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**Labour migration from the Enlarged European Union to the Netherlands:
the relationship between governmental policy and migrant experiences**

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Abstract

After the recent enlargements of the European Union with ten countries in Central and Eastern Europe, the Dutch government has introduced various policies with the goal to better manage the (labour) migrants from these countries. In this thesis the effectiveness of these policies is evaluated in three policy domains: migration patterns, employment, and social position. Furthermore, migrant experiences in these domains are analysed based on a small sample of interviews with labour migrants originating from Central and Eastern Europe. Results of this study show that the Dutch government is not fully capable to accurately assess the diversity within this labour migrant group and that the taken policy measures do not meet all the expected goals. Moreover, it is shown that migrants originating from these ten countries are not explicitly affected by the taken policy measures as their behaviour is not guided by the policy interventions taken by the Dutch government, but are rather shaped by factors outside of the grasp of the Dutch government policies.

Keywords

Post-EU enlargement migration, labour migration, migration policies, The Netherlands, governmental policy, policy consequences, migrant experiences, interview data, qualitative research

Preface

The first rough idea for this thesis was born after taking in all the, mostly negative, news regarding migration of Central and Eastern Europeans to the Netherlands. I was curious to get to the bottom of this situation and wanted to know whether the situation was really as bad as the media sometimes presented. Did the enlargement of the European Union and the subsequent migration from the new member states really have those dramatic consequences for both natives and the migrants themselves? Do natives have the risk to lose their jobs to the so called *Polish plumbers*? Are workers from those countries really in such a bad position while being employed in the Netherlands? Is the Dutch government really unable to manage these consequences better than it is doing currently? And how is this situation in other countries within the European Union?

As it quickly proved to be impossible to conduct a comparative research on Eastern European workers in multiple countries within the setting of writing a master thesis, I decided that it was best to study this problem within the Netherlands. But then again, what exactly did I want to study what had not already been done? What are key aspects in this complex, multi-layered debate? After coming up with numerous research ideas, frameworks and proposals it turned out that a new way to look at the problem was to compare the situation as experienced by the Dutch government and the migrant group themselves. How does the Dutch government address the situation and what are the key issues for it? And more importantly, how do migrants experience the measures taken? Those two questions formed the basis for conducting this research.

I could not have conducted this research without the supervision of Dr. Hans Siebers. His commitment towards a successful thesis project cannot be emphasized enough. He has helped me structure my thoughts, frame and reframe my research in such a way it is actually doable, and challenged me to get the most out of the project. His feedback has always helped me to improve the research and he made sure I did not overlook issues or get lost in too much detail. Furthermore, I have to thank him for the countless hours we spent together discussing the progress of this thesis, and to make realistic plans to finish this thesis report. Without his commitment to get this project finished I would probably still be in the process of formulating a research question.

Furthermore, I have to thank all the people within my social network who recommended potential entries to find migrant respondents to participate in the study; all the people who brought me in contact with organizations who might help me find respondents; and those people who were directly responsible for finding migrants willing to participate in this study. Finally, I have to thank the 24 people participating in this study for sharing all their experiences since their arrival in the Netherlands with me. Some were more openheartedly to share their best and worst experiences than others, but all those hours of interviewing have truly helped me to conduct this research; without them there would not be any research at all, in the first place.

I really consider this final document a great achievement, despite the setbacks I have experienced over the course of writing it. I must say; I am really proud of the final result. I truly believe that writing this thesis has given me so many (personal) insights, which will help me during the rest of my career. Especially over the past few months I have proven to myself that I can do anything as long as I put my mind to it. I can honestly say that after handing in this thesis and graduating from the master program Management of Cultural Diversity I am ready for the next challenge!

Hidde Gramsma
Tilburg, March 26 2016

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1. Introduction

In today's increasingly interconnected world, international migration has become a reality that touches nearly all corners of the globe (...). Modern transportation has made it easier, cheaper and faster for people to move. At the same time conflict, poverty, inequality and lack of decent jobs are among the reasons that compel people to leave their homes in search of better futures for themselves and their families. (United Nations, 2016: 6)

As the quote by the United Nations (UN) shows international migration is becoming a more and more common feature of the globalizing world we currently live in. Where in 1970 about 82.5 million people were residing in a different country than the country of birth, this amount has almost tripled by 2015 to 244 million individuals worldwide (UN, 2016). Especially migration to the developed world is a common feature. Estimates of 2015 show that almost two thirds of all international migrants are living in Europe, where Germany is currently accommodating about 12 million migrants, as the second largest immigration country in the world. The United Nations estimates of 2015 furthermore show that about 10 percent of the European population consists of international migrants. Moreover, without the current positive net-immigration numbers in Europe, the European population would have fallen between 2000 and 2015 (UN, 2016). However, the majority of the European migrants consists of fellow Europeans. A large majority of the worldwide migrant population consists of migrants with a different motive than conflict or political prosecution in the country of origin. The UN estimates that 20 million individuals of the total international migrant group are refugees. The most common motive for international migration is foreign employment and consequently improving the socioeconomic position of individuals. Various scholars have established theories on this kind of migration, with a strong foundation in economic theories.

Early migration scholars have mainly focussed on the economic aspects of migration as labour and economic migration historically make up for the largest portion of the entire international migrant population. In some of the first migration theories, developed after the Second World War, it is argued that because of labour market inequalities, international migration is a common feature as individuals strive to maximize their income. Other scholars argue social context plays an important role in the migration initiation and that migration is not merely an earning-maximizing decision. Again other scholars argue that migration is a structural feature of the developing world and see it as a natural consequence of the globalizing world (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993). These theories mainly focus on economic migration streams and motives, but lack other important societal aspects of international migration. As King (2002) summarizes, international migration is a problem of many disciplines. Besides being an economic problem it is mainly a geographic and demographic problem, since it involves movement of people across space and affects population structures. Furthermore, migration is a social, psychological and cultural problem since migration affects both the sending and receiving community and the individual migrant as well. Moreover, international migration is increasingly a political problem as nation states are trying to control and police migration streams and migrants themselves.

Although it is commonly argued that migration is inevitable feature of the globalizing world, international migration is not as much supported by national governments as other features of

globalization such as reduced international trade barriers for goods and services and internationalization of financial capital markets. Instead, increasing political efforts are made to limit immigration. For example, numerous OECD countries are responding to changing migration patterns and increasing migration numbers by implementing restrictions on immigration. The most important measures taken by national governments are the strengthening of border controls, offering support to voluntary return to the country of origin and actively fighting illegal employment of foreign workers in the country. Family related migration procedures are, although they generally have been eased, more restricted in many OECD countries. Moreover, although skilled-labour migrants are required in much of the developed world, policies have become more restrictive and selective for this kind of migration (Freeman, 2006; OECD, 2015).

In Europe and the European Union (EU) similar political discourse patterns are visible. It is argued that migration is seen as the greatest security concern of the 21st century Europe. As Buonfino states *“through the effect of the mass media on society and on the relations of power and resistance, immigration as a threat and a security concern has become the hegemonic discourse type in government policy”* (2004: 24). General beliefs of migration in Europe are that those who migrate are *“poor, uprooted, marginal and desperate (...) and therefore somehow socially inferior to the members of the host societies with whom they interact”* (King, 2002: 89-90). Moreover, the restricting discourse on migration has extended beyond illegal migration and refugees to legal migration within the European Union.

With the recent enlargements of the European Union with ten countries in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), in May 2004, respectively January 2007, the debate about internal free-movement of workers took a new dimension. The European Union propagates to be a political and economic entity, integrating national economies and political systems into one transnational framework offering freedom, security and prosperity to its citizens. Not all of these freedoms were initially available for the new EU citizens in Central and Eastern Europe. These countries were transforming from former-Soviet communities into free, market-based, societies and the differences in income are substantial compared to the EU15 countries. As the accession of these countries also included a large population, mass-migration to the richer Western EU member states was expected to be a threat to the EU15 societies and economies. In politics and public opinion at the time of EU-enlargement a discourse was developed which expresses the fear of social, economic, cultural and political consequences of this enlargement in many EU15 states. These fears resulted in migration restrictions in eleven of the EU15 countries in the periods after EU accession of the ten CEE countries.

Now that all the migration restrictions are lifted, both national governments and the EU government are still fighting the perceived negative consequences of CEE migration. The Dutch government has taken much political effort to tackle the (perceived) negative consequences of employing CEE nationals in the Netherlands. It is often argued that these migrants are a threat to the native labour force and may result in lowering wages and a race to the bottom of labour conditions in the lowest segments of the Dutch labour market. Moreover, the Dutch government claims that CEE migrants are prone to exploitation as they have little knowledge of their rights as an employee in the Dutch welfare state (Asscher & Goodhart, 2013). Furthermore, the Dutch government is implementing policies concerning the perceived undesired consequences of CEE migrants in the Dutch society. The Dutch government tries to improve the social position of these migrants and emphasizes the need of the CEE

migrant group to become an integral part of the Dutch society. It argues that both the migrants as the Dutch society would benefit from a better integration in the Netherlands of CEE migrants.

Although much research has been conducted (see among others: De Boom, Weltevrede, Rezai, & Engbersen, 2008; Dagevos, 2011; Engbersen, Iliès, Leerkes, Snel & Van der Meij, 2011; Gijssberts & Lubbers, 2013; Weltevrede, de Boom, Rezai, Zuijderwijk & Engbersen, 2009) on migration and migrants from the new EU member states to the Netherlands, very little emphasis has been put on the relationship between governmental migration and migrant policy and individual migrant experiences in these policy fields. This thesis focusses on the Dutch context; illustrating the Dutch governmental policy assumptions and goals of the specific policies targeting CEE migrants and how these relate to the experiences of individual CEE migrants. This study provides a deeper understanding of the relationship between governmental policing of immigration in the Netherlands and individual migrant experiences in the related policy fields. More specifically, the research examines this relationship in the context of enlargements of the European Union with ten countries in Central and Eastern Europe in respectively May 2004 and January 2007¹. Ultimately it aims to answer the question:

How do the Dutch government's policy expectations concerning migrants from the new EU member states relate to the migrants' experiences originating from these countries in the Netherlands?

To get a complete overview of the policies involved, first extensive research is conducted on the developed policies by the Dutch government concerning migrants and migration originating from the European Union's Central and Eastern European new member states. Concerning these policies the following questions are answered in this thesis:

- **What are the Dutch government's policy expectations concerning the migration motives of migrants originating from the new EU member states?**
- **What are the Dutch government's policy expectations concerning the employment of migrants originating from the new EU member states?**
- **What are the Dutch government's policy expectations concerning the social position of migrants originating from the new EU member states?**

Furthermore, during interviews 24 respondents have provided their perspective on the various policies concerning migration from the CEE-region. The data collected during these interviews provide help answering the following three questions:

- **What are the migration motives to migrate to the Netherlands of migrants originating from the new EU member states?**
- **How do migrants originating from the new EU member states experience their employment in the Netherlands?**
- **How do migrants originating from the new EU member states experience their social position in the Netherlands?**

¹Malta and Cyprus are not included in this study since no political efforts were made to regulate migration from these countries. The accession of Croatia (July 2013) is also not included in this study as free movement of labour migrants is still strictly regulated through transition regulations.

Finally, in the conclusion chapter the findings of both sets of questions are compared to each other. In this chapter the following questions are answered:

- **How do the Dutch government's policy expectations concerning migration motives of migrants originating from the new EU member states relate to the migration motives of these migrants themselves?**
- **How do the Dutch government's policy expectations concerning employment of migrants originating from the new EU member states relate to employment experiences of these migrants themselves?**
- **How do the Dutch government's policy expectations concerning the social position of migrants originating from the new EU member states relate to the social position experiences of these migrants themselves?**

The following report is structured as follows: the next chapter provides theoretical background concerning labour migration and its governmental policing, highlighting CEE migration and the Dutch context; followed by a chapter providing an overview of the research methods used in this research. The empirical results of this study are divided over two chapters, where chapter four provides a thorough policy analysis of the most prominent Dutch migration policies concerning CEE migration and migrants. In chapter five interview data collected during 24 interviews with CEE migrants is analysed in order to provide an elaborate experience report of the CEE migrant population who are currently residing in the Netherlands. In the final chapter the findings of both empirical chapters are translated into a number of conclusions. In the same chapter the findings of this study are compared to findings of the studies presented in chapter two. Furthermore, a number of suggestions for further research are provided in this chapter.

2. Theoretical Framework

In order to provide structure and focus for this thesis it is important to establish a well formulated definition of labour migration. First, however, a brief introduction is made including the most prominent forms of international migration. In principal international migrants are all those people that cross an international border with the intention to stay in that country for a longer period. Although the spatial aspect, e.g. crossing a border, is rather clear, the time dimension can cause some conflict between the definition of migration and other forms of mobility, as for example tourists can cross borders for a longer period without settling in that place. Moreover, with nowadays possibilities for people to move across nations, transnationalism is becoming a common phenomenon, in which individuals reside in multiple countries throughout the year. Examples are people who temporally work in a country and then move to the next job in another, or people who move to more agreeable climates in some seasons of the year (Jennissen, 2011). The United Nations sees migrants as those people who intend to reside for at least one year in another country. However, across nations there is a large discrepancy between how governments label foreigners present in the country as migrant. Statistics Netherlands (CBS) and the Dutch government see someone with the intention to stay in another country for at least four months as a migrant. Moreover, these individuals have to be registered in the official Dutch population register in order to appear in the population statistics (Jennissen, 2011; Nicolaas & Sprangers, 2012).

The motive to reside in another country is an important factor to label individuals who cross borders as labour migrant or not. Migrants in the Netherlands have to state their official motive for residence in the Netherlands at arrival, which is registered by the Dutch Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND) (Nicolaas & Sprangers, 2012). The most common migration types in the Netherlands are labour (or economic) migration, family related migration, study related migration or seeking asylum as refugee (Jennissen, 2011). Although the official motive for migration is listed in the Netherlands it can overlap with other motives; for example: migrants with a family related motive or refugees can have a certain economic incentive to select a host country. Moreover, it is possible for individuals to illegally cross borders. Underlying migration motives for this group can be, but are not limited to, any of the four mentioned motives. However, little official data on this last group is available as these individuals do not appear in the population statistics.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) sees international labour migration as *“the movement of people from one country to another for the purpose of employment.”* (IOM, 2016) Borjas (1989) states that labour migration is an economic phenomenon in which scarce resources (labour) are allocated among alternative uses (different labour markets). This coincides with the theories explaining international human migration, as international migration theory *“is based on the behavioural assumption that individuals migrate because it is in their benefit (either in terms of psychic satisfaction or income) to do so”* (Borjas, 1989: 457).

Previous citation clearly states the key assumptions of the available international migration theory which will be further explained in the next section of this chapter. Section 2.2 illustrates the post-enlargement CEE migration within the European Union, based on available literature and empirical studies. Furthermore, the consequences of this migration are presented in this section. In section 2.3 the scope is entirely on the Dutch situation of CEE migration. First, a brief introduction is provided exploring the migration patterns of CEE migrants before the EU-accession of the CEE countries, followed

by a depiction of the migration streams after enlargement of the European Union. In this same section the position of CEE migrants in the Dutch labour market and society is further explored. This chapter concludes with section 2.4, focussing on the effectiveness of migration policy measures taken by national governments.

2.1 International Labour Migration Theories

Although all international migration theories try to explain migration and mobility of individuals, the concepts, assumptions and frames of reference used are radically different (Massey et al., 1993). Furthermore, various theoretical scholars employ different levels of analysis. As the majority of the theories have their foundations in economics, these theories focus on economic aspects involved in migration. Jennissen (2011) argues that this is a suitable way of analysing international migration, since non-economic aspects can be interpreted in economic cost-benefit models. For example, psychological costs, such as being separated from relatives and friends, can be weighed against psychological gains, e.g. gained experience and physical and psychological well-being. Moreover, as Cornelius and Rosenblum (2005) show there is ample evidence that economic factors are key in the migration motives of individuals. However, other theories are required to fill the gaps in the theory and to more realistically describe international migration.

2.1.1 Neoclassical migration theories

Neoclassical or Keynesian thinking has largely shaped the way we view the economical world. In these theories, supply and demand are the factors that move all economic activities in a world where economic actors seek to maximize a utility, usually income. It is assumed that a stable equilibrium is reached when no additional utility can be obtained from changing of economic activities. This theory has also been translated into the study of human migration on both macro- and micro economic level.

First, the neoclassical macro theory of migration explains labour migration as the process of economic development. According to this migration theory, geographic differences in supply and demand of labour lead to migration. In this theory, it is argued that countries with a large proportion of workers compared to available capital have low wages, where countries with higher capitalization relative to labour are assumed to have higher equilibrium market wages. The neoclassical scholars claim that the resulting wage differential between countries causes workers to migrate from the lower-wage country to the high-wage country, resulting in the wages to fall in the receiving countries as available labour increases (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999; Massey et al., 1993). In the sending countries wages are expected to rise, as the availability of labour compared to capital is falling. A new international wage equilibrium is reached as the wage differential reflects the costs of the international migration in both monetary and psychological terms.

Another stream indicated in this model is one of capital flowing from the high-wage country to the low-wage country in the form of foreign direct investments, as the rate of return of this capital is assumed to be high in the capital scarce countries. Furthermore, the capital streams to the low-wage countries are accompanied by migration of high-skilled workers (or human capital) as these resources are assumed to also be scarce in the low-wage country and thus yielding a higher return there. It is important to note that in this theory the two migration streams should be kept strictly separate: unskilled (labour)

migrants move from low- to high-wage countries, where skilled migrants (human capital) move to the low-wage countries and do not reflect the overall market wage.

Furthermore, no other factors than the labour market determine migration streams. National government policies are assumed not to intervene these mechanics as governments can only regulate the labour markets. Moreover, migration between the two countries is assumed to be of temporal nature, as the differences in wages will disappear over time by the changes in supply of labour (Jennissen, 2011; Massey, et al., 1993).

The neoclassical migration theory on micro-level claims that migration is initiated after a positive net-return is expected by rational individuals making cost-benefit calculations of potential migration to another country (Massey et al., 1993). The benefits involved are the productivity given the skill-level of the individual migrant, where the costs included in the calculations are related to the investment required (such as traveling to and looking for work in the host country), difficulties with adaptation and integration in the host society and the psychological costs of cutting ties with the country of origin. Potential migrants would migrate to the country or region where net-returns are expected to be the greatest. This theory furthermore states that individual characteristics may lead to different net-return calculations for potential migrants leading to different decisions of individuals. Furthermore, migration will continue as long as the net-return calculations are positive, according to this theory. However, governments can control immigration by affecting the expected earnings in either the sending or receiving country, for example by investing in the sending country or decreasing the likelihood of finding employment in the receiving country.

Jennissen (2011) states that the neoclassical migration models are more suitable to explain migration within regions as it neglects governmental interference in migration processes, as it only focusses on migration originating from differences in wages and employability. However, these models can be used for internal migration within the EU, as migration restriction within the member states are not applicable. Furthermore, Massey et al. (1993) argue that the simplicity of the neoclassical macro-economic model leads to a compelling explanation used to shape public thinking and has strong foundations for immigration policies.

2.1.2 Other important economic migration theories

The Human Capital theory *“treats migration as an investment decision of an individual”* (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999; 15). In this theory individuals calculate their expected returns in various regions given their skill-level. In case the expected returns are expected to be higher in a destination region than the home region migration is initiated. According to this theory younger individuals are more likely to migrate as they have a larger lifetime gain from migration. Furthermore, higher educated individuals have a greater probability of migration, as they are better able to gather information on migration which reduces the risks involved. Information on the labour market conditions are expected to be better for closer locations resulting in lower costs and risks involved with short distance migration. As Bauer and Zimmermann (1999) argue this model is especially useful in modelling temporary and reoccurring migration, as it is able to include reduced costs and risks obtained after the first move and include information of unsuccessful prior moves. Moreover, it helps explaining circular migration patterns in which migrants move from region to region when labour conditions are better in other regions. The main distinction of this theory is that rather than only looking at aggregate market wages, one should also focus

on heterogeneity of individuals, resulting in different cost-benefit calculations and thus different migration patterns (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999).

The new economics of migration approach challenges some of the essential assumptions and expectations of the neoclassical migration theory. First, it is argued '(...) *that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of related people*' such as families or households (Massey et al., 1993: 436). Secondly, migration is said to be a strategy to minimize risks related to various market failures in the home country and thus can prevent insufficient family, or household, income. The risk of market failure and insufficient institutional protection mechanisms is larger in developing countries as these mechanisms are imperfect, absent or inaccessible to poorer citizens. These poorer families might then decide to diversify their risk by initiating (temporal) migration and sending remittances to the family in the home country. By diversifying the risk of the household local employment and international migration are not mutually exclusive. Important other assumptions in the new economics of migration are the fact that wage differentials are not a necessary condition for international migration and international migration does not stop after the wage differentials are eliminated. In this theory, governments wishing to affect migration can not only regulate labour markets, but also capital, insurance and future markets. Especially reshaping of the unemployment insurance and income distributions by governments can significantly affect international migration according to the new economics of migration scholars (Massey et al., 1993).

The dual labour market theory assumes that international migration is demand driven and is initiated by employers or governments. It is argued that demand of foreign workers is a permanent structure of developed economies and is better represented by recruitment policies than wage offers as employers tend to keep wages constant. This theory claims that simple economic laws of supply and demand do not apply to wages as they are embedded in social and institutional structures: increasing low-level wages is not likely to happen in times of shortcomings in the labour market as it can disrupt the wages higher in the hierarchy, as wages are embedded in the social status related to income and employment. However, low-level wages can drop in times of excessive supply of immigrant workers as the mechanisms that keep them from rising does not prevent them from falling. Moreover, although governments try to influence international migration by changing wages and employment rates, migrant workers are required in the social structure of the developed society. The only way for governments to affect international migration is to radically alter the economic organization and decrease the demand for low-wage employment (Massey et al., 1993).

2.1.3 Sociological migration theories

Where the previous theories mainly highlight how migration between countries may begin, little emphasize is put on social systems that facilitate the continuation of migration. In the network theory of migration, social ties between migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in both the home and destination country are seen as an important denominator of the destination country for specific migrant groups (Massey, et al., 1993). It is argued that these networks increase the expected net returns of migration as risks and costs are reduced. Migrant networks in the destination country can provide information on the socioeconomic conditions of the host society and offer help in finding employment and housing in the country. Therefore, once begun, international migration tends to expand over time as social networks in both the home and host country are improving. As costs of migration are falling by

expanding the social network, wage differentials play a less important role than assumed in some of the previous theories. Moreover, network theory claims that the reasons that initially caused migration between regions may be replaced by other motives as it becomes independent of these factors through elaborate social ties. For example, labour migrants may be re-joined by their partner originating from the home country after establishing a solid foundation in the host society (Jennissen, 2011; Massey, et al., 1993). Governments can have great difficulties controlling migration as the factors facilitating this migration lay outside of their control and occur no matter what political regime is pursued. However, migration can be promoted by offering special rights of entry to members of the migrant group, such as allowing family reunification migration.

In the institutional theory of migration it is argued that once migration has started various private and voluntary organizations arise to facilitate migration. According to this theory, extensive migration streams are a lucrative niche for entrepreneurs and institutions promoting international migration for profit. Simultaneously, voluntary humanitarian organizations arise to improve the treatment of migrants in the host society. The entrepreneurial organizations can offer transport, employment, required documents, lodging, and credit in exchange for fees, also in the black circuit. The voluntary organizations mainly provide shelter, counselling, social service and legal advice. Usually both types of organizations originate from the migrant group, although not necessary. It is argued that governments face difficulties controlling migration flows as the process of institutionalization is difficult to regulate. Moreover, most policy efforts to reduce immigration lead to an increasing profitability of black market activities and are opposing the humanitarian groups' positions (Jennissen, 2011; Massey, et al., 1993).

Although both of these theories are unable to explain why migration starts, they are able to explain why migration streams can increase in size when the initial conditions to initiate migration are no longer applicable. Moreover, these theories provide important insights in the perpetuation of international migration over time (Jennissen, 2011, Massey et al., 1993).

2.2 Post-enlargement CEE migration within the European Union

Before zooming in on the Dutch situation of post-enlargement migration to the Netherlands, a brief look at studies dealing with CEE migration in the entire EU region is taken.

In 1999, Bauer and Zimmermann applied various economic theories and empirical results to assess the expected size and structure of post-enlargement migration from the CEE region. The various consulted studies come to distinct conclusions. Modest predictions expect 5 million CEE citizens to migrate, where opinion polls suggest that between 13 and 27 million individuals will migrate after EU accession. Newspapers and politicians have speculated that 20 to 40 million CEE migrants will migrate to West-European EU member states. However, the researchers come to the conclusion that at least 3 million CEE citizens will emigrate, although the short-term migration potential might be higher (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999). Furthermore, Bauer and Zimmermann (1999) expect that CEE migration will largely flow to Germany and Austria as a consequence of existing migration networks.

However, at the time of the EU accession of the EU8 countries in May 2004, not all EU15 countries opened their borders for CEE migrants directly and maintained (some of) the migration barriers, such as required work permits or visas to find employment in the host country. Immediately after the first CEE EU-enlargement only Ireland, the UK and Sweden completely opened their labour market. Consecutively more EU countries opened their borders for CEE migrants: Greece, Spain, Portugal and Finland were the

first to do so in May 2006; followed by Italy (July 2006), the Netherlands (May 2007), Luxembourg (November 2007) and Belgium and Denmark (both May 2009). Both Germany and Austria have maintained their immigration restriction for EU8 nationals throughout the entire transition period of seven years. With the EU accession of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007 a similar pattern of gradual opening of the labour markets is visible, although a majority of the EU25 countries (EU15+EU8+Cyprus and Malta) have made provisions which allowed labour migrants originating from the EU2 countries in certain sectors or professions (Kahanec, Zaiceva & Zimmermann, 2009).

To assess the total CEE migrant group residing in other EU member states Kahanec et al. (2009) have examined the available data from statistical and other studies in the various EU member states. However, as unregistered migration is not well documented and countries fail to (accurately) report immigrant groups this assessment is not all-inclusive. Kahanec et al. (2009) come to the conclusion that EU8 migration to other EU member states has annually increased from 62,000 migrants a year before enlargement to 250,000 migrants annually after enlargement and that 70% of these migrants has migrated to the UK and Ireland. Research conducted in the CEE region states that about 2.9 million EU8 natives have migrated to other EU member states (Duszczak & Matuszczyk, 2014). Furthermore, the researchers state that the total internal EU labour mobility has not increased significantly as a result of the EU accession of the CEE countries, although it exceeds any predictions. Moreover, as a result of the emigration potential of the CEE citizens, large scale emigration from the CEE region is expected to slow down over time, compared to the peaks after lifting the migration restrictions for CEE nationals.

2.2.1 CEE migration within the EU: consequences

As stated before, the EU15 governments' have expressed the fear of potential mass migration from the CEE region after EU accession with disastrous consequences for the national labour market and working population. In their paper, Bauer and Zimmermann (1999) assess the macroeconomic consequences of CEE migration and focus on whether it will reduce wages of native workers and, or, push these workers out of their jobs. They conclude that *"whether the native population can expect gains or losses from immigration depends, among other things, on the size and structure of the immigration flow and the labour market institutions in the receiving countries (i.e. wage flexibility)"* (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999: 1). Empirical studies in some cases even show positive effects on wages and employment of natives, although the majority of studies find small negative effects in the short-run; especially if only unskilled workers migrate and wages are unevenly redistributed. However, with appropriate selective immigration policy measures these worst-case scenarios can be evaded.

Research performed after the EU accession of the CEE countries concludes that there are no *"significantly negative impacts on the labour markets in the receiving countries"* (Kahanec et al., 2009: 27), although the consequences of CEE migration may vary for specific sectors and occupations. Furthermore, CEE migration *"had little, if any, impact on wages and employment and had no negative impact on the welfare systems in the receiving countries"* (Kahanec et al., 2009: 27). Generally, CEE migrants are net contributors to the welfare systems in the receiving countries, and the opted *"welfare-tourism"* has not occurred as migration is demand driven. Moreover, Kahanec et al. (2009) show that *"post-enlargement migrants demonstrate greater labour market participation and have higher employment rates than the populations in either sending or receiving countries"* (Kahanec et al., 2009: 16). Furthermore, CEE migrants are more likely to be employed in low and medium-skilled sectors and

occupations, despite the generally higher education level of these migrants; especially among EU8 migrants. Important findings of various other studies (as summarized in Kahanec et al., 2009) is the large share of young, female and mainly seasonal workers among CEE migrants. Finally, CEE migration has had positive consequences for the EU as a whole in terms of GDP, GDP per capita, and productivity.

2.3 CEE Migrants in the Netherlands

Over the recent years many studies have tried to map migration from the ten NMS to the Netherlands. However, accurate data is missing and thus not all studies come to the same conclusions. Not all migration is registered by the government and migration partially occurs illegally which leads to the fact that exact numbers and figures are missing. Official statistics only show those migrants registered in the Netherlands, although it has been possible for migrants to reside in the Netherlands without registration. Before 2014, only those migrants who intend to stay for at least four months have to register and appear in the Dutch population registers (GBA). However, by using data available from the UWV (Employee Insurance Agency) it is possible to also provide statistics on labour migrants that are formally employed in the Netherlands, but do not appear in the population registers; for example seasonal workers. Combining these sources provides reliable information on both employed and other CEE migrants who intend to stay longer in the Netherlands, such as students, non-working spouses and children. However these statistics are not representative for the unregistered CEE migrants who do not appear in the GBA or UWV data and are for example employed illegally (Van Ostaijen, Snel, 't Hart, Faber, Engbersen & Scholten, 2014). Besides using official registration data, qualitative studies tend to use snowball sampling techniques to form their respondent samples. Although these studies are non-representative for all CEE migrants residing in the Netherlands, they reach the more volatile migrant groups who do not appear in official data. However, unemployed and non-working migrants are often not included in these studies, as a majority of respondents is obtained through work settings (Van Ostaijen et al., 2014). In this paper mainly data available from the GBA and UWV will be used to show trends in CEE migration to the Netherlands, as well as estimates provided by other studies which aim to map the entire CEE migrant population in the Netherlands. This approach is also in line with the statistics the Dutch government uses for its policy measures, as will be shown in chapter four.

2.3.1 Pre-EU enlargement CEE migration to the Netherlands

Migration from the CEE region to the Netherlands is not a new phenomenon starting after enlargement of the European Union with ten CEE countries in 2004 and 2007 (Van Ostaijen et al., 2014). Already before and after the Second World War, labour migrants from mainly Poland and Slovenia came to the Netherlands to work in the Dutch mines. Moreover, in the period after the Second World War, Polish soldiers that helped liberating the Netherlands from the German occupation married and settled in the Netherlands. Furthermore, the Netherlands has received refugees from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland in the period 1950-1990. Additionally, migrations streams of, mostly female, CEE migrants to the Netherlands to marry a Dutch partner are indicated in the 1980s and 1990s.

A more important stream of CEE migrants who moved to the Netherlands are those who work in the horticulture before the EU enlargements to the East. Estimated is that annually about 50,000 Polish seasonal migrants were employed in the Netherlands in the late 1980s. After the introduction of stricter controls on illegal employment in the Netherlands this number significantly dropped in the 1990s. Official

data shows that in the late 1990s about 50,000 CEE migrants resided in the Netherlands (Van Ostaijen, et al., 2014). In 2003 about 62,000 CEE migrants were residing in the Netherlands. The amount of officially registered CEE immigrants to the Netherlands amounted between 1,500 and 2,000 a year in the years before the first Eastern EU enlargement in 2004 (CPB, 2004). Besides settling migration, the amount of registered seasonal CEE labourers has risen from about 4,500 in 2000 to over 10,000 in the first three quarters of 2003. Furthermore, the Dutch Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND) estimated the amount of illegal CEE migrants in the Netherlands to be between 25,000 and 33,000 in 2003 (CPB, 2004). Estimates prior to EU enlargement showed that annually between 5,000 and 10,000 EU8 migrants would migrate to the Netherlands for a more permanent stay between 2004 and 2006. The same estimates were unable to predict whether the amount of seasonal migrants, of about 10,000 in 2003, would increase or decrease after the Dutch labour market would completely open to the new EU citizens (CPB, 2004).

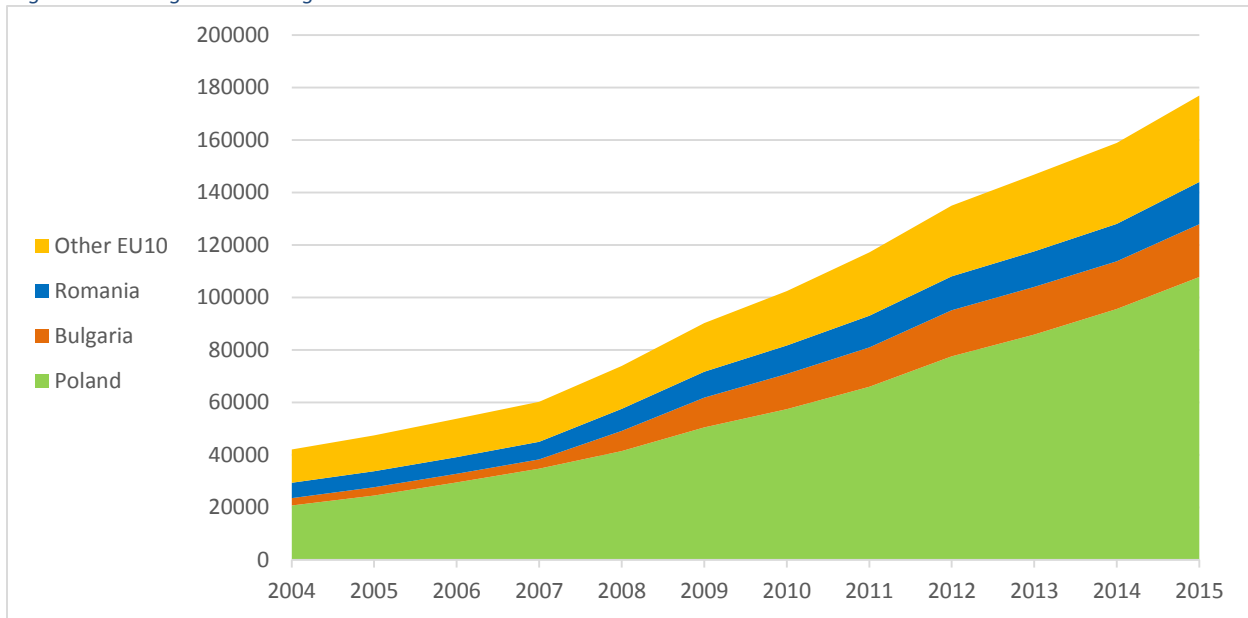
2.3.2 Post-EU enlargement CEE migration to the Netherlands

As stated in the previous section of this chapter, the Dutch government decided to not directly open the Dutch borders for (labour) migrants originating from the EU8 countries after their EU-accession in May 2004. Although the border was not completely opened for those migrants, many CEE labourers did in fact migrate to the Netherlands. In 2004 about 8,400 CEE migrants migrated to the Netherlands, in 2006 this number increased to about 12,000. Of the incoming CEE migrants, migrants of Polish origin make up for the largest proportion of the CEE immigrant group, representing over 50 percent of the total CEE migrants migrating to the Netherlands after the EU enlargement (CBS 2015a). After the restrictions on migration for the first eight CEE countries and the accession of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007, CEE migration to the Netherlands increased to 26,000 immigrants in 2008. The increase is mainly due to the increasing number of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants coming to the Netherlands (Weltevrede, De Boom, Rezai, Zuijderwijk & Engbersen, 2009). Before 2007, no more than 2,400 migrants originating from Bulgaria and Romania combined migrated to the Netherlands annually. In 2007, 4,800 Bulgarians and 2,400 Romanians migrated to the Netherlands. However, during the transition period for the EU2 countries immigration from these two countries stabilized at around 2,000 immigrants for each of these countries annually. Contrary to what was observed for the EU8 countries, by lifting the migration restrictions for Bulgarian and Romanian migrants in 2014, immigration is not increasing compared to the period 2004-2007. From either of these countries, immigration has remained constant at around 2,000 immigrants in 2014 (CBS, 2015a).

