Evidence for a “Migrant Personality”:
Attachment Styles of Poles in Poland and Poles in The Netherlands

Introduction

“Migrant Personality”
The beginning of the 21st century is marked by globalization and mass international migration. Currently there are an estimated 191 million emigrants worldwide (United Nations, 2005). What is the driving force stimulating people to leave their lands of origin? Modern theories of migration point to economical, demographic and network factors in attempts to answer this question (see Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouchi, Pellegrino, & Taylor, 1998, for an overview). These factors, however, do not explain why some individuals, living in similar socio-economic conditions, become emigrants whereas others do not. Therefore, psychological factors favoring and impeding emigration may play a role in this selection process. Conceivably, emigrants possess characteristics, which predispose them to emigrate and help them to endure the challenges of emigrant life. In the literature the term “pioneering personality” was used to refer to psychological characteristics of individuals prone to emigration (Morrison & Wheeler, 1976). More recent research has indicated that emigrants are less prone to anxiety and insecurity than non-emigrants (Ray, 1986). Many cases of successful emigrants – Marie Curie, Madeleine Albright or Salman Rushdie, to mention just a few, seem to support the hypothesis of a favorable “migrant personality”. While the outflow of well-educated individuals from donor societies, referred to as a “brain drain”, has been broadly discussed, “personality drain” induced by the outflow of individuals with favorable personality traits has largely been overlooked. Hence, the present study endeavors to address this issue.

Linking Attachment and Emigration
As we saw above, several studies have supported the idea of a “migrant personality” and even specified characteristics associated with this kind of personality (Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Ray, 1986). Remarkably, however, these studies have not paid attention to attachment styles, whereas these characteristics refer to the nature of affectional bonds between individuals
attachment ties induce “a common tendency for humans to remain in a familiar locale and among familiar people”. Emigrants, leaving their familiar milieu, deviate from this common tendency. Therefore, it is particularly interesting to investigate whether their attachment styles predispose them to do so. Furthermore, establishing bonds with new people and coping with new situations are important elements in the daily life of emigrants. As a result, attachment styles might be crucial to the successful adjustment of emigrants. Previous research has shown, for example, that attachment is a better predictor of emigrants’ adjustment than the Big Five personality traits (Bakker, Van Oudenhoven, & Van der Zee, 2004) and demographic variables (Polek, Van Oudenhoven, & Ten Berge, 2007). Accordingly, the first goal of the present study is to investigate, if attachment styles of emigrants differ from attachment styles of their non-emigrant fellow nationals. In addition, we tested if these differences, should they exist, may be assumed to exist prior to emigration (as predispositions for emigration), or rather emerge after emigration (as a result of emigration), induced by contact with the host culture, or, alternatively, by the mere fact of emigrating. Third, we investigated if attachment is a better predictor of the psychological well-being of emigrants as compared to non-emigrants.

**Attachment vs. Personality**

Originally formulated by Bowlby (1973), attachment theory conceptualizes the universal human need to form affectional bonds with others. Within this theory, attachment is described as a behavioral regulatory system which provides infants with the capacity to use one or a few primary figures as a “secure base” from which to explore, and to which to return to when seeking safety and proximity, in cases when exploration brings distress. Every individual constructs mental representations of their own “secure base”, thus conserving their attachment experience and translating it into other relationships. A secure attachment style evolves when early attachment experience brings the belief that the attachment figure is responsive and caring. Conversely, an insecure style evolves when the primary attachment figure is unresponsive and uncaring. Like the attachment framework, the personality framework also emphasizes the early formation of individual characteristics, but views personality traits as the effect of the interplay between genetic predispositions and environmental (e.g. family) influence. Up till now literature on personality and attachment focused mainly on divergent aspects of these two frameworks (Kobak, 1994; Waters, Crowell, Elliott, Corcoran, & Treboux, 2002), failing to notice apparently convergent
aspects such as 1) the crucial role of primary caregivers in both developing personality traits (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000; Maccoby, 2000) and attachment styles (Bowlby, 1973; Diehl, Elnick, Bourbeau, & Labouvie-Vief, 1998); 2) the evidence that personality traits (Larsen & Ketelaar, 1989; Zelenski & Larsen, 1999) as well as attachment styles (Bakker et al., 2004; Chotai, Jonasson, Hägglöf, & Adolfsson, 2005; Diehl et al., 1998) reflect dispositional susceptibilities to affective states; 3) the stability of personality traits (McCrae & Costa, 2003) and attachment styles (Benoit & Parker, 1994; Hofstra, et al., 2005); 4) substantial correlations between attachment styles and personality traits (Bakker et al., 2004; Chotai, Jonasson, Hägglöf, & Adolfsson, 2005; Diehl et al., 1998); 5) finally, the relation between attachment styles and personality disorders (Aaronson, Bender, Skodol, & Gunderson, 2006). In the present study we propose a cautious integrative approach, which acknowledges a distinction between both frameworks, yet affirms that both theories explain individual differences and that therefore it is reasonable to talk about a “migrant personality” with respect to individual characteristics such as attachment styles.

