive attitude and then migration intentions among students (see Figure 9).

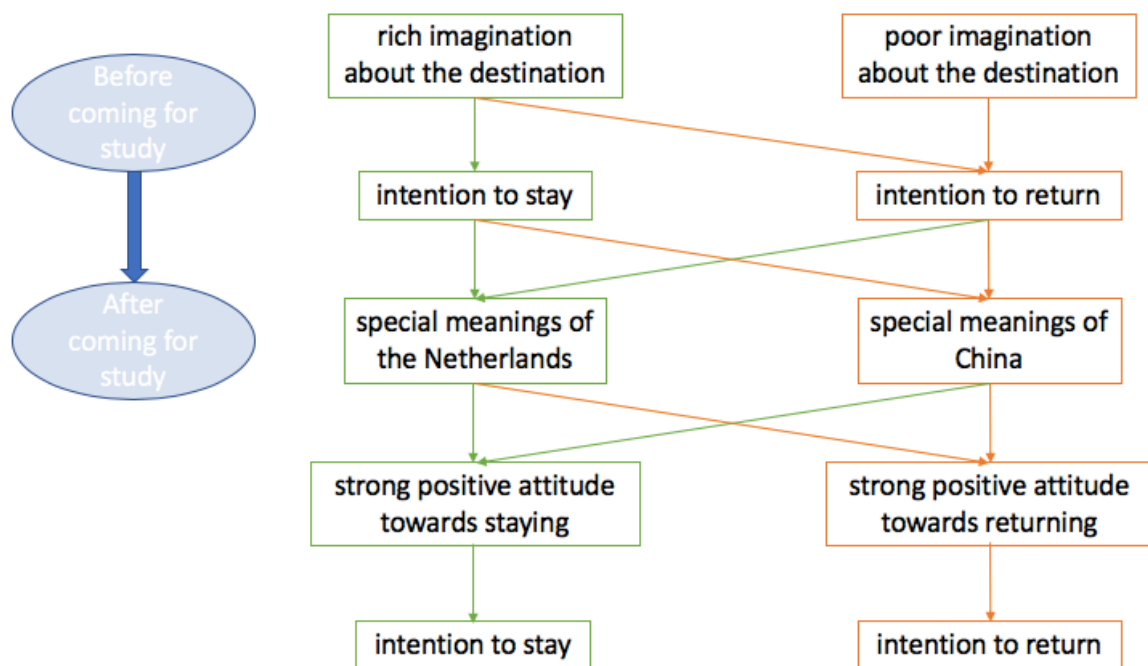


Figure 9. Migration intention shifts

From the diagram, it is clear that poor imaginations about the Netherlands cannot stimulate a strong intention to stay, while a well-rounded expectation towards the Netherlands can also lead students to a conclusion that returning to China is a better choice. After coming to the Netherlands, the original migration intention starts to face challenges, just the words of the late Sir Douglas Newbold goes, "Knowledge must

pass into vision, that state of mind and heart which does not merely swallow evidence (*gained by experience*), but changes that evidence (*gained by experience*) into a judgment (*part of the meaning*), an appreciation (*part of the meaning*), a living picture (*imagined image*) of a country"¹¹. Once Chinese graduate students attached special meanings to either the Netherlands or China, the way people imagine will change to be more subjective, their attitude towards migration will be significantly modified.

A negative meaning can be converted to a positive meaning, and their attitude changed at the same time. Take recreation as an example, most Chinese graduate students had expected the boredom in the Netherlands. They knew that they had no choice but to bear the boredom, since entertainment facilities were relatively lacking in the Netherlands, such as karaoke bars. After they came to the Netherlands, students started to find something interesting to kill time, and they tried many new types of activities and sports. Gradually, some of them successfully formed new hobbies and learned to appreciate Dutch way of entertaining themselves. This type of deep-inside meaning is an influential pulling force for them to think retaining is a better way to satisfy their inside spiritual need.

“Chinese like going shopping, hanging out, eating out... but these are all superficial. I'd like to do something else, like visiting museums and going to library. I only need to spend 60 euros getting free entrance to all museums in the Netherlands, and nearly every community has a library. I just can't understand why some Chinese never read books again after graduation. Maybe it's because I'm from an agriculture city lacking education, I cherish every moment I can have spiritual enjoyment.”
(Respondent 8, Male)

“Overall, it's all about focusing on myself and finding myself. I'm happier here. I can play musical instrument and read books with my girl friends. I have enough spare time to pick up a new sport that I would like to try, swordplay, rock climbing, karate, diving, you just name it. I can take the train to somewhere with photographic scenery. Speaking of sports, Holland is like a heaven. It's not just like eating out and hanging out. It's about something inside.” (Respondent 11, Female)

Moving from the inside to the outside, changes kept occurring in what the Netherlands meant for Chinese graduate students. Take friendship as an example, once emotional attachment to friends shifted from China to the Netherlands, their

¹¹ a quote from a lecture delivered at the Sudan Cultural Centre, quoted by R. A. Hodgkin, Sudan Geography, published by the Education Department of the Sudan Government in 1946

migration intention shifted as well. At the beginning, when they left China to seek for further education in the Netherlands, nearly everyone missed their friends they grew up with, but after setting down, they built up new friendships in the local community. Geographical imaginations are the mental images we hold of different places and of the people living there (Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007). For most students, when they imagine the future space, they will consider staying in a place where their loved people are keeping company with them is beneficial for them. Places that they truly feel emotionally attached to can stimulate a quite positive attitude. From the perspective of subjective norms, if they have important relationships sticking in the Netherlands, then their migration intentions will be more likely to be influenced by opinions of their significances who chose to live in the Netherlands.