Although CEE immigration rates in the Netherlands are rising since the EU enlargements, net-immigration rates do not rise as fast. About 50% of CEE migrants is leaving the Netherlands within ten years after migration (CBS, 2015b). After the rapid increase of incoming Bulgarian migrants in 2007, in the period 2007-2012 the net-immigration rate of Bulgarians is decreasing as many are returning to their country of origin. Furthermore, there is a decline in the trend in net-immigration rates in 2009 and 2012 for Polish migrants, indicating increasing return migration (Van Ostaijen et al., 2014). The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) argues that this might be a result of the financial crisis (Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2013). Despite high emigration rates of CEE migrants, the inflow of migrants originating from CEE countries is still rising. Official statistics show that the total amount of officially registered CEE migrants residing in the Netherlands has increased from 42,000 in 2004 to 177,000 in 2015 (*see figure 1*). The large majority of CEE migrants consists of Polish natives totalling 108,000 migrants, representing over 60% of

the total registered CEE migrants in the Netherlands, followed by Bulgarians (20,000) and Romanians (16,000) (CBS, 2015a).

Figure 1. CEE Migrants residing in the Netherlands between 2004 and 2015



Source: CBS, 2015a

Previous numbers are all based on officially registered CEE migrants, who appear in the population registers, residing in the Netherlands. As indicated before, only migrants who (intended to) stay for more than four months in the Netherlands officially needed to register. As of 2014, all CEE immigrants have to register at the host municipality. However, there is still a large group of unregistered CEE migrants residing in the Netherlands, including those that work for a short period, as for example seasonal worker, or reside illegally in the Netherlands. Assumed is that about 50% of the CEE migrants was registered in the population registers in 2010 (Van der Heijden, Cruyff, van Gils, 2013).

Although accurate statistics of the CEE migrant group are missing, Tax Administration information shows that in each quarter of 2008 between 56,000 and 88,000 unregistered CEE migrants have been officially employed in the Netherlands, with the peak in the summer period (Weltevrede et al., 2009). Berkhout, Bisschop and Volkerink (2014) show in their research a vast increase of employed, but unregistered in the GBA, CEE migrants between 2006 (41,000 individuals) and 2011 (181,000). Argued is that the large majority of this group is only temporally employed in the Netherlands. Research conducted by Statistics Netherlands (CBS) (2014) shows a group of 80,000 unregistered CEE migrants who have been employed as seasonal workers in 2012. Since there is such a large group of CEE migrants that does not appear in population registers, Van der Heijden et al. (2013) calculated that about 340,000 CEE migrants were residing in the Netherlands in 2010. However, these calculations are subject to numerous conditions under which the estimates hold, in case there is the slightest variation in the assumptions the estimates vary between 182,000 and 366,000 CEE migrants in the Netherlands in 2010.

Although registration in the population registers is currently mandatory for all (CEE) migrants, more recent data on the total size of the CEE migrant group is not yet available.

2.3.3 CEE Migrants' Employment in the Netherlands

De Boom, Weltevrede, Rezai and Engbersen (2008) have conducted research on the social position of first and second generation CEE migrants residing in the Netherlands. In their study, they conclude that the average level of education of settled CEE migrants is relatively high. In contrast with the high education level of CEE migrants, they do not have a strong position in the Dutch labour market, since unemployment numbers in this group are high. However, these findings do not reflect the entire population of CEE migrants in the Netherlands at the time, as these findings are based on registered settled CEE migrants. According to the researchers, temporal labour migrants, who usually are not registered in the Dutch population registers, have an entirely different position in the Dutch labour market. The researchers come to the conclusion that the majority of the seasonal CEE workers is employed in the agri-and horticulture, as 54% of the work permits are issued for these sectors in 2006 (De Boom et al., 2008). On top of that, the second largest amount of work permits is issued for workers in commercial services, which typically are those individuals working via employment agencies in the earlier mentioned sectors. Generally, these temporal labour migrants are employed in unskilled jobs in the lowest segments of the Dutch labour market. Although the seasonal workers are working in unskilled manual jobs, a significant number of these migrants is well educated. As the researchers argue they are nonetheless unable to find appropriate employment given their skill-level as a result of, among others, language barriers (De Boom, et al., 2008). Additionally, as some respondents in this study have indicated that Polish workers are less selective in the kind of employment they are doing and accept any offer they receive (De Boom et al., 2008). Moreover, as second generation migrants and long-term settlers are also included in this study it does not provide a clear indication of the group of recently migrated CEE migrants with a labour-related migration motive who are currently residing in the Netherlands.

Weltevrede, De Boom, Rezai, Zijderwijk and Engbersen (2009) conducted a follow up research after their initial study using survey data in order to get a better insight in the situation of unregistered CEE migrants, whom usually are seasonal workers in the Netherlands. According to this study, the large majority of CEE migrants works under short-term or flexible contracts (usually offered by employment agencies). Only 13% of the respondent sample has a fixed contract. Another important finding of this study is the fact that mainly migrants of Polish origin are employed through an employment agency. Bulgarians and Romanians tend to be directly employed by employers, albeit in 41% of the cases under a temporal contract. Moreover, over 30% of Bulgarians and Romanians labour migrants are self-employed, in contrast with almost 7% of the Polish migrant group residing in the Netherlands (Weltevrede et al., 2009). A similar pattern is seen for undeclared employment of Romanians and Bulgarians compared to Poles. The researchers argue that this situation is the result of the required work permits for employees originating from the EU2 countries at the time (Weltevrede et al., 2009).

The respondent sample used by Weltevrede et al. (2009) shows that the vast majority of CEE migrants in employed in low-skilled jobs, in for example agri- and horticulture (47%), industry (15%) and construction (12%). Especially the recently migrated CEE migrants tend to work in the agri- and horticulture; it is assumed that these migrants are mainly seasonal workers. However, distributions of CEE migrants over the various sectors are diverse for different nationalities as shown in table 1. As can be seen from this table mainly migrants of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian are employed in the agri- and horticulture. Furthermore, other CEE migrants seem to be more evenly distributed over the employment sectors than these migrant groups.

Table 1. CEE Migrants in the Netherlands: employment in sector compared to country of origin (in %)

	Total CEE	Poland	EU2	Other CEE
Agri- and horticulture	46.6%	54.3%	36.4%	15.4%
Construction	12.3%	9.3%	21.5%	18.7%
Industry	14.6%	16.5%	1.9%	18.7%
Logistics	7.3%	6.8%	5.6%	12.1%
Corporate/financial services	8.3%	6%	14%	14.3%
Other	10.9%	7.2%	20.5%	20.9%

Source: Weltevrede et al. (2009)

Another important finding of the study conducted by Weltevrede et al. (2009) is the fact that the majority of CEE migrants is employed in elementary or lower occupations as shown in table 2. Moreover, 39% of the CEE migrants state that they are overqualified for the job they are doing. Another 25% state to be educated in different fields than they are using in their work. These findings are in line with Boom et al. (2008) earlier study.

Table 2. CEE migrants in the Netherlands: employment level compared to country of origin (in %)

	Total CEE	Poland	EU2	Other CEE
Elementary occupations	37.3%	42.7%	17.5%	31%
Lower occupations	39.8%	40.6%	39.8%	35.7%
Secondary occupations	15%	12.5%	24.3%	17.9%
Higher occupations	7.9%	4.2%	18.4%	15.5%

Source: Weltevrede et al. (2009)

Engbersen, Iliés, Leerkes, Snel & Van der Meij (2011) show similar employment patterns among Polish, Romanian and Bulgarian migrants, based on interview data. Furthermore, they researched how CEE migrants became employed in the Netherlands in this study as shown in table 3. Where Polish migrants are highly dependent of employment agencies to find employment, Romanians and, especially, Bulgarians rely more on their social network in both the country of origin and the Netherlands to find employment.

Table 3. Obtained employment in the Netherlands through:

	Total	Poles	Romanians	Bulgarians
Social Network	43%	31%	43%	71%
Adverts	11%	8%	24%	11%
Employment Agency	32%	51%	9%	2%
- Employment agency in NL	- 19%	- 32%	- 1%	- 1%
- Employment Agency in CoO	- 13%	- 20%	- 8%	- 1%
Direct contact with employer	8%	4%	20%	8%
Self Employed	6%	6%	4%	9%

Source: Adapted from Engbersen et al., (2011)

The use of (online) advertised vacancies is limited. The researchers argue that this is the result of the kind of employment these labour migrants are looking for and possibly the lack of online resources (Engbersen et al., 2011). Another important result of the study of Engbersen et al. (2011) is the fact that the majority of migrants originating from Poland, Romania and Bulgaria found their current employment after arrival in the Netherlands. The most striking finding of this study is the monthly net income of the respondents

participating in the study of Engbersen et al. (2011). Although the gross minimum monthly wage in the Netherlands is 1407 euro, the majority of respondents does not earn more than 1500 euro a month as shown in table 4. However, the majority of these respondents are in full time employment and should be entitled to the minimum monthly wage. The researchers state that about 40% of Bulgarians and 21% of both Polish and Romanian migrant workers earn less than the regulated minimum wage. A more elaborate discussion about possible underpayment of CEE migrants will follow section 2.3.3.1.

Table 4. Monthly net income

	Total	Poles	Romanians	Bulgarians
<1000	27%	25%	18%	39%
1000-1499	36%	41%	35%	25%
1500-1999	21%	21%	24%	17%
2000-2999	10%	9%	13%	11%
>3000	7%	4%	11%	9%

Source: Adapted from Engbersen et al., (2011)

In Dagevos' study (2011), specifically focusing on recently migrated Polish migrants (those who migrated to the Netherlands after the Polish accession to the EU), the results somewhat deviate from earlier introduced studies (De Boom et al., 2008; Engbersen et al., 2011; Weltevrede et al., 2009). In contrast with those studies which claim that the vast majority of Polish labour migrants are employed, albeit under temporal contracts in either construction or horticulture, Dagevos (2011) claims that the Polish migrant group is more diverse than these studies show, as the other studies mainly highlight the recently arrived seasonal labour migrants. In Dagevos' study (2011), a sample of the Polish migrant population residing for at most six years in the Netherlands shows that overall 69% of the Polish migrants is in paid employment. Although 75% of the labour migrants is employed, the labour participation of Polish migrants with not-primarily a labour migration motive is much lower. Surprisingly, 84% of the *older* migrants, aged between 45 and 65, are employed. The large majority of both males and females who are employed work full-time jobs. Furthermore, this study shows once again that a majority of Polish migrants are not employed at their skill-level. In 62% of the cases participants in this study have indicated to be overqualified or qualified for a different job. Another important finding is the fact that over one-third of the sample is employed under temporary labour contracts, compared to merely 5% of the native Dutch population.

Dagevos (2011) concludes that a large proportion of the Polish migrant group is assured of employment at arrival, but have difficulties finding employment as soon as their initial contract is terminated, resulting in an unemployment rate of 13% among the Polish labour force. In line with previous findings of an overqualified Polish labour force, Dagevos (2011) argues that these migrants have an inferior position in the Dutch labour market for middle or higher positions as a result of short-comings in their Dutch language capabilities, which are generally demanded by Dutch employers. However, the data used in this study shows that as the duration of stay in the Netherlands increases, Polish migrants are better able to find employment. Moreover, Dagevos (2011) assumes that unemployed recently arrived Polish migrants return home or move to other countries within the EU.

In line with Dagevos (2011); Snel, Faber and Engbersen (2014) and Van Ostaijen et al. (2014) come to the conclusion that the CEE migrant group currently residing in the Netherlands is more diverse than previous studies assume or indicate and that various research methods result in divergent outcomes. For

example far from all CEE migrants are seasonal workers in the agri- and horticulture, as increasing numbers of CEE migrants are settling and looking for, or having, more skilled-jobs. *“However, all studies agree that CEE labour migrants are generally concentrated in the secondary labour market”* (Van Ostaijen et al., 2014, 11). Moreover, Van Ostaijen et al. (2014) conclude that migration to the Netherlands results in a decrease in occupational level, although income is expected to increase.

2.3.3.1 Dishonest Employment Agencies & Displacement of the Labour Force

Houwerzijl (2015) claims that the impression of manageable CEE migration has been too long maintained in the Netherlands. She argues that because of the current high unemployment levels in the Netherlands negative consequences of CEE labour migration to the Netherlands are more than ever visible. More than expected amounts of CEE workers have entered the Dutch labour market, who sometimes displace natives out of their jobs or pressurize Dutch wage levels. Moreover, the disadvantaged position of exploited CEE migrants has more recently received prominent attention in the Netherlands.

According to Houwerzijl (2015) two aspects play an important role in the rise of scheme arrangements for labour law, and regulation evasion. First, by enlarging the EU with ten countries in Central and Eastern Europe the supply of cheap labour increased dramatically. Workers from these regions are used to worse working conditions as unemployment is high and the national GDP is far below the EU-average in these countries. As CEE migrants’ point of reference is different from native Dutch workers they are more tempted to accept wages lower than regulated as long as these wages are higher than in the country of origin. This statement is especially applicable to seasonal migrants, as they intend to spend their earnings in the country of origin. Secondly, Houwerzijl (2015) argues that CEE labour migration has led to enforcement problems for the Dutch government. The CEE migrants have a weak position in the Netherlands as they are dependent of their employer, which might result in acceptance of some forms of exploitation. Moreover, labour laws and regulations contain loopholes which can be exploited by dishonest employers. Within the EU it is for example possible to pay posted-workers the native wage rather than the fair market wage of the country these workers are employed in. Such a construction is especially attractive in case there are large differences in wages, which is the case between many of the CEE and Western EU countries. Moreover, it has proven to be nearly impossible to provide estimates on the amount of CEE migrants working in the Netherlands, let alone the amount of scheme arrangements for evading labour law and regulations (Houwerzijl, 2015).

De Bondt and Grijpstra (2008) estimate that over 80,000 CEE migrants are employed by 5,000 to 6,000 dishonest employers in the Netherlands in 2008. These numbers have not changed much compared to the period before the abolishment of work permits for EU8 migrants in May 2007. Although some employment agencies have proven to be not in compliance to regulations as a result of mismanagement, the researchers claim that the majority of dishonest employment agencies act intentionally. These agencies are often not part of a trade association nor registered as an employment agency at the Chamber of Commerce. The researchers indicated five categories of fraudulent practices that dishonest employment agencies employ to exploit CEE migrant workers. First, there are cases of illegal employment when workers who need a work permit, during the transition periods, are employed without one. Secondly, employees can work more hours than legally permitted. Thirdly, dishonest employment agencies commit fraud with social fees. In this case, not all social security fees or taxes are paid over the earnings of employees. Furthermore, there is a category of employment agencies which do not pay the

regulated wages to employees. Lastly, exploitation of CEE migrants is done through demanding exorbitant fees for housing, transport or other facilities offered to employees (Grijpstra & De Bondt, 2008).

The results of a survey among registered employment agency show that the main exploitation method of dishonest employment agencies is the undercutting of regulated wages. Over 40% of the representatives in this study state that avoidance of tax and social fees payments and exploitation in housing of employees are the second and third most prominent fraudulent activities displayed by dishonest employment agencies. Especially in the horticulture, agriculture and construction fraudulent employment agencies are active, as these sectors are heavily driven by short-term and unexpected demand for workers (Grijpstra & De Bondt, 2008). Other forms of scheme arrangements for evading labour law and regulations are spurious chains of subcontracting. In these schemes it seems that a migrant is self-employed, where in fact he, or she, is directly employed by an employer. Via these fraudulent schemes minimum wages can be undercut and payments of social fees are evaded.

Another key aspect in the possible exploitation of CEE migrants is the lack of political commitment according to Houwerzijl (2015). As she argues, after years of perfunctory European and national measures, current labour law enforcement acts and directives are the first steps towards a holistic approach battling exploitation of labour migrants in Europe. However, the implementation of these regulations are currently under development and their effectiveness is to be awaited.

2.3.4 CEE Migrants' Social Position in the Netherlands

Besides paid employment other factors play an important role to assess migrant groups' position in host societies. Important issues for governments are participation and integration in the host society and the ability to maintain, or improve, this position over the course of time. Although little intra-EU research has been conducted on these issues, various researchers have tried to map the social position of CEE migrants in the Netherlands. The following section will, consequently, discuss those studies' findings concerning social integration (including Dutch language capabilities and interactions with the native population), housing of CEE migrants, and unemployment, social welfare dependency and criminality.

De Boom et al. (2008) claim that CEE migrants who migrated to the Netherlands generally master the Dutch language relatively quickly as a result of the on average higher educational level. Furthermore, numerous CEE migrants migrated to the Netherlands to settle with a Dutch partner and come via the partner in touch with the Dutch language and Dutch citizens. However the same study shows that insufficient Dutch language capabilities among pre-enlargement CEE migrants lead to higher unemployment levels in this group. Moreover, Weltevrede et al. (2009), Dagevos (2011) and Engbersen et al. (2011) show that a majority of recently arrived CEE migrants face great difficulties in mastering the Dutch language. Although many CEE migrants are willing to learn Dutch and are registered in language courses, many fail to truly master the language as a result of long working hours and the consequently lack of time to do so (Dagevos, 2011). Instead of using the Dutch language, CEE migrants are able to maintain themselves by using either English or German, which they usually master better (Weltevrede et al., 2009; Gijssberts, 2015). Moreover, Engbersen et al. (2011) show that using the native language at work is sufficient for many CEE migrants, since usually certain migrant groups are collectively employed. This claim hold especially for those workers of Polish origin.

Dagevos (2011), furthermore shows that one in three Polish respondents have daily contact with indigenous Dutch individuals outside of work. It is argued that these network connections are important to improve the social position of migrants in the host society. However, the CEE migrant group maintains most social ties with fellow migrants as shown in both Dagevos (2011) and Engbersen et al. (2011) as over 70% of respondents in Dagevos' study (2011) show that they are at least once a week in contact with fellow Poles outside of work. Engbersen et al. (2011) show that the percentage of frequent contact with fellow migrants originating from the country of origin is even 82%. These studies furthermore show that ties with the home country are strong, especially for temporal migrants, and remittances are sent to relatives and friends or investments in capital and property are made in these countries. Moreover, Gijssberts (2015) shows that CEE migrants rely much on home country's media. However, the various studies do not provide a conclusive report on the migrants' intentions to stay in the Netherlands for a longer period. All studies show that about one in three CEE migrants do not (yet) know how long they will stay in the Netherlands. However, 40% of the Polish respondents in Dagevos' study (2011) have no intention to permanently return to Poland. Between 10 and 20 percent of the CEE migrants expect to retire in the Netherlands. For the remainder, developments in the Dutch, home and other EU countries' labour markets play an important denominator of the actual intentions to stay in the Netherlands (Dagevos, 2011; Engbersen et al., 2011 & Weltevrede et al., 2009).

The majority of CEE migrants that are in the Netherlands for a longer period state that they are (very) satisfied with their current housing (Weltevrede et al., 2009; Dagevos, 2011 & Engbersen et al., 2011). These migrants usually rent private, multi roomed, housing in the private sector of the Dutch housing market. However, De Boom et al. (2008) argue that pre-enlargement housing of temporal CEE migrants was already a problem and these problems have only increased after the rising numbers of CEE migrants after EU-enlargement in the Netherlands. Recently arrived CEE migrants usually share an accommodation which is provided by their employer. The housing offered by employers ranges from caravans to family houses, and from bungalows to pensions or hostels. Furthermore, employers who directly employ CEE migrants also provide housing at the work site for their workers. Although employers, and especially employment agencies, are responsible for appropriate housing of their employees, many of the accommodations are overcrowded, do not have appropriate sanitary facilities or do not meet safety requirements (De Boom et al., 2008). As shared accommodation often also implies sharing dorms with non-family members, CEE migrants have indicated privacy concerns during the various studies and these migrants are overall less satisfied with their housing situation. However, as the stay in the Netherlands is prolonged so does the quality and overall satisfaction of the housing CEE migrants reside in (De Boom et al., 2008; Dagevos, 2011; Engbersen et al., 2011; Weltevrede et al., 2009).

As Sohilaït, Sonnega and Wolf (2015) show the availability of temporal housing remains one the core political problems in the Netherlands. So far, political actions have insufficiently led to appropriate housing options for these migrants. The authors argue that is mainly due to the fact of local resistance against large scale projects, as result of the negative image of the general public towards temporal labour migrants from the CEE region. However, local initiatives in various regions of the Netherlands have proven to be fruitful in providing temporal large scale housing for CEE migrants (Sohilaït et al., 2015).

As shown in section 2.3.3 not all CEE migrants residing in the Netherlands with a labour motive are employed. Researchers, (among others: Dagevos, 2011) state that the majority of the CEE migrant group is prone to unemployment as they are working under temporal contracts in sectors that are highly volatile, such as seasonal employment in agri- and horticulture. Moreover, because of insufficient Dutch language capabilities, CEE migrants are unable to find stable employment in the higher segments of the Dutch labour market. However, as Dagevos (2011) argues, unemployed CEE migrants tend to leave the country to find employment elsewhere. In contrast with this claim Engbersen et al. (2011) have found that especially the larger municipalities have noticed increasing numbers of homeless CEE migrants after the financial crisis struck the Dutch economy. However, all studies come to the same conclusion that unemployment among recently migrated CEE migrants is relatively limited compared to other migrant groups residing in the Netherlands (Weltevrede et al., 2009; Dagevos, 2011; Engbersen et al., 2011; Andriessen & Dagevos, 2015).

Braaksma & Westra (2015) have studied the social welfare (mis)use of CEE migrants in the Netherlands. In the general public and media an image is spread that increasing numbers of CEE migrants are dependent of Dutch the social welfare system or make disproportional claims on these systems. The researchers however conclude that although increasing numbers of CEE migrants are applying to benefits and assistance, the total amount is still limited, compared to both the native Dutch and other migrant populations. It is argued that this increasing number of benefit claims is mainly the result of the fact that more unemployed CEE migrants decide to stay in the Netherlands. Furthermore, as a result of the Dutch benefit and assistance regulations it takes a number of years for migrants to obtain the same benefit entitlement as native Dutch citizens. Moreover, it is possible for the Dutch government to terminate the right of residence in the Netherlands of CEE migrants, up to five years after arrival, in case they are unable to provide a living income. Thirdly, Braaksma and Westra (2015) have found no evidence of abuse of the welfare system by CEE migrants. Only a small proportion of CEE migrants has made benefit claims without entitlement and proposed legislation makes this situation even impossible as doubtful claims are primarily checked before initiating benefit payments. Braaksma and Westra (2015) conclude that because of the prolonged settlement of CEE migrants in the Netherlands, the claims on the social welfare system might increase as a result of the earlier mentioned benefit entitlement ingrowth period. They conclude that the elimination of integration barriers for CEE migrants in the Netherlands might become a more effective method to reduce benefit dependency among CEE migrants.

Although the criminality rate among CEE nationals is higher than among the native Dutch population, it is far below those rates of other migrant groups in the Netherlands (De Boom, Seidler & Weltevrede, 2014). The researcher indicate two groups of suspects of CEE origin with each a differential criminal pattern. The first group consists of formally registered CEE migrants, who are mainly involved in traffic offenses (e.g. drunk driving) or violence offenses. The second group of CEE suspects consists of unregistered CEE migrants, who are involved in nonviolent property crimes, such as theft. The researcher state that this second group consists, partly, of unemployed labour migrants who commit crime as a survival strategy. However, as De Boom et al. (2014: 61-62) state: the majority of criminality among CEE migrants could not be ascribed to labour migrants but to individuals who move to the Netherlands with a criminal motive.

2.4 The Effectiveness of Governmental Migration Policies

As seen before, there is a discrepancy between the real and perceived consequences of immigration in receiving nations. Although immigration is said to be generally beneficial for receiving states in both the labour markets and on macroeconomic level, there is increasing public resistance against increasing migrant numbers in most parts of the developed world; especially in the regions where immigration is a new, late 20th century phenomenon, such as Europe. Buonfino (2004) expands this claim stating that immigration has become a security concern in Europe as the general public needs to be comforted by governments that immigration is a controllable, if not reducible, phenomenon. However, Freeman (1995) argues that the characteristics of immigration politics in liberal democracies are largely expansionist and inclusive which are established in the features of these liberal democracies themselves. Although *“academic and newspaper headlines suggest that the politics of immigration in liberal democracies is highly volatile, rancorous, and restrictionist, (...) official policies tend to be more liberal than public opinion and annual intakes [are] larger than politically optimal”* (Freeman, 1995: 882-883). According to Freeman (1995), this is generally the result of the democratic foundations of these nations and immigration policy tend to be more favourable, or indifferent at least, towards immigration for various reasons.

Firstly, citizens in democracies are rationally ignorant of many political issues since the costs of obtaining information exceeds the incentives to become informed. Considering that governments themselves have only limited information about the immigration intake, composition and effects on the society and economy, the most important barrier to information for the public is the scarcity and ambiguity of official data. Furthermore, the effects of migration tend to be lagged, resulting in playing catch-up immigration politics, as it takes time for migration to develop (as seen in the various migration theories discussed in section 2.1). Secondly, the general discourse on immigration tends to be positive, where negative criticism is explained in terms of discrimination, racism or protectionism. Furthermore, *“scholars and intellectuals who interpret and analyse immigration are (...) generally sympathetic”* towards migration (Freeman, 1995: 884). Moreover, stakeholders that are positively affected by migration are better organized than those affected negatively. Freeman (1995) argues that the benefits of immigration are concentrated to a small number of beneficiaries, but the costs are more diffused over the population, resulting in better organization of the beneficiaries. Those negatively affected by migration are usually also the least advantaged in society, making it even harder for their voices to be heard. Thirdly, as the majority of political parties have neutral standpoints towards immigration, usually no binding commitments on immigration are made when new governments enter office. This neutral standpoint results from the first claim that information on the topic is not available to the general public, resulting in an indifferent position. Although populist right-wing political parties are starting to raise a voice of anti-immigration politics, they are generally not participating in, or forming, governments. As governments have little to no commitment towards immigration policy, Freeman (1995) argues that the direction of immigration politics in liberal democracies is largely shaped by the organized public. State actors involved are assumed to be responding to the organizations in favour of immigration, resulting in negation of the poorly articulated opposition of the general public.

More recently, the general public is becoming more and more resistant towards immigration and stricter migration controls are demanded in the developed world. However, migration policies are still failing to reduce immigration flows in many parts of the world as a result of various factors. First of all,

many migration policies fail to manage immigration as *“undocumented migration, entry of asylum seekers and the formation of new ethnic communities seem to be driven by forces which governments cannot control”* (Castles, 2004: 205). Nonetheless, nation states’ policies do matter as they influence migratory patterns, albeit not in the ways policy-makers say they intend. Castles (2004) argues that three general causes lead to the ‘failure’ of migration policies. Firstly, there are factors arising from the social dynamics of the migration process. Policy makers tend to see international migration as an economic decision, based on neo-classical reasoning, to maximize utility. However, as seen in the previous section, human migration is better described as a social process with its own dynamics. Moreover, bureaucrats strongly believe that *“regulations designed to categorize migrants and to differentially regulate their admission and residence effectively shape aggregate behaviour”* (Castles, 2004: 208). This position is especially challenged by those with little trust in governments and see migration barriers as an opportunity to be compared and negotiated, leading to a flourishing migration industry, be it legal or illegal. Secondly, Castles (2004) states that factors related to globalization, transnationalism and global inequalities are important for migration policy failure. As a result of globalization, individuals are more mobile to travel longer distance because of improved accessibility to transportation and information. Simultaneously, these factors increase the diversity and complexity of international migration. Less fortunate individuals living in the poorer regions of the world can have multiple motives to initiate migration, as for example a political refugee can have certain economic motives to select his, or her, destination country. Furthermore, it is possible for migrants to form transnational communities, which are based in two or more countries and engage in recurrent, enduring and cross-border activities. Despite migration is a transnational phenomenon, migration control measures tend to be national. Castles (2004) argues that the transnational factors are becoming increasingly important, and pose a challenge to national regulation, especially in the field of migration control. Besides the national level of policy measures taken and the transnational factors involved in the migration process there are other factors hindering effective migration policing within the political systems themselves. In the democratic developed states it is likely that the interests of various groups, or even within groups, conflict and actors in the policy formation and implementation process have hidden agendas. Furthermore, *“migration processes are of a long nature, while the policy-cycle is essentially short-term and often determined by length of electoral periods”* (Castles, 2004: 223). In addition, the political ability to control migration is weak, as increased formalization of immigration procedures lead to increasing uncontrollability of the same phenomenon.

3. Methodology

This chapter introduces the methods used in order to conduct this research. First, the research design is examined in section 3.1. In section 3.2 the sample strategy is discussed, where section 3.3 will explain the data collection methods used in this research. Section 3.4 illustrates the methods used for data analysis in this thesis. Finally, in section 3.5 the applied quality indicators for sound research are explained.

3.1 Research Design

The research aims to explore the relationship between the Dutch government policies concerning CEE migration and the experiences of individual CEE migrants in these policy fields. By the way the research- and sub-questions are phrased, a qualitative research design of this study is already indicated. Where qualitative research seeks to explore phenomena, quantitative research aims to confirm, or reject, proposed hypotheses. By posing a research question starting with *how*, this research aims to explain the divergence, or resemblance, of the goals and expectations of CEE migration policies implemented by the Dutch government and the expressed CEE migrant experiences in these policy fields. This question thus clearly demands for a qualitative approach in order to be properly answered.

In order to answer the main question thoroughly this research has been divided in three phases, resulting in the three sets of sub-questions dealing with that specific part of the research. To answer the first set of sub-questions a better insight into the related governmental policies concerning CEE migration in the Netherlands is required. In order to get this deeper understanding, the most important policy documents on this topic are collected and analysed. This phase of the research is also initiated first as these findings have important implications for the framework of which the next phases take place. To answer the second group of sub-questions, the CEE migrant experiences, interviews are conducted with the target group between February and July 2015. The findings of these interviews are compared to each other in order to show trends and make more general claims about the migrant's experiences in the various related policy fields. The relationship between the findings in the first two sets of sub-questions is answered in the third phase of this research in which findings in both phases of this research are analysed, compared and explained.

In both the policy document analysis qualitative research is applied to show how and why policy measures are taken concerning CEE migration and migrants. During the interview analysis focusses on how these measures are experienced by CEE migrants themselves. The policy document analysis is done mainly inductive, as it analyses specific policies to show more general themes and trends in the related policy fields. The interviews conducted with CEE migrants relied more on deductive reasoning as the earlier established categories are applied to and challenged by the respondent sample. The following sections will each explain the methods used during the different phases of this study.

3.2 Sample Strategy

As the research of this thesis consists of two distinct data sets, two clearly distinctive sampling strategies are applied in order to conduct the research. In the following two section each of these sampling strategies are further described separately.

3.2.1 Policy Document Sampling

First of all, the relevant policy documents have been selected for this research. By collecting the most relevant policy documents published by the Dutch government the most important policy fields can be established. Especially the departments of Home Affairs (BZK), Social Affairs and Employment (SZW), and Security and Justice (V&J) (before 2010 labelled Justice) play an important role in the policy development concerning CEE migrants. Other involved departments include the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM) (before 2010) and Ministry for Housing, Neighbourhoods and Integration (WWI) (2007-2010), of which the applicable themes are currently included in the Ministry of Home Affairs. All policy documents used in this study originate from any of these mentioned departments.

The governmental policy documents are made available by the Dutch government in the online database: www.officielebekendmakingen.nl. This database publishes all governmental documents; including policy letters, acts of the Dutch Parliament and studies on which policy measures are based. The Dutch government has a specific folder (named *dossier*) in which the most important documents concerning CEE migration are organized. This dossier is labelled '*Vrij verkeer werknemers uit de nieuwe EU lidstaten*' (Free movement of employees from the new EU member states) and contains all letters of ministers, proceedings in parliament and legislative matters since 2004, when the first eight CEE countries acceded the European Union. However, not all used policy document originate from this dossier as some documents in other dossiers also make important claims about the CEE migrant group in the Netherlands. Usually these documents are found through in-text references in documents from the main dossier used in this study. Naturally, not all documents included in the main dossier are used in this research, as many documents do not demonstrate clear policy measures or are merely transcripts of proceedings in parliament leading to a final policy document which is published more comprehensively later on, generally in the form of letters sent to parliament by the responsible ministers. The focus is on the documents that the responsible ministers have sent to the parliament to show the context in which these policies operate, the implemented policy consequences and results, and for example legislative proposals. Furthermore, documents representing the Dutch governmental position towards CEE migration are included.

3.2.2 Respondent Sampling

For this second phase of the research interviews are conducted with 24 CEE migrants. This relatively small sample is mainly the result of the various constraints, in terms of time, funding and depth, which come along with writing a Master's thesis. To find suitable respondents to participate in this research a number of criteria are set by the researcher before contacting potential respondents. Firstly, and most obviously, respondents should originate from any of the ten CEE countries included in this study (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia or Slovenia). Secondly, the respondents should be residing in the Netherlands at the time of the interviews, as the research aims to explore these migrants' situation in the Netherlands. Thirdly, the respondents are, or have been, formally employed in the Netherlands, since the research is aimed at CEE migrants who migrated to the Netherlands with primarily a work motive. Moreover, the respondent sample should somewhat represent the demographic characteristics of the CEE migrant group currently residing in the Netherlands, both in terms of country of origin, age and gender. Finally, respondents should vary in their (expected) duration of stay in the Netherlands. These criteria are set as different groups of migrants might have different

experiences in the various policy fields. Moreover, as it turned out that most policy documents are aimed at low-skilled workers, the research focusses on this category of CEE migrants.

Next to these fixed requirements, the researcher demanded some basic knowledge of either the Dutch or English language in order to conduct the interviews, since these are the languages the researcher masters and the researcher is limited by resources to make use of interpreters.

In order to find respondents the researcher has searched within his own network for potential candidates. However, usually a middleman was required to reach individual respondents, as the researcher's direct network of CEE labour migrants in the Netherlands is limited. By calling upon the researcher's social network it has been possible to reach out to for example organisations, employers and employment agencies specialised in employing CEE migrants.