**Hypotheses**

A number of attachment styles have been proposed in the literature (see Cassidy & Shaver, 1999 for an overview). In this study, we will focus exclusively on the secure and dismissing styles (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), as secure and dismissing attachment styles especially seem to distinguish emigrants from non-emigrants. Both secure and dismissing attachment styles have been found to be positively related to a readiness to explore new environments and to approach unfamiliar others (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). A secure attachment appeared also to be positively related to positive attitudes towards out-group members (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001), self-efficacy and self-esteem (Hofstra, Van Oudenoven & Buunk, 2005). Since becoming an emigrant is probably preceded by a readiness to explore a new environment, and to encounter “unfamiliar others”, as well as a sense of self-efficacy when approaching new people and dealing with new situations, we expect emigrants to score higher on the secure style than non-emigrants [Hypothesis 1]. Contrary to the secure attachment style, the dismissive attachment style is marked by avoiding close ties and dependence on other individuals (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) and groups (Smith, Murphy, & Coats, 1999), and appears to be negatively related to the perception of the importance of contact with one’s native culture (Bakker et al., 2004). Recent results indicate that social avoidance may be caused by two different mechanisms – fear of intimacy (“fearful” avoidance) and an absence of attachment needs (“dismissing” avoidance) (Duggan & Brennan, 1994). In an earlier study, we also found that dismissing
avoidance and fearful avoidance form two separate and replicable factors (Polek, Ten Berge, & Van Oudenhoven, 2006). Accordingly, in the present study we focused on the dismissing avoidance of the respondents. Boneva and Frieze (2001) reported a higher power motivation of emigrants, but lower affiliation, motivation and family centrality. It seems that these characteristics may correspond to the dismissing avoidance of emigrants. Given that emigrants voluntarily choose to leave “familiar others” and their culture of origin, we expect that they score higher on dismissing attachment than non-emigrants [Hypothesis 2]. Since a dismissing attachment was only slightly negatively related to a secure attachment in the present study, we deemed it reasonable to assume that an individual may score high on both – a secure and dismissing attachment style.

Ideally, a comparison between emigrants and non-emigrants would be done at the moment emigrants leave the country. Since approaching emigrants at the very moment of emigration is technically difficult, we administered questionnaires to emigrants who have already lived in their host country for some time. Because attachment styles are relatively stable characteristics of individuals (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978), we assume that the differences in attachment styles between emigrants and non-emigrants posited above exist prior to emigration and are stable over time [Assumption 1]. However, to control for a possible influence of the host culture, and a possible effect of the action of emigrating on the attachment of emigrants, we compare mean scores in subsequent cohorts of emigrants (each cohort differentiated from the next by two more years of residence). In addition, we compare the cohorts of emigrants with their non-emigrant fellow countrymen and a host sample. If the mean scores and the magnitude of differences in the mean scores between emigrants and non-emigrants, and – in addition – between emigrants and the host Dutch sample, remain similar across cohorts, it would suggest that the attachment styles of emigrants remain relatively stable over time. In that case, we can conclude that the differences between emigrants and non-emigrants were not produced by the influence of the host country, nor the mere action of emigrating, but were present prior to emigration. With respect to the possible influence of the host culture on the attachment of emigrants, we will furthermore test if emigrants who identify themselves strongly with Dutch culture resemble the Dutch native people more on secure and dismissing attachment styles than those emigrants who show a weak identification with the Dutch. The absence of an effect of the host culture on attachment styles of emigrants would support our assumption 1.