“When I came back to Beijing from Groningen, I felt like my home was still in the Netherlands, because people I cared were there. I know it’s the opposite from others since many would say they miss their home in China when they’re abroad. I wanted to come back to the Netherlands so I applied for a master program in Rotterdam.” (Respondent 11, Female)

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This chapter gives answers to three research questions one by one, and it addresses social and theoretical implications. In the end, the limitations of the selected method are discussed.

5.1 Answers to the research questions

While future dreams act as a powerful inspiration factor in people's decisions to migrate (Marcus, 2009) and the geographical imagination is embedded in the minds of those who wish to migrate to search for their "dream", one's migration history carries with gained knowledge, past experiences, attached meanings, and built-up awareness of forces. Firstly, Chinese graduate students who have lived independently in somewhere far from home tend to be those "risk-takers". Their migration history prepares them for an unfamiliar new environment. They are able to make some predictions on future independent life and evaluate their performance of adaption. Secondly, short-term oversea travel history contributes to the construction of migration intentions as well. Memorable travels to the Netherlands or other developed countries allow them to experience by themselves how good it could be if they migrate. However, their imagined image of the Netherlands could be somewhat beautified in their mind. When the reality fails to meet their high expectation, they tend to shift their attitude from positive to negative.

Furthermore, knowledge, experience, meaning, which are driven by past moving paths, are related to awareness drive attitude, norms, and controls with respect to migration. It is important to notice that knowledge, experience and meaning are not independently but interactive, so we can only link the three together as a whole to attitude, norms, and controls. Firstly, the attitude towards migrating to the Netherlands is embedded with very personal way of judging what is beneficial to them, and this can be limited by their knowledge, experience and meaning. Secondly, the role of subjective norms is in the other way around. Norms that influence migration

intentions can be delivered between who have not yet made up their mind and who have previous pleasant or unpleasant migration experiences in various ways, and this delivery adds students' geographical knowledge and increases their awareness of forces. Thirdly, the relationship between knowledge, experience, meaning and perceived behavioural controls is more obvious. Whether Chinese graduate students know well about the society and whether they have experience of finding an internship in the Netherlands influence that extent they are aware of potential controls. Their confidence on a successful migration is influenced in turn by their awareness. More importantly, the confidence is also significantly driven by special meaning they give to the Netherlands. Once Chinese graduate students attached special meanings to either the Netherlands or China, the way people imagine will change to be more subjective, and their attitude towards migration will be significantly modified as well.

5.2 Implications

In terms of theoretical implications, this research builds up an extended TPB model by adding the concept of geographical imaginations into and taking the life-course perspective. According to results, the extended TPB model works well to interpret the migration intentions. Therefore, it effectively makes up for the lack of geographical concerns in the original TPB model. In the future, more migration theory can take geography into consideration.

In terms of social implications, migration intentions of Chinese graduate students are worth studying. From a national level, they took up the second largest population of international students studying in the Netherlands, but their work stay rate was relatively lower than other groups. Dutch government aiming to retain highly-skilled students should keep promoting beneficial immigration policies so that more Chinese international students will be aware of them. Also, more inter-cultural activities and Asian restaurants in cities where migrants gather around will help them feel at home in the Netherlands. By reading this paper, those who hesitate whether to stay or not might be inspired by others way of thinking, thus making a more proper decision.

5.3 Limitations

In theoretical aspect, this research only focuses on how geographical imaginations drive migration intentions, but the effect could be either way. Migration intentions can in turn drive geographical imaginations. This could be a future direction to go for.

There are also limitations in the methodological aspect. Firstly, the researcher only interviewed 24 respondents and stopped when no more new story was added. Although this standard itself is reasonable, it is hard to say whether the stop moment was just the right one. Without time limits, more interviews could be done to find out the best sample size.

Secondly, when doing the online audio interviews, some information was missed, such as facial expression and body languages. Only words were recorded. Therefore, it was hard to tell from the voices whether the speakers really meant it or not. It is better to replace all those audio calls into video calls when get permissions from respondents.

Thirdly, thematical text analysis can be quite subjective. The research only transcribed texts that she found were relevant and did not include those off-topic, but there existed the possibility that some representative quotes were missed. This could also happen during interpreting process.

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