The sampling is thus done via non-probability sampling; more specifically accidental, or convenience, sampling. As the researcher has limited access to the CEE labour migrant population within the CEE migrant group and was required to use the available network connections. This accidental sampling strategy has led to the following sample (organized in order of conducted interviews):

Table 5. Respondent sample: Nationality, Age and Gender

No.	Nationality	Age	Gender	No.	Nationality	Age	Gender	No.	Nationality	Age	Gender
1	Polish	52	Male	9	Polish		Male	17	Latvian	33	Male
2	Polish	32	Male	10	Romanian	40	Male	18	Hungarian	26	Female
3	Romanian	28	Female	11	Romanian	22	Female	19	Polish	28	Male
4	Polish	31	Male	12	Romanian	22	Female	20	Polish	54	Male
5	Polish	39	Male	13	Latvian	25	Female	21	Latvian	25	Male
6	Polish	29	Male	14	Latvian	24	Male	22	Polish	27	Male
7	Polish	33	Female	15	Polish	25	Male	23	Slovakian	28	Male
8	Hungarian	32	Female	16	Polish	27	Male	24	Polish	29	Female

As seen in the presented overview the majority of respondents is of Polish origin. Furthermore, four Romanians, four Latvians, two Hungarians and a Slovak participated in the study. The sample consists of eight female and 16 male respondents. All respondents are part of the working-age population; most are younger than 35, but two respondents are in their fifties. Of the respondents twenty-two were employed at the time of the interview. One was searching for a job for a longer period and another was waiting for a new job offer by the employment agency for which the respondent is working.

3.3 Data collection

In order to specify the most important policy fields to include in this study numerous documents have been studied. This initial document collection was required to present the context in which the policy measures concerning CEE migration are framed. All kinds of documents are collected ranging from statistical data (retrieved from Statistics Netherlands (CBS) and the European Commission), and from academic literature to newspaper articles and documents made available by the Dutch government. The content analysis of these documents has resulted in accurate research- and sub-questions used in this study. Furthermore, it provides the scope of the different phases in this study.

3.3.1 Policy Document Collection

The content analysis previously introduced has led to three distinct categories of policy measures related to CEE migration. The first relevant theme considers stocks and flows, and migration motives of CEE migrants in the Netherlands. Secondly, the Dutch government has established a vast policy framework for employing CEE migrants in the Netherlands. The third and final theme relevant in this study is of more recent nature. Nowadays, the Dutch government is implementing more and more policies concerning the social position of CEE migrants in the Dutch society. All the potentially relevant documents are firstly scanned for statements on any of those three policy fields. As shown in section 3.2.1., all used documents for this phase of this research originate from official Dutch governmental publications, resulting in rich data on the taken policy measures, policy goals and policy expectations.

3.3.2 Interview Data Collection

The interviews are constructed in such a way that the three main themes are covered in all conversations. By employing a semi-structured interview guideline the researcher has left the possibility open for respondents to elaborate extensively on their experiences in these fields. The interview script is based on the available literature and policy documents used in this study. By providing all respondents the opportunity to elaborate on their experience it was possible for the researcher to deviate from the script and gain a deeper understanding of the relation between the Dutch policy assumptions, expectations and goals and how well this reflects the actual situation of these migrants. All interviews are conducted face-to-face which allowed the researcher and respondents to adapt easily to the situation and gave the respondents more flexibility to discuss their experiences in detail during the interviews. A copy of the used interview guideline is available in Appendix A.

Generally for all three categories of this research a funnelling approach is used to get a broad understanding of the situation, or experiences, of the respondents. The provided answers have directed the consequent questions during the interviews leading to a deeper understanding of the subject matter of the research.

For most interviews a language barrier was present, as the respondents were not speaking in their mother tongue. The researcher has helped the respondents by reformulating the questions, clarifying issues and helping the respondents to think through issues. Furthermore, the interviewer has provided different angles to look at the various provided answers by the respondents. These strategies have led to more elaborate and comprehensive answers provided by the respondents.

During the interviews the researcher has been taking written notes in order to come back to issues later on during the interview which were highlighted by the respondent. By taking notes important aspects in the experiences of the respondents are not omitted and have helped developing the interview throughout the process. Moreover, all interviews are recorded, with consent of the respondents, for further analysis.

3.4 Data analysis

Two distinct data sources require different methods for conducting research and the analysis of the gathered data. In section 3.4.1 the methods used for the policy document analysis are introduced. Section 3.4.2 shows the data analysis methods used for further processing of the data collected during the 24 interviews. In both sections the coding strategies and methods are highlighted.

3.4.1 Policy document analysis

The policy analysis phase is an important step in order to conduct the interviews with CEE migrants themselves, as this phase defines the categories and topics of those interviews. During this phase of the research, inductive research methods are applied to select key statements from the Dutch government concerning CEE migrants in the three categories shown before: migration patterns and motives, employment in the Netherlands and social position within the Dutch society. As the Dutch government provides a running record of all policy documents sent to parliament it is possible to distinguish policy developments over time. Furthermore, this kind of documentation makes it possible to analyse when topics are more, or less, prominent on the policy agenda. The inductive reasoning methods used during this phase of the research have led to a number of expectations, or respondent patterns, concerning the CEE migrant group, which can be tested during the interviews with the actual migrants. The analysis of the policy data have thus directly led to the interview guidelines (see section 3.3.2) used during the interviews.

3.4.2 Interview Analysis

All the conducted interviews are recorded and transcribed by the researcher. As a semi-structured interview guideline is used, based on the findings of relevant policy themes established by the Dutch government, the provided answers have been attributed to various selective codes. Because of the use of semi structured interviews, with the freedom for respondents to elaborate on their experiences, not all collected data has proven relevant for this study. However as shown before the researcher had already established the main topics of interest making it possible to selectively code the transcripts for relevant data. Secondly, an open coding method is used to establish patterns in the provided answers by respondents for a general overview of the migrants' individual experiences in the various policy fields. All these codes have been transferred into a table (See appendix B.) to make it possible to establish patterns and reoccurring answers in the various interviews. However, as this research aims to explore the individual CEE migrant's experiences, the researcher has elaborately discussed interesting data provided by the respondents during the interviews in the writing of the second findings chapter (Chapter 5).

To draw conclusions from the gathered data in both phases of this research. The policy measures taken by the Dutch governments, with the related policy assumptions, expectation and goals, are compared to what the respondents have indicated during the interviews. In the discussion section of the concluding chapter both findings are compared to the provided literature of this study to see whether divergent claims can be made concerning the CEE migrant group in the Netherlands.

3.5 Research quality indicators

The researcher has implemented a number of measures to ensure the credibility and reliability of this study. First of all, to ensure an accurate representation of the policy measures under analysis, the use of Dutch policy documents made available by the national government is a logical step. These document accurately express the position of the Dutch government concerning CEE migrants. Furthermore, in order to analyse CEE migrant experiences in these policy field one is required to get their view on these issues. Although other ways to obtain data from these migrants were possible, such as survey data, these methods are unable to get the richness of the interview data, nor do they allow for the flexibility of respondents to elaborate on provided answers. Interview data was thus preferred over other research methods.

Secondly, all relevant policy documents are analysed in this research resulting a strong external validity of this phase of the research. However, only a small respondent sample is used in this study resulting a weak generalizability of these findings. This study, thus merely shows a first impression of the experiences in the various policy fields of the entire CEE migrant population currently residing in the Netherlands. The results from this study are thus limited to this study. Furthermore, the topic of interest is highly dynamic, as a result of changing policies for example, which makes replication of the results of the study differ over time. However, the results of this study can be a starting point for a more fundamental discussion on the relationship between the Dutch migration policies and (CEE) migrant experiences in the related policy fields.

As a first measure to ensure the reliability of the provided answers by the respondent sample, absolute anonymity of the respondents is ensured by the researcher. Data are thus handled confidentially. The research is performed by an independent researcher who is not associated with any organization outside Tilburg University and thus has no intent to modify results or frame subjects. Furthermore, all respondents are made aware of the content and goals of this research before taking part in the study. Also respondents are asked to participate on a 100% voluntary basis, resulting in a respondent sample that is willing to participate in the study. Lastly, during the interviews the researcher posed the questions in such a way that respondents provide all the data, the questions have not be guided into certain desired answers but rather focus on respondents experience in the fields of the Dutch migration policy issues.

However, there are a number of limitations of this study, especially in the process of reaching out to respondents. First, the researcher has used his own network to get in touch with some of the respondents to participate in the research. Furthermore, numerous respondents have been found through a number of employment agencies, which first had to offer cooperation in this study. It may be the case that the respondent sample is selective in terms of negative (employment) experiences, as it can be assumed that a dishonest organization would not participate in this research. Moreover, the majority of interviews is conducted at the organizations offering cooperation in this research. This situation is not desired, however it was the only possibility offered by these organizations to gather multiple respondents. Furthermore, the language used during the interviews is either English or Dutch, or combination of the two, which not all respondents did master adequately. Moreover, for three interviews the researcher was dependent of an interpreter, which in two cases was an employee of an employment agency. This may lead to deviating answers as the respondent or interpreter may have withdrawn information. Another limitation of this study is the respondent sample size used. In total 24 interviews are conducted, which makes generalizing the findings of this study for the entire population of CEE migrants residing in the Netherlands impossible. Moreover, the sample is relatively selective as 14 respondents are employed by only two employment agencies. A third limitation is the fact that ten respondents are at most one year in the Netherlands. These respondents generally do not have that much experience with working and living in the Netherlands and can provide limited information on some of the topics of this thesis.

4. Analysis of Policy Documents

The results section of this thesis consists of two chapters. First, the relevant policy documents and statements of political actors in the Dutch government are analysed. A number of statements concerning New Member State (NMS) migrants are used to illustrate the Dutch political context. The most prominent issues are related to the (mass) migration to, employment in and the social position of these Central and Eastern European (CEE) labour migrants in the Netherlands. Although the issues raised are highly interrelated, the following sections will deal with each of the topics separately.

4.1 Migration

4.1.1 Government intervention of CEE migration to the Netherlands

Ever since the initiation of enlargement of the European Union with eight countries in central and eastern Europe, the potential of mass-migration of labourers from these New Member States to the richer Western European EU member states is raised as an issue in, among others, the Netherlands. When in May 2004 the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia acceded the European Union, the Dutch government decided not to open the borders for labour migrants originating from these countries immediately. This decision contradicts the position of the Dutch government after the initiation of the EU enlargement in 2001. Especially the second cabinet led by Prime Minister Kok (the Kok II Cabinet) was in favour of free movement of labourers from the NMS to the Netherlands (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 1, 2004). The government at that time had no reason to put restricting migration measures in place, since the expected migration from the NMS to the Netherlands was relatively small. Furthermore, with labour shortages in some sectors in the Netherlands, there was a possibility for those labour migrants to fill the available vacancies. Moreover, the government argued that open borders lead to a more rapid integration of the NMS within the EU framework through economic development in the NMS, which in turn would reduce the number of CEE labour migrants migrating to the Western European EU Member states.

Early 2004, the Dutch government announced a different position towards labour migration from the EU8 countries to the Netherlands (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 1, 2004). This new position was taken after the German and Austrian governments announced that they would make use of a transition period during which the German and Austrian borders would not completely open for NMS labour migrants. These countries are the very countries that were expecting to receive the most labour migrants originating from the NMS after the EU enlargement. The Dutch government expected a vast increase in the number of CEE labour migrants migrating to the Netherlands in case the Netherlands would directly open its borders to NMS labour migrants, when other member states would not directly do so. It was argued that, because of the uncertainty about the amount of CEE immigrants that would move to the Netherlands and the consequences this migration could have on the Dutch labour market, some of the migration restrictions that are in place for non-EU citizens should be maintained. Instead of opening the Dutch borders to the new EU citizens immediately in May 2004, a transition period was initiated to protect the Dutch labour market from mass-migration of labour migrants from the NMS. The transition period entailed that migrants needed a work permit from their employer or had to be self-employed to work in the Netherlands. The transition period was put in place for a period of two years, although it was possible to extend the period to a maximum of seven years. In total eleven out of the EU15 countries decided to implement a transition period for CEE migrants in 2004.

In 2006, the Dutch government took the decision to lift most of the barriers for labour migration to the Netherlands for the eight CEE countries, albeit after another transitional period of a year (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 32, 2006). At the time, the immigration streams were expected to continue to be relatively small, there was a shortage in the labour market and the experiences from other EU member states, which had not used a restraining transition period, were positive. Furthermore, only Germany and Austria have announced to completely uphold the restrictions on CEE migrants in place for another three years, the other countries with restrictions on CEE migration indicated to at least loosen up the implemented restrictions (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 32, 2006). The government stated that the Dutch labour market and economy would benefit from increasing numbers of labour migrants, but there was also a need for policies and regulations to facilitate this migration. The government argued to need an extra year of a more restraining policy to develop supporting policies in order to protect the migrants from for example exploitation by employers (see section 2 of this chapter). Finally, in May 2007 the barriers for labour migration from the eight NMS to the Netherlands were lifted.

In the period after May 2007 the reality of migration from the NMS to the Netherlands was different from the government's expectations. First of all, rather than a constant number of about 15,000 incoming NMS labour migrants, the streams of EU8 migrants migrating to the Netherlands were larger than expected in the years after the transition period, as acknowledged by minister Kamp of Social Affairs and Employment (SZW) in 2011 (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011). Besides a larger than expected group of incoming labour migrants after 2007, the Dutch economy was struck by the financial crisis in late 2008. The crisis and following economic stagnation lead to a lower demand for labourers in various sectors. On top of that, Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU in 2007, opening the possibility for yet another group of labour migrants to move to the Netherlands.

Because of the economic and labour market situation in the Netherlands in the years after the second enlargement to the east, the Dutch government only opened the borders completely to labour migrants originating from Bulgaria and Romania in January 2014, the final date of the transition period for these countries. A similar procedure was implemented as during the transition period with the other eight NMS: migrants were able to migrate to the Netherlands for work either being self-employed or with a permit provided by their employer. Unlike the case of lifting restrictions of the transition period prior to the deadline of the first eight NMS, the Dutch government has never shown the intention to open the Dutch labour market before January 2014 for labour migrants from Bulgaria and Romania (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011; no. 132, 2011). On top of the excess of labour supply in the Dutch labour market and thus no need for more labour migrants at the time, there were too many problems with employment and integration of the EU8 labour migrants to allow for another group of migrants entering the Netherlands, according to the Dutch government. In fact, the current Minister Social Affairs and Employment Asscher published a co-written² article in *De Volkskrant* in August 2013, claiming that the migration from the NMS to Western European EU countries has had mainly negative consequences for the native citizens. In the article the authors compare the current situation of free movement of individuals within the EU, to the alarm system used within continental Europe to signal countries of expected rising water levels in rivers, the so called "*code orange*". It is argued that the effects of opening the national labour markets to CEE

² Co-written with David Goodhart; a British publicist and writer of the book *The British Dream: Successes and Failures of Post-war Immigration*. The article was also published in *The Independent*

migrants were catastrophic for the receiving countries. The inflow of migrants has disrupted the position of the poorer and less-skilled citizens, who now have to compete with workers that are used to lower wages and have no experience with the host country's labour conditions, as will be explained further in Section 2 of this chapter. In other documentations the minister has expressed his beliefs that the situation of CEE labour migrants should be improved before allowing another group of labour migrants into the Netherlands (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 132, 2011) (as will be elaborated in section 3 of this chapter). Moreover, the Dutch government expects that the amount of EU8 migrants in the Netherlands will be increasing although the Dutch economy is in recession. Furthermore, even with the experiences of the previous waves of migration from the EU8 countries, predictions of the consequences to the Dutch labour market of free movement of the EU2 countries were inconclusive, because of the amount of variables involved. The government expected a large wave of EU2 labour migrants coming to the Netherlands in case the labour market would be completely opened to these migrants in 2012 (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 132, 2011).

Furthermore, the Dutch government tries to improve the information about working and residing in the Netherlands before departure, as many migrants are unprepared for their stay in the Netherlands (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011; no. 198, 2014). The Dutch government noted that many migrants originating from the NMS have limited information about the rights and obligations as resident in the Netherlands. Many labour migrants are not registered in the various systems available in the Netherlands, which makes it impossible to collect some taxes. Furthermore, migrants who do not appear in the population registers are not entitled to some allowances and more importantly exploitation of labour migrants cannot be fought effectively, nor can be checked whether the migrants have the financial means to ensure their entitlement of right of residence in the Netherlands (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011). The Dutch government tries to improve the information available for CEE migrants on various subjects to avoid exploitation; the information is translated into a number of NMS home languages and spread through various channels, next to the official governmental channels.

4.1.2 Motives for CEE migrants to migrate as expressed by the Dutch government

Although the government first announced to not implement a transition period with maintained migration restrictions for the NMS labour migrants, in 2004 the decision was made uphold some of these migration restrictions. As explained before, the Dutch government feared mass migration of CEE workers to the Netherlands after opening the borders completely for residents of the EU8 countries. First of all, the GDP of the NMS was less than 50% of the EU average in 2004, which indicates a huge push-factor to migrate to the western EU member states. Furthermore, the availability of work in the Netherlands is another important motive for CEE migrants to migrate to other EU countries. Moreover, unemployment was also high in the home countries of the migrants. Poland, for example, had a youth unemployment of 44% at the time (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 1, 2004). It is argued that for many migrants it is better to accept any job in the Netherlands, than to find employment in the country of origin. In some cases this may lead to migrants accepting lower than regulated payment, which makes them vulnerable to exploitation, as will be elaborated on in section 2 of this chapter (Kamerstuk 29407 no.1, 2004). Besides economic conditions in the host country and country of origin, other factors, such as distance, play an important role. Most importantly, network effects and historical distribution of migrants play a significant role in the selection of the host country of individual CEE migrants (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 1, 2004).

However, it is argued that although an even larger welfare difference between the EU2 countries and the Netherlands, the Netherlands is not the preferred country of destination for many Romanian and Bulgarian labour migrants because of the geographical distance and cultural differences between the Netherlands and these countries (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 98, 2008; no. 132, 2011).

Although most CEE migrants migrate to the Netherlands for work, there is more variety in the motives to migrate, such as study or family related migration. Since the documentation used in this thesis is clustered around labour migration, little attention is paid to other forms of migration in the policy documents. Moreover, it was expected that mainly short-term migration would be initiated by the CEE labour migrants and that family-related migration would therefore be limited. In 2011 minister Kamp (SZW) indicated that more CEE migrants might stay in the Netherlands as settlers after temporal employment, as the Dutch government has seen during earlier waves of immigration from the Mediterranean countries (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011).

4.2 Employment

The availability of work in the Netherlands is assumed to be one of the key triggers for CEE labourers to migrate to the Netherlands. In 2004, when eight CEE countries acceded the EU, unemployment in the Netherlands was one of the lowest in Europe and many vacancies remained unfilled (Kamerstuk 29407 no.1, 2004). Although there was a need for workers in the Netherlands, the Dutch government decided not to directly open the labour market to NMS labour migrants. Instead a system of work permits was introduced with somewhat loosened up restriction on employment for the NMS migrants than for migrants originating from outside the European Economic Area (EEA). Although CEE migrants needed a work permit from their employer to work in the Netherlands, it was no longer required to prove that the labour supply within the EEA in these sector was falling short. Moreover, those migrants who are self-employed do not have the permit requirement and are free to work in the Netherlands, as are those CEE migrants providing services in the Netherlands. In the year after the 2004 EU enlargement a total of 22,000 work permits were made available by the Dutch government (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 1, 2004).

The Dutch government has often expressed the expectation of receiving mainly short-term, seasonal, labour migrants from the NMS to work in the Netherlands. Employment agencies with offices in either the Netherlands or the NMS would recruit labour migrants and allocate them to work in the Netherlands. These migrants migrate to the Netherlands in peak seasons for short-term employment in agriculture, horticulture and other labour intensive sectors. As shown at the end of 2006, of the almost 48,000 work permits issued, over 34,500 had validity of at most 24 weeks (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 55, 2006).The government assumed that the vast majority of these migrants would work under short-term contracts and would leave the country after their employment contract ends. Moreover, circular migration within the EU was expected in which labour migrants would allocate themselves to regions with labour market shortages.

In 2006, when the Dutch government had to decide whether or not to maintain the labour restrictions for EU8 migrants, state secretary Van Hoof (SZW) stated that because the Dutch labour market had shortages in national supply of labourers, an increasing number of CEE labour migrants could be employed after a complete opening of the Dutch labour market for the NMS migrants (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 55, 2006). It was argued that the combination of both guiding the inactive national labour force to work and employing labour migrants was a suitable solution to fill available vacancies.

In the summer of 2008 Ministers Donner (SZW) and Vogelaar of Housing, Neighbourhoods and Integration (WWI) stated that most of the CEE labour migrants work in sectors with many vacancies where the national labour supply falls short, especially in peak seasons, such as agriculture, horticulture, construction, transport and meat processing. Furthermore, the ministers claim that the CEE migrants are an indispensable addition to the Dutch labour force and keep the Dutch economy competitive (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 81, 2008). Moreover, Minister Van der Laan (WWI) states in 2009 that many vacancies in agriculture, horticulture, construction and meat processing are filled by labour migrants, since there is no national supply of labourers (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 103, 2009). Although many CEE migrants work in the lowest segments of the Dutch labour market, Minister Van der Laan (WWI) acknowledged in 2009 that the group of CEE labour migrants residing in the Netherlands is diverse in terms of education and employment (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 103, 2009). Some of the migrants are high-skilled knowledge workers that work in high-end segments of the labour market.

However, in 2013 Minister Asscher (SZW) expressed that, although the Netherlands has an inviting policy for highly skilled (CEE) migrants to fill labour market shortages in high-end segments, the supplied skills of labour migrants does not match the demand of Dutch businesses. Instead, many of the CEE migrants are relatively low skilled and perform jobs in the lowest segments of the labour market. Generally, in the period after the financial crisis the demand for unskilled employees dropped while there were vacancies for skilled employees (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 175, 2013). The Dutch government prefers a situation in which currently unemployed native workers are employed in these jobs and thus reduce the costs of the welfare system. Furthermore, an increasing number of recent CEE migrants arriving in the Netherlands have a low employment rate.

4.2.1 Government interventions on possibilities of exploitation of CEE migrants

As Minister Donner (SZW) mentioned in April 2007 (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 62, 2006) the social position of migrants originating from the NMS is worse than of other EU migrants residing in the Netherlands, since the required employment permit makes the migrants very dependent of its employers. It is argued that because labour migrants are dependent of their employers they are also more vulnerable to exploitation. Labour migrants are not aware of their rights and dishonest employers take advantage of the situation by offering a lower than regulated pay, poor working conditions and excessive costs of housing and transport. The Minister stated at the time that by opening the labour market and having installed supporting policies, to for example enforce working conditions and battle unfair competition simultaneously the possibilities for exploitation would decrease. Furthermore, an open labour market increases the freedom of migrants to find a different employer and avoid those that exploit. The supporting policies were soon after developed and implemented after which Dutch labour market completely opened for EU8 migrants in May 2007.

In the years after the transition period the Dutch government improved the supporting policies for free movement of labour migrants (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 81, 2008; no. 118, 2011; no. 132, 2011; no. 175, 2013). First, the government improved the information about working and residing in the Netherlands for labour migrants. By making the migrants more aware of the risks of working for fraudulent employment agencies and rights and obligations of employees in the Netherlands, labour migrants can avoid exploitation. Furthermore, the supporting policies include battling dishonest employers directly. Especially spurious chains of subcontracting are targeted by the policies. In such constructions it appears that

migrants are self-employed, but in fact they are working as an employee of a company, which makes it possible for employers to undercut the minimum wage, evade social fees and collective labour agreements.

Dishonest employment agencies are also targeted by stricter controls and required certifications for employing and housing labour migrants. Furthermore, the policies make it possible to increase fines for misconduct of employers. Moreover, all migrants arriving in the Netherlands after January 2014 have to register at the local municipality to receive a Civil Service Number (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 198, 2014). Before, it was possible to not register if the intended stay in the Netherlands was shorter than four months. With the new regulations the government was better able to map labour migrants and intervene when necessary, for example when residences are overcrowded. Moreover, the registration of all incoming migrants leads to better possibilities to charge (local) taxes from the migrant employees.

Although the policy development to protect CEE labour migrants against exploitation started already before 2006, most of the policies are finalized and implemented from 2011, so not all effects are clear yet. Besides, dishonest employers keep trying to find legal loopholes to exploit the migrants. Most recently the *Wet Aanpak Schijnconstructies* (WAS; Law to Battle Employment Pretences) has been installed to battle dishonest employers once and for all. This law makes it possible to battle entire spurious chains of subcontracting, making it possible for employees to receive their righteous wage. Simultaneously, the law makes it possible to improve the enforcement of labour conditions, as wages have to be paid through a bank account, rather than cash, and the information on pay slips is regulated. Moreover, the amount investigation officers has been increased to combat fraudulent employers. Furthermore, identified fraudulent actions of employers lead to exclusion of governmental contracts and are made available publically (Kamerstuk 17050 no. 484, 2014).

However, many of the dishonest employers work transnational, for which a cross-border approach is required. Adequate prosecution remains a problem without EU regulations, but little emphasis has been put on these regulations within the EU context. This is one of the key issues the Dutch government is currently facing when battling exploitation of labour migrants in the Netherlands. However, on national level good progress has been made: employers and employment agencies are controlled more strictly and entire employment chains can be prosecuted in case of misconduct (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 198, 2014).

4.2.2 Possibility of displacing the native labour force by CEE migrants

Another important factor that made the Dutch government decide not to directly open the labour market to CEE migrants in 2004 is the possibility of displacement of the native work force. It was feared that excessive numbers of CEE nationals would flood the Dutch labour market. These migrants are more likely to accept lower-than-regulated labour conditions and wages, because of a lack of knowledge of the rights of employees in the Netherlands. Moreover, unemployed CEE migrants residing in the Netherlands have limited access to the Dutch social welfare system in the first three years after arrival (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 1, 2004). The Dutch government argues that because labour migrants are used to lower wages and worse labour conditions in the home country they are more tempted to accept lower-than-regulated payment and working conditions in the Netherlands (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 1, 2004; no. 32, 2006). This situation makes labour migrants prone to exploitation by dishonest employers, which may lead to unfair competition with the native labour force, resulting in displacement of native workers and labour market disruptions.

Unfair competition can occur in case minimum wages or liabilities are evaded, or spurious chains of subcontracting are used, as explained in section 4.2.1 of this chapter.

Contrary to the situation in 2008 and 2009, in 2011 Minister Kamp (SZW) states that unemployment in the Netherlands, especially in the lowest segments of the Dutch labour market, is rising. The government sees it as an undesired situation when part of the native labour force is unemployed and receive unemployment benefits, while Dutch businesses employ labour migrants (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011; no. 132, 2011). The Minister additionally argues that allowing labour migrants from Romania and Bulgaria to the Dutch labour market should be inhibited in times of excess of native labour supply in the Dutch labour market.

The government argues that CEE labour migration should not lead to a race to the bottom in working conditions and that it should prosecute those employers that make use of unfair competition. As Minister Asscher (SZW) shows the weakest of the Dutch labour force have to compete with less demanding CEE labour migrants who perform low-end jobs displacing the most vulnerable part of the native labour force out of their jobs (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 175, 2013). Especially after the financial stagnation an increasing number of the native Dutch workers became unemployed. In case of displacement of the native workforce by CEE migrants the costs of welfare in the Netherlands will increase, as more natives will apply to unemployment benefits. The Dutch government argued that having labour migrants filling vacancies that the native workforce could perform is an unwanted situation, because natives that can work, receive social support (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 175, 2013).

4.3 Social Position

Ever since the initiated enlargement of the European Union with ten countries in Central and Eastern Europe the Dutch government has developed policies concerning migration and employment of these migrants. The focus has been, initially, on short-term migration from the CEE region to the Netherlands. However, the Dutch government has noted increasing numbers of settling CEE migrants in the Netherlands. Consequently, the Dutch government also tries to intervene in unwanted social situations such as social isolation, inappropriate housing and unemployment and social welfare (mis)use among CEE migrants.

In 2008, Ministers Donner (SZW) and Vogelaar (WWI) state that, generally, the social position of settling CEE migrants in the Netherlands is rather good. This group is well capable of finding their way in the Netherlands. In addition, this group participates in various aspects of the Dutch society. However, CEE migrants intending to stay for a short period in the Netherlands might be in a worse social position (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 81, 2008), but little information on this group is available, since many do not appear in any of the formal registration systems. Furthermore, the Dutch government is unable to predict how long CEE migrants will reside in the Netherlands, mainly because a large group does not yet know themselves. Moreover, it is likely that both short-term (labour) and settling migration from the CEE countries to the Netherlands will continue (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 103, 2009).

The Dutch government deems it important to keep a watchful eye on the social position of CEE migrants in the Netherlands. However, it is yet unable to predict how this migrant group will develop itself in the future and whether or not the group will maintain or improve its social positioning in the Dutch society (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 187, 2014). The government argues that it cannot allow for CEE migrants to end up in the same disadvantaged socioeconomic position as migrants from Southern Europe, Turkey and

Morocco who migrated to the Netherlands in the 1960s and 1970s. However, the (generally) higher level of education, and thus better connection with the labour market, of the CEE migrants is an important difference between the two migrant groups and is seen as promising (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 103, 2009). Furthermore, Minister Asscher claims that by taking appropriate integration and repatriation measures a repetition of the unwanted social situation of the earlier mentioned migrant groups can be avoided (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 187, 2014).

4.3.1 Social integration in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands a mandatory integration procedure is developed to familiarize migrants with the Dutch language and (social) institutions. EU citizens cannot be obliged to take these courses and are therefore self-responsible for social integration into the Dutch society (Kamerstuk 31268 no. 25, 2009; Kamerstuk 29407 no. 198, 2014). However, the Dutch government emphasizes time and again that participation of CEE migrants in the Dutch society is essential to make their stay successful (Kamerstuk 31268 no. 25, 2009; Kamerstuk 29407 no. 103, 2009; no. 132, 2011; no. 175, 2013; no. 198, 2014). As argued by the Dutch government a successful stay is primarily the responsibility of individual migrant, the government establishes the conditions, but the migrants decided themselves to move to the Netherlands. The conditions set by the government include regulations on employment, housing and social welfare use. Moreover, knowledge of the Dutch language and social networks with native Dutch citizens are indicated as key aspects for social integration into society.

However, CEE migrants have very limited contact with individuals outside of the own group. In the spare time CEE migrants are mainly in contact with compatriots. Although the Dutch government understands that the orientation of CEE migrants towards the own group in the first period after migration, it argues that isolation of the group in the Netherlands is an unwanted social situation. The relative isolation may hinder participation in the Dutch society. Moreover, social isolation combined with the earlier indicated employer dependency of the migrants, may lead to exploitation of migrant workers by employers (Kamerstuk 29407, no. 103, 2009).

The Dutch government sees Dutch language capabilities of CEE migrants as a key denominator to successful participation in the Dutch society. Knowledge of the Dutch language is important for CEE migrants to maintain themselves in the Netherlands and to provide a safe working environment (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 103, 2009). For those migrants intending to stay a relatively short period in the Netherlands practical knowledge about the Netherlands and some basic Dutch language skills should suffice according to the Dutch government. For settling migrants the Dutch government deems it important for them to become an integral part of the Dutch society and learn besides the Dutch language also about the Dutch institutions.

A number of initiatives to provide language courses to CEE migrants have been developed over the past years. First, municipalities can offer integration programs to the more settling migrants that deal with more specifics of the Dutch language and society. Furthermore, employment agencies are asked to participate in projects to teach about the Dutch language and society in cooperation with municipalities and employers (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 81, 2008). Although language and integration courses are seen as an important way for CEE migrants to integrate into the Dutch society, EU citizens cannot be obliged to take part in these courses. A majority of the CEE labour migrants does not master the Dutch language, which hinders their integration into the society and their well-functioning at work. Locally, a number of initiatives

are launched to stimulate the integration of CEE migrants, by for example schools, social workers and the police in Rotterdam and through employers in The Hague (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011). Furthermore, the Dutch government claims that because of the generally higher education of CEE migrants in the Netherlands independent study programs are sufficient for those migrants to master the basics of the Dutch language (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 132, 2011). However, in 2014 these programs are not often used by CEE migrants (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 198). Other (online) initiatives to learn Dutch seem to be more fruitful. Webpages that offer Dutch language training are frequently visited by people who have their default setting set in one of the CEE migrant languages. Moreover, estimates made by Dutch language teachers show that 15% of all participants in language trainings originates from the CEE region and is increasing annually (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 198, 2014).

Next to the government's efforts to emphasize the need of learning Dutch for CEE migrants, employers have the responsibility to create a safe work environment and should emphasize the need of migrant employees to master the Dutch language (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 132, 2011). In 2011, Dutch language training for foreigners was announced to become a part of some collective labour agreements (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011). However, currently few provisions are established in these agreements. Instead, in July 2013, the Dutch government has set a Dutch language requirement for dangerous occupations, also for temporarily staff, in for example construction (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 175, 2013).

4.3.2 Accommodating CEE migrants in the Netherlands

In combination with the fight against misconduct of the employers of CEE migrants, the Dutch government is targeting the deficiencies in the quality of accommodations CEE migrants are residing in (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 55, 2006). Housing inhabited by CEE migrants does often not meet the Dutch standards or even legislation. Furthermore, there are dangerous or unhygienic situations in the houses CEE migrants reside in. Moreover, slumlords exploit the migrants by overcrowding residences or demand excessively high rents for inappropriate housing (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 81, 2008). However, municipalities have limited knowledge of the use of housing offered by employers, because of under registration of CEE migrants. Seasonal migrants that intend to stay for at most 4 months did not (have to) register at the host municipality, before 2014. Moreover, the housing situation of CEE migrants much depends on the motives to reside in the Netherlands of the migrants. If the goal of the migrant is to earn a lot in a short period of time, CEE migrants accept lower quality housing, in for example shared lodges or bungalow villages. If the duration of stay increases, the quality of accommodation usually improves as well and migrants, and their partners, tend to move to family residences, albeit in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Overall, settling migrants are more satisfied with their housing than short term migrants (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 103, 2009).

According to the Dutch government, although migrants are responsible for their own suitable housing, employers have a moral duty to provide appropriate housing for the recruited workers. However, housing arranged by employers is often inappropriate; houses are overcrowded or do not meet the (fire) safety standards (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 98, 2008). In 2008, the Dutch government states that municipalities together with housing associations can provide adequate housing options for labour migrants in the near future. Municipalities can make existing buildings available as lodges for seasonal workers. For example former hotels, monasteries and offices can be turned in to appropriate housing for those migrants. Housing associations can supervise those residences and provide maintenance to those buildings. However, in order to achieve these creative housing solutions, zoning plans need to be altered as well as

support from the local residents is required for these initiatives (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 98, 2008). Housing of CEE migrants should not lead to nuisance in the direct surroundings of the accommodations, next to the migrants themselves, employers, housing associations and municipalities share this responsibility. Moreover, it is more important to offer suitable housing to the migrants than to police after misconduct is noted. To avoid misconduct in housing migrants, employment agencies have established a housing certification for the accommodation offered to CEE migrants in 2009 (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 103, 2009). In 2014, the various unions representing employment agencies agreed on centrally coordinating and issuing this certification in order to set one standard and make control more manageable for the responsible organizations and municipalities (Kamerstuk 29407, no. 188, 2014).