It has been demonstrated that secure attachment is positively associated with social competencies (Mallinckrodt, 2000), psychological well-being and coping with problems (Cooper, Shaver, & Collins, 1998), as well as with the
psychological and socio-cultural adjustment of emigrants (Polek et al., 2007; Van Ecke, et al., 2005). Therefore, we suppose that secure attachment is a predictor of psychological well-being for both emigrants and non-emigrants. However, since emigrants are exposed to “unfamiliar others” and new situations far more than non-emigrants, we expect that secure attachment is a better predictor of psychological well-being for emigrants than for non-emigrants [Hypothesis 3]. We do not expect that dismissing attachment is a relevant predictor of psychological well-being, for either emigrants or native respondents. We do not expect a difference in the predictive power of a dismissing attachment style between these two samples.
Method

Participants
Four hundred and eight emigrants from Poland (68% female) living in the Netherlands, 587 Polish respondents (59% female) living in Masuria, a region of Poland where the unemployment rate is 30% making it a typical emigration region, and 181 Dutch respondents living in the Netherlands (67% female) participated in our survey. The average age of respondents was 33.50 (SD= 10.93) in the sample of Polish emigrants living in the Netherlands, 35.10 (SD=13.23) in the Polish native sample living in Poland, and 49.10 (SD=4.18) in the Dutch sample.

Procedure
A translation of the questionnaires from the Dutch language into Polish was made, and this translation was then translated back into Dutch. We compared the return-translation with the original version in order to check the accuracy of the translations. The final version of the questionnaires in Polish, as well as the original Dutch version, was presented once again to another translator who was asked to evaluate the equivalence of each translated item with the original version. The equivalence of the original and the translated questionnaires was rated by the translator as high.

Polish emigrants were approached in places where they meet: communities, clubs, Sunday schools and parishes. Respondents were given the questionnaire, a letter with brief instructions and an explanation of the aim of the study and a pre-paid envelope. They were asked to complete the questionnaire and to distribute additional questionnaires among friends of the same nationality living in the Netherlands. Polish respondents living in Poland were approached in schools, universities and companies. They received questionnaires, instructions and envelopes, and they also were asked to distribute questionnaires among their friends and acquaintances. Questionnaires were collected back after a few days from the respondents. Data from the Dutch respondents were obtained via a mail survey. All respondents filled in questionnaires voluntarily and without any monetary compensation. Missing data accounted for 7%, 2%, and less than 1% of the data in the Polish emigrant, Polish native and Dutch samples, respectively; we used pair-wise exclusion of the missing data from the analyses.

Instruments
We asked respondents about their age, gender, education, and marital status. Emigrant respondents were also asked about their age at emigration, and length of residence in the Netherlands.
Two scales from the Attachment Style Questionnaire (ASQ; Van Oudenhoven, Hofstra, & Bakker, 2003, see Appendix 1) were used to assess secure and dismissing attachment of all the respondents. Inter-correlation between the secure and the dismissing scale was significant, but low in the Polish emigrant sample ($r = -.12, p < .05$) and insignificant in the Polish in-country and the Dutch native sample ($r = -.04$ and $r = -.06$, respectively). These two scales showed satisfactory factor replicability (Polek et al., 2006), validity (Hofstra et al., 2005), and stability measured after one year with Pearson correlation (.63 for the secure style, and .63 for the dismissing style) in the study on the Dutch sample. In contrast to many existing attachment measures that focus only on relationship specific attachment, the ASQ assesses general attachment, which is an individual’s predisposition to build up social relationships. The ASQ assesses attachment through multiple scores (on each dimension separately). As we already mentioned in the introduction, participants were not classified into one attachment category, but received scores on each attachment scale. A 5-point answering scale was used for this questionnaire, ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). An example of an item from the 8-item secure scale was: “I find it easy to get engaged in close relationships with other people”; from the 5-item dismissing scale: “I like to be self-sufficient”. Alpha coefficients of the secure scale were .71, .76, and .77; and of the dismissing scale .63, .56, and .54 in the Polish emigrant, Polish non-emigrant and Dutch samples, respectively.

As a measure of psychological well-being, we used a 9-item scale, the Psychological Health scale obtained from the RAND 36-item Health Survey (RAND Health Sciences Program, 1992). A sample item from this scale is: “How much of the time during the past four weeks have you been a very nervous person?” Respondents gave answers on a 5-point scale ranging from all the time (1) to none of the time (5). Alpha coefficients of the scale were .87 and .83 in the Polish emigrant and native Polish samples, respectively.

An 8-item scale assessing Dutch identity and contact with Dutch culture were used in the sample of Polish emigrants living in the Netherlands. A sample item from this scale is: “I like to chat with the Dutch”. Respondents gave answers on a 5-point scale: from strongly disagree (or never) (1) to strongly agree (or very often) (5). Alpha coefficients of the scale reached .78.