Despite the initiatives to provide housing to CEE migrants, Minister Kamp (SZW) states in 2011 that there is still a lack of appropriate housing available for CEE migrants, mainly due to the rapidly increasing size of the group. Furthermore, most of the earlier raised issues are not resolved. Moreover, CEE migrants tend to end up living in neighbourhoods in the major cities of the Netherlands with lower rents and displace others looking for relatively cheap housing (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011). The responsible Ministers (SZW, WWI, and BZK) have noted the urgency to tackle these matters with all parties involved: municipalities, housing associations and employment agencies and other employers (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 132, 2011). This has led to increasing numbers of available housing options for CEE migrants, distribution of migrants within the region and legal changes in housing provisions and zoning plans. The most important legal measures are firstly, changes in the zoning plans regulations are made which made it possible to use existing buildings as accommodation for CEE migrants for a period up to 10 years; and secondly, slumlords and unsafe housing situations can be policed more strictly through changes in the Housing Act (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 175, 2013). In the nine involved regions of the Netherlands the initiatives have led to a total of 31,000 potential accommodations for CEE migrants, in 2014 (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 198, 2014).

4.3.3 Unemployment, social welfare (mis)use, criminality and the consequences

Generally the net participation of CEE migrants is positive. The amount paid in taxes and social fees by CEE migrants exceeds the use of social benefits. Furthermore, the consumption and spending of the migrants in the Netherlands generates new employment (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 103, 2009). CEE migrants working in the Netherlands are subject to the Dutch social welfare regulations, where unemployed EU migrants (initially) have no entitlement to social assistance offered by the government. As agreed upon in EU regulations, EU jobseekers could stay at most six months in another EU member state to look for a job, as long as they have a health insurance and the means of livelihood in that country (Kamerstuk 29407 no.1, 2004). As of July 2011 this period has been reduced to at most three months with a positive job prospect (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 198, 2014). The Dutch government reasons that by the time CEE migrants are entitled to complete social security payments migrants would have spent enough time in the Netherlands to acquire employment with earnings higher than the maximum set for entitlement to social assistance and thus are unlikely to be entitled to it (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 1, 2004). Since migrants are not (initially) entitled to social assistance, they are strongly inclined to accept any job in the Netherlands, which simultaneously makes them vulnerable for exploitation by employers.

Employed CEE migrants can make use of the available employee benefits under the same conditions as native Dutch citizens, which might increase the costs of the Dutch welfare system (Kamerstuk

29407 no. 1, 2004). In 2011, Minister Kamp states that although the amount of CEE migrants receiving benefits is limited, some CEE migrants make disproportional claims on the Dutch welfare system and the amount of benefit claims of CEE migrants is increasing (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011). It is argued that many CEE migrants lost their jobs after the economic stagnation and are applying to benefits. Since many CEE migrant work under temporary contracts, for example through employment agencies, they are more prone to unemployment than employees who have a fixed contract. The Dutch government deems this situation unwanted as the costs of the social welfare system increases as more non-natives apply to benefits. Furthermore, those migrants are vulnerable to end up in the margins of the Dutch society and to make use of social security that is not meant for them, according to the Dutch government. Another risk of unemployment among these migrants is the fact that unemployed migrants can become homeless, since a large portion of the migrants is employed through employment agencies (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011). These agencies mostly supply housing for the migrants as well and as soon as the migrants lose their job they lose the housing they are residing in. Furthermore, municipalities see an increase of the use of homeless shelters by CEE migrants (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011). For example, in Utrecht, but also in the other four largest municipalities of the Netherlands, the number of homeless CEE migrants has increased in 2008. Those migrants have displaced natives from the homeless shelters for a short period after which the Dutch government deemed it time to avoid such use of social services (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 98, 2008).

Recently arrived CEE migrants have a relatively low employment rate in the Netherlands. Especially Bulgarians migrating to the Netherlands are lower educated and less often employed than other CEE migrant groups (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 175, 2013). The Dutch government claims that these migrants also might have insufficient means of livelihoods in the Netherlands, although the group is difficult to assess. From 2012, an increase of CEE migrants that are dependent of social support is signaled by the Dutch government (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 187, 2014). Moreover, the Dutch government argues that migration for the sake of the Dutch social security system should be avoided (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011). Although the proportion of CEE migrants making benefit claims is small, the government notes an increasing trend (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011). Furthermore, there are situations known in which CEE migrants have made disproportional benefit claims after residing for a short period in the Netherlands. The government tackles the unwanted social position of CEE migrants making disproportional use of social benefits by a number of initiatives. Migrants who are not entitled to social welfare payments and have no means of livelihood in the Netherlands are supported to return to country of origin (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011; no. 175, 2013; no. 198, 2014). The Dutch government can also terminate the right of residence in case a migrant has a criminal record or causes nuisance in the Netherlands (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 175, 2013). It is currently possible to terminate the right of residence of migrants in the Netherlands in case they harm public order or security. Moreover, repeated small felonies, such as shoplifting, can be assessed as a disruption of the public order and be an argument to terminate the right of residence of a migrant (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 198, 2014). Causing nuisance is not a criminal offense in itself, although the Dutch government has made it possible to police. Especially begging and public drunkenness fall in this category. The Dutch government stimulates voluntary return to the home country in these cases as legal prosecution is not (always) possible (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 198, 2014).

4.3.4 Family related migration and the consequences

In 2006 State Secretary Van Hoof (SZW) explicitly stated that the Dutch government expected to receive mainly CEE migrants who work under short-term contracts, as for example seasonal employees, in the Netherlands (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 32, 2006). The State Secretary claimed that most of the CEE migrants would maintain their ties to the country of origin and are likely to return there as soon as their employment ends in the Netherlands. However, currently many more than expected CEE migrants are residing for a longer period in the Netherlands and the Dutch government has been unable to predict how many of the CEE migrants will stay in the Netherlands as settler. Many of the CEE migrants do not know themselves how long they will stay in the Netherlands. An indicator for the duration of the stay is the motive of building a new life at the time of migration from the country of origin (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 103, 2009). Furthermore, it is argued that family-related migration from the CEE countries to the Netherlands will be limited as a result of the short-term residence in the Netherlands (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 32, 2006). Moreover, in case a CEE migrant has a partner in two thirds of the cases this partner resides, and works, in the Netherlands as well (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 103, 2009). Partners and children of CEE migrants tend to move to the Netherlands after a relatively longer stay of the migrant in the Netherlands. However, absolute numbers of family related migration are limited as many migrant's partners also work in the Netherlands and shared housing is a common feature for many CEE migrants (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 103, 2009).

Currently some children of the more permanent settling CEE migrants are in the compulsory school age and mainly The Hague, Rotterdam and Schiedam have indicated a rapid increase of pupils with a CEE background in the classroom (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011). Already in 2008 a centre has been established for primary schools with many CEE pupils to collect the issues schools face in teaching these children (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 81, 2008). Based on these findings specific policies and regulations are developed to help schools in adequate teaching of CEE pupils. However, schools are often unaware of the possibilities of receiving funds to help them educate effectively the children of this new migrant group. Moreover, there are signals that the children of CEE migrants are not registered in population registers, and thus are not attending school (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 118, 2011). In 2013, the Dutch government issued the first exploratory research on the living conditions of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian children in the Netherlands. The indicated problems these children face are similar to those of other migrant children including: insufficient knowledge of the Dutch language, poor housing conditions, parents who lack knowledge of the Dutch society, cultural differences and a strong orientation towards the country of origin (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 196, 2014). Teenagers with a migrant background have the most difficulties in learning the Dutch language, which may lead to dropping out of school or getting a diploma at their level. Furthermore, the parents usually work long hours and the children are usually left alone at home, even at a young age, which can result in psychological problems at a later age. On top of that, CEE migrants' children can become uprooted by the frequent moving of the parents as well as being hosted at family members in the country of origin. Although the government is not able to estimate the size of the problem, the Minister of Social Affairs and Employment urges to intervene immediately (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 196, 2014). A number of measures are taken to improve the social position of the children of CEE migrants in 2014, which will be evaluated by the end of 2015 (Kamerstuk 29407 no. 196, 2014).

5. Analysis of Empirical Data

In this chapter empirical data is used to illustrate how the policy measures taken by the Dutch government on CEE migration are experienced by the respondent sample. Furthermore, relevant statistical, survey and other studies will provide a more general perspective on migration from the NMS to the Netherlands. The data collected in 24 interviews with CEE migrants residing in the Netherlands is used to provide a more individual experience report of these respondents. During interviews the respondents have shared their experiences on migration to, employment in and their social position in the Netherlands, from their own perspective. As in the previous chapter, the three main topics will be dealt with separately, although the topics remain highly interrelated.

5.1 Migration

5.1.1 Respondents' migration process to the Netherlands

In line with the previously introduced statistics, the respondents show similar characteristics in their migration pattern. Most of the respondents migrated to the Netherlands after the employment restrictions were lifted by the Dutch government for the EU10 nationals in either May 2007 or January 2014. In the sample none of the respondents were residing in the Netherlands before their country of origin acceded the EU. Moreover, some respondents indicated to have waited for the employment restrictions in the Netherlands to be lifted before initiating migration to the Netherlands. Others have indicated that migration to the Netherlands became only relevant recently because of the opportunities the Dutch labour market had for them (*further discussion in section 4 of this chapter*). Only four respondents indicated to have migrated to the Netherlands before all migration limitations were lifted by the Dutch government. One of these respondents was in the possession of a German passport, which made migration to the Netherlands fairly easy as the respondent was legally treated as a German migrant. The other three respondents have had more difficulties with a permanent stay in the Netherlands in those years: two had to return to their country of origin whenever their contract ended and one was changing or extending contracts and permits in the Netherlands when these were ending.

For 18 of the respondents the migration to the Netherlands was mediated by an employment agency with which they were already in contact with before they moved to the Netherlands. These agencies guaranteed employment upon arrival and arranged housing, and sometimes the journey to the Netherlands, for the respondents. Three other respondents moved first to the Netherlands and then went looking for a job via an employment agency. The other three respondents have not been employed in the Netherlands via an employment agency and used different channels to migrate to, and work in, the Netherlands, such as direct applications or in one case a Dutch partner.

Although all respondents are currently registered in the Dutch population registers and are in the possession of a social security number (the successor of the SOFI number), this has not been the case for all respondents from the start. Some respondents were employed as seasonal worker after migration to the Netherlands and were not obliged to register directly in the population registers, as indicated in the previous section of this chapter. Moreover, some respondents have indicated that they have been residing in the Netherlands without formal registration and that their registration in the Dutch population registers took place recently, after the tightened migrant registration regulations. Furthermore, the majority of respondents indicated that employers usually offered help with the required registrations upon arrival in the Netherlands. They supplied the paperwork and made appointments with the appropriate agencies.

5.1.2 Respondents' motives to migrate to the Netherlands

For most of the respondents, employment and better earnings compared to the home country were the main motivation to look for work in other EU countries, like the Netherlands. Many argued that the wages offered in their country of origin are much lower than the wages in the Netherlands and that opportunity to work in the Netherlands should be taken. Not only respondents with basic education provide this argument. Also respondents that have a tertiary education state that the earnings in the jobs at their education level in the country of origin do not, or barely, cover the costs of living there. As one respondent claimed, one month's earnings in the country of origin just covers the living expenses of that month. Furthermore, numerous respondents have indicated that in the country of origin there is no work in the field they have studied in. For most respondents the availability of, albeit low-skilled, work is the most important reason to migrate to the Netherlands.

Although for most of the respondents the wage differential between country of origin and the Netherlands was the main motive to migrate to the Netherlands, many indicated that the new experience of working abroad instead of in the native country was another important factor to migrate to the Netherlands. Recent graduates and the younger respondents mainly provided this secondary motive to migrate. Another factor indicated by the respondents, mainly by those that work in physically demanding jobs, to migrate to the Netherlands are the better Dutch labour conditions such as the work hours. Also the precarious job security in the home country is an important factor for the respondents to migrate to the Netherlands.

Some of the respondents in this study have somewhat considered moving to other EU countries as well. However, with the widely available Dutch employment agencies and the possibilities to find employment in the Netherlands from the country of origin, the Netherlands was the most obvious choice for most. Furthermore, at least half of the respondents had connections with other migrants working and living in the Netherlands. For example, one respondent's father was already working in the Netherlands and others applied to specific employment agencies based on experience of people within their network. Eight respondents have worked elsewhere in- and outside the EU before migrating to the Netherlands. These respondents migrated throughout Europe looking for employment. Furthermore, a few respondents have temporarily left the Netherlands to work elsewhere in the EU.

In the sample at least ten respondents indicated that their intended stay in the Netherlands was of temporal nature. These respondents were either students or recent graduates at the time of migration to the Netherlands. They came to the Netherlands to earn some extra money to either continue their studies or getting some life experience. Only one respondent indicated that he is a returning seasonal worker in the Dutch agriculture; this respondent is employed by the same company during the peak-season every year and returns to the country of origin during the off-season. Some others have migrated to the Netherlands before for temporal employment to return, for example after graduation in the country of origin or working elsewhere in the EU, a number of years later. However, most respondents that migrated to the Netherlands as seasonal worker were able to extend their stay for several years and still live and work in the Netherlands. Most argued that staying in the Netherlands was a better option than returning to the country of origin, because of the prospects in terms of employment, earnings and job security. Furthermore, some argue that the political climate in the country of origin needs to change in order to consider returning to the country of origin.

Only one, higher-educated, respondent indicated that the specific job was more relevant than the country where this job was located in. This is also the only respondent with a university degree that works in a graduate level job. Furthermore, one respondent migrated to the Netherlands because of the respondent's partner. This respondent met a Dutch partner online and decided to move in with the partner in the Netherlands. However, this respondent did not migrate to the Netherlands for work in the first place.

5.2 Employment

The respondents participating in this study show similar employment characteristics as the general population of CEE migrants in the Netherlands as expected by the government. Twenty-one of the respondents are, or have been, employed in one of the labour intensive sectors indicated by the Dutch government, such as agriculture, horticulture, meat processing, construction and manufacturing. The other three respondents have not performed any manual labour jobs in the Netherlands; one is working as a coordinator for an employment agency and the other two found employment as office worker, both in line with their educational background. Of the 24 respondents, five have a university or equivalent degree, another four have a pre-university degree and only two respondents only have a general secondary education. Out of the four respondents who currently have a pre-university degree, three have expressed the ambition to obtain a university degree, of which one will do this as a part-time online student. The fourth respondent did drop out of the first year of university and likes to maintain the current manual labour job over pursuing a university level degree and finding appropriate employment at the respondent's educational level.

Although not all respondents have been recruited by an employment agency to work in the Netherlands, the large majority is, or has been, employed by an employment agency (*see previous section of this chapter*). Currently, of the twenty-one respondents that have been employed by employment agencies in the Netherlands, eight have directly found their current employer, without the mediation of an employment agency. Two respondents are directly hired by the company they were working for through the employment agency and three of these respondents are now working for the very employment agencies as an office worker. However, six respondents have indicated that the current situation of working for an employment agency is preferred as they have very little to worry about in the Netherlands, as long as they are seen as "good employees" employment and accommodation is taken care of in the Netherlands.

Only three respondents have indicated during the interviews that their employment in the Netherlands was not mediated by an employment agency. One of these respondents migrated to the Netherlands because of a Dutch partner. This respondent later found work in the Netherlands as an au pair and document controller. The second respondent directly applied to an office job in the Netherlands and the third respondent was travelling through Europe with a Schengen visa looking for seasonal employment. All others have been brought in contact with a Dutch employer through an employment agency in either country of origin or in the Netherlands.

Only one respondent migrated to the Netherlands to start working in a higher-skilled job. Together with only two other respondents, these three respondent work in the field that they have studied in. Many of the respondents give the impression that they are working under their education and, or, skill-level. Only one respondent stated during the interviews that this was by choice. After being offered an office job

at the respondents' current company, the respondent indicated that a position at the workshop was sufficient. However, a number of respondents have managed to gain a higher position in a company or more skilled employment over the course of time. Those who have argue that with the experience in for example mechanics, or just basic life experience, also gained by working in the Netherlands, they were able to apply to jobs in higher segments of the Dutch labour market. Seven others argue that applying to more suitable jobs, in for example the field of their studies, is not yet possible because of a lack of Dutch, or English, language capabilities (*as will be elaborated on in section 2 of this chapter*). At least three of these respondents clearly state that as soon as their language capabilities increase they will start looking for employment in the fields they have studied in.

5.2.1 Exploitation by employers as experienced by the respondents

In the sample twenty-one respondents have indicated to have ever been employed via an employment agency. In general these respondents are satisfied with the employment agencies as they provide work, housing and take care of many administrative matters (including registration at the corresponding institutions). In general the respondents that are in the Netherlands for multiple years now, have changed between the employment agencies they are working for. Most common reasons to do so are the availability of work at other agencies at times there were no jobs available at the employment agency the respondents were working for; or a different kind of work was offered by different employment agencies. Respondents state that it is no problem to find work at other agencies or ask about the possibilities of working for a different employment agency, as they are widely available in the Netherlands.

Three respondents did change employers because of exploitation related to the work they were performing. One of these respondents did not experience the exploitation directly, but was supervising a number of employees working for a client of an employment agency. This client employed employees under inhumane working conditions, the respondent indicated that he could no longer work for this client after seeing these practices. Furthermore, one respondent state that although insurance quotations were deducted from the salary paid by an employment agency, the respondent was not insured. This respondent found out only after having a work related accident and was in need of medical treatment. Moreover, one respondent has been left behind by the employment agency at the workplace without any means of living after a construction project was finished. These respondents have both indicated that by changing employment they were able to avoid further exploitation by these employment agencies. Another respondent has been exploited at the work floor in Ireland, where the respondent was doing a rather dangerous job, without protective clothing, and got into an accident at work and got fired on the spot. However, this respondent claims that these things are unlikely to happen in the Netherlands as labour conditions are taken more seriously in the Netherlands.

Some more respondents that are employed as temporal worker via the employment agencies have indicated some forms of exploitation of employees by employers, albeit not as extreme as the previous cases. In the period that some of the interviews were held, there were too few jobs available for the amount of employees employed and some employees were thus forced to take extra days off, without pay. None of the respondents did see it as a problem as expressed during the interviews. They argue that because of the monotony of the work they are doing, the extra days off are a good way to relax. However, a number of respondents that is residing in the Netherlands for a longer period states that having limited working hours is not an exception in various employment agencies.

Although most respondents have not experienced any forms of exploitation directly related to work, some have experienced other forms of exploitation by employment agencies. The main issues are related to the housing offered to respondents. The accommodations are either overcrowded, inappropriate in terms of safety and hygiene or (too) expensive. For example, numerous respondents state that the housing they are, or have been, accommodated in is old and not-well maintained. Furthermore, minor violations of the house-rules set by the employment agencies are heavily fined, as explained by the respondents. Moreover, some respondents indicated that the privacy in the house was frequently violated by employees of the agencies to check on the conditions of the house.

Most respondents have indicated during the interviews that they have taken the working and living conditions offered as they were offered by the employment agencies for granted. Only one respondent stated to always have been fully aware of his rights as an employee in the Netherlands and has enforced this on its employers. For most issues with employment agencies switching employers is a sufficient way to deal with the issues at hand, mainly for issues regarding the housing offered to the respondents. As many employment agencies employing CEE migrants are having unfilled vacancies or can offer different housing. Respondents even provided examples of situations in which multiple agencies provide workers to the same company, so they can easily change employment agencies and keeping the same job. However, for one of the more serious issues illustrated before legal steps have been taken by one of the respondents with the help of the native community residing in the Netherlands.

5.3 Social Position

As shown in the previous sections of this chapter many respondents did initially migrate to the Netherlands to work for a short period of time. However, many decided to extend their stay in the Netherlands for a number of years and seven respondents are considering staying in the Netherlands forever. Some respondents have only quite recently arrived in the Netherlands and are not sure about this decision yet as it dependent of many factors as employment, partners and integration in the Netherlands. However, eight respondents have expressed the desire to sooner or later return to the country of origin. These respondents have a strong connection to the country of origin and see their stay in the Netherlands as a means to build to a better life in the country of origin. For example, four respondents do not really feel at home in the Netherlands and are actively planning to return to the country of origin as soon as their employment in the Netherlands ends. Moreover, one respondent clearly states that the current employment is the main reason to in the Netherlands, but it will not last forever. This respondent is also open to moving to other places other than the country of origin.

5.3.1 Respondents' social integration in the Netherlands

As EU citizens are not obliged to participate in the various integration programs offered by the Dutch government, very few respondents have participated in any of these initiatives. One respondent has taken a full Dutch naturalization program and obtained the Dutch nationality. This respondent argues that it a crucial part of integrating into the Dutch society and makes living in the Netherlands in general easier. The other respondents do not feel the need to become a Dutch citizen as they experience sufficient freedoms with their native CEE nationality.

Most respondents in this sample express that they mainly have contact with their own native migrant group or other (CEE) migrants in the Netherlands. Moreover, one respondent claims that as

seasonal worker he has little to do with Dutch citizens and is just in the Netherlands to do his work. Other respondents also argue to have limited contact with people outside of the work environment. Some argue that even this leads to exclusion as they are not able to communicate with, in the majority of times, Polish coworkers as they do not speak this language and the co-workers do not speak any other language. Two respondents even claim they feel isolated because of this. These respondents had hoped to integrate more into the Dutch society and meet Dutch people at work as well. Furthermore, one of this respondents claims that she is not working in more of a Polish company than a Dutch one. Generally, the Polish respondents have not expressed experiences of exclusion during the interviews.

The contact with native Dutch citizens is mainly with Dutch colleagues at work or neighbours in the residences these migrants live in. Five respondents indicated they actively seek contact with Dutch citizens. One respondent has established social ties through the respondent's Dutch partner in the Netherlands. Another respondent is working in a more international company with more Dutch colleagues as other respondents have indicated.

As experienced during the interviews with the respondents, very few master Dutch well enough to keep in depth conversations. Four respondents master the Dutch language very well. The majority of respondents is able to express themselves in either Dutch, English or German quite well. At least half of the respondent sample is an independent English speaker. These respondents have either mastered this language at school in the country of origin, during past experience of working abroad in other EU countries or have taken language courses in the Netherlands. Moreover, multiple respondents indicated that learning English was more important than learning Dutch, as it more commonly used within the EU. Moreover, most respondents have experienced that mastering English is sufficient to maintain themselves within the Dutch society, as many people speak it. Three respondents do not master any other language than their native tongue well enough to fully express themselves in it. One of these three respondents has no intention to master the Dutch language, as he claims he is able to maintain himself rather well. One other respondent argues that mastering English is preferred over learning Dutch as this respondent wants to keep the possibilities open to migrate elsewhere within the EU.

However, the large majority has the intention to master the Dutch language. Thirteen respondents have been or are in Dutch language classes. The kind of courses are in the respondents vary a lot between the different respondents. Some respondents are in classes offered by the employer. Others have been to formal language education in various schools. Usually the language training is done in part-time night schools or adult education multiple times a week. Some others are taking self-study programs to master the Dutch language through for example internet courses. Those respondents try to pick up the language through learning-by-doing, for example by watching subtitled TV or reading.

For many respondents learning Dutch is essential to improve their social position in the Netherlands. For example, a number of respondents argues that it will improve their employability in the Netherlands. One respondent argues that is also a matter of respect to the host country to communicate in the native language with locals. Generally, these respondents also have the intention to stay in the Netherlands for a longer period, in order to do so they argue they need a better command of Dutch in order to assure this.

5.3.2 Respondents' accommodation

Out of the 24 respondents, 21 are, or have been, living in accommodation offered by the employer or employment agency these respondents are working for. Most of these respondents share, or have shared, a regular house, flat or apartment with co-workers. Two respondents have lived, or live, in a pension designed for housing CEE migrants and one other respondent has lived in a bungalow on a holiday park in the Netherlands. Generally, the amount of residents varies between four and ten in a single accommodation. Two of the remaining respondents arranged housing privately and one other moved in with the respondent's partner after arrival in the Netherlands. Generally, the respondents that are residing in the Netherlands for a longer period have changed accommodation; in seven cases the respondents have changed accommodation multiple times since their arrival in the Netherlands. Usually they did so because of the distance to the (new) employment or switching of employers.

The experience of the respondents with housing offered by employers varies a lot between them. The general living conditions are expressed as good by ten respondents. These respondents state that everything one needs is included in the housing and in case of any malfunctions the landlord, usually employed by the company, is there to help. However, some of these respondents state that the housing offered is expensive. Four respondents are dissatisfied with the housing offered by the various employers as it is old, not well maintained or it has major deficiencies. One respondent was most unsatisfied with the fact that the heating the accommodation to a pleasant temperature was not allowed by the company. Furthermore, the regular checks on the conditions of the house by the employment agencies felt as violation of the privacy for some of the respondents. All but one of the respondents who resided in accommodation offered by the employer are sharing it with other labour migrants employed by the company. At least five respondents stated they were *lucky* to receive housing of an appropriate quality by the employer as they are familiar with stories of bad living conditions from other migrants. For one respondent the possibility to live in inappropriate housing was the reason to find private accommodation directly after migration to the Netherlands.

Currently, twelve respondents are not living in accommodation offered by an employer, although one of them is sharing the current accommodation with co-workers. For those migrants who moved out of the housing offered by employers half of them moved to private housing to live with the respondent's partner. These respondents state that living in shared accommodation is not ideal in case one is living with a partner. Other respondents moved to private accommodation as they changed employer or had earned enough money to be able to rent privately. Generally, the respondents live in the lowest segments of the Dutch housing market. Another three respondents are planning to move to a private accommodation in the near future. However, as one respondent argues finding private housing as a migrant is difficult. This respondent provides the example of not being answered when approach landlords or corporations offering housing.

As stated before, a number of the respondents clearly expressed that they are aware of the living conditions some migrants are living in in the Netherlands. They either labelled themselves lucky to live in appropriate housing or avoided living in housing offered by an employer. Moreover, one respondent claims that the current regulations are insufficient, or at least unable, to prevent exploitation of CEE migrants in terms of housing conditions. However, two respondents argue that living in housing offered by the employer is preferred as everything related to accommodation is taken care of by the employer.

5.3.3 Unemployment, social welfare use and criminality among respondents

As the majority of the respondents was approached within a work environment, most respondents were employed at the time of the interviews. However, the sample consists of two respondent who at the time of the interviews were unemployed. One respondent's contract ended at a time when there were too many people in a position for the amount of jobs the company could offer. This respondent is unemployed for a longer period and has so far not had a clear prospect of a job as there are limited vacancies in the field this respondent studied in. However, this respondent does also not receive any benefits, except for three months of unemployment benefits, as this respondent is living with a working partner. The other respondent did quit the latest job as he was dissatisfied with the work and working conditions at the company. However, this respondent claims that finding a new job should not be a problem as he is flexible to switch employment agencies, residence and employment.

Five other respondents have been unemployed during their stay in the Netherlands. For most of those respondents the unemployed lasted for at most three months. Two respondents have considered returning to their country of origin in case they were not able to find employment in the Netherlands. Three have applied and received unemployment benefits in the Netherlands for at most three months as well. However, all these four respondents were able to find employment in the Netherlands rather quickly through the available employment agencies.

The fifth respondent who has ever been unemployed has been without employment for a longer period of time in the Netherlands. This respondent eventually also lost his accommodation and had to make use of a homeless shelter for a short period of time, to avoid sleeping rough. Furthermore, this respondent has been in touch with the Dutch legal system for small felonies. The respondent argues that these offenses were committed in order to survive in the Netherlands. Since the crimes committed were too minor to terminate the right of residence in the Netherlands and by showing the intention to improve the social situation this respondent was in, the respondent was able to stay in the Netherlands. With the help of the Barka foundation he eventually got his life back on track and this respondent is currently employed again. In the respondent sample no other person has been in touch with the Dutch legal system for criminal offenses or violations of the public order in the Netherlands.

As the respondents with a longer stay in the Netherlands also know more and more about the Dutch legislation they apply more often to the available benefits, such as for example to housing and health care allowances and if applicable child benefits. Furthermore, the one respondent that has been involved in a work related accident (as described in section 2.1) received benefits from the Employee Insurance Agency (UWV) for three years. However, there are numerous respondents who indicated not to apply to benefits to be more independent of the Dutch government. Furthermore, many respondents indicated to be unaware of their benefit entitlement in the Netherlands and do not want to look further into it. Especially the recently arrived migrants in the respondent sample seem reluctant towards the possibilities of the Dutch welfare system.

5.3.4 Respondents' partners and their (possible) migration

Although 17 respondents had a partner at the time of migration to the Netherlands. These couples do not always migrate simultaneously to the Netherlands. In five cases, both the respondent and the respondent's partner did move simultaneously to the Netherlands. Seven respondents indicated that either they or the respondent's partner did move first to the Netherlands and the partner followed after

the first mover had established a base in the Netherlands. Usually this partner is also employed by the same employer as the respondent. However, many respondents indicated that the work that most of the females are doing in the Netherlands is not that suitable for them and that as their language capabilities improve they will look for more appropriate employment. Another interesting finding is the fact that at least two respondents consider returning to the country of origin after marriage. They clearly see the employment in the Netherlands as something temporary and will start building a life in the native country after marriage.

Four respondents indicated to have a partner, but this partner is staying in the country of origin. Two respondents state that the partner will most likely not move to the Netherlands, as they are intending to return to the country of origin. The partner of one respondent is currently studying in the country of origin, after which they will decide whether or not to migrate to the Netherlands. The last respondent has a partner in the country of origin without the right documents to migrate to the Netherlands. As soon as the right documents are obtained this partner intends to join the respondent in the Netherlands.

In the sample two respondents are currently having a Dutch partner with whom they live together. In both cases these partners are met in the Netherlands, although one of these respondents did migrate to the Netherlands to meet up with a Dutch partner. In all other cases the partner is met in the country of origin.

Only five respondents have indicated that they have children. In two cases these children live in the country of origin together with the respondent's partner. However, one respondent stated that two of the children have migrated to the Netherlands as well and one is currently still employed in the Netherlands. In one case the child of one of the respondents did migrate along with the respondent's partner and is currently residing in Germany. Given the age of the respondent it is assumed that this child is also an adult. The two other respondents with children have their partner and children living with them in the Netherlands. Some of these children are recently going to school as they obtained the compulsory school age in the Netherlands. Moreover, these children are attending pre-primary education to balance out the language delay as the respondents are not as fluent in Dutch to properly attend Dutch education. As both respondents clearly state the language capabilities in Dutch of their children are better than those of the parents.

6. Conclusion and Discussion

Based on what is shown in the previous chapters a number of conclusions can be drawn related how CEE migrants experience their position in the Netherlands and the effectiveness of the Dutch governments' attempts to assess, and manage this migrant group. Firstly, the results provided in the previous two chapter are compared in order to answer the final three sub-questions of this research. In the second, section of this chapter the findings of this study are compared to other studies conducted in the field. In this discussion it will be shown how this study has developed the academic knowledge concerning CEE migrant policing by the Dutch government, and how CEE migrants experience these policies themselves. This chapter concludes with a number of recommendations for further research, based on the limitations of this study.

6.1 Conclusion

This study shows that not all Dutch governmental expectations and policies concerning CEE migrants are accurate in the main three policy fields. Moreover, the individual CEE migrant experiences as expressed during the interviews do not match the governmental expectations on which policy measures are taken. The Dutch government primarily fails to acknowledge to diversity within the CEE migrant group and usually treats it as a single unit for policy interventions. Even the small respondent sample used in this study shows great diversity in the migration patterns and motives and the employment and social position of CEE migrants.

First of all, the Dutch government has not been able to assess the migration patterns of CEE migrants. For example, it has not been able to accurately make predictions on the size of the migration streams from the CEE countries to the Netherlands over the years. The respondent data shows that some CEE migrants have explicitly waited for the temporal migration restrictions to be lifted before initiating migration to the Netherlands; only four respondents made use of the various visa and employment policies during the transition periods. However, as most respondents indicated, migration to the Netherlands was not relevant during the transition periods as these individuals were not looking for employment abroad at the time. As expected by the Dutch government, most of the respondents did migrate to the Netherlands with primarily a work related motive. Especially, the wages offered in the Netherlands compared to the home country are an important motive for the majority of respondents to migrate to the Netherlands. As some respondents argue the wages in the home country for skilled employment, in for example the fields the respondents studied in, do not match the Dutch wages for unskilled work. Furthermore, the availability of work in the Netherlands has proven to be a reason to migrate to the Netherlands for numerous respondents. Only one respondent indicated that the main motive to migrate was family related. Contrary to the governmental statements that most employment is of temporal nature, the respondent sample shows that most respondents at the time of migration already expressed the desire to stay in the Netherlands for a longer period. Moreover, at least seven respondents clearly state that they are intending to settle in the Netherlands. If the Dutch government had been able to accurately predict the migration intentions, more effective policy measures could have been implemented in order to facilitate this kind of migration.

Secondly, the assumption that many CEE migrants work in the lowest segments of the labour market is valid and that especially employment in these segments requires dedicated policy measures, the governmental interventions taken to counteract the negative consequences paired with it have not proven

totally effective. CEE migrants are prone to exploitation by employers despite taken policy measures to combat these practices. Moreover, after the economic crisis native workers in the lowest segments of the labour market became unemployed while employers are actively seeking migrant workers to fulfil these jobs. For numerous respondents, working on their skill level is less important than earning a living wage in unskilled jobs. Although many respondents argue that the work they are doing could be done by anyone, they have hardly seen any native Dutch colleagues in those jobs. As some respondents have indicated the majority of workers in these segments are of CEE origin and native labour supply is lacking³. Furthermore, the Dutch government deems it important to improve the situation of CEE migrants in the Dutch labour market, but also facilitating policies are lacking. For example, the government states that the widespread use of temporal or flexible contracts is unwanted as it provides less job security for workers, the large majority of respondents is employed under such contracts. Moreover, almost all respondents are, or have been, employed through employment agencies, which not always treat their employees in accordance with the law or regulations. Supportive measures taken since the enlargement of the EU to combat dishonest employers have proven insufficient. Although the majority of the respondents claim to not have experienced any form fraudulent activities at work directly (such as underpayment, evasion of labour laws and regulations or exploitation), the majority of them is aware of such practices. Moreover, some claim that the situation is only getting worse after the introduction of new regulations. Furthermore, as both the Dutch government and a number of respondents claim, fraudulent employers keep finding legal loopholes to continue their dishonest practices. The Dutch government hopes to put an end to this by implementing intra-EU measures.

Thirdly, the Dutch government emphasizes the need to better integrate CEE migrants into the Dutch society, since it wants to avoid a disadvantaged social position of these migrants in the Netherlands. However, despite taken measures the Dutch government themselves have stated that many of CEE migrants are still in a disadvantaged position in many situations. Moreover, over the years the Dutch government is emphasizing that CEE migrants themselves are primarily responsible for a successful stay in the Netherlands. The Dutch government deems adequate knowledge of the Dutch language of CEE migrants an important factor for a better integration into the Dutch society. The sample shows a diverse picture concerning the Dutch language capabilities of the respondents. Just a few respondents master the Dutch language well enough to keep in-depth conversations, others master the basics and some do not master the language at all. Although, numerous respondents state that they want to improve their Dutch language skills, few are actively trying to do so. Moreover, some respondents have indicated that they do not feel the need to learn Dutch, as they are able to maintain themselves using English, German or their native language. In line with this finding is the fact that a majority of respondents is socially mainly oriented towards members of the native group or other migrants. Another important aspect towards a better integration according to the Dutch government is the improvement of the housing situation of CEE migrants. A key problem indicated by the Dutch government is the fact that employers usually house CEE migrants as well. This housing is often in conflict with Dutch standards and regulations, as accommodations are overcrowded in poor condition and expensive. A number of respondents confirms this image. However, numerous respondents state they are satisfied with the housing offered by employers.

³ This position is supported by various parties (employers, employment agencies and NGOs consulted during the early stages of this research.

Moreover, the respondents who are residing in the Netherlands for numerous years are usually also improving their housing situation by moving to private housing, not offered by their employer. The Dutch government however states that there is lack of appropriate housing for these migrants and is highlighting the importance for local communities to improve this situation. However, these initiatives face much resistance and are not extensively realized. According to the Dutch government unemployment among CEE migrants is becoming an increasingly important problem. These migrants have an even weaker position in society and can turn into a burden for the Dutch welfare state. Moreover, the Dutch government is noticing an increase in the number of CEE migrants dependent of benefit payments. The respondent sample does not confirm this image: although numerous respondents have been unemployed for some time few have been dependent of benefit payments. Moreover, some respondents have indicated to explicitly avoid welfare dependency and are able to find their own way. However, one respondent has been in a problematic situation in the Netherlands and was actively stimulated to return to the country of origin. This return stimulation approach is highlighted by the Dutch government, but results are poorly evaluated. The data collected during the interviews shows that labour migration is not the only motive to migrate to the Netherlands for CEE migrants. Numerous CEE migrants have a certain family related motive for migration to the Netherlands. Half of the respondent sample explained that they are living with their partner in the Netherlands, although in the majority of cases they did not migrate to the Netherlands simultaneously. Although in most cases the respondents' partner is employed in the Netherlands, and can thus be seen as a labour migrants as well, the Dutch government has not been able to accurately define these migration patterns.

6.2 Discussion

The presented studies in the theoretical framework of this study show numerous resemblances with the empirical findings of this study. The theories that explain migration streams are quite well able to depict migration from the CEE countries to the Netherlands. First of all, there is a certain economic incentive to migrate to the Netherlands for a majority of the respondents, as explained in the neoclassical, human capital and new economic theories of migration (Massey et al., 1993; Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999; Jennissen, 2011). Furthermore, it can be said that migration of CEE workers is largely demand driven as employers and employment agencies are actively recruiting labourers in the CEE countries; a phenomenon best described by the dual labour market theory. Moreover, the majority of respondents indicated that the available networks and institutions played a crucial role in the migration process to the Netherlands, which is best explained by the network and institutional theories (Massey et al., 1993). Secondly, the effectiveness of the policy measures concerning CEE migration can be challenged, which is also argued by Freeman (1995) and Castles (2004). Especially the fact that CEE migration is affected by Dutch policy measures, albeit not in the way they intend to do so, is an important similarity with Castles' study (2004). Houwerzijl (2015) argues that this is mainly due to the fact that the Dutch government has shown little political commitment towards effective management of the CEE migrant group which in turn has led to perfunctory policies which do not achieve the goals set. Especially the failure to accurately assess potential migration streams and install effective supportive policy measures upholds the claim that political actors are unable to manage, let alone control, migration streams. Thirdly, the more extensive empirical studies conducted by De Boom et al. (2008), Weltevrede et al. (2009), Dagevos (2011) and Engbersen et al. (2011)

show important similarities with the respondent samples used in this study: CEE migrants did migrate after EU accession, with mainly a work related motive.

Furthermore, the data provided by the respondent sample of this study shows similarities with the studies conducted by De Boom et al. (2008), Weltevrede et al. (2009), Dagevos (2011) and Engbersen et al. (2011) in terms of CEE migrants' positioning in the Dutch labour market. Firstly, the majority of CEE migrants participating in this study is employed in the lowest segments of the Dutch labour market in the agri- or horticulture, industry or construction sectors. Secondly, the large majority of CEE migrants is employed under temporal or flexible contracts and are contracted by employment agencies. Secondly, numerous respondents state that they are overqualified for the employment they are doing, or are qualified for a different kind of job. This has also been one of the outcomes of the studies conducted by De Boom et al. (2008) and Weltevrede et al. (2009). However, claims made by Dagevos (2011), Snel et al. (2014) and Van Ostaijen (2014) that the CEE migrant group is more diverse in terms of employment cannot be confirmed nor reject on the basis of the small sample used for this study. Lastly, research conducted by De Bondt & Grijpstra (2008) shows that numerous CEE workers are prone to exploitation by dishonest employers who undercut wages, evade labour laws and regulations and demand exorbitant fees for facilities offered to migrants. These practices are generally known to the participants of this study, but a majority states that they have not experienced it. Moreover, numerous respondents claim that changing employers is an adequate measure to avoid the employers who exploit migrant workers.

The social position of CEE migrants who are residing in the Netherlands is the final aspect included in this study. Also in this field the data collected by Weltevrede et al. (2009), Dagevos (2011) and Engbersen et al. (2011) are well represented in this study. These studies first of all show that recently arrived CEE migrants face great difficulties in mastering the Dutch language. Furthermore, CEE migrants claim to be able to maintain themselves by either using English, German or their native language in the various domains of their lives. This depiction is largely supported by the respondent sample. Moreover, both this study and the studies conducted by Dagevos (2011) and Engbersen et al. (2011) show that the majority of CEE migrants is socially oriented towards the own, or other CEE, migrant group in the Netherlands. Secondly, respondents state that they are contented with their housing situation, especially those who are residing in the Netherlands for numerous years. This finding is also indicated by the studies conducted by Weltevrede et al., 2009; Dagevos, 2011 & Engbersen et al., 2011. This is not to say that the respondents have not experienced inferior housing conditions during their stay in the Netherlands, but have generally been able to improve their housing situation over the years. Finally, unemployment, social welfare use and criminality among CEE migrants are other important aspect for the social position of these migrants in the Netherlands. The consulted studies show that unemployment among CEE migrants is significantly higher than among native Dutch citizens, but not alarming (Dagevos, 2011; Engbersen et al. 2011; Andriessen & Dagevos, 2015). This study clearly shows that the respondents are somewhat vulnerable for unemployment, but are however able to keep finding employment, for example by changing employers. Furthermore, the respondent sample shows a strong urge to be independent of benefit payments and see employment in the Netherlands as the only appropriate survival strategy. These results are largely in line with the study conducted by Braaksma & Westra (2015) on the social welfare use among CEE migrants. Moreover, as both the respondent sample in this study show and subscribed by De Boom et al. (2014) CEE migrants with a labour motive are not participating in (organized) criminal activities. These practices can rather be ascribed to migrants with a criminal migration motive.

6.3 Recommendations for further research

This study provides a first insight into the relationship between the Dutch governmental policies concerning CEE migration, and migrants and the experiences in the various policy fields of the CEE migrants themselves. However, as only 24 respondents have participated in this study more extensive research is required to see how the conclusions presented reflect the larger population of CEE migrants residing in the Netherlands. Secondly, a time horizon could be implemented in future research in order to see the effects of policy developments over time. For this study respondents are interviewed once and most have mainly described their most recent experiences. The results of a study with multiple rounds of interviewing can be useful to see whether the national government has become better able to effectively manage labour migration and migrants in the Netherlands. Finally, as post EU enlargement migration is said to have affected all Western European EU member states, it can be assumed that other national governments have also implemented policies to regulate the CEE migrant group. Comparative studies should be conducted to assess country's capabilities to accurately implement measures against the actual consequences of CEE migration. Included in such studies should also be the implementation of proposed measures on EU level and other forms of transnational agreements. Only such studies will be able to tell in how national governments are able to effectively manage the consequences of CEE migration. However, as such transnational measures are currently still under development and the content and extent of such measures are currently under debate, it might take some time to be able to accurately assess the effects of implementation of such measures.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guideline

Main topics	Specific questions
Background information	Name
	Nationality
	Age
	Marital status
	Education (level, field)
	Current / past employment (level, field, duration)
Migration background	When did respondent migrate to the Netherlands?
	Where did the migrant migrate to (country, region)?
	Why did the respondent migrate to the Netherlands?
	How did the respondent gather information about migrating (to the Netherlands)?
	Has the respondent considered other countries as well?
	Was the respondent employed when initiating migration?
Migration process	How did the respondent move to the Netherlands (self-initiated, network, labour agency, etc.)?
	What were the respondent's motives to migrate (work, family, welfare system, etc.)?
	Was the respondent informed about Dutch migration policies at departure?
	Did respondent have a network in the Netherlands?
	What was required to migrate to the Netherlands? (Visa, registration, employment certificate)
	What did the post-migration period look like? (employment, housing, social contacts)
Registration	Is the respondent registered in the Netherlands (GBA, REVA)?
	Does the respondent have a BSN?
	Is the respondent registered in the host municipality?
	Is the respondent registered at work?
Employment in the Netherlands	What kind of work does the respondent do?
	Under what kind of contract is the respondent working in the Netherlands?
	Has the respondent worked for a different employer in the Netherlands?
	Has the respondent worked under a different contracts in the past?
	Is the respondent equally paid as co-workers?
	Has the respondent ever worked illegally in the Netherlands? (without permit, undeclared)
	Has the respondent ever been unemployed in the Netherlands?
Housing situation	Where does the respondent live?
	In what kind of residence does the respondent live? (Renting, owner)
	How did the respond find this residence?
	What is the housing situation of the residence? (Shared/land lord//vermin etc.)
	Has the respondent ever lived in a place arranged by the employer?
	General opinion on the housing available for CEE migrants?
Use of the Dutch welfare system	Does the respondent pay Dutch taxes? (Income, Municipality, Health care)
	Has the respondent applied to the Dutch welfare system, for any reason?
	Has the respondent applied for the Dutch welfare system, for unemployment?
	Is the respondent receiving benefits in the Netherlands?
	Is the respondent dependent of social benefits in the Netherlands?
	Is the respondent entitled to the Dutch welfare system? (Healthcare, pensions, etc.)
Participation in the Dutch society	How does the respondent's social network look like? (Diversity)
	Does the respondent speak Dutch?
	Is the respondent learning Dutch? (Through government, education, employer)
	Does the respondent follow Dutch media? (TV, Radio, Papers)
	Is the respondent aware of current issues in the Dutch society?
	Is the respondent able to communicate with the native Dutch majority?
Return policy CEE migrants	Does the respondent participate in social interactions at work?
	Has the respondent ever been approached for causing nuisance?
	Has the respondent ever been in touch with the Dutch legal system?
	Is the respondent aware of the active return policy of the Dutch government?

Appendix B: Respondent Data

Appendix B1: Background information

No.	Nationality	Gender	Age	Migrated in	Education level	Currently employed	Contacted via
1	Polish	Male	52	June 2007	Middle level - Teaching	Yes	NGO
2	Polish	Male	32	2009	University Bachelor - Journalism	Yes	NGO
3	Romanian	Female	28	2011	University Bachelor - International Relations	No	Social Network
4	Polish	Male	31	2010; 2013	Technikum - Car mechanic	Yes	Former Employer
5	Polish	Male	39	2007	Technikum - Technical mechanic	Yes	Former Employer
6	Polish	Male	29	2004	Technikum - Car mechanic	Yes	Former Employer
7	Polish	Female	33	2007	Middle level - chemist	Yes	Former Employer
8	Hungarian	Female	32	Summer 2008	University - Business and Tourism	Yes	Social Network
9	Polish	Male		Summer 2008	Technikum -	Yes	Social Network
10	Romanian	Male	40	2007	Middle level - Mathematics	Yes	Social Network
11	Romanian	Female	22	May 2015	Pre university	Yes	Employment Agency
12	Romanian	Female	22	May 2015	Pre university	Yes	Employment Agency
13	Latvian	Female	25	February 2015	University - Master Sociology	Yes	Employment Agency
14	Latvian	Male	24	April 2015	Lowly educated	Yes	Employment Agency
15	Polish	Male	25	2010; Fall 2014	Middle level - Chef cook	No	Employment Agency
16	Polish	Male	27	2012	University - Business and Tourism	Yes	Employment Agency
17	Latvian	Male	33	2009; January 2015	First year univeristy bachelor -logistics	Yes	Employment Agency
18	Hungarian	Female	26	November 2014	4 years of college	Yes	Employment Agency
19	Polish	Male	28	2011; June 2015	Middle level-Food technology	Yes	Employment Agency
20	Polish	Male	54	2004; 2006	Middle level-Butcher	Yes	Employment Agency
21	Latvian	Male	25	2009	Pre university	Yes	Employment Agency
22	Polish	Male	27	2008	Middle school in law and sociology	Yes	Employment Agency
23	Slovakian	Male	28	June 2015	High school; electrotechnics	Yes	Employment Agency
24	Polish	Female	29	2005	High School	Yes	Employment Agency

Appendix B2: Migration

No.	Migration Motive	Migration Motive 2.	Migration Motive 3.	Migration mediated	Migration Process
1	Work	Borders opened		Employment Agency (EA)	EA in NL
2	Work	Partner's Employment in NL		Partner	Followed partner to Amsterdam
3	Partner in NL	Australian visa ended		Partner	Met Dutch boyfriend online
4	Work	Better earnings		EA	Friends in NL
5	Work			Friends/EA	Friends in NL
6	Work	Summer job after graduation		EA	EA in CoO
7	Work	Borders opened	Partner employed in NL	EA	Partner in NL; Online vacancy
8	Specific Job	Vacancy in NL		No	Applied for this vacancy
9	Work	Summer job between studies	Better earnings	EA	Friends in NL
10	Work	Better earnings		No	Schengen visa
11	Work	Earn money to pay tuition		EA	Middleman in CoO
12	Work	Earn money to pay tuition		EA	Middleman in CoO
13	Work	New experience	Dislike work in CoO	Friends/EA	Visited friend in NL
14	Work	Dislike work in CoO	No future in CoO	EA	Friends in NL
15	Work	No suitable work in CoO	New Experience	EA	Friends in NL
16	Work	No suitable work in CoO	New Experience	EA	EA in CoO
17	Work	Better earnings	No future in CoO	EA	Friends in NL
18	Work	Better earnings	Better working conditions	EA	Online vacancy
19	Work	Job security		EA	EA in CoO; Friends in NL
20	Work	Better earnings	Better working conditions	EA	Online vacancy; Father in NL
21	Work	No suitable work in CoO	Earn money to pay tuition	EA	EA in CoO
22	Work	Earn money to pay tuition	Job prospect better in NL	EA	Friends in NL
23	Work	Better earnings	New Experience	EA	Friends in NL
24	Work	Earn money to pay tuition	New Experience	EA	EA in CoO

Appendix B2: Migration (cont.)

No.	Information before migration	Considered other countries	Migration History	Work permit	Intended stay in NL
1	No	Yes, NL best option	all over Europe	No	
2		No		No	
3	No	Never planned to migrate	Australia (tourist)	Yes, au pair visa	Unknown
4	Network	No		No	
5				No	
6	No	No		No, German passport	6-8 weeks
7	No	Yes, work main motive		No	1-2 years
8	No	No, only job mattered	Exchange in Finland, International jobs	No	Depends on job
9	No	No	Summer job during studies in NL	No	3 months
10		Yes, work main motive	Belgium, Serbia and Turkey	Yes, Schengen visa	circular migrant
11	Applied to Dutch university	No		No	3 months
12	Internet	No		No	3months
13	No		Partner in Denmark	No	Unknown
14	No		Ireland and UK	No	Longer period
15		Yes, NL best option	Germany, Seeing Europe	No	Longer period
16	Internet	Yes, Scandinavia		No	
17	Tourist	Yes, work main motive	Ireland	No	circular migrant
18			Germany	No	Unknown
19	Network		Been in NL	No	>1 year
20	No			Yes	
21	Network	Yes, work main motive		No	
22	No	Yes, NL best option		No	3 months
23	Tourist	Yes, UK & Australia	UK	No	Longer period
24	No	Yes, UK		Yes	1 year

Appendix B3: Employment

No.	Employment	EGP Class ⁴	Over qualification	Contract	Employed through EA
1	Construction	VI		Temporal - 1 year	Yes
2	Office worker	II	Yes, but preferred	Temporal - 1 year	Previously
3	Document Controller	II	No	Temporal - 1 year	No
4	production assistant	VIIa	Yes	EA	Yes
5	production assistant	VIIa	Yes	Fixed	Previously
6	production assistant	VIIa	Yes	Fixed	Previously
7	production assistant	VIIa	Yes	EA	Yes
8	Office worker	II	No	Fixed	No
9	workshop manager	V	Yes, but preferred	Fixed	Previously
10	Agriculture	VIIb	Yes	Seasonal	No
11	Horticulture	VIIb	Yes	EA - Season	Yes
12	Horticulture	VIIb	Yes	EA - Season	Yes
13	Horticulture	VIIb	Yes	EA - 3 months	Yes
14	Horticulture	VIIb	No	EA - 3 months	Yes
15	Horticulture	VIIb	Yes	EA	Yes
16	Horticulture	V	Yes	EA	Yes
17	Butcher	VIIa	Yes	EA	Yes
18	Butcher	VIIa	Yes	EA - 1 year	Yes
19	Butcher	VIIa	No	EA - 2 years	Yes
20	Butcher	VIIa	No	EA - Fixed	Yes
21	Butcher	VIIa	Yes	EA	Yes
22	Coordinator employment agency	II		Temporal -1 year	Previously
23	Coordinator employment agency	II	Yes	Temporal - Season	Yes
24	Coordinator employment agency	II	No	Temporal - 1 year	Previously

⁴ Based on Erickson, Goldthorpe & Portocarero (1979 & 1983) as used in Engbersen et al. (2011). Classifications are based on attributed job descriptions, based on the respondent's provided data during the interviews.

Appendix B3: Employment (cont.)

No.	Switched employer	Switched employer 2	Experienced exploitation
1	Yes, switched EA; directly hired	Availability of work	No payment, theft and left behind at work place
2	Yes, switched EA	Availability of work	Did not allow it to happen
3	No		
4	Yes, switched EA	First EA seized to exist	Bad housing
5	Yes, switched EA; directly hired		
6	Yes, Directly hired		
7	Yes, switched EA	Misconduct of EA	Bad housing, working conditions; uninsured; problems after work related accident
8	No		
9	Yes, Directly hired	Availability of work	
10	No		
11	No		Bad working conditions
12	No		
13	No		Forced leave
14	No		firing of co-workers; forced leave
15	Yes, switched EA	Misconduct of EA	Bad housing, working conditions
16	No		
17	No		
18	No		
19	No		Expensive housing
20	No		
21	No		
22	Yes, switched EA; directly hired	Better position	Mistreatment by hirers
23	No		
24	Yes, switched EA; directly hired	Better position	Bad housing

Appendix B4: Social Position

No.	Languages	Dutch capabilities	Language courses	Network orientation	Contact with native Dutch	Contact with native Dutch 2	Prospect of stay
1	DE	Basic	No	Fellow migrants	Work	Language exchange	Stay in NL
2	NL/EN	Intermediate	Subsidized classes	Polish			Return to CoO
3	EN/NL	Intermediate	Private classes	Dutch	Work, Social network	Dutch partner	Stay in NL
4	EN	Basic	No	Polish	Work		Stay in NL
5	NL/EN	Intermediate	30 hours of classes	Polish	Neighbours, Internet, Work		
6	DE/NL	Independent	1.5 year of classes	Diverse	Neighbours		
7	EN/NL	Intermediate	2 years of classes	Polish	Neighbours	Many people speak English	
8	EN/DE/NL	Intermediate	No	Diverse	Friends, Neighbours, Work	People are kind	
9	EN/NL	Independent	Started in 2008		Work, Acquaintances	Not very socialized	
10	NL	Intermediate	No	Romanian	Nothing to do with them		Return to CoO
11	EN	Basic	No	Romanian	Barely	Many people speak English	Return to CoO
12	EN	None	No	Romanian	Barely	Many people speak English	Return to CoO
13	EN	Basic	Recently took classes	Fellow migrants		Dutch people speak English	
14	EN	Basic	Recently took classes	Fellow migrants		Picking up basic Dutch	
15	EN/NL	Basic	Yes, basics	Polish			
16	EN/NL	Basic	Yes				Return to CoO
17	EN	None	No	Diverse	Work, Acquaintances	Many people speak English	
18	DE/EN	None	No				
19	PL	None	No	Polish			
20	PL	Basic	No	Polish			Return to CoO
21	EN/NL	Independent	4 years of classes				
22	EN/NL	Intermediate	with coworker	Polish	Work	Many people speak English	
23	EN	Basic	No	Fellow migrants	Work		
24	EN/NL	Independent	Integration procedure	Polish			Stay in NL

Appendix B4: Social position (cont.)

No.	Accomodation	Accomodation 2	Housing Quality	Unemployment	Received benefits	Partner	Children
1	Employer/ EA	Moved for work	Old	Yes, homeless, never registered	homeless shelters+ support	Deceased	one in Berlin
2	Private	Living with partner	Avoided EA Housing	Yes, one month	one month WW	In NL	
3	Private	Living with partner		Yes, contract ended	3 months WW	Dutch	
4	EA	Moved for work	Old / not well maintained	No			
5	EA	Moved for work		No	allowances	in NL	daughter
6	Private/ EA			No			
7	Private/ EA	EA invades privacy	Expensive	No	ZW for 3 years // allowances	in NL	Not yet
8	Private			No			
9	Employer/ EA	Moved for work	Expensive	No			
10	Employer		More than required	No		In CoO	in CoO
11	EA		Okay	No			
12	EA		Dislikes neighbourhood	No			
13	EA		Good	No, forced leave		in NL	
14	EA		EA takes good care	No, forced leave	Sick leave	in NL	
15	EA		Everything one needs	yes, easy to find work			
16	EA	Moved with partner		No		in NL	
17	Private/EA	Better to share with friends		Yes, took time in between jobs			
18	Private/EA	Moved with partner		No		In NL	
19	EA		Clean//nice neighbourhood	No			
20	EA	Moved by employer	Everything one needs	No	ZW	in CoO	In CoO / 2 in NL
21	Private/ EA	Moved with partner		No	allowances	in NL	2 in NL
22	Private/ EA	Moved for work		Yes, find work in NL or return	Did not apply		
23	EA			No		In CoO	
24	Private/ EA	Moved with partner		Yes, took time in between jobs	WW, allowances	Dutch	

Appendix C: Interview Transcriptions

All transcriptions have been numbered in the same order as presented in section 3.2.2, where the respondent sample is introduced.

Transcribed interview no. 1

Date: 20-02-2015

Duration: 38:19

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 1 (R1)

Interpreter (IT): This interview is mediated by an interpreter. All literal transcription from the interviewee (R1) is translated by the interpreter.

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	Oke, dan is het nu 20 februari, ik bij NGO A ik heb mijn eerste interview met Respondent 1.	
	Is het het handigst in het Engels of Nederlands?	
(IT)	In het Nederlands is oke voor mij	
HG	Oké, nou dan eerst wat algemene informatie over u, de naam die heb ik. Nationaliteit?	
R1	Pools	C.o.O.
HG	Pools, oké. En Leeftijd?	
R1	52 jaar oud	Age
HG	Bent u getrouwd?	
R1	Nee	Partner
HG	Kinderen?	
R1	Eentje, in Duitsland	Children
HG	Heeft u enige vorm van officiële scholing?	
R1	Ja, ik ben op middelbaar niveau een docent	Education
HG	En Werkt u op dit moment?	
R1	Ja	Employment
HG	En wat voor werk is dat?	
R1	Tegelzetter	Employment
HG	Tegelzetter, nou dan wil ik weten wanneer u naar Nederland bent gekomen voor de eerste keer	
R1	In juni 2007, de grenzen gingen open en toen ben ik gekomen. Ik ben de eerste	Migration -when
HG	De eerste oké. En toentertijd, bent u meteen vanuit Polen naar Nederland gekomen?	
R1	Direct vanuit van Polen	Migration process
HG	Vanuit welke regio in Polen komt u eigenlijk?	
R1	Uit Neder Silezië bij Bunzlau, Breslau dat gebied.	C.o.O.
HG	En dat is stedelijk gebied of ... ?	
R1	Dat is zuid Polen een grote stad	C.o.O.
HG	Bent u toen meteen naar Utrecht gekomen?	
R1	Nee eerst naar Nijmegen	Migration process
HG	Waarom?	
R1	Daar had ik via het uitzendbureau werk	Migration process –E.A.
HG	En was dat een uitzendbureau ook gevestigd in Polen?	
R1	In Nederland	Migration process –E.A.
HG	Dus u bent vanuit een Nederlands bedrijf gevraagd te komen?	
R1	Ja	Migration process –E.A.
HG	Had u enige informatie over Nederland en het wonen en werken in Nederland voor u hier heen kwam?	
R1	Nee, ik ben overal in Europa geweest vroeger, behalve in Nederland en ik wist weinig.	Migration process-knowledge of NL
HG	Maar u zei dat u overal in Europa was geweest, ook om te werken?	

R1	Ja	Migration History
HG	En in wat voor landen en wat voor werk?	
R1	Duitsland, Frankrijk, Spanje, Italië en heel Oost Europa en ik heb daar gewerkt in de bouw	Migration History
HG	Toen u uiteindelijk naar Nederland kwam in 2007, had u toen ook nog overwogen om naar andere landen te gaan?	
R1	Na één maand in Nederland te zijn werd ik verliefd op Nederland en hij voelt zich hier goed en hier wilde ik blijven.	Migration process Other countries
HG	En had u werk in Polen toen u naar Nederland vertrok?	
R1	Ja, ik heb altijd werk gehad, maar hier is een betere verdienste	Migration process Employment CoO
HG	U zei net al dat u via een uitzendbureau naar Nederland bent gekomen, had u toen ook al meteen werk en een onderkomen toen u hier aan kwam?	
R1	Ja beide, het werk en het onderkomen	Migration process -EA Employment/Housing
HG	Dat was geregeld via het uitzendbureau?	
R1	Ja, via internet alles geregeld en nog een extra voorschot gekregen voor de reis	Migration process -EA
HG	Hoe zag de periode na het vertrek vanuit Polen er uit? Was u geregistreerd, was er informatie vanuit de overheid, vanuit de werkgever?	
R1	Aan het begin, de eerste maanden bijvoorbeeld heb ik in zo'n campinghuisje gewoond, maar na een maand heb ik steeds meer contact gekregen met andere Poolse mensen hier in Nederland, en via hen kreeg ik steeds meer informatie over hoe en wat in Nederland.	EA –Housing Social Network -Housing -Knowledge of NL
HG	Maar van te voren had u nog geen netwerk van vrienden, familie die hier al waren?	
R1	Nee, maar op den duur bleek dat mijn oudere halfzus hier woonde. Toen woonde ik hier al 3 jaar en toen pas hoorde ik het.	Social Network
HG	Toen u in Nederland kwam, was er toen iets nodig aan registratie of een certificaat dat u daadwerkelijk een contract had bij een werkgever?	
R1	Alleen een paspoort was nodig, het uitzendbureau heeft bakrekeningen voor iedereen aangemaakt hier in Nederland, allemaal geregeld via het uitzendbureau. Ik nam alleen mijn paspoort mee	Migration process EA
HG	U bent dus nu tegelzetter, bent u dat altijd hier geweest?	
R1	Meestal, ik heb verschillende werkzaamheden aangenomen, maar de laatste tijd is er steeds minder werk voor buitenlanders, dus ik heb aangenomen wat er was. Ik heb nu de status duurzaam verblijf gekregen, dus het is nu wat makkelijker werk te vinden. En daarom heb ik nu goed werk	Employment –EA Intention to stay -Employment
HG	U bent dus begonnen via een uitzendbureau, werkt u nog steeds via een uitzendbureau?	
R1	Nee	Employment –EA
HG	En hoe is die wisseling gekomen?	
R1	Het uitzendbureau vanuit Rotterdam heeft mij meegenomen naar Berlijn om daar te werken, na drie dagen via het uitzendbureau, andere mensen hebben het afgezegd zij wilde niet meer meewerken, ik ben gebleven met niks, zonder geld, zonder slaapplek, maar ik spreek Duits, daardoor kon ik goed communiceren met de teamleiders die wel voor een Nederlands bedrijf werken maar goed Duits spreken, en het bedrijf heeft besloten om mij direct werk aan te bieden. Via het bedrijf, niet via het uitzendbureau. Zij hebben mij geholpen, het gaat steeds slechter met uitzendbureaus, ook het werken via een uitzendbureau: ze betalen niet, ze stelen spullen, ze hebben mij achter gelaten in Berlijn, dat is niet goed.	Employment – EA Misconduct EA Employment- current Misconduct EA
HG	En dat werk wat je toen kreeg was in Berlijn of weer terug in Nederland?	
R1	In Berlijn, ik werk er nog steeds, het is een Nederlands bedrijf maar wel in Berlijn gevestigd.	Employment- Current
HG	Wat voor contract hebt u nu?	
R1	Dit is mijn tweede contract voor een half jaar. En vanaf juli krijg ik een vast contract	Employment -contract
HG	En ziet het er naar uit dat het een vast contract wordt?	
R1	Ja! Absoluut. ((lacht uitbundig en steekt duim de lucht in))	Employment- contract

	De voorwaarde is wel dat ik dan een jaar lang in Berlijn blijf werken, want Nederlanders willen daar niet heen gaan, maar ik vind dat oké	
HG	Heeft u altijd een gelijke beloning gekregen als andere werknemers op uw werk?	
R1	Ja, er is niet meer zoveel verschil wat iemand uit Rusland ontvangt, dat heb ik zo ervaren. We werken met onze handen maakt niet uit waar we vandaan komen	Employment- Equal treatment
HG	Heeft u ooit zwart gewerkt	
R1	Natuurlijk	Employment - Black
HG	En wat voor werk was dat?	
R1	Klusjes, bij iemand thuis verven, luxaflex ophangen dat soort klusjes	Employment -Black
HG	En dat werk heeft u zelf gevonden?	
R1	Ja mond tot mond reclame	Employment- black
HG	Ja als u het werk goed doet dan gaat dat vanzelf	
	Bent u ooit werkloos geweest in de periode in Nederland?	
R1	Ja, maar ik heb het nooit registreert, ik ben ook nog 2 jaar dakloos geweest.	Unemployment -Homeless
HG	Hoe zag die periode er dan uit? U was dan dakloos en werkloos	
R1	Ja	
HG	En op dit moment u bent weer aan het werk en heeft u dan ook een vast onderkomen?	
R1	Het bedrijf waar ik werk huurt ook een huisje voor mij, in Berlijn, en een keer per maand kom ik naar Nederland om de post op te halen.	Housing
HG	Dus u heeft ook een vast adres in Nederland?	
R1	Ja	Housing
HG	De periode toen u in Nederland woonde en werkte, hoe zag het er toen uit, bijvoorbeeld in de vakantieparken, qua huisvesting?	
R1	Ik woonde in een bungalow via het uitzendbureau, daarna ben ik in Soesterberg terecht gekomen. Dat bedrijf heeft voor mij een heel huis gehuurd, waar ik kon slapen. Het was een heel oud huis, voor renovatie eigenlijk, maar ik kon daar slapen. Ik woonde en werkte daar twee jaar, toen was het werk over en ben ik naar Utrecht gekomen. En toen heb ik hier via het uitzendbureau werk gevonden en ik huurde een huisje, ik kreeg een vriendin die ook werkte, waarna we ook samen via hetzelfde uitzendbureau gewerkt. En de laatste drie jaar ging alles steeds slechter, steeds minder werk, daarna is mijn vriendin overleden, zij is ziek geweest en toen ben ik alles kwijt geraakt	Housing EA Quality housing Partner
HG	Ah oké (laat een stilte vallen)	
	En toen u in Nederland woonde, eerst in Nijmegen en daarna in Soesterberg, hoe zag de woning er uit? Woonde u daar alleen, of woonde u met meerdere mensen?	
R1	In de bungalows is het altijd goed geweest, waren mooie bungalows met één verdieping er boven op. Ik woonde daar met nog 3 personen en we hadden allemaal een eigen slaapkamer, dat was goed te doen. Alles zat er op en er aan van binnen.	Quality housing
HG	En daarna het huis in Soesterberg?	
R1	Dit was een oud huis voor renovatie, in mijn vrije tijd heb ik er heel veel kunnen opknappen. Het waren ook goede omstandigheden, alles functioneerde nog goed in het huis. Ik woonde daar alleen, ik moest het alleen opknappen dat was alles.	Quality housing
HG	De huisvesting was steeds geregeld via de werkgever, (...)	
R1	Ja, ik was daar ook ingeschreven (...)	Registration
HG	Ook ingeschreven bij de gemeentes?	
R1	Ja, ja alles,	Registration
HG	Alles geregeld	
R1	Eneco moest ik ook betalen, de energie, alles	Registration -social fees/taxes
HG	Op dit moment bent u ook ingeschreven in Utrecht?	
R1	Ja	Registration
HG	En op uw werk bent u geregistreerd als werknemer en bent u verzekerd e.d.?	
R1	Ja	Registration
HG	En bouwt u ook pensioen op?	
R1	Ja, alles is geregeld!	Registration

HG	Omdat u overal ingeschreven staat, heeft u recht op sociale zekerheid in Nederland. Heeft u wel eens een beroep gedaan hierop?	
R1	Ik ben wel eens bij een arts hier geweest. Ook ben ik bij de Catherijnesteeg geweest, de dagopvang voor daklozen mensen waar ook een arts komt. Daar ben ik ook heen geweest voor mijn medicijnen.	Social welfare use
HG	En heeft u zich ook voor een werkloosheidsuitkering aangemeld? In de jaren dat u hier was?	
R1	Ja, en ik wilde ook daklozenuitkering aanvragen, maar dan moest je ook ingeschreven staan als (...), maar dat heb ik niet gekregen, maar ik heb werk gevonden later, dus dat was niet meer nodig.	Social welfare use
HG	Spreekt u iets van Nederlands?	
R1	Ja, een klein beetje	Language capabilities
HG	In de vriendenkring heeft u daar vooral Poolse vrienden, of ook Nederlandse?	
R1	Nee, nee, Nederlandse, Joegoslavische alles? Internationale familie, en ik praat ook beetje Italiaans, Joegoslavisch, Macedonisch, en Duits zeer goed	Network orientation
HG	Nou dat is mooi want ik begrijp een beetje Duits maar spreek het niet. Dan komen we er wel uit	
	Volg u iets van Nederlandse media, via de tv, krant radio, op internet?	
R1	Ja, goede muziek en in de kranten nieuws over Poolse mensen.	Language capabilities
HG	En tv, kijkt u wel eens Nederlandse tv?	
R1	Ja, Nederland 1, 2, veel journaal en dergelijken.	Language capabilities
HG	Dus je bent redelijk op de hoogte van wat er gaande is in Nederland.	
R1	Ja	
HG	Naast het werk spreekt u dan ook weleens met Nederlanders af, en spreekt u dan ook Nederlands?	
R1	Ja, na het werk komen er Nederlanders bij mij op kamer langs. Ze gaan niet langs Hongaren, maar ze komen bij mij langs en dan praten we met elkaar. Ik leer ze Duits en ik leer ze Nederlands	Social network
HG	Ah oké, dat werkt vaak heel goed	
	Ik heb een zelfde ervaring in Frankrijk: ik sprak goed Engels maar niet zo goed Frans, dus dat is een goede manier om zo elkaar wat te leren.	
	Heeft u ooit overwogen om terug naar Polen te gaan?	
R1	Nee, ik wil hier blijven. Mijn reis is hier geëindigd.	Intention to stay
HG	Dus ook na het werk, hier met pensioen?	
R1	Ja, het is een mooie land, veel water, ik ben visser, en ga dan mooie grote vissen vangen. Ja dit is wel het land van mij.	Intention to stay
HG	Maar bent u wel eens in contact geweest met politie of justitie?	
R1	Ja, toen ik nog dakloos was, voor diefstallen van fietsen of alcohol uit de winkel gejat. Ik heb toen ook wel het één en ander uitgezeten. Maar nu is het over, nu is het (...) over.	Unemployment Homeless Legal system
HG	En bent u wel eens benaderd vanuit de overheid dat u terug moest gaan naar Polen, vanwege de (...)?	
R1	Nee	
HG	Altijd proberen hier te blijven en betere (...)	
R1	Ik heb het altijd zo uitgelegd aan de mensen en overal, ik kwam hier normaal leven, normaal wonen, niet om te stelen, niet om tot last te zijn, maar om normaal te leven en normaal te wonen heb ik alleen werk nodig en ik wil gewoon leven hier. That's it	Unemployment Legal system Repatriation
HG	Heeft u een gevoel bij wat de Nederlandse overheid vooral publiceert over oost Europese migranten en dan voornamelijk Polen?	
R1	Het is eigenlijk te ingekleurd zeg maar, iedereen is het zelfde volgens de overheid: Ben je Pools dan ga je stelen, dan ben je crimineel, dan drink je teveel. Dus ze behandelen iedereen op dezelfde wijze, terwijl niet iedereen hetzelfde is. En ook in de periode dat ik nog mijn Poolse paspoort moest voorleggen bij het uitzendbureau of bij mijn vorige werkgever, ben ik heel vaak gewoon geweigerd vanwege mijn afkomst. Ze zeiden tegen dat ze iemand met buitenlandse papieren niet nodig hebben, wij hebben alleen werk voor Nederlanders.	Experiences NL GOV migrant policies