**Results**

After we checked whether the data met the requirement of multivariate normality, we carried out a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) comparing Polish emigrants with Polish respondents living in Poland with respect to their secure and dismissing attachment styles, when controlling for age, gender, and education in both groups. Polish emigrants scored significantly higher on secure and dismissing attachment than Polish
respondents living in Poland. A univariate test revealed a significant effect of
the group (Polish emigrant vs. Polish non-emigrant) for secure attachment
\( F(1, 924) = 175.06, p < .001, \eta^2 = .70 \), and for dismissing attachment
\( F(14, 1052) = 152.90, p < .001, \eta^2 = .67 \).

To test the assumption that the influence of the host culture and the mere act
of emigration is minimal on emigrants’ attachment, we compared mean
scores on secure and dismissing attachment in consecutive cohorts of
emigrants (each cohort differentiated from the other cohort by a further two
years of residence). We also compared cohorts of emigrants with Polish
respondents living in Poland, as well as with native Dutch respondents. In
these comparisons we controlled for age, gender and the education of
respondents (Table 4-1). We reasoned that our assumption about the lack of
influence of the host culture on emigrants’ attachment would be proven if the
mean scores in consecutive cohorts of emigrants remained similar and the
differences in attachment styles between Poles living in Poland and cohorts
of Polish emigrants remained similar across cohorts. In the same vein, if the
differences between the Dutch respondents and consecutive cohorts of
emigrants remained similar, we could conclude that there is no evidence for
the influence of the host culture on attachment styles of emigrants.

Table 4-1 and Figure 1 show that means and estimated marginal means
remain similar across cohorts. Also the differences between consecutive
cohorts of emigrants and the native Polish sample, and the differences
between consecutive cohorts of Polish emigrants and the native Dutch sample
remain, in most cases, similar and significant over cohorts. A multivariate
test revealed a significant main effect of the group (Polish non-emigrants /
cohorts of Polish emigrants / the Dutch native sample) \( F(14, 1052) = 43.34, p
< .001, \eta^2 = .37 \), gender \( F(14, 1052) = 2.59, p < .05, \eta^2 = .01 \), and age
\( F(14, 1052) = 3.67, p < .05, \eta^2 = .01 \). A univariate test revealed a significant effect
of the group (Polish non-emigrants / cohorts of Polish emigrants / the Dutch
native sample) for secure attachment \( F(14, 1052) = 175.06, p < .001, \eta^2 = .70 \), and for dismissing attachment \( F(14, 1052) = 152.90, p < .001, \eta^2 = .67 \).
The differences remained relatively similar across cohorts, thus supporting
our assumption. We may therefore conclude that attachment styles are
relatively stable characteristics and that differences between emigrants and
non-emigrants in attachment styles already existed prior to emigration. The
difference in mean scores on dismissing attachment between cohorts of
emigrants and the Dutch sample became insignificant in cohorts living in the
Netherlands over 16 years. However, this effect may be due to the small
number of respondents in these cohorts as the mean scores remain very
similar across all cohorts, including those with a length of residence longer
then 16 years (see Table 4-1). To further test the possible influence of the
host culture on attachment styles of emigrants, we checked whether
emigrants who scored high on Dutch identity had more similar attachment patterns to Dutch people than those who scored low on Dutch identity. For that purpose we calculated the absolute discrepancy scores between the mean scores provided from the Dutch sample and the responses of the Polish emigrants. These scores estimated the magnitude (but not direction) of the difference between the scores of the Polish emigrants and the Dutch respondents. Next, we subdivided the sample of Polish emigrants into a sub-sample with a high Dutch identity (above the average 3.47) and a sub-sample of emigrants with a low Dutch identity (below the average) and compared two sub-samples in terms of absolute discrepancy scores. We reasoned that if emigrants scoring higher on Dutch identity had lower discrepancy scores on attachment styles, it would suggest that the host culture can influence the attachment of emigrants. MANCOVA with Dutch identity (low versus high) as a factor, discrepancy scores between the Polish emigrants and the Dutch respondents on secure and dismissive attachment as dependent variables, and age, gender and education of respondents as controlled variables, revealed no significant effect of the level of Dutch identity for discrepancy scores in secure attachment $F(1, 371) = 1.73, p < .19$ (mean difference -.04), or for discrepancy scores in dismissing attachment $F(1, 371) = .14, p < .71$ (mean difference .02). Once more, we found evidence for the assumption that the influence of the host culture on emigrants’ attachment is absent and, consequently, that differences in attachment styles between emigrants and non-emigrants exist prior to emigration.