	Nu sinds een jaar heb ik mijn Nederlandse documenten. De mening over Polen is heel slecht hier, zoals ik het zie.	Participation Social position
HG	En is dat verschillend geweest in de periode sinds u hier bent, in 2007?	
R1	Ja, de mening over Polen is slechter geworden vanuit de Nederlandse kant.	Social position
HG	Hoe zag het er dan in 2007 uit?	
R1	Toen in die tijd als ik bijvoorbeeld in de winkel was met een vriend en we stonden in het Pools te kletsen, kwam er een opaasje naar ons toe en die vroeg of we Pools waren, toen we ja zeiden bood hier ons een biertje aan of zoiets. Dat kwam dan vanuit de tweede wereld oorlog, dat de Polen ook grote bijdrage (...)	Perception of migrants in NL
HG	Ja die hebben ook geholpen toentertijd natuurlijk en dan zeker in de regio Nijmegen	
R1	En ze hadden heel veel respect voor Poolse mensen en nu is dat veranderd	Perception of migrants in NL
HG	En in wat voor opzichten was dat respect dan?	
R1	Ze waren vriendelijk, ze wilden graag helpen, het maakt niet uit waar ik was, waar ik over vroeg, er waren altijd handen die wilden helpen.	Perception of migrants in NL
	Zij hebben dus heel veel respect voor (...) ik ben niet Duits maar ik spreek alleen Duits, ik ben Pools en meteen "ooh welkom". Maar andersom als ik zou zeggen ik ben Duits, meteen <i>errr</i> nee, dan had het niet zo makkelijk (...)	Perception of migrants in NL
HG	En dat was toentertijd dan vooral, en hoe is dat nu?	
R1	Heel vaak is zo'n gedachte van oh ik Pools, dus ik drink en ik steel. Dus we gaan hem niet aannemen.	Perception of migrants in NL
	Vroeger was een gesprek heel fijn met de mensen op straat met mij, omdat ik Pools was. Ik was bijna trots dat ik Pools ben en het gesprek was mogelijk. Nu niet meer, als ik nu zeg ik ben Pools dan (...) dat zeg je eigenlijk niet meer, want dat is niets om trots op te zijn, ze mijden jou, ooh je hebt een andere kleur	Perception of migrants in NL
HG	En was dat dan vooral met werk dat dat verschil duidelijk was, maar ook in contact met de overheid, als je bijvoorbeeld iets moet aanvragen?	
R1	Nee helemaal niet	
HG	Er is dus een duidelijk overheid beleid over Oost Europese migranten, zeker nu de Nederlandse politiek steeds verder naar <i>rechts</i> schuift. Heeft dat ook invloed in de aanvragen die zijn gedaan, zou u eerder wel een uitkering hebben gekregen of (...)	
R1	Ik ben niet met politiek bezig, dus (...)	
	Ik zie daar geen verandering in, ik richt dat meer op mijn niveau dan op deze niveau. Misschien als ik nu werkloos was of ik wil een andere baan vinden dan komt het misschien meer ter sprake of wordt het misschien duidelijker	Experiences NL GOV migrant policies
HG	Dan denk dat ik alle onderwerpen heb gehad. Het is natuurlijk wel mijn eerste interview dus ik lees er nog even snel over heen	
IT	Ja geen probleem, dit was dan een goede oefening	
HG	Ik heb nog één vraagje over Nederlands spreken. Heeft u ooit Nederlands proberen te leren via lessen of zoiets?	
R1	Ik wilde graag toen het uit de gemeente gesubsidieerd werd nog gaan doen, maar kon toen de motivatie niet vinden. Uit woordenboeken, boeken probeer ik dat wel, televisie en gesprekken met Nederlandse mensen, zo leer ik mijn Nederlands	Language learning
HG	Maar is het ook nooit aangeboden vanuit werkgevers?	
R1	Nee, waar ik nu werk, werk ik pas acht maanden en daar is het nog niet van gekomen.	Language learning
HG	Wilt u ooit Nederlands leren?	
R1	Ja, heel graag, graag de grammatica. Ik spreek wel maar een beetje half Duits. Hollands is <i>muuuu</i> ik spreek met Duits accent.	Language learning
HG	Dan waren dit echt de laatste vragen. Heeft u zelf nog iets toe te voegen?	
R1	Nee, nee de behandelde onderwerpen waren wel heel breed.	
HG	Ja, dan wil ik u graag bedanken voor de tijd (...)	

Transcribed interview no. 2

Date: 20-02-2015

Duration: 38:19

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 2 (R2)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	Dan staat ie nu aan. Dan is het 20 februari en ik ben bij NGO A in Utrecht en ik heb een interview met Respondent 2. En je bent Poolse?	
R2	Ja	C.o.O.
HG	Uit wat voor regio in Polen kom je vandaan?	
R2	Uit West Polen, wat wil je weten?	C.o.O.
HG	Kom je uit een stad of van het platteland?	
R2	Van stad, ja. 120.000 mensen	C.o.O.
HG	Een grote stad, dus. En hoe oud ben je?	
R2	32	Age
HG	Ben je getrouwd, heb je al kinderen?	
R2	Nog niet.	Partner
HG	Een vriendin?	
R2	Ja	Partner
HG	Ook hier in Nederland?	
R2	Ja, ja Poolse vriendin	Partner
HG	Een Poolse vriendin hier in Nederland	
	Heb je enige vorm van opleiding gevolgd?	
R2	Universiteit, journalistiek	Education
HG	Waar?	
R2	In Polen	Education
HG	En werkzaamheden, wat doe je nu?	
R2	Ik ben werkadviser bij NGO A,	Employment
HG	Oké. En wanneer ben je naar Nederland gekomen?	
R2	Ongeveer zes jaar geleden. 5-6 jaar geleden	Migration -when
HG	Waar ben je toen in Nederland terecht gekomen? Waar ben je naar toe verhuisd?	
R2	Naar Amsterdam, maar vroeger heb ik ook in Emmen gewoond in de provincie Drenthe.	Migration process
HG	En waarom ben je naar Nederland gekomen?	
R2	Omdat wij hebben, nee mijn vriendin heeft een hier een bedrijf gehad. Zij was recrutatie, daarom wij hadden hier een bedrijf.	Migration motive
HG	Toen je naar Nederland kwam had je enig idee waar je terecht zou komen? Had je werk en een onderkomen?	
R2	Ja ik heb ook hier gewerkt	Migrantion process
	--- recording paused ---	
HG	Als wat?	
R2	Toen ik kwam had ik slechte werk op productie, op fabriek, meestal op fabriek, omdat mijn(..) ja ik heb ook via uitzendbureaus gewerkt, via 4 uitzendbureaus en ik heb slechte ervaringen daarmee, want ja	Employment- arrival EA
HG	Maar je zei dat je een opleiding hebt gevolgd in journalistiek	
R2	Ja, maar in deze periode was dat niet belangrijk voor mij, voor mij was belangrijk om werk te vinden, maar zonder Nederlandse taal dit was echt moeilijk.	Employment Education Language
HG	En anders in Polen was daar werk voor je?	
R2	Als ik, ik wil niet als journalist werken, ik heb daar ook gewerkt bij familiebedrijf, mijn familie heeft een bedrijf daar. Maar ik denk dat Polen voor mij veel werk is voor mij.	Employment Departure
HG	En hebben jullie ook andere landen overwogen?	
R2	Nee, nee alleen naar Nederland	Other countries
HG	En waarom dat dan?	

R2	Wij hebben, nee wij hadden contact onze kennis uit Nederland. Hij heeft gezegd dat wij hier business konden samen maken en wij wisten niet te veel van Nederland. Maar wij waren nodig voor hem, want wij spreken Pools en hij heeft misschien niet uitzendbureau maar hij was ja (...) wij hadden connectie met hem. Wij kwamen hier, mijn vriendin heeft hier een bedrijf, en ik heb ook een beetje geholpen met bedrijf maar later ik heb geprobeerd zelf werk vinden, maar dit was echt moeilijk; totaal iets anders dan heb ik in Polen gedaan. Ik moest op fabriek werken en was totaal anders.	Migration process Knowledge NL Employment
HG	Maar toen je vertrok uit Polen, had je toen werk in Polen? Je bent op een gegeven moment naar Nederland gekomen, had je toen werk of was je werkeloos?	
R2	Ik had werk gehad, maar hier was, ja wij hadden hier business met Hollandse man, maar later toen was het crisis het was toen echt moeilijk om steeds doen zelfde daarom wij verhuisd naar Amsterdam daar hebben wij werk gevonden en wij nog steeds zijn hier.	Employment departure
HG	Dus je bent gevraagd door iemand in Nederland om hier te komen werken. Dus het was niet dat je zei in Polen "ik vertrek ik ga wel werk zoeken in Nederland"?	
R2	Ik denk dat is echt moeilijk om hier zelf werk te vinden, het <i>problem</i> is dat dat mensen in Polen denken dat als zij naar Nederland komen, hier is echt makkelijker om werk te vinden, leven is echt simpeler, maar dat is grote fout, want voor veel mensen die wonen in Polen beter is in Polen er blijven en werken. Want hier is (...) ook veel mensen kwamen naar Nederland en zij zien wat hier is, wat hier gebeurd als moeilijk is zij willen terug naar Polen. Mijn advies is dat iemand die hier wil komen moet goeie diploma hebben, heel goed Nederlandse taal kennen en ook goeie beroep, zonder deze dingen is het niet onmogelijk maar wel echt zwaar.	Employment
HG	En om in Nederland te komen werken, had je iets van papieren nodig om aan het werk te gaan hier?	
R2	Nee, wij zijn in EU. Dat is niet, alleen ID	Migration process
HG	Toen je hier net aan kwam, hoe zag die periode er uit? Je was hier dus samen met je vriendin aan het werk, had je ook onderkomen? Had je een huis of een appartement?	
R2	Ja, ja.	Housing
HG	Had je dat van te voren al geregeld of later gevonden?	
R2	Later gevonden, later gevonden, maar op dit moment wij hebben huur huis, maar het is erg (XXX) huis kopen hier. Ja, dat is in(XXX). Dat is als wij terug willen naar Polen, maar nog niet. Ja, wij betalen iedere maand veel geld, maar misschien is het beter om huis hier te kopen.	Housing Intention to stay
HG	Toen je aankwam ben je meteen ook overal geregistreerd?	
R2	Ja, ja direct	Registration
HG	Bij de gemeente en op je werk?	
R2	Vanaf mijn eerste dag. Dat is ook mij, dat is ook als iemand hier wilt blijven dan moet hij ook hier	Registration
HG	En waarom, waarom is dat zo belangrijk?	
R2	Dat is zo belangrijk, omdat als je bent werkeloos kan je uitkering krijgen. Ook, veel dingen is, zonder registratie ik kan, ja dat is echt verplicht, ik heb niet goede voorbeelden hiervoor. You don't exist here if you don't have, if you're not registered.	Registration
HG	Op dit moment werk je bij NGO A, is dat vrijwillig of	
R2	Nee, nee, ik heb een contract hier	Contract
HG	En wat voor contract is dat?	
R2	Vast contract	Contract
HG	Vast contract, oké, en dan gewoon 5 dagen in de week op kantoor.	
R2	Ook op terrein, soms ook	
HG	En in het verleden, je zei dat je ook bij uitzendbureaus hebt gewerkt, wat voor contracten heb je daar gehad?	
R2	Verschillende contracten, één week contracten, drie maanden contracten. Nee via uitzendbureau dat is niet contract, officieel is het een contract, maar dat is alleen papiertje. Ik kan wanneer ik wil stoppen en uitzendbureau kan ook zeggen: morgen werk je, kom je niet terug. Dat is ook niet goede situatie, want ik moet zekerheid hebben wat morgen gebeurd.	Employment EA

HG	Heb je dat ook ervaren dat je de ene dag te horen kreeg dat je geen werk meer had	
R2	Ja, ja, niet zo vaak, maar dat heb ik ook gehad.	Employment EA
HG	En ook langere perioden werkeloos geweest?	
R2	Nee, ik was één maand zonder werk, want dit was daarom, ik heb verhuisd uit Emmen naar Amsterdam, ik wist niet wat is wat, en ik was één maand zonder werk.	Unemployment
HG	Hoe heb je toen uiteindelijk werk gevonden?	
R2	Ik was chauffeur, ik was vrachtauto chauffeur. Ook ik heb via, ja ik was productiemedewerker, ik was chauffeur, ik heb bijna alles gedaan hier voor de laatste paar jaar. Maar wat ik heb gedaan als ik was in Polen en ik wist dat ik ga naar andere landen voor zekerheid ik heb chauffeur diploma gedaan in Polen. Dat was voor deze situatie als ik had probleem met iets, ik weet dat chauffeurs zijn altijd nodig, daarom die papiertje. dat is niet wat ik wil eigenlijk doen, maar voor deze periode was voor mij nodig.	Employment Network
HG	En toen je ook werkte voor de uitzendbureaus, ben je ook altijd eerlijk betaald? Heb je altijd legaal gewerkt?	
R2	Ja, ja	Employment
HG	En heb je toen ook hetzelfde verdient als je collega's?	
R2	Soms meer, omdat als iets was slecht ik altijd, ik probeer dat te regelen, ik een beetje weet meer over regels in Nederland. Veel mensen uit Polen weten niet te veel, dat is het probleem, ook ik was heel vaak bezig met die advocaat met juridische loket en ik probeer altijd alles goed te regelen en dat heeft mij wel geholpen.	Misconduct employers
HG	Je zei net ook dat je slecht behandeld was door de uitzendbureaus, dat zei je ook voor het interview al. Kan je daar iets meer over vertellen?	
R2	Over slechte banen. Bijvoorbeeld, van Company A, dat is vuilbedrijf ik was ook vuilauto's chauffeur ik was ook, ik heb in vlees fabriek gewerkt dit was trauma voor mij. Ja in fabriek dat is monotony en is echt zwaar.	Employment
HG	Ik begrijp het, ik werk zelf af en toe in de winter ook in een fabriek en als je daar inderdaad, zoals we allebei gestudeerd hebben, is dat echt lastig	
R2	Ja, dat is lastig. Ik was ook beetje depressief op deze periode, ik wilde niet, ik wil ook direct terug naar Polen. Maar het probleem is dat mijn vriendin heeft in deze periode goed werk gehad, en oké ik heb gezegd oké ik probeer een laatste keer iets te vinden. En ja, dat was gelukt.	Intention to stay Partner
HG	Niet optimaal, maar beter dan niets. Dan gaan we even terug naar de huisvesting. Nu woon je in Utrecht neem ik aan.	
R2	Nee, ik woon in Amsterdam	Housing
HG	Nog steeds in Amsterdam,	
R2	Precies dichtbij Amsterdam in Hoofddorp,	
HG	En dan kom je elke dag op en neer vanuit Amsterdam, of woon je nu tijdelijk ergens anders?	
R2	Nee, nee, nee, ik rij iedere dag, dat is geen probleem voor mij.	
HG	De huisvesting heb je nooit gekregen via je werkgever, altijd zelf gevonden.	
R2	Nooit, ik wilde niet huisvesting van mijn opdrachtgever krijgen, ik was in die huisvesting die die mensen van uitzendbureau krijgen, dat is verschrikkelijk. Wat is daar: ja maakt niet uit, dat was voor mij niet nodig. Ik heb altijd bij mij huis.	Housing Housing EA Quality
HG	Wil je er iets meer over vertellen wat je dan aantrof bij de woningen die geregeld worden door de uitzendbureaus?	
R2	Bijvoorbeeld in één huis wonen 10 mensen 12 mensen, dat is ook illegaal. Ik heb gehoord mensen heb geen warm water, ook is koud, ook alles weetje stinkt, misschien is nat, grond. Wat is ook belangrijkste zij betalen heel veel, bijvoorbeeld 100 euro per week om te wonen. Maar weet je wat het probleem is als je wilt via Poolse of Nederlandse uitzendbureau werken moet je ook gebruik huisvesting van deze uitzendbureau. Als je niet wilt huisvesting zij hebben geen werk, officieel je kan werken via deze uitzendbureau, maar zij hebben geen rooster voor jou, want moet je daar zijn, omdat uitzendbureau ook verdient van huisvesting en probleem is dat uitzendbureau registreren alle mensen, mensen denken dat ze hebben werk voor vijf dagen in de week, maar meestal zij hebben voor één voor twee dagen in de week werk, maar zij moeten betalen voor vijf dagen voor huis. Dat bedoel dat ze hebben	Housing EA Quality Misconduct EA

	geen geld altijd en zij kunnen niet weg. Het probleem is dat veel niet rijke mensen uit Polen niet gekomen, meestal uit Oost-Polen en Zuid-Polen en zij hebben misschien geld geleend. En nu zij kunnen niet verdienen zij kunnen niet de situatie veranderen. Wat nog, wat mag ik nog daar over te zeggen?	
HG	Wat je er over kwijt wilt, ik heb er verder niet heel veel vragen over.	
R2	Ook wat is ook belangrijk, dat mensen werken bijvoorbeeld, mensen krijgen niet geld, zij moeten, ja zij komen naar ons kantoor wij ook dat proberen te regelen via onze law adviseur of soms wij sturen mensen naar juridisch loket, omdat wat is ook belangrijk mensen die hebben gekomen zij weten niet veel over hun recht. Soms zij werken en hebben geen salaris, geen urenbrief, helemaal niets en later zij kunnen niet ook geld krijgen van uitzendbureau. Ook wat ik heb gezien dat mensen die willen geld krijgen zij zijn direct ontslagen. Ja, dat is langer verhaal met uitzendbureaus maar volgens mij iemand moet dat controleren. Toen ik kwam naar Nederland, ik heb gehoord dat komende jaren er control komt, maar tot nu niets gebeurd. Ja, ik heb ook met één rechter gesproken, vroeger hij heeft in arbeidscontrol gewerkt en hij heeft mij gezegd dat als iets is niet goed in de bedrijf zij betalen boete 200 euro, dat is niets. En ook, wat is ook echt belangrijk dat iemand moet controleren voor huisvesting voor uitzendbureau, omdat zij maken nu ghetto voor (...) Beste is als iemand werkt via uitzendbureau, maar moet zelf bijvoorbeeld kamer huren of huis of iets anders. Bijvoorbeeld weet je waar is Soesterberg, daar is grote camping en daar wonen mensen uit Midden en Oost Europe. En volgens mij (XXXX) Dat is echt slechte situatie, mensen drinken zij zijn altijd dicht, ze hebben geen contact met Nederland. Ik ken ook mensen die wonen hier bijvoorbeeld 10 jaar en zijn iedere dag alleen camping-werk, camping-werk. En in Polen nieuwe situatie is veranderd, als iemand echt wilt werk vinden is dat mogelijk, grote steden geen probleem, in kleine dorpjes hangt af welke dorp	Misconduct EA/Employer
HG	En wat je kan	
R2	Ja, ja, maar ook ik vaak als ik met mensen spreek ik probeer vertellen dat in Polen je verdient minder maar je hebt werk op iedere dag. Maar als iemand is hier en werkt hier twee dagen in de week dat is non-sense, beter als iemand kan in Polen blijven en daar werken regelmatig en heeft beter situatie dan blijven hier. Maar wat is echt belangrijk, ik wil niet al te veel over dat vertellen, maar huisvesting dat is echt iets wat iemand moet controleren.	Employment
HG	Wat ik heb gelezen is dat ze er wel heel erg mee bezig zijn, dat er controles te weinig gebeuren en dat er wel heel mooi beleid ligt maar de uitvoering te kort schiet. Dat is ook wel exact wat jij ook zei. Je bent dus volledig geregistreerd op je werk en alles, heb je ook altijd belasting betaald?	
R2	Ja, ja.	Social fees
HG	Omdat je tuurlijk helemaal legaal gewerkt hebt. Heb je wel een gebruik gemaakt van, je vertelde al je betaalt belasting dus je hebt recht op sociale zekerheid, heb je daar wel eens gebruik van gemaakt, bijvoorbeeld in de maand dat je werkeloos was?	
R2	Ja, voor één maand ja.	Welfare use
HG	En andere redenen?	
R2	Nee, nee, misschien in deze jaar ik wil huis kopen en wil hypotheek.	Welfare use
HG	En je zei, ik weet dan toevallig dat je vanmorgen naar het ziekenhuis geweest bent, dat heb je me verteld gisteren.	
R2	Maar ik was met mijn collega van NGO A, hij heeft gehad hart attack, en ik was met hem.	
HG	Maar zelf heb je daar nooit gebruik van hoeven maken?	
R2	Nee, nee, ik heb ook operatie hier gehad in Emmen, ik was in ziekenhuis en ik gebruik ziekenhuis, maar ik was	Welfare use
HG	Ontvang je ook nog toeslagen vanuit de gemeente?	
R2	Zorgtoeslag, maar nu niet meer want ik moest terug geven 300 euro	Welfare use
HG	En ben je ook pensioen aan het opbouwen hier in Nederland?	
R2	Ja,	Social fees
HG	Dat heb je ook altijd gedaan?	

R2	Niet altijd, als ik via uitzendbureau heb gewerkt nee, maar ik heb ook paar contracten hier gehad, als ik contract heb dan heb ik altijd pensioen.	Social fees Welfare use
HG	Je vertelde net ook dat je Nederlands aan het leren bent.	
R2	Ja, ik ga naar school	Language learning
HG	En hoe lang doe je dit al?	
R2	Tot december	
HG	En wanneer ben je er mee begonnen?	
R2	Één jaar geleden en in december heb ik een diploma gekregen en nu ben ik ook bezig met diploma. Al is het echt moeilijk want ik ga naar avondschool, vanaf 7 tot 10 uur, dat is echt	Language learning
HG	Ná het werk	
R2	Ja, na het werk dat is echt moeilijk met concentreren, maar ik ga altijd.	Language learning
HG	En zie je daar meer mensen uit Polen?	
R2	Uit heel, ook uit Polen heb ik twee personen, uit Spain, uit Russia, uit	Language learning
HG	Gewoon van alles dus	
	--- recording paused ---	
HG	Je volgt dus avondschool, hoe is dit geregeld, heb je dit zelf gezocht?	
R2	Dat heb ik zelf gevonden in Hoofddorp.	Language learning
HG	Wordt dat nog gesubsidieerd?	
R2	Ja, in deze jaren heb ik echt geluk, want wij moeten alleen boek kopen, dat is alles. Geen geld daarvoor. Maar is alleen eerste en laatste keer, dat heb ik gisteren gehoord. Ik weet niet waarom, maar wij moeten betalen.	Language learning
HG	Dan maar hopen dat het in December goed afgerond wordt	
R2	Ja, ik hoop het	
HG	Maar nu spreek je echt al goed Nederlands	
R2	Dankjewel	
HG	En volg je ook iets van Nederlandse media, op de radio, de kranten?	Language capabilities
R2	Niet zo vaak, maar dat is mijn fout. Soms ik kijk televisie, maar niet zo vaak ik heb geen tijd. Ik heb school, twee keer week ook trainings, ik ben iedere dag om 10 uur thuis.	
HG	En hier, spreek je hier veel Nederlands? Bij NGO A, binnen je werk spreek je daar veel Nederlands?	
R2	Pools, dat is probleem voor mij. Ik gebruik niet zoveel Nederlandse taal, eigenlijk als ik bel of ik, niet zo vaak. Maar nu ben ik gelukkig omdat Employee 1 zij werkt hier vanaf twee weken geleden is zij hier gekomen en nu met haar ik spreek Nederlands, daarom voor mij is prima is wel leuk.	Language use
HG	En in om je omgeving, in de supermarkt met vrienden om je heen?	
R2	Met vrienden en vriendin veel spreken Pools, maar in omgeving tuurlijk. Op dit moment ik wil vergeten over Engelse taal en ik probeer altijd, ik weet ik spreek slecht, maar ik moet altijd Nederlandse taal gebruiken. En weetje dat is ook voor mij belangrijk, ik weet niet, maar als ik wil terug naar Polen niet te veel mensen Nederlandse taal kennen en wij hebben ook veel Nederlandse bedrijven in Polen, misschien in de toekomst ik kan ook voor	Social network Language use Intention to stay
HG	Daar? Maar denk je dat je goed deel kunt nemen in de Nederlandse samenleving met de kennis van Nederlands die je hebt?	
R2	Ja	Language capabilities
HG	Denk je dat je het meeste wel kunt volgen, bijvoorbeeld het nieuws of op straat, dat je een beetje begrijpt wat er om je heen speelt?	
R2	Ja	
HG	Je zei net, een poosje terug al dat je misschien terug naar Polen wilt?	
R2	Misschien, op dit moment ben ik niet zeker, want als ik iets begin ik wil (...) Op dit moment, ja (...) Dat heb ik ook gehoord van andere mensen dat alle buitenlander altijd spreken van wij willen terug, wij willen terug. Maar nu, als ik nu denk over dat, ik ben hier nu 5 of 6 jaar, misschien voor mij is een beetje moeilijk om daar (...)	Intention to stay
HG	Je hebt natuurlijk een hele poos gemist	
R2	Ja, ja, ik heb veel dingen gemist, maar op dit moment ik ben niet zeker, misschien in de toekomst, na 2-3 jaren wel. Ik weet ook niet wat gaat gebeuren met deze werk, wij	Intention to stay

	project is verlengd voor één jaar voor half jaar en ik moet kijken wat gebeurt. Maar nu, weetje vroeger was ik misschien beetje depressief of iets daarom ik wilde zo veel mogelijk terug naar Polen, maar nu is beter daarom rustig en	
HG	Noem je Nederland ook je thuis? Is dit thuis als je naar huis gaat, voel je je dan thuis in de omgeving hier in Utrecht en in hoofddorp. Is dit je plaats, je home?	
R2	Nee, nee, nog niet, misschien maar ik steeds voel het beste in Polen. Ja, maar daarom ik kan niet zo vaak naar Polen gaan, want als ik in Polen ben later als ik bijvoorbeeld twee weken en kom terug naar Nederland ik voel me niet zo goed. Ik moet één of twee weken hebben alles is in orde, maar, ja, wat kan ik van zeggen.	Social position
HG	Ik was gewoon nieuwsgierig. Ben je ooit in aanraking geweest met Nederlandse justitie?	
R2	Nee, nee.	Criminality
HG	Heb je daar wel een beeld van, van hoe er met de immigranten groep in z'n geheel wordt omgegaan door justitie?	
R2	Als ik het goed begrijp dan bedoel je justitie en immigrants, buitenlands	
HG	Ja, politie (...)	
R2	Ja, zij hebben altijd contacten met politie, ze hebben grote ruzie. Ze hebben ook heel vaak deport, weet je dat, als iemand moet naar eigen land terug. Zij waren ook heel vaak in jail. Zij wonen op de straat.	Criminality
HG	Maar zelf gelukkig geen ervaringen mee.	
R2	Maar weet je wat het beste is, zij hebben probleem zij komen altijd hier. They trust, zij geloven ons en ook het is te moeilijk om te vertalen voor mij.	Criminality
HG	Dat maakt niet uit, dat maakt niet uit. Het terugkeerbeleid, dat is natuurlijk vooral voor de mensen die jullie helpen bedoelt, waarvan Nederland vindt dat ze geen bestaansrecht hebben hier, geen mogelijkheden, geen werk, geen geld, geen huis. Denk je dat het iets goeds is dat ze toch proberen deze mensen terug naar Polen te krijgen.	
R2	Ja, wij hebben twee mogelijkheden hier: werk vinden en ook terug naar Polen. Je hebt vandaag al met Respondent 1 gesproken dat is ook een voorbeeld. Wij hebben op dit moment bijna 100 mensen hebben werk gevonden, niet alle natuurlijk, maar meeste hebben nu een normaal leven, want als zij zijn verslaafd en langere tijd op straat, niemand kan helpen en showen hoe dat, hoe en waar, maar iets over terug naar Polen. Ik denk dat is beter als iemand wilt terug naar Polen, want daar wij hebben, misschien Employee 2 iets over gezegd, gemeenschappen daar mensen kunnen ook werken en certificaten maken. Veel mensen die naar Polen gingen altijd zeggen wij willen terug naar Nederland, maar niet zoveel mensen hier terug gekomen. En ook voor mensen met slechte opleiding, zonder taal, is 100% beter blijven in Polen. Dat heb ik eerder gezegd, daar zij kunnen werken, misschien minder geld, maar regelmatig. Dat kost ook tijd, omdat bijvoorbeeld ik kan niet voor iemand spreken, maar wij werken samen bijvoorbeeld iemand was hier twee jaar altijd: ik wil niet naar Polen ik wil hier naar werk. Ook, misschien dat klinkt slecht, als iemand hier heeft groot probleem met politie met justitie, later hebt grote problemen in hoofd en ook politie, komt naar ons en wij bijvoorbeeld zeggen tegen mij of zegt tegen iemand: sorry ik heb honger ik ben kapot, geld mee alsjeblieft en maakt niet uit. Wat ik wilde zeggen, proces kost tijd ik kan niet op 1e, 2e of misschien 5e afspraak met iemand over dat spreken.	Unemployment Return
HG	Ze moeten zelf die keuze maken?	
R2	Ja, ja.	
HG	Wat Employee 2 ook vooral gisteren zei: jullie zien vooral alle probleem gevallen, je zei zelf dat er ongeveer 100 zijn die succesvol Maar denk je dat de Poolse gemeenschap hier het over het algemeen goed heeft?	
R2	Ja, ik denk dat mensen zien hier alleen slechte mensen, maar ik denk dat iemand is gewoon, alles is in orde, is goed. Veel mensen hebben normale huis, normaal werk en deze mensen die zie je nooit, alleen die mensen die zijn op de straat die hebben slechte situatie en dat is. Ja dat hangt af, als iemand kan alles regelen, heeft goede alles in orde, maar misschien (....)	Social position
	--- recording paused ---	
HG	Of anders beter dan waar ze vandaan komen?	