To examine if secure attachment is a better predictor of psychological well-being of emigrants as compared to non-emigrants [Hypothesis 3], we conducted regression-by-group analyses, in which psychological health was entered as a dependent variable, and secure attachment as predictor in the Polish emigrant and Polish native samples, respectively (Table 4-2). Next, a Chow test of equality between coefficients in linear regressions (Chow, 1960) was performed in order to compare the Beta slopes obtained in regression analyses in the emigrant and native Polish samples. This test revealed that the secure attachment was a significantly better predictor of psychological health for emigrants than for native respondents $F(1, 904) = 5.08, p < .01$. Thus, we found support for hypothesis 3. The same calculation was done for dismissing attachment. As expected, we did not find evidence that dismissing attachment is a predictor of psychological well-being in either sample (Table 4-2).
Table 4-1. MANCOVA of Secure and Dismissing Attachment of Polish Emigrants and Polish Native, and Dutch Native Sample, Controlling for Gender, Age and Education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samples</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Secure attachment style</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Dismissing attachment style</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M (SD)</td>
<td>Estimated marginal means</td>
<td>Estimated differences in mean scores</td>
<td>M (SD)</td>
<td>Estimated marginal means</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish native</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>2.19 (0.57)</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.07 (0.70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch native</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>3.68 (0.47)</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.50 (0.61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish emigrants (total)</td>
<td>3.93 (0.54)</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>-1.77**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.12 (0.70)</td>
<td>4.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohorts of Polish emigrants (length of residence):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (0 - 2 years)</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>3.85 (0.58)</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>-1.69*</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>4.19 (0.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (2.1 - 4 years)</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>3.95 (0.52)</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>-1.79*</td>
<td>-0.35*</td>
<td>4.08 (0.69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (4.1 - 6 years)</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>3.90 (0.53)</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>-1.73*</td>
<td>-0.29</td>
<td>4.06 (0.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (6.1 - 8 years)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.85 (0.57)</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>-1.68*</td>
<td>-0.23</td>
<td>4.21 (0.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (8.1 - 10 years)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.18 (0.51)</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>-2.01*</td>
<td>-0.56</td>
<td>4.39 (0.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (10.1 - 12 years)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.12 (0.46)</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>-1.93*</td>
<td>-0.49*</td>
<td>4.30 (0.58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 (12.1 - 14 years)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.94 (0.58)</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>-1.75*</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
<td>4.06 (0.85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (14.1 - 16 years)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.11 (0.52)</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>-1.91*</td>
<td>-0.47</td>
<td>4.44 (0.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 (16.1 - 18 years)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.99 (0.30)</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>-1.79*</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>3.44 (1.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (18.1 - 20 years)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.98 (0.52)</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>-1.78*</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>4.29 (0.71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 (20.1 - 22 years)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.72 (0.89)</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>-1.51*</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>4.21 (0.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 (22.1 - 24 years)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.92 (0.26)</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>-1.71*</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
<td>4.22 (0.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 (above 24 year)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.18 (0.36)</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>-1.95*</td>
<td>-0.51</td>
<td>4.06 (0.71)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Levels of significance of the differences in means *p < .05, **p < .001
A - mean scores of Polish natives minus mean scores of Polish emigrants
B - mean scores of Dutch natives minus mean scores of Polish emigrants
C - mean scores of Polish natives minus mean scores of Polish emigrants
D - mean scores of Dutch natives minus mean scores of Polish emigrants
Figure 4-1. Estimated means on secure and dismissing attachment styles of Polish native (P), cohorts of Polish emigrants (1-13), and Dutch native sample (D).

Table 4-2. Summary of Regression Analysis for Secure and Dismissing Attachment, Entered one by one, Predicting Psychological Health in the Polish Native ($N = 524$) and Polish Emigrant ($N = 380$) Samples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attachment Style</th>
<th>Polish native sample</th>
<th>Polish emigrant sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$B$</td>
<td>$SE$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secure attachment</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dismissing attachment</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Levels of significance * $p < .001$
Discussion

In the present study we examined whether there was empirical evidence for a “migrant personality”. We compared Polish emigrants and Polish respondents living in Poland in terms of their secure and dismissing attachment, when controlling for respondents’ age, gender and education. Emigrants were found to have more secure and dismissing attachment styles than non-emigrants. We did not find evidence that the attachment styles of emigrants change under the influence of the host culture or as a consequence of emigration. Therefore, we assume that the observed differences in attachment styles between emigrants and non-emigrants existed, most likely, prior to emigration. Moreover, we have seen that secure attachment is a better predictor of psychological well-being for emigrants than for non-emigrants. In sum, we found evidence for a “migrant personality”. As the results suggest, this personality is functional, helping emigrants to better adjust to the new environment. The results also indicate, in line with other findings (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Kobak & Sceery, 1988), that adult attachment styles may be considered as stable characteristics of an individual, similar to personality traits.

It may appear paradoxical that the same group of respondents scored high on secure attachment style – which is characterized by comfort with closeness and intimacy, and dismissing attachment, characterized by the absence of a need for close ties. A review of other findings indicate, however, that such a result is very plausible. For example, in the classical studies on infants’ reaction to strange situations, both secure and avoidant attachment were found to be positively associated with a high exploration activity in the absence of the primary caregiver (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; Thompson, 1988). Previous results showed that social avoidance might be caused by two different mechanisms: fear of intimacy (“fearful” avoidance) and denial or lack of attachment needs (“dismissing” avoidance) (Duggan and Brennan, 1994; Kafetsios & Nezlek, 2002). The latter type of avoidance was reported to be positively correlated with self-directedness (Chotai, Jonasson, Hägglöf, & Adolfsson, 2005), a personality trait (Cloninger, Svrakic, & Przybeck, 1993) that might be high in individuals prone to emigration. Moreover, both secure and dismissing attachment styles are presumed to be underpinned by a positive model of self (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). It is possible that a positive model of self may cause the propensity for emigration in individuals scoring high on a secure and a dismissing attachment.

It is noteworthy that although both dismissing and secure attachment predispose individuals to emigration, only secure attachment turned out to be related to the psychological adjustment of emigrants. Possibly, a dismissing
attachment makes individuals more detached from their social surroundings and thus prone to emigration, but it does not help them to become psychologically well-adjusted in the new social environment. Present findings, in line with the study of Bakker et al., 2004, suggest that emigrants who score high on dismissing attachment, may show little need to socialize with members of their native or host cultures. Possibly, emigrants who score high on both secure and dismissing attachment have the capacity to build up social relationships, but do not have the need to do so, either because of their low affiliation motivation, or the priority of work and achievement over personal ties (Boneva & Frieze, 2001). Some results suggest, for example, that a high level of affiliation motivation could be predictive of a desire to stay in the country of origin (Scott & Scott, 1989). In accordance with our results, the study of Van Vianen, Feij, Krausz, & Taris (2003) showed that both secure attachment and sensation seeking predicted voluntary job mobility. Correlational studies also demonstrated a positive association between secure style and novelty seeking (Chotai et al., 2005). Conceivably, novelty seeking (Cloninger, Svrakic, & Przybeck, 1993) underscores the high exploratory activity of secure and dismissing individuals. Yet, the differential predictive power of secure and dismissing attachment with respect to psychological well-being suggests that the psycho-social adjustment of individuals might be more related to attachment styles then to novelty seeking. Further studies are needed to clarify the relation between personality traits, such as novelty seeking, and attachment styles, as well as their predictive value for individuals’ psychological and social well-being.

The present study has some limitations. First, we administered questionnaires to emigrants who had already emigrated, and not to emigrants “to-be”. Thus, we had to take into account the possibility that the differences in attachment styles between emigrants and non-emigrants that we observed may have evolved due to the influence of the host culture or the mere fact of emigration. To control for the influence of the host culture a longitudinal design would have been ideal. As a substitute to this, we carried out comparisons of consecutive cohorts of emigrants. We also have to keep in mind that studies on emigrants are carried out on individuals who have been able to cope efficiently enough with cultural shock to stay in the emigration country. Those who did not possess effective coping strategies might have returned to their country of origin, and therefore may not be included in the present study. Thus, a higher secure attachment style of emigrants might be caused, to some extent, by this selection mechanism.

In the introduction we hypothesized about “personality drain”, a phenomenon which, similarly to “brain drain”, may occur in donor societies due to the outflow of individuals with favorable personality traits. As we have seen, emigrants seem to possess a personality “setup” making them prone to
exploration and helping them to endure the unsettlement it may bring. We may conclude from the present study that “personality drain” may indeed happen in donor societies.