R2	Wat heb ik gezien dat mensen uit de steden bijvoorbeeld, uit grote steden, Poznan, Warschau en andere, zij zijn hier niet te lang, bijvoorbeeld 1-2 weken en zij zijn zo snel mogelijk terug, maar in Nederland, bijna heel Nederland, is zelfde situatie. Maar in Polen in grote steden is anders. Ik woon op west en dat is ook iets anders dan oost. Sommigen mensen hebben hier beter maar sommigen willen zo snel mogelijk terug naar Polen, maar mensen die wonen uit uitzendbureaus die hebben slechte situatie volgens mij, echt slechte situatie, maar zij weten niet wat ze kunnen doen. Daarom regelen we ook gemeenschappen in Polen bijvoorbeeld als iemand heeft niets in Polen wij kunnen helpen iets regelen misschien huis misschien iets anders, maar wat moeilijkste alleen die eerste stap, als iemand gaat naar Polen (...) Oké, het was een beetje andere vraag	Social position
HG	Nee, vertel, vertel	
R2	Ik denk dat hangt af wie, maar mensen van uitzendbureaus volgens mij hebben niet zo goed, maar mensen die hebben goede beroep of goede opleiding is alles goed, met taal, it's okay.	Social position
HG	Denk je dat de Nederlandse overheid voldoende steun biedt aan de migranten die hierheen komen? De gemeente of het rijk?	
R2	Ja,	
HG	Denk je dat het ook op de juiste plekken terecht komt?	
R2	Ja, gemeentes die hebben bijvoorbeeld school, ik denk dat gemeente werken goed, heel goed. Hier in Nederland is minder bureaucratie. Dat is ook voor ons in Polen bureaucratie is verschrikkelijk, maar hier is alles echt, als je iets wilt regelen is dat echt makkelijk hier.	
HG	Heb je een verschil gemerkt in het overheidsbeleid in de periode dat je hier bent gekomen en waar we nu zijn?	
R2	Ja, het is echt volgens mij is het moeilijk om werk te vinden, eerst.	
HG	Je bent natuurlijk ook in een moeilijke periode gekomen, 2009	
R2	Ja, ja, Wat nog? Misschien alleen, ook is het echt moeilijk om huis hier te vinden, maar ik kan niet iets meer over dat zeggen want ik heb geen grote problemen gehad. Misschien heb ik die wel gehad, maar ben ik die vergeten, omdat ik denk niet zoveel over past, over verleden, oké dit is alles	Housing
HG	Dat was het denk ik al. Ik denk dat we al klaar zijn.	
R2	Ik zal misschien op sommige vragen een ander antwoord hebben gegeven dan de vraag, als ik heb goed begrepen.	
HG	Nee, ik heb alles gehad. Dan wil ik je bedanken voor de tijd	
R2	Geen probleem	

Transcribed interview no. 3

Date: 02-03-2015

Duration: 23:36

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 3 (R3)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	So once again I am here with Respondent 3, in Papendrecht for the interview for my thesis. We are going to start with some very basic personal information questions. Like who are you, where are you from, stuff like that. So let's get started.	
R3	Yeah, my name is Respondent 3, I am 28 years old and I am from Romania. I have been in Holland since 4 years approximately 4 years, yeah. I live in Papendrecht, at the moment my job status: I am in between jobs, you could say that. And I live with my boyfriend here, he is from Papendrecht; that is kind of it I think.	Age Migration-when Employment Current living Partner
HG	Well you're from Romania and where about in Romania?	
R3	From the center of the country, Transylvania if it sounds familiar.	C.o.O.
HG	Not Really, but it's a rural site or (...)	
R3	From the horror movie. Not really it's a city called Deva, in the county Hunedoara, it's the capital of my county, where I was born. It is not a big city, but yeah	C.o.O.
HG	As you said you have a boyfriend in Papendrecht, how did the two of you meet?	
R3	I met him at the beach, when I was here working as an au pair, well right after my birthday we've met and	Employment
HG	So you were working here as an au pair, when was this?	
R3	In 2011, I think. Yeah I arrived here from Australia actually not from Romania. Because I met, I was chatting to this guy, after like a year and the visa, well my tourist visa in Australia when that was finished I said well okay I just meet the person I have been chatting with, that was the reason to come to Holland to meet up with this guy, we've been very happy for a year around one year. And after this I have met my actual boyfriend	Employment Migration History Migration Motive
	The reason to stay here, because back then there was no working right for Romanians or Bulgarians, the only thing that I could do to stay here for a longer time was to have an au pair visa, then I found this family on the internet, while I was home. They had this trip back and forth to Romania, four times each month or something, for four months. So then I decided to find a way to spend more time here. So this was the way, I found this family super nice people, really great experience, and I have met them and the kids and yeah and I had a really good time, I was very lucky I think, since the time that I came to Holland I really met the right people somehow. I cannot really complain.	Employment restrictions Employment Coping with the NL
HG	You said you went to Australia as well, before that, did you finish any kind of education?	
R3	Yeah, in Romania it's like the equivalent here it's like a bachelor degree if I can say it. It was in European studies and international relationships and European studies. But at home it's like a high school university, it's a different study, you know compared to Holland. And afterwards I just started a master I think, I was planning to, but then I received my visa so I went for the master, paid the tax, but it never happened, because I received my visa. My family, part of my family, my aunt is there, so I went to there for a year and three months and afterwards my tourist visa finished, like I said I came to Holland.	Education Migration history -Motive
HG	Like you said you're in between jobs. Is that really in between being an au pair and your currently applying, or have been doing something else in between?	
R3	Oh no, this au pair thing was just a way to be able in Holland than you know travelling back and forth every month, which was okay for like four-five times, but that is why I found the au pair. In the mean time I could work, I could find a job I could apply for a job, because through the European union I don't know something changed all the time so I could actually apply for a job and that is when I moved to Papendrecht after I have met my actual boyfriend that we live together, then I came to Papendrecht and after like half a year of applying and applying and applying, because in my CV the	Employment – past Employment restrictions Employment qualifications

	experience I had in Holland was as an au pair, but of course I was aiming to something else.	
HG	Like doing something with your degree?	
R3	Yeah exactly, so I was lucky enough to get a job in an oil and gas company as a document controller, Company B actually situated here in Papendrecht. I worked there for approximately two years- a year and half something like that. My contract was normally for one year, but we still had jobs and they extended every three months, they still had work for three months that was the story until my contract ended anyway and there was not enough coming in for so many document controllers at the time to be busy and then it ended due to the lack of projects for the company.	Education and Employment Employment - contracts Losing employment
HG	Okay, I already know when and why you came to the Netherlands, did you ever consider after spending time in the Netherlands to go to Romania, because of the issues with the visa or anything?	
R3	I never planned living in Holland, I was or my reason to come to Holland was this boyfriend the reason I left Australia was like ah okay, I was home for three weeks and then I took the plane to Holland. I just met him and afterwards my au pair contract ended, of course it was a really nice experience, but it lasted one year, in the end I was also finished with it, but in a good way. It was just the perfect timing for myself also for being an au pair and I was planning to go back to Australia and somehow it didn't happen I was still hanging out in Amsterdam, still kept good contact with my ex-boyfriend at the time, and through him actually or his friends that they organized a surprise present for me to go in Bloemendaal like a surf weekend and then I met my boyfriend. From one thing to another, we were like friends for 6-7 months or something and then we decided to get serious and that's how I ended up staying in Holland. It was not really planned like I am coming to Holland, going to find this job, going to stay and make a future, no it just, I went with the flow somehow.	Intended stay Changes of stay duration
HG	And are you also registered here in the Netherlands?	
R3	Yes, yes. First I was registered in Mijdrecht where I was an au pair. So there I got my BSN number and everything with my visa, with the immigration department, when I moved here with my boyfriend I registered here, my address in Papendrecht.	Registration
HG	Because that is one of the concerns the government has, that a lot of people come to the Netherlands and forget or don't register, which can give a lot of issues.	
R3	Okay I can imagine. But that is not the case.	
HG	So you said you were working for this Company B, under what kind of contract was that, just temporally? You already said it was year contract with extensions	
R3	A year contract, with extensions, actually within this year if the work would not have been enough they could always say good bye you know, but I think I did a good job and they were satisfied, I learned a lot. I had no experience, but my boss was willing to hire me and several colleagues without experience in document controlling also. It was actually better for the company and the department to teach us to do things the way they want it, not to come with experience and you know how to do things. So they just formed us exactly how they wanted within maximum two months we were just like we were doing this forever. It was a really crazy rhythm a bit hectic, pretty busy in the beginning, but after one year unfortunately the situation changed, there was already a permanent staff of course, so then the projects that were still going on had to be handled by the permanent staff, and us through agencies slowly we were let go. They had to let us go.	Employment - contract
HG	And how did you get this job? How did you find it?	
R3	I was lucky actually. A friend of my boyfriend, he worked there as an engineer. And he told, and I am not fluent in Dutch of course, so I was always looking for an international company. Maybe you can apply to the company where I work, it is an international company, you don't really have to speak Dutch. I said yeah, great, so I gave him my CV and I think he just handed it over to the document department and then I was called for an interview, I had the interview, so it was really easy, easier than I expected somehow, really. I just could not believe that, you know like technical people they like to talk a lot about what they do, so I was mostly just listening and approving and showing that I was willing to learn and you know excited about the opportunity and	Finding employment (network)

	the challenge, which I was of course, I was super happy that I have got this chance to finally work in a normal job in a good company. So that is how it happens	
HG	And now, you said you are in between jobs. Are you applying to similar jobs or (...)?	unemployment
R3	Yeah, for similar jobs, not so	
HG	How do you deal with that?	
R3	I started being optimistic of course, thinking that my previous experience was good of course to have it in my CV, so I was probably a bit too optimistic. Because the timing is not the easiest of course,	unemployment
HG	Are you applying yourself, or also sending open applications?	
R3	Yeah, open sollicitaties also and through some agencies, but through the agencies I must say I don't know	Unemployment (Employment agencies)
HG	Can you give an example of the agencies? Those are uitzendbureaus?	
R3	Employment Agency A for example, and also one in Dordrecht I can't remember the name	Unemployment
HG	But they are like uitzendbureaus?	
R3	Yeah, exactly uitzendbureaus, and Employment Agency B and Employment Agency C, more, the names I don't know But mostly I do it because when I left from Company B, I took a list of all those oil and gas companies or technical companies. I took their names and address, when I knew I was going to be finished within one month with them, then I was like super sure that from 100 companies for sure there is going to be some, but no I didn't happen like that, unfortunately. Like recently I had an interview with Company C.	Employment agencies Unemployment – Looking for work
HG	It's in Sliedrecht, right?	
R3	Yeah, in Alblasserdam actually, so that was a different kind of interview, a really serious interview compared to the one I had with Company B. Which went really well, we clicked to say it like that, it ended up like they solved it internally, they didn't need anybody in the end. So yeah, this kind of situations that you get really high hopes but	Finding work
HG	And do you think you are treated different because you are Romanian, because you have an Eastern European background?	
R3	No I could not really say that, I think it is of course that it is a minus for me that I am not speaking fluently in Dutch, so in that way I think an employer tends to hire somebody, okay you speak English you we also need someone that speaks Romanian, but if you're also fluently in Dutch it is even better. So when I go in to an interview in competition with this kind of people and of course I realize in the end that is not a discrimination, it just makes sense that would pick this person.	Finding work Perceived discrimination
HG	And also in the agencies, do you	
R3	About the agencies I really don't know what to say, because they are really quiet. So, unless I don't email them once in a while, saying "hey I am still here", you know, remember me, there is nothing happening. So I can't really put my finger on it.	Employment Agencies
HG	Not like there is nothing at all or you are, they just don't ask you.	
R3	What I always hear, because this emailing, I prefer actually to meet or give a phone call when he or myself what they have to say. They always say at the moment it's difficult, this kind of reply, at the moment is not the best time, as I said. I am aware that more people, also Dutch people, are unemployed and it's difficult for them to get a job also. Probably it is like they say, maybe it is a bad time to be jobless.	Employment Agencies
HG	So, currently are you applying for benefits, for being unemployed.	
R3	No, I had received it for three months, I was entitled to this uitkering and that was it.	Benefits
HG	And any other reasons, do you get an allowance for, I don't know whether renting a house or house owner, do you get a huursubsidie, or any other kinds of	
R3	No, not myself I am not a benefitting of my boyfriend I think he receives I don't know, 150 euros because I live with him and am unemployed or something like that, I don't know what is his situation, but myself I don't really know. I only had these three months as I said after I and that is it.	Benefits
HG	Well you already said at the beginning that most of you friends are Dutch.	
R3	All of them actually.	Social network
HG	Do you feel a need to meet fellow Romanians	
R3	No, not at all,	Social network

HG	Why is that?	
R3	I don't know, I was never really this, I see people that live not in their own country and are really nostalgic for the food or the music or something. I, if I miss something it is my family, which if I get the chance I take a flight and see them and I am satisfied. I don't know, urges of hearing that or eating that, or you know,	
	//// Waiter interrupts interview ////	
R3	I don't know, I just don't feel the need	Social network
HG	And do you feel at home in the Netherlands?	
R3	Yeah I do,	
HG	And how does that express, or how do you	
R3	It's just comfortable, but that is mostly because of my boyfriend, I must say. I am not really the person that, okay I mean, I'm really flexible and can adapt easily anywhere, but to really have a feeling with the place or it must people do that for me, if it was not for him I would not be in Holland I am sure, I would've not stayed in Holland probably. He makes a home for me.	Partner Social network Intention to stay
HG	And you speak some Dutch	
R3	Een klein beetje	Dutch language
HG	How did you master it?	
R3	First with the kids that, they actually were the best teachers, and now I also had some private lessons with the father of my boyfriend, he was an English teacher, so we had some lessons. The truth is, I understand like 90%, and I could also, but if I reply I am always a bit shy to make a mistake so then I go for the easy way. I know I could say things to you in Dutch, let's just not make it too difficult and then I choose English.	Learning Dutch Use of Dutch
HG	And do you follow any Dutch media, or do you prefer to do that in English	
R3	I prefer English	
HG	So when you watch tv, you watch the BBC rather than the Dutch NOS for example	
R3	Sometimes I watch the <i>DeWereld Draait Door</i> , that is the one I like, the rest not so much.	Media to learn language
HG	Do you read Dutch newspapers?	
R3	Yeah English ones, or Romanian, actually more like the gossip. I am not so much into the negative news, I know what is happening, but I am not like I must watch the news in the evening.	
HG	But do you think you can keep up with what is going on in the news or the Dutch society?	
R3	Yeah, of course, yeah of course.	
HG	Do you also see what for example politicians say about immigrants like you that come from Eastern Europe?	
R3	Yeah I know, there is a bit polemic, like Wilders I think is the guy who East European or immigrants in general. I must say it doesn't really bother me.	Opinion migration politics
HG	How comes? Because he is really putting groups together as a union, they are like this they come to the Netherlands	
R3	Everybody is entitled to an opinion, maybe in some way he is also right, in the same way that others are also right. That is why I am saying as long as I know what I want to do and that is something that is fair enough, to help myself and also help the society, you are also contributing if you work, you pay taxes I don't see what is the issue	Opinion migration politics
HG	Like you said, you are here now for over 4 years, so did you see a change in public and political approach to you? Well, at first you had to come with a visa of course,	
R3	Well actually that was the biggest change, because I paid for the first time, before getting my job at Company B, than I had to pay a certain amount like 1500 euros for this visa, like a work permit and then the next year it was not necessary anymore, actually that was the major change that happened.	Perceived changes over time
HG	And do you have to do all that, or did you get help?	
R3	No, myself of course,	Applying for visa
HG	I think those are the most important issues I'd like to know.	

Transcribed interview no. 4

Date: 03-03-2015

Duration: 20:47

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 4 (R4)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	And let's go. So I am here with Respondent 4 I am at Company D. Can you tell me something about yourself?	
R4	I am Respondent 4 I work in Company D, I work here since 5 years, I think so. That is everything.	Employment
HG	And you are Polish?	
R4	Yeah I am coming from Poland and am working here now and also living.	C.o.O.
HG	And where about in Poland?	
R4	In Poland I am living in centrum of Poland	C.o.O.
HG	In a city or a rural area?	
R4	Yes in a city.	C.o.O.
HG	And how old are you, if I may ask?	
R4	31 years.	Age
HG	Are you married?	
R4	I am alone, I don't have children. I am alone and I am happy	Partner
HG	And did you attend any kind of education? Did you go to school in Poland?	
R4	No, I finished school in Poland like 10 years ago and in Poland I was also working.	Education
HG	And what kind of school was that?	
R4	I don't know, it's difficult name. My school is technische school with cars, fixing cars some things like that you know.	Education
HG	So it's a craft, it's not like after secondary education, what level was the school?	
R4	I finished second school, and started work.	
HG	So here you started at Company D about five years ago,	
R4	Something like that	
HG	How did you get here, how did you find the work here?	
R4	The work is good here, good people you know. Also working in other company in Holland you know everything is good. One company not good.	Current Employment Past Employment
HG	When did you move to the Netherlands?	
R4	Yes, now I am living here in Oud-Beijerland yes and first my home I was living in Dordrecht and now I moved here.	Past accommodation Current accommodation
HG	And when was that? In what year did you move to the Netherlands from Poland?	
R4	I don't know, 5 years ago. I did working here 2 years later I did not work here one year and come back here something like that, 5-6 years maybe.	Migration history Return migration
HG	And why did you move to the Netherlands	
R4	Here is better money, only this is important you know, this time money is important in Poland per maand 400-500 euro is different and life is the same, the same price. Only money, nothing more.	Migration motive
HG	Were you employed when you came to the Netherlands?	
R4	Yes, In Poland I was also working in company we make, monteren bikes also for Holland lot of bikes for Holland. And after this work I go to army and after army I come here.	Employment departure
HG	Aah oké, Did you plan to go to the Netherlands, or go away from Poland?	
R4	No I think I'll stay here, I will try to go school and language and I'll stay here. Now in Poland it's no good situation in politics.	Intention to stay
HG	Can you explain?	
R4	In Poland everything is now no good in Poland, every time everything is expensive. Only not money in work.	Intention to stay
HG	So you don't earn enough to pay.	
R4	No not enough, every month you must think what to do you know.	Intention to stay

HG	Did you consider going to Germany, or France maybe, or did you really want to go to the Netherlands?	
R4	I think it stays here, you know it feels like my country, and is good. I sit here, talking with lot of people from England, here is better I think. And is also not too much kilometer to Poland is 1000 kilometer is 12 hours, sometimes 20.	Intention to stay
HG	So when you moved here, where you asked to come by a company to go to Dordrecht or did you just go?	
R4	NO	
HG	How did this work?	
R4	First work, I working in ((<i>Onverstaanbaar</i>) And I working in Dordrecht ((XXXX)) is from Poland ((XXX)) is in Oud Beijerland also and I moved to Oud Beijerland, it is better for me. I don't have to drive every day 30 kilometers, somethings like that.	Past Employment
HG	I just did the ride, so I know. So the agency where you work for asked you to come to the Netherlands. Did they arrange housing did they arrange a place to sleep?	
R4	No, now I rent house	Housing E.A.
HG	And in the beginning, when you first came?	
R4	I rent, I have house from uitzendbureau. First my house in Dordrecht and later here also.	Housing E.A. Past and current
HG	So you said you came here mainly for the work, but did you have any information about the Netherlands?	
R4	Yeah, everything is good, you know everything, information I coming here is everything good you know.	Information on NL - departure
HG	How did you get that information? Who gave the information?	
R4	Somebody in Poland, from Poland from uitzendbureau. Also uitzendbureau in Polen, like big company like Randstad also is in Poland somethings like that. Somebody tell me from uitzendbureau and also small bus from uitzendbureau driving and I come here. From home to home. Easy, first time I come here is, you know, people coming uitzendbureau also is Polish uitzendbureau. It is (...) <i>people</i> I think now is different name.	Migration process E.A.
HG	Did they arrange everything for you, did they get the paperwork you needed, did they get the forms?	
R4	Yeah, everything and also helped me with sofinummer and everything helped me. Yeah easy, easy start.	Migration process E.A.
HG	So now you work in Company D for quite some time and you still work for the uitzendbureau?	
R4	Yes for the uitzendbureau.	Employment
HG	Have you worked for different companies as well, through the uitzendbureau?	
R4	Yeah Company D and also other work also working from uitzendbureau. It's the same	Employment
HG	Is that similar work or something completely different?	
R4	No, no.	
HG	So, in the factory?	
R4	Yeah	Employment
HG	It's still the same uitzendbureau or it has a different name?	
R4	First time I'm working in Employment Agency E uitzendbureau and now Employment Agency D. It's my second uitzendbureau	Past Employment E.A.
HG	And why did you change?	
R4	Employment Agency E finished, is kapot. And now it's the same office, same bureau, only is a different name. I think so, my friend working, Employment Agency E is now ((XXXX)) something like that.	Employment E.A.
HG	And have you always worked with the uitzendbureau, or have you also worked illegally or on the black market?	
R4	No, every time legally and uitzendbureau, no black work. Only you know, two times I helped somebody painting the house, something like that you know,	Employment
HG	Have you ever been unemployed here in the Netherlands? Without work? Like has there been a period where you didn't have work, when they couldn't find work for you at the uitzendbureau?	

R4	Yes,	
HG	How long and how did that happen and when was it?	
R4	I'm sorry I don't understand, my English is	
HG	It's no problem,	
R4	It's not easy, I want to help you.	
HG	What I want to know is whether you have ever been in the Netherlands and that you didn't have work. Like Company D didn't have work, the uitzendbureau didn't have work. Has that ever happened to you?	
R4	Yes,	
HG	Like a few days or a longer period?	
R4	Few days, three days I don't work not more, maybe last year I don't work maybe one week totally, you know no work for me	
HG	But not like a long period?	
R4	No, no, no, I have my work. I think if I am a good worker I have work.	Unemployment
HG	That's perfect. As you said, you rent a house via the uitzendbureau. It's in Oud Beijerland. Is it your own place or do you share it with housemates?	
R4	No, no, no. I am living in an uitzendbureau house with somebody, it's nothing more.	Housing E.A.
HG	And what does it look like? Is it a flat or a. How does the housing look like, you said you live with someone, is it a big house?	
R4	Yeah, yeah it's a big house, only not nice,	Housing Quality
HG	Not nice, tell me	
R4	It's fucked up, lot of holes it's not hot at home it's not nice home. I find something different now, I want to rent something alone, I think in Rotterdam, it is cheaper and better for me.	Housing Quality Changing accommodation (future)
HG	Can you tell me something more about the house? You said it has big holes, but do you have hot water and everything.	
R4	We have everything, it's just everything old and broke.	Housing Quality
HG	And in Dordrecht, was it any different?	
R4	Different, it was a better house, different uitzendbureau, better house. It's here I work in Employment Agency D, small uitzendbureau, what happened we don't have a nice house and other things like that. Other uitzendbureau is fucking big, you know, and really lot of house, lot of people working. Something wrong, It's no problem we change house something like that. Here it's a little bit different.	Housing Quality Changing Accommodation (past)
HG	And do you think it's easy to find something for yourself in Rotterdam?	
R4	Yeah it's easy in Rotterdam, here it is more difficult. In Rotterdam it's easy	Changing accommodation (future)
HG	And you just go to the municipality to find something or through an organization?	
R4	I must find alone, via makelaar	Changing accommodation (future)
HG	Since you are registered and are paying taxes and everything, have you ever received benefits from the government?	
R4	Yes, we pay everything.	Registration
HG	But do you also get something in return?	
R4	Yes, every year I have jaaroverzicht and somebody make everything	Knowledge NL -current
HG	But do you also apply for example to healthcare? Have you been to the hospital or to the dentist?	
R4	Sometimes I must go to the dentist or to doctors, not too much and now I am happy I am not sick. My friend also had operation in Ikazia ((Ziekenhuis, edit.)) and also whenever I go to the hospital the help is very nice my friend is very happy.	Benefit use
HG	And you also are insured for expenses like these	
R4	Yes, yes	Benefit use
HG	And any other benefits, well you have never been unemployed and also for your house you don't get anything like rentsupport, because you're renting through the agency. So you don't really get a lot of money from the government	

R4	No, no, I think everything is good, you don't pay too much and I think it's good, since I am working for this uitzendbureau maybe four years, it's not too bad, little bit more expensive every year, but not too much. I think it's good	Benefit use Employment E.A.
HG	Besides work, do you have, your friends are they mainly Polish or do you also have Dutch friends?	
R4	I think it's more Polish friends but I also have Dutch collegas you know, in Oud Beijerland also, and also Hungary you know what happens, here in Holland it's lot of people from everywhere, it's mixed.	Social network
HG	Do you speak some Dutch?	
R4	A little bit, I must go to school and I need to learn, it's easier for me.	Language proficiency Learning Dutch
HG	And how did you learn the Dutch you know now? At work, with your colleagues?	
R4	Now only you know at work, somethings learn, I need to go to school, you know. Better	Language proficiency Learning Dutch
HG	Do you also watch Dutch TV, or listen to the radio here?	
R4	A little bit, for children you know, sometimes I look	Learning Dutch - media
HG	So you don't really speak Dutch. And if you go to the supermarket? Can you understand what the cashier is saying?	
R4	Sometimes I ask, I have questions and they help me also, somebody don't understand me, don't understand English. Here it's also good lot of people know good English, like TV you watch TV, you watch a movie it's English language. In Poland it is different, in Poland is the English language a little bit silent and Polish language is spoken. For you, you watch a Polish movie in Poland you "what the fuck" too language, what is this. Here it's beter, it's original language in TV, it's beter, and a lot of people talk.	Requirement of Dutch
HG	But do you for example try to understand your colleagues when they are talking Dutch or do you try to join the conversation.	
R4	I sometimes things understand but I talk English it's easier for me. And also here it's lot of school, it's also in Rotterdam, everything is good.	Requirement of Dutch
HG	But you're not going to school?	
R4	First I must move to Rotterdam,	Learning Dutch(priority)
HG	It's too far from here, of course?	
R4	Yeah,	
HG	Have you ever been approached by someone, that said something negative about you because you are Polish?	
R4	Sorry?	
HG	In the Netherlands, has someone ever said something negative about you because you're Polish	
R4	Yeah sometimes, I think this is everywhere you know, something like that, in Poland, in Deutschland, it's normal, for me now it's normal.	General Perception CEE migrants
HG	Can you tell me something more?	
R4	For me, I is from Poland, nothing more,	Perceived discrimination
HG	Can you elaborate a little bit, can you give an example?	
R4	No, no, no, maybe somebody, not everybody, with somebody I talk it's different	Perceived discrimination
	Sometimes you also hear things, you are from Poland, something like that, it's not my problem, I is from Poland.	Perceived discrimination
HG	Okay thank you. I think we have had the most important issues, I have one last question.	
	Well you are 31 now, do you think you'll stay forever in the Netherlands?	
R4	Yeah I think so, I think here is easy life, not too much stress, In Poland it is every month stress, money you know, money, 2015 years money is important here is beter, I have money, first day month and next month I also have money. In Poland you now I buy something, no I don't buy, must combination you know its different.	Intention to stay
HG	And after retirement, when you are done working, do you think then you'll stay in the Netherlands?	
R4	I think I will stay in the Netherlands. Now I want, now I need, it's better. In Poland the work is the same just different money.	Intention to stay
HG	I think that is about it, thank you so much for the time.	

Transcribed interview no. 5

Date: 03-03-2015

Duration: 15:09

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 5 (R5)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	Oké, dan wil ik eerst iets over jezelf weten. Wie je bent waar je vandaan komt en hoe oud je bent.	
R5	Ik ben Respondent 5, ik kom uit Polen ik ben 39 jaar oud.	C.o.O. Age
HG	Uit Polen, en kom je dan uit de stad?	
R5	Ja uit de stad, ik kom uit Noord-Polen, stad heet (...) dat is vlak bij de grote stad Gdansk	C.o.O.
HG	Ben je daar ook naar school geweest?	
R5	Ja ik ben op school zitten daar ik was ook werken in Polen	
HG	En wat voor school heb je daar gevolgd, wat heb je daar geleerd?	
R5	Ik ben een technische monteur, ja farmersmachine enzo	Education
HG	Daar heb je ook werk in gevonden toen?	
R5	Ja, maar ik heb gewerkt als chauffeur en als heftruck chauffeur, niet, nooit monteur nee.	Employment departure
HG	En wanneer ben je naar Nederland gekomen, in welk jaar?	
R5	Ik ben in 2007 naar Holland gekomen	Migration - when
HG	Ben je toen meteen hier in de buurt geland?	
R5	Ik nu, ik nu wonen in Rotterdam, Rotterdam Lombardijen	Current Housing
HG	En toen? En toen je kwam, waar woonde je toen? Heb je toen ook in Rotterdam gewoond?	
R5	Nee, nee, ik heb als ik kom in 2007 dan ik kom bij collega in Woerden en dan ik krijg werk in hier in Beijerland in andere bedrijf, en dan ik, ik heb verhuizen naar Sliedrecht, ik heb zoveel verhuizen ik was ook voor die uitzendkracht ook chauffeur en ik veel verhuizen want ik moet daar mensen naar werk brengen en dan moet je dat en daar wonen. Ik heb veel verhuizen? Eerste drie jaren heb ik veel verhuizen.	Employment –arrival Employment – past Changing homes
HG	En heb je elke keer zelf je huis gevonden, of heeft je baas?	
R5	Nu ik heb eigen huis, woon ik in de flat ik heb gekocht toen ik hypotheek heb gekregen.	Current housing
HG	En daarvoor?	
R5	Daarvoor altijd via die uitzendkracht.	Previous housing
HG	Dus je bent ook gekomen omdat een uitzendbureau je heeft gevraagd om naar Nederland te komen om te werken?	
R5	Nee, ik heb voor mijzelf, ik heb naar collega toe en dan heb ik werk zoeken. Ik heb daar collega bedrijvetje en kijk op die uitzendbureau of die werk hebben en zo heb ik werk gevonden.	Employment arrival-network
HG	Toen je hier kwam in 2007, wat had je nodig om in Nederland te mogen werken en komen wonen? Had je een visum nodig of aan je paspoort alleen genoeg? Had je allemaal papieren nodig?	
R5	Nee ik kom hier, je bedoelt waarom ik kom hier werken?	
HG	Toen je vanuit Polen naar Nederland verhuisde, had je toen meer dan alleen een paspoort nodig? Nu is het natuurlijk zo met de EU en de open grenzen dan kan je zo heen en weer, toen ook al?	
R5	Ik heb niet, vanaf 2000. Ik heb niet paspoort ik heb alleen Poolse nog steeds, Poolse paspoort en ID kaart.	Migration process
HG	En dat was genoeg om ook in Nederland te gaan wonen?	
R5	Jaa, ja want weet je wij Polen is ook nu EU en wij hoeven niet paspoort en Nederlandse paspoort en zo, vanaf 2007 wij maggen ook werken hier.	Migration process Migration when
HG	Toen had je alleen nodig dat je baas zei dat je in Nederland kwam werken. En heb je altijd werk gehad toen je in Nederland woonde?	

R5	Ja altijd, ik ben een goed medewerker. Ik heb twee en half jaar in andere bedrijf gewerkt en ik heb ook af en toe hier gewerkt in deze bedrijf, alleen overuren, 's middags als het hier nodig en dan vragen me of ik wilt altijd werken voor dit bedrijf en ik zeg ja is goed. Ik kom hier werken, ik werk hier nou 5 jaren, ik ben nou bijna 3 jaar op vast contract.	Unemployment Past employment Current employment Contract
HG	Je hebt dus gewerkt via een uitzendbureau en nu werk je onder een vast contract. Dat was altijd het zelfde uitzendbureau	
R5	Ja, ik heb gewerkt voor één uitzendbureau, maar die was allemaal in andere grote uitzendbureau en dan ik andere uitzendbureau, tot die contract, ik heb in totaal voor twee uitzendbureaus gewerkt.	E.A. Employment
HG	En was dat nog verschillend? In je ervaring, heb je daar anders gewerkt, was dat anders was er verschil tussen de twee	
R5	Nee, was zelfde baas, was allemaal het zelfde.	Employment E.A.
HG	Was dezelfde baas, aah op zo'n manier. En toen je, je hebt nu dus je eigen huis, in Rotterdam zei je net, toen je in Sliedrecht woonde en ook in Woerden, had je toen ook huisgenoten of woonde je alleen?	
R5	Nee, ook andere mensen van de uitzendkracht, altijd	Past housing E.A.
HG	Was dat een goed huis?	
R5	Ja, was altijd een goed huis, ja, ja ik heb altijd geluk. Soms, weet je, ik weet dat mensen soms werken in niet zo'n mooi huis, ik had geluk ik krijgen mooi huis.	Past housing E.A.
HG	En ook als je dan nu kijkt, is het huis waar je nu woont duurder per maand dan wat je betaalde bij de uitzendbureau	
R5	Nee, is niet zo duur. Ik heb niet zo'n groot huis.	Current housing
HG	Ja, ik had van Employee 3 gehoord je woont ook samen met je vrouw en een kind. En die heb je hier leren kennen of kende je je vrouw al in Polen?	
R5	Nee, nee, nee, wij zijn samen, wij zijn 4 jaar samen hier in Nederland, mijn dochter zit op school. Mijn dochter praat echt heel goed Nederlands, veel beter als ik	Partner Children
HG	Nou, daar leer jij toch ook alleen maar van? Maar je bent nooit werkeloos geweest? Heb je wel eens zwart gewerkt?	
R5	Bedoel je (...), nee, nee, nee, zwart niet. Ik heb altijd vanuit die uitzendkracht en dan voor die bedrijf	
HG	En heb je wel eens een uitkering gekregen, of subsidie van de Nederlandse overheid?	
R5	Nee, nee, nee, niks. Dat is de bedoeling, politie, problemen?	
HG	Ik wilde weten of je bijvoorbeeld geld krijgt van de overheid	
R5	Sorry, ik verkeerd begrijpen, Ja dat krijg ik wel, bedoel je die toeslag. Dat krijg ik wel, kindertoeslag, zorgtoeslag, ik krijg hypotheek toeslag, omdat ik krijg alle toeslagen omdat mijn vrouw nog niet werkt. Mijn vrouw is nou thuis.	Benefit use
HG	En in je omgeving, heb je veel Poolse vrienden of ook Nederlandse?	
R5	Ja, ik heb veel Poolse vrienden in de buurt, ik heb ook Nederlandse buurman, weet je,	Social network
HG	En hier op het werk?	
R5	Mensen, Poolse mensen, iedereen werken. Mensen dit, ik weet alleen één collega heeft een vast contract, soms hier, soms daar, waar is werk	Social network
HG	Je spreekt een beetje Nederlands, hoe heb je dat geleerd?	
R5	Voor mijzelf, ik heb, als ik heb bijna 8 jaar geleden kom naar Nederland, ik spreek ook niet Engels, omdat ik op school heb nooit Engels geleerd, alleen Rusland taal. Ja ik ben 39 jaar oud dat was nog communisme, ik kom hier ik heb twee en half jaar Engels geleerd, over een jaar ik een beetje spreken een beetje communicatie. Maar als ik weet of ik krijg hier vast ik start proberen te leren, alleen maar voor mezelf. Ik was alleen maar op één cursus, van 30 uur ofzo. Maar ik ga voor mij zelf leren, thuis, mijn dochter zit natuurlijk op school, mijn vrouw zit op school en ik ga thuis met vrouw en dochters leren.	Language proficiancy (Engels) Language training
HG	En kijk je wel eens naar de Nederlandse TV	
R5	Ja, af en toe, ik heb wel Nederlandse tv, maar ik heb ook Poolse tv dus dat is voor mij makkelijker	Media use
HG	En Radio?	

R5	Radio altijd, altijd in de auto	Media use
HG	Denk je dat de meeste mensen je goed kunnen verstaan en begrijpen?	
R5	Je bedoelt dat ik mensen goed kan begrijpen? Ja, alleen soms, mensen praten te snel of ik tuurlijk begrijpen allemaal woorden, weet je, soms ik niet begrijpen niet, maar ik zeggen, sorry wil jij misschien iets langzamer, of iets anders zeggen, makkelijker zeggen, dan is goed ik, als niet dan proberen ook Engels.	Language proficiency
HG	Dan lukt het meestal wel toch? Je zei net al dat je nog nooit bij de politie was geweest.	
R5	Nee, niks helemaal niks	
HG	Maar je kwam er zelf mee, waarom, je zei zelf dat je, denk je dat het belangrijk is? Je vertelde zelf dat je nog nooit bij de politie bent geweest, waarom	Criminality
R5	Nee, nee, nee, ik heb nooit problemen, daarom.	
HG	Even kijken hoor, ik denk dat we wel redelijk klaar zijn. Dan wil ik je bedanken voor de tijd.	

Transcribed interview no. 6

Date: 03-03-2015

Duration: 10:53

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 6 (R6)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	Oké , dan wil ik graag weten wie je bent, wat je naam is en	
R6	Ja, ik ben Respondent 6	
HG	En hou oud ben je?	
R6	Ik ben bijna 30 jaar	Age
HG	En je bent Pools?	
R6	Ja ik ben Pools.	C.o.O.
HG	En waar uit Polen kom je?	
R6	Dat is, ja, zuid Polen zeg maar	C.o.O.
HG	En kom je uit de stad of uit ?	
R6	Ja ik kom uit de stad. Ja ik kom in 2004 naar Nederland. Ik kom alleen voor vakantie, maar ik blijf tot vandaag.	C.o.O. Migration –when Intention to stay
HG	Oké,	
R6	Ja ik ben met school klaar in Polen dus ik kom alleen op vakantie, was 6 of 8 weken en wanneer kom ik terug, ik blijven tot vandaag.	Intention to stay
HG	Ja, je kwam in de vakantie en kwam je toen om te werken?	
R6	Ja ik kom om te werken	Migration motive
HG	En waar ben je toen gaan werken?	
R6	Hier bij Company D	Migration process
HG	Hier bij Company D, oké en hoe ben je hier terecht gekomen?	
R6	Via een uitzendbureau in Polen, ja	Migration process
HG	En nu werk je onder een vast contract bij Company D?	
R6	Ja	Employment
HG	Oké. En je zei dat je school had afgerond. Wat voor school had je gevolgd in Polen?	
R6	Dat is auto mechaniek en elektriciteit	Education
HG	En wat voor niveau is dat? Is dat (...)	
R6	In Polen?	
HG	Wat voor niveau?	
R6	Dat is ja HBO	Education
HG	Aah oké. En op dit moment ben je getrouwd?	
R6	Nee nog niet.	Partner
HG	Een vriendin dan?	
R6	Ik heb een vriendin	Partner
HG	Hier in Nederland ook?	
R6	Ja, hier in Nederland	Partner
HG	Heb je kinderen toevallig?	
R6	Nee	Children
HG	Oke. Je zei dus dat je in 2004 naar Nederland kwam. Waarom kwam je toen naar Nederland?	
R6	In Oud-Beijerland, nu woon ik in Rotterdam vanaf 2008.	Housing current/past
HG	En waarom kwam je naar Nederland?	
R6	Ik kom, ja, ik heb geen idee. Iemand, met de vrienden boodschappen doen in de stad, er was een uitzendbureau, er stond in die raam wij zoeken collega's om in Nederland te werken. Wij komen binnen vragen, hoe werkt dat, hoe en wat en dan over 2 weken kom ik hier heen.	Migration proces E.A.
HG	Oké, dus in Polen, was dat een Pools uitzendbureau?	
R6	Nee, dat was een Nederlands uitzendbureau dat was Employment Agency F	Migration proces E.A.
HG	En die hadden een kantoor in Polen?	

R6	Ja, ja precies.	
HG	Oké, oké. Maar gewoon toevallig binnen gelopen en toen (...).	
R6	Ja gewoon vragen dit en dat en toen kom ik hier bij Company D.	Migration proces
HG	Had je enige informatie over Nederland? Over wonen en werken in Nederland? Sprak je iets van Nederlands?	
R6	Nee, nee alleen Duits, nou Nederland praten ik ben op school hier geweest, anderhalf jaar, Nederlandse taal leren. Gaat goed	Knowledge of NL Learning Dutch- courses
HG	Ja! En toen je eenmaal in Nederland was, dacht je misschien (...)	
R6	Mijn neef woonde in Den Haag met vrouw en kinderen, was 15 jaar zoiets en de rest van familie zit in Duitsland en Polen.	Migration process – network
HG	Maar ooit gedacht van ik wil misschien in Duitsland kijken?	
R6	Nee, Duitsland is geen land voor mij.	Other countries
HG	Oké, nee omdat je zegt van ik heb iets met auto's gedaan. Maar daar doe je hier nu eigenlijk niets mee	
R6	Nee	Employment
HG	Ooit overwogen om er iets mee te gaan doen, ooit aan gedacht	
R6	Moeilijk hoor, (...) Nee.	Employment
Hg	Het is wel goed?	
R6	Ja	Employment
HG	Of terug naar Polen te gaan?	
R6	Op dit moment niet. Nee, ik heb leuk werk goed verdienen dus.	Intention to stay
HG	Maar op dit moment zeg je, eerder wel?	
R6	Nee ook niet	Intention to stay
HG	Misschien later?	
R6	Nee, denk ik ook niet hoor, denk ik niet	Intention to stay
HG	Oké. Nou toen je dus kwam heeft Employment Agency F, die hebben dus ook allemaal dingen geregeld, want je had natuurlijk voor 2007, toen Polen nog niet bij de EU was, toen had je wat meer	
R6	Nee, ik kom in 2004 op Duits paspoort, ik heb Duitse nationaliteit, ik heb twee nationaliteiten.	Migration process visa requirements
HG	Ah, oké	
R6	Dus daarom, in die tijd was dat makkelijker en nu niet meer.	
HG	En waarom denk je dat het moeilijker was?	
R6	In 2007 als Polen bij EU is, komen veel mensen hierheen, en veel mensen, ja, met problemen en achterstand om te betalen of familie problemen, of komen alleen hier iets kapot maken ofzo. Niet werken en alleen geld krijgen, dus daarom.	Perception CEE migration
HG	Dus toen je kwam heeft Employment Agency F alles voor je geregeld, en ook huisvesting in het begin?	
R6	Ja, ik woon in huis van Employment Agency F hier in Oud-Beijerland.	Housing arrival E.A.
HG	En nu heb je een (...)	
R6	Een eigen huis in Rotterdam.	Current housing
HG	En bij Employment Agency F was het ook vaak een gedeeld huis denk ik?	
R6	Ja	Housing E.A.
HG	En was het steeds ook hetzelfde huis?	
R6	Ja, zelfde huis	Housing E.A.
HG	Dus niet tussendoor nog in een ander huis gewoond?	
R6	Nee, nee	
HG	En hoe was de staat van het huis? Was het een net huis of was het	
R6	Het huis van Employment Agency F, ik heb geen idee, het was een huis van Employment Agency F	
HG	Maar alles was in orde?	
R6	Oh ja, dat wel ja	Housing E.A.
HG	Oké, en dat huis wat je nu hebt, is dat een huur huis?	
R6	Nee, dat is een koop huis.	Current housing
HG	Dus daar heb je ook een hypotheek en alles	
R6	Ja, ja,	

HG	Maar je zei net dat het dus moeilijker wordt voor Poolse mensen om nu Nederland te komen. Maar zal dat juist niet anders zijn nu Polen lid is van de EU?	
R6	Ja, als mensen komen hier naar Nederland en hebben werk en spreken Engels of Duits, beter is ook Nederlands praten, dan is makkelijk, maar veel mensen komen hier heen en hebben geen werk of af en toe, paar uurtjes per dag of paar uurtjes per week, via uitzendbureau, praat geen andere taal, alleen Pools dan is het echt moeilijk. Maar met mensen, als ze Duits, Engels of Nederlands spreken en werken gewoon 40 uur per week dan is goed.	Perception CEE migration Employment through E.A.
HG	Het gaat ook weer heel erg rap.	
	Heb je ooit een beroep moeten doen op de gemeente voor geld? Heb je ooit een uitkering gekregen? Heb je altijd werk gehad in Nederland?	
R6	Gelukkig wel,	Unemployment
HG	Want je bent dan van uit het uitzendbureau meteen hier aangenomen?	
R6	Vast komen werken ja.	Unemployment
HG	En in je omgeving, bijvoorbeeld je vrienden groep, heb je daar ook veel Poolse vrienden of is het een beetje van alles?	
R6	Van alles,	Social netwerk
HG	En hoe heb je die mensen leren kennen? Hier op het werk?	
R6	In het café, via internet, in de buurt	Social network
HG	En spreek je dan Nederlands mee	
R6	Ja	Use of Dutch
HG	Je zei dus dat je anderhalf jaar les had in Nederlands, kijk je nu ook bijvoorbeeld Nederlandse tv of lees je een Nederlandse krant?	
R6	Ja, ook allebei,	Proficiency in Dutch
HG	Om daar nog wat meer van te leren?	
R6	Ja, precies en schrijven,	Proficiency in Dutch
HG	Denk je dat je dus ook dat je helemaal bij bent met wat er om gaat in de Nederlandse samenleving?	
R6	Ja, denk ik wel, ja	Proficiency in Dutch
HG	En op wat voor manier dan? Hoe zeg je dat. Heb je dan bijvoorbeeld ook een idee van hoe er in de Nederlandse regering en op straat wordt gesproken over bijvoorbeeld Poolse mensen in Nederland?	
R6	Nee, dat niet	
HG	Ben je ooit in aanraking geweest met de politie of iets,	
R6	Ja, ik heb vroeger, ik heb een auto op Poolse kenteken, dat was een paar keer gestopt voor papier controle dit en dat en twee jaar geleden heb ik een scooter met Nederlands kenteken heeft iemand meegenomen. Ik heb politie gebeld, en voor de rest.	((Justice))
HG	Maar niet zelf een keer in de problemen geweest?	
R6	Nee, dat niet.	
HG	Ik heb nog een vraag. Denk je dat mensen je anders benaderen omdat je een Poolse achtergrond hebt? Anders dan als je Nederlands zou zijn?	
R6	Nee, er was geen probleem gehad, nee, nooit	
HG	Oké, nou dan zijn we alweer klaar. Ik wil je heel erg bedanken	

Transcribed interview no. 7

Date: 03-03-2015

Duration: 20:00

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 7 (R7)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	So first of all I want to know who you are, what's your name?	
R7	My name is Respondent 7.	
HG	How old are you?	
R7	33 years	Age
HG	And you are Polish?	
R7	Yes I am from Poland.	C.o.O.
HG	Where about in Poland?	
R7	Bytom	
HG	That is a city?	
R7	Yes it is a city, about, bigger city is Katowice, Katowice Bytom	C.o.O.
HG	And are you married?	
R7	Yes I am married	Partner
HG	Do you have children?	
R7	No, not yet	Children
HG	And your husband, is he also in the Netherlands?	
R7	Yes, he works with me	Partner
HG	Ah oké, and you work here at Company D in the factory?	
R7	Yes, yes	
HG	Then I would like to know: when did you come to the Netherlands?	
R7	8 years ago, 2007	Migration-when
HG	That was right after the moment that Poland became part of the EU, or at least when the borders opened for Polish people?	
R7	Yes,	
HG	So you used the possibility to cross the borders?	
R7	Yes	Migration-why
HG	Did you come to the Netherlands, right away from Poland or did you decide to go to Germany or look somewhere else?	
R7	We were looking work, so first work we found here, so we coming here and we stay. We wanted coming for one year, two years, but when was very nice we think we stay to finish life, maybe	Migration motive Other countries Intended stay
HG	So you came here for work, that was the main criteria: In the Netherlands there is work, so (...)	
R7	Yes, first things was work	Migration motive
HG	Did you have any education?	
R7	Yes I have, I am chemic, laborant. My husband is electronic.	education
HG	How did you find the work in the Netherlands?	
R7	I think through internet, I don't remember, but I think so this internet	Finding employment
HG	Did you go here yourself or did you find an agency that helped you?	
R7	Agency yes, we found uitzendbureau, first found work was my husband, he called to me and I go to Holland, couple months later	Finding employment Migration process
HG	So first your husband went and you joined him a couple of months later.	
R7	Yes,	
HG	And did you have information about the Netherlands, how it would be to live here, to be here?	
R7	No, not too much. Only what we see in TV, not too much know it about this. Now we know everything. When we start working we here we didn't know too much.	knowledge of NL -arrival
HG	And at the time that you moved to the Netherlands, did you have work in Poland?	
R7	Yes, I had a work	Employment-departure
HG	Both of you?	

R7	No, only me. My husband was owners of company, small company, and he was self boss, you know, have, I can't explain.	Employment-departure
HG	Yeah self-employed, but why did you decide to come to the Netherlands, rather than keeping your job in Poland?	
R7	Because my husband lost job, lost company, the company he was boss was not too much money coming, so we decided to go to the Netherlands.	Employment-departure
HG	To have a better salary?	
R7	Yes, yes. I wanted to stay in Poland, but love and everything and go to Holland.	Migration -motive
HG	And when you arrived, was everything ready? Did you have a job right away? Did you have a home?	
R7	We have a work, we have that full 100%, we have a home via uitzendbureau. We rent in uitzendbureau	Arranged at Arrival Employment agency Housing, employment
HG	And also the uitzendbureau took care of all the paperwork you needed to fill in? To register at the municipality, things like that?	
R7	Yes, but this was, it is more things we doing self, because uitzendbureau not always help you too much.	Misconduct employment agency
HG	Can you give examples?	
R7	For example, insurance we had a problem in first company we work, we have a problem with insurance, we wanted to go to the doctor and we paid for insurance: the uitzendbureau takes money in my salaris, but when we go to doctor he says you don't have insurance.	Misconduct employment agency
HG	Okay?	
R7	We had a like this problem.	
HG	And how did this turn out in the end?	
R7	We go to advise, Polish people who help me, we call somewhere, we call to uitzendbureau. They give money to us and later they pay for insurance for us.	Dealing with misconduct
HG	So in the end it was (...)	
R7	Yes, yes, we had a problem with this before.	
HG	Have you had any other problems like that?	
R7	No, no, you know peoples something	
HG	But no problems with for example the uitzendbureau or that you have?	
R7	No, we have never had problems with the uitzendbureau.	
HG	So you work here in the factory, but actually you have an education in something completely different. Have you ever considered doing such a job?	Employment
R7	Yes, I wanted but I learn Nederlandse taal, my Nederlands is no good, so I can't find work as laborant because my language is no good.	Changing Employment
HG	And your husband?	
R7	Ook.	
HG	It's fine, you can reply to me in Dutch and English	
R7	Sorry, my English is not	
HG	It's fine, I understand everything you say, as long as you understand me, that's fine. So you said you worked for two different uitzendbureaus.	
R7	Three	Changing E.A.
HG	Three, Were there any differences between the three?	
R7	Yes, yes, there is a big difference. I worked for example for Employment Agency G, this office was terrible. We had an, I can't explain in English, they come to my home, where I live, check everything is okay, when we have central heating, 18 graden for uitzendbureau was too much. So when we give you 20 temperatuur we pay in my salaris,((XXXX)), we must pay because we have too much temperature in home. This was terrible in home it was cold, so this was first example. Second example, zondag, nobody, when I don't want to go to work, I don't must go, but when I don't go to work I pay money, when I don't want to go to work on zondag, I have a 200 euro I must pay because I don't go zondag to work. This was not normal, but it was eight years ago, we don't know what we can't.	Changing E.A. Misconduct E.A.
HG	So you really had to?	
R7	Yeah we must pay. Now we know	Knowledge about NL

HG	Do you think it's also because the system changed? Because eight years ago it was kind of new	
R7	Yes, I think so this is, no, maybe no, because I talk with people who work now in Employment Agency G it is the same problem, so now we work with Employment Agency D. I don't know because we never had a home from Employment Agency D, we have a home from gemeente. So I don't know how it is in Employment Agency D, but in Employment Agency G nothing changed it is still the same. Is nonstop take people in Poland and don't having too much work and give people work for 3 days 2 days, but nonstop take people in Poland, it's nonsense.	Misconduct E.A. Changing housing Misconduct E.A.
HG	That is a real sad situation. But also with the first agency do you think you earned a fair salary? The same as colleagues.	
R7	Here, here I have good salaris, very good salaris. I think so this is the best work I have had in the Netherlands. Because I worked in Company E, I worked in ((XXXX)) and I work in Company D it is very light work for me, because I when I worked in Company E you must heavy things put in cart, so this is light work and you have hours and good salaris.	Employment- current Employment- past
HG	Because you are still working for the uitzendbureau, right?	
R7	Yes	
HG	Because I also had some other interviews with some people who have a contract here.	
R7	No, I work for Employment Agency D	
HG	Have you ever been unemployed, for a longer period? Without work?	
R7	No,	Unemployment
HG	You always had work	
R7	Yes the uitzendbureau	Unemployment
HG	And your husband as well?	
R7	Yes.	Unemployment
HG	Did you ever work illegally? Zwartwerk?	
R7	Nee, nee, nee, always legal	
HG	Right now you're having a house for yourself, it's in Oud Beijerland?	
R7	No, Schiedam.	Current housing
HG	You're renting it?	
R7	Yes	Current housing
HG	And why did you decided to not stick with the housing the uitzendbureau offered?	
R7	Because I am telling you, it was terrible. Coming to home check what you are doing and we wanted look for self, nobody coming to my home having private life. And we want to stay longer so we need home for self.	Previous housing quality
HG	Since you work via an uitzendbureau, you already told me that at first you had problems with the healthcare at the hospital, but are you now also insured and do you also make use of it, like going to the doctors.	
R7	Yes now I have orthopeda, because I have problems with legs,	Social security use
HG	And that is all covered with the insurance?	
R7	Yes, no problem. Now I don't have problem with insurance, now I pay self for my insurance.	Social security use
HG	But do you receive money from the municipality or the government?	
R7	No. Oh you meant UWV?	Social security use
HG	Yes, for example	
R7	Yes, yes I have. I cant explain how is in English I have 30%, my health is no good, so I have money from UWV all the time I think so three years, but I can work but	Social security use
HG	Not all the hours	
R7	Yes and light work, like light work with sitting and sorting	
HG	Like you're sorting the potatoes here. But have you tried to apply to any kind of allowance? Any kind of money from the government, like a subsidy on your rent?	
R7	No,	
HG	Why is that?	
R7	I don't know, we have, you mean huurtoeslag, or like this? We have huurtoeslag, not too much, only huurtoeslag nothing else.	Social security use

HG	Well you've been here for eight years, have you ever had any lessons in Dutch?	
R7	Yes, I have. I learned for two years in Dutch, but later I had an accident and I stopped school and now I learn self	Learning Dutch - courses
HG	And how do you think is your Dutch, is it good enough	
R7	Ik begrijpen maar problem praten	Proficiency in Dutch
HG	And how do you try to learn it now? Through	
R7	I talk in work, in shop I try Nederlands. In shop in work I don't have problem with Nederlands I understand, only in gemeente for example, when we talk about something important I have problem understand everything	Learning Dutch- streets
HG	Do you watch Dutch tv or do you listen to	
R7	No, not. Radio, only radio	
HG	Why don't you watch Dutch tv?	
R7	I don't know, now I have new home I think so we put tv on Nederlands because I listen to, we must look veel tv to learn faster	Learning Dutch - media
HG	But before it was usually the Polish tv?	
R7	No, Polish tv, only the Polish television	Social orientation
HG	And do you have any Dutch friends or mainly Polish, or is it a mix?	
R7	Friends maybe no, but neighbours, Nederlandse neighbours	Social orientation
HG	And do they also try to speak Dutch with you?	
R7	Yes, everybody what I know speak English, better always for me speak English. I never speak Dutch because everybody speaks English.	Use of dutch
HG	Have you ever been in touch with the Dutch police?	
R7	Yes, 1 time because I lost my ID, so I go to the police say I lost my ID,	
HG	Did it cause any problems?	
R7	No, no, no, later I found ID in shop, in centrum shop, so later I back to police and say I found ID. So this was only for this situation	
HG	But not because you caused any problems or	
R7	No, no, no, this was one situation with the police.	
HG	Well that is a positive one. Yeah I think, let me see, that is about it.	
	Yeah I got one question more. Like halfway through the interview you said this job is the best you had, because it earns more than the others. Do you think you got an unfair salary at the other jobs? Like a too low salary?	
R7	No, I think I got higher salaris, always I having minder, now I have more. Before I had minder salaris,	
HG	Do you think that was on purpose, not to, you have the right in the Netherlands to a certain salaris, do you think they paid less because you would accept it anyway?	
R7	No,	
HG	Why was the salaris lower at the previous work?	
R7	Because, in for example Company E, we had not too much hours we work only 4-5 hours, so maybe for one hour the money was the same, but we don't have hours because we work only 4-5 hours a day. Here, when I work I come for 8 hours work.	(no) misconduct of E.A.
HG	I think that is everything, do you want to add something yourself, of what you think that might be interesting or	
R7	I don't know what you want	
HG	Well if you have anything to add	
R7	What do you interest about	
HG	Ooh what we discussed, about you coming here, working here,	
R7	I am happy I'm coming here, first years was hard, because no family nobody here. But now tollerantie in Holland is okay, people it's nice, we go to shopping, somebody tell you good morning.	Intention to stay
HG	It's different than before?	
R7	Yes, it's different in Poland, everybody say it's no good, life is no good, here people I think so live another. It's more open.	Intention to stay
HG	And do you think you will stay here to retire?	
R7	Yes, I think so yes.	Intention to stay
HG	That's great. If you have nothing to add, I have nothing to question, thank you so much!	

Transcribed interview no. 8

Date: 26-03-2015

Duration: 18:54

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 8 (R8)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	So I'd like to know who you are and where you're from.	
R8	Well, I am Respondent 8, I am 32 years old, coming from Hungary originally, moved to the Netherlands about 7 years ago and working for NGO B since then.	Age // C.o.O. Migration –when Employment
HG	You are Hungarian, are you from a city or from a rural area?	
R8	I am the countryside, a small town with 10.000 people, which is in the border region between Austria and Hungary.	C.o.O.
HG	And did you attend any school in Hungary.	
R8	Yes, I graduated university from Hungary and I also did studies in Finland at the university of Lapland as an exchange student.	Education
HG	And in what field did you study?	
R8	Business and Tourism and I am an economist myself.	Education
HG	And right now, what does your work look like. What do you do, what does the organization do?	
R8	The organization is dealing about nature conservation projects all over Europe and I am the only economist that is my profession working for this NGO. It is based in Tilburg, Netherlands but we operate projects all over Europe as I said and I am responsible for the business and biodiversity related projects. Basically, how to incorporate nature conservation aspects in various business sectors including agriculture, fishery and those sectors which benefit from land use	Employment
HG	And the NGO, how did you end up working here?	
R8	I was a member of an international, I am still member of an international organization X, which is dealing about ecotourism, nature conservation, it's a network, a platform, and on that site I have seen a job advertisement for the current position that I am holding now. So I submitted my application and I was invited for an interview here, very soon after the interview I got a call from this organization that I got this job.	Migration process Migration motive
HG	And you applied right away in the Netherlands, not (...) The organization was already in the Netherlands?	
R8	This is the headquarters, we are now sitting here in Tilburg. This is a European organization and has regional offices in Barcelona, in Spain and also in Latvia. The headquarters is here in the Netherlands indeed, and I always wanted to work for such type of European organization. So my main motivation type of motivation to come here was this type of job, which I wanted to take regardless the country where the headquarters is. It happened to be here in Tilburg.	Migration process Migration motive
HG	So you applied yourself within the organization. So you had to come from Hungary to the Netherlands. Did they arrange like the registration and everything and maybe needed a visum?	
R8	At that time it was summer 2008, when this job interview and the selection process took place. And I got all the help really from the beginning, what was needed, so all the papers and everything was taken care of. We didn't need visa at that time, because Hungary joined the EU in 2004, so this was four years after. I didn't even have any information at that time about what is the current policy of the Netherlands towards foreigners. All I knew was I wanted this job and all the rest was taken care of by the organization.	Migration process / when Knowledge of NL Migration motive
HG	And did the organization have any experience with hiring foreigners?	
R8	Yes, this organization is operating since 25 years and already before Eastern European countries joined the EU, they have a track record of working with Russia, Caucasus countries, so even further away than Eastern Europe, so the director and colleagues are quite experienced with people coming from other countries and all the process that it needs.	

HG	So the company registered also with the municipality and did they also look for housing for you?	
R8	No, the municipality registration I did myself, the housing (...) <i>((Interview interrupted by a co-worker walking in))</i>	Registration
	The municipality registration I did myself, also the housing, but I was looking for myself, but in terms of the employment, everything was taken care of. They even asked for an appointment with the tax office in Breda to get my SOFI number, so even that appointment my colleagues made for me at the tax office at that time.	Registration
HG	And you moved to Tilburg or you moved to another city nearby?	
R8	I moved to Tilburg. I was examining what is the best option at that time, for the first three months I was renting an apartment from someone from the university who had a short-term assignment abroad. So I could live at his place for about 3 months and that was perfect, because I could use these three months to find a permanent place in Tilburg or in the nearby villages, so I had time enough to look for something.	Migration process Housing - Arrival
HG	And you managed to find a place, also in Tilburg?	
R8	Yes, actually within 5 minutes from this place, because that is something I promised myself during my studies, that especially at the university and high school when I had to travel a lot and I want to live close to workplace, whenever possible and this is my third or fourth job so far and I always managed.	Housing Current
HG	To live close to your job?	
R8	Yes to live close to my job.	
HG	You just mentioned that you've had other jobs before. What kind of jobs were those?	
R8	Those were also focusing on international cooperation and project development. I was working in the Austrian, Slovenian, Hungarian border region, dealing with interact projects which is certain type of regional development, rural development project linked to culture, tourism, nature conservation between different stakeholders, so	Employment departure
HG	So also already a really international job?	
R8	International job, but at that time I was living at the hometown in Hungary where I was born and where I grew up.	Employment departure
HG	And here, do you spend most time at the office or do you also go to the locations where you have the projects?	
R8	Yes, luckily I travel a lot. I am running two big international projects at the moment. Last year almost every second or third week I was away at some kind of international travels, but when I am working in the Netherlands I am working here in the office.	
HG	Those projects, where are they mainly situated?	
R8	In many countries, the stakeholders are coming from Italy, Netherlands, Germany, Belgium, Greece, Spain and we are the coordinator of those projects.	
HG	But did you have any information when you got here to the Netherlands? What was it like living here?	
R8	No idea, I of course I knew about the country itself, the history, because I read about it beforehand, I wanted to be an archeologist in the past, but that is a different story. I had all this general interest in history, so I read about it, I heard about Polders and the Dikes and the windmills. But I had no clue about general aspects like economy, people. Are they welcoming, are they nice or not. So this kind of additional information I didn't know, only the facts and figures and the geographic and the basics things about the country, but not the actual situation.	Information on NL – at migration
HG	And what is your experience about the situation?	
R8	Well I learned it myself of course, while living here what it really means, before that I only knew this country from the books.	Knowledge about NL Past and current
HG	And how was this experience? Was it easy to meet people, was it easy to get around, was it easy to get the things you need?	
R8	I must say, because I have a bit international experience, from the current job and also from the previous, I know a lot of cultures and countries. But so far, I really find the Netherlands and the Dutch people the most welcoming, among all. Especially compared to German speaking countries, Austria for example and Germany. I have friends living there and I know from personal experience that they are rather resistant and keep reminding you that you're still a foreigner and you'll always remain a foreigner. To be honest I have good experiences in the Netherlands, my colleagues, my	Experiences in NL Social network

	neighbors my friends. From the very beginning I had a positive and warm welcome here.	
HG	Do you think it does matter that you live in Tilburg? Because it has the university nearby, it has an international approach in the university.	
R8	I think in general in the country, because I travelled around a lot in my free time. I try to visit as many places as possible and whenever I was interacting with local people elsewhere, and when I was asked where I was from and I said Hungarian than they were usually very positive: You have a beautiful country, Budapest, the capital is nice, Goulash, (...) and they all came with this touristic things. On the other hand, meeting with other Hungarians here in Holland, they often tell me stories of how bad they feel and how they rather distinguished negatively. They live mainly in Rotterdam or the Randstad area, but I personally never had negative comments about my nationality in this country.	Experiences in NL Experienced discrimination
HG	And how do you think others had those experiences?	
R8	One of them I know, she is working in McDonald's and she's a renting a room in a place where there is a landlord or landlady living as well, so she doesn't really have her place or privacy. And also the type of job she is doing, she is I don't know, interacting with different kinds of groups than I do. Or meeting different type of people on a daily basis, but I personally have only good experiences	Experienced discrimination
HG	But are you learning Dutch, do you speak some Dutch?	
R8	I can understand a lot Dutch, almost all of it, I can speak a bit if I want. I never really learned in an appropriate way, but I speak German, so knowing German very well means I can read newspapers in Dutch, especially in reading I pick up a lot. Again, this is an international organization even me work contract is in English, so the working language of this organization is in English too, my Dutch colleagues also speak English here at work. So from that perspective I was not encouraged or motivated to learn Dutch, too much. On the other, I am also living here and interacting with neighbors with friends, I don't know people in the supermarket, it is nice to know some things. That is how I picked up, learning by doing.	Proficiency in Dutch Required knowledge of Dutch Learning Dutch
HG	But do you plan to learn Dutch, to take classes for example?	
R8	I just don't have time for that, so since I work a lot and travel a lot I need to really prioritize. I rather in free time spend time with my friends and doing my hobbies than spend time in a Dutch class. I just don't think I have the energy for it.	Learning Dutch
HG	Do you think it is required to learn Dutch to become more fluent, or do you think it's fine like this	
R8	No, I don't think it's fine at all, it's just that I am not forced right now to do that and I try my best as much as I can, but it is more on a voluntary basis and without classes	Intention to learn Dutch
HG	Well you said you can read a Dutch paper, do you do that as well, or listen to the Dutch radio or watch Dutch tv	
R8	On the internet I mean, I am reading the news mainly on the internet, I listen to the radio and TV, when we go the cinema most of the movies are subtitled so that is also a very good way to learn. And whenever I can, especially with my neighbours who don't speak English, with them it is really easy to learn, because whenever I spend an hour or two with them I am forced to speak, that really helps.	Proficiency in Dutch
HG	I can imagine.	
	Do you have a partner?	
R8	That is an interesting one. Well not a steady one.	
HG	Does he live in Tilburg as well?	
R8	As I said, I am single if you're looking for the official status. But I used to have a boyfriend, Hungarian, first I moved here and then he came as well. He got a job here and we lived together for a couple of years, but recently he moved back to Hungary.	Partner
HG	And Yourself, do you see yourself living in the Netherlands forever or do you think I will leave after this contract is ending? Or do you have a fixed contract?	
R8	I have a contract now without ending, so as long I like this job or as long as they like me here I am happy to stay, but probably it is not going to last forever.	Contract Intention to stay
HG	And do you have any ideas about then? Will you again look for an international job, or	

R8	Probably international, I am flexible in that sense, I have experience in this field and I like to try myself in different contexts, in different cultures, I like challenges to change perspectives every now and then so I am open to anything.	Intention to stay
HG	So that might be anywhere?	
R8	Anywhere actually,	
HG	I think that's about most of it, if you have anything to add.	
R8	I should check the email you sent me but I think most of it is covered.	
	What I would really like to emphasize again is that I really got all the help from the workplace to come here, as much as possible the paperwork was taken care of by them, they fixed appointment for me at the authorities where I had to go, so that was really positive. I really got a warm feeling from the beginning, that I am wanted here and taken care of.	Help from employer
HG	So never had any negative experiences because of your identity or origin?	
R8	Not in work environment and also not in private, as I said. I have hobbies I can go to places in my free time where I can meet Dutch crowd or international crowd, because Tilburg indeed has a lot of students here, so there are platforms where I could have experienced otherwise, not a positive one, but I am here now since almost seven years and I am quite happy, quite positive	Experienced discrimination
HG	Then I think I have everything I need from the interview. Thank you a lot!	

Transcribed interview no. 9

Date: 16-04-2015

Duration: 26:59

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 9 (R9)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	Ik ben bij Company F en het is vandaag de zestiende van April. En dan gaan we beginnen met het interview met Respondent 9.	
R9	Ja Company F ja dat is techniek bedrijf ja, ik heb hier gekomen niet gelijk van Polen, alleen ik ben (...) toen ik op de school geweest, weet je, ik heb ook HAVO, tussendoor vanaf 4 ^e en 5 ^e jaar in de vakantieperiode ik dacht kan ik zeg maar ergens naar buitenland gaan om mijn Engels te verbeteren om te kijken beetje ander cultuur. Mijn bedoeling was drie maanden of zoiets werken, niet langer en één van mijn collega's hij werkte bij uitzendbureau, als je wilt het is mogelijkheid kan je ook met mij om te werken en dat gebeurt natuurlijk.	Employment Education Migration Process Intention to stay
	En mijn eerste werk in Nederland was werk in verpakkingsbedrijf, dat was ook beetje techniek ervaring, eigenlijk ik werkte met een beetje de zelfde machines dan hier, maar mij kennis van de machines was op nul niveau, weet je ik wist eigenlijk niks. En, ja ik ben terug naar Polen gegaan om mijn school klaar te maken en daar (...)	Employment
HG	En wanneer was dit voor de eerste keer dat je in Nederland was?	
R9	Rond zeven jaar geleden, zoiets. En daarna ja ik was mijn school klaar daarna ik dacht misschien nog ik kom terug naar Nederland, nog een stukje verdienen. Naar mijn oude bedrijf zeg maar, mijn baas gezegd ja dat werk weet je bij verpakkingsbedrijf kan iedereen ik heb andere werk zwaarder maar ook beter verdienen en ik word meubels bezorger.	Migration –when Employment
	Dat was voor mij fijne ervaring, weet je elke dag rond 8 adressen en kon hier zien hoe Nederlandse mensen wonen, beetje welke meubels er zijn beetje hoe mensen reageren in stress situaties als de kleur van de bank was verschillend of ik zeg maar meubels een stukje beschadigd. Dat was ook voor mij echt fijn.	Employment
	En ik gebruikte Engels altijd dat was niet genoeg voor mij, voor communicatie het was genoeg maar ik kon nooit begrijpen geintjes, bijvoorbeeld dan kan je op je buik schrijven of dat was nog iets ik hoef niet te zwemmen in het geld pootje baden is al genoeg. En niemand in Engels deze geintjes maken en daarna ik een beslissing genomen om naar school te gaan om te leren. En ik heb begonnen Nederlandse taal.	Language capabilities Motivation to learn NL
HG	Dus dat is dan in 2008 ofzo, één jaar nadat je school had afgerond, zoiets ongeveer.	
R9	Ja zoiets. Dat was voor mij makkelijk. En ik werkte verder, ik heb ook rijbewijs gemaakt tussendoor. Ik was alleen rijder weet je, eigenlijk ik dacht dat op kantoor of ja eigenlijk op kantoor op kamer is fijner werk maar daarna overal in Nederland: Brabant, Limburg, Zeeland, daarna ik heb gezien dat is leuk op de weg, weet je, op de weg ochtend op pompstation koffie drinken, Douwe Egberts dat was goeie smaak altijd, niet ouwe koffie op zoiets, bij elke woning weer wij hebben koffie gekregen verschillende smaken dat was leuk voor mij en altijd ook de lucht, maar in, ik bij ons bedrijf werkte nog meer Poolse mensen, mijn baas zei dat voor mij is makkelijk als je hier blijft, communicatie is beter, natuurlijk dat is logisch maar ik vond niet leuk. Hier in magazijn werken, ik ((XXX))als chauffeur werken. Daarna ik heb een beslissing genomen om misschien andere werk op te zoeken. Ik heb één van mijn collega's gevraagd, hij heeft grote mogelijkheden en hij gezegd tegen mij ik ken een paar bedrijven, misschien als je CV voorbereidt, hij zeggen dan kan je opsturen en daarna als iemand reageert dan moet je ze spreken, misschien sollicitatie gespreken, misschien gaat goed. Dat gebeurt, ik heb CV opgestuurd en iemand van Company F reageert en wij hebben een afspraak gemaakt voor sollicitatie gesprek, was goed en ja ik heb daar gezegd dat ik zou willen stoppen met werken, ik had ook vast contract, maar dat was niet leuk werk en ik heb hier gekomen en hier heb ik weer vast contract.	Employment Changing employment
HG	Want hoelang werk je dan nu hier?	
R9	3 jaar	Employment current

HG	Wat doen je dan nu vooral	
R9	Ik ben werkplaats chef, dat is klein werkplaats, wij doen simpele dingen maar	Employment current
HG	Dus een beetje onderhoud en voorbereiding van machines die naar een locatie gaan?	
R9	Ja,	
HG	Kan je nog even, Wat doet Company F precies? Ik heb al wel een beetje gelezen, maar	
R9	Company F doet machines voor kas, voor verpakking bedrijven, weet je, voor bijvoorbeeld champignons naar andere grond, kip bedrijven, meestal transportbanden, dat soort machines, nog meer dingen, wasmachines ook	
HG	Dus een beetje de installaties in een kas, de machines die daar in staan?	
R9	Ja, ja, ja, maar ik werk alleen hier, beetje in bedrijf, bijna nooit buiten, soms twee keer per jaar of zo iets, ja	Employment current
HG	Maar dat bevat goed dat werk hier?	
R9	Ja, ik lust werken met handen, weet je, hier is dat vreesbank, draaibank, lasapparaat, leuke dingen, ik kan zelf veel dingen doen, bijvoorbeeld in mijn auto als ik nodig heb, dat is ook fijn als er zijn problemen in productie dan regel ik zelf een oplossing, zijn ook hier heel slimme ook andersom maar de slimme mensen hebben ook goed ideeën, ik kan ook van deze mensen hier leren, dat vind ik ook interessant	Employment
HG	Maar het sluit dus ook wel aan bij de opleiding die je hebt gevolgd?	
R9	Ja, is wel iets anders, school was alleen theorie hier kan je zelf zien precies, kijk op school niemand heeft gezegd als je moet iets boren, altijd mensen zeggen over snelheid, ja, of over hoe scherp moet het gereedschap zijn, maar niemand zegt over temperatuur, en jij denkt niet over temperatuur en hier zie je vaak ja wat is temperatuur, wat gebeurt met materiaal, kleur veranderd of zo iets, dat is realistisch dat vind ik fijn	Employment Education
HG	Dus dan leer je hier ook van je collega's en kan je hier ook wat bij leren?	
R9	Ja	
HG	Oké, en nu op dit moment, waar woon je? Woon je hier in 's Gravendeel?	
R9	Ik woon in 's Gravendeel, ja, tijdelijk in bedrijfswoning omdat ik heb vast contract gekregen ik ga misschien eigen woning zoeken,	Housing
HG	Want nu heeft Company F je woning geregeld?	
R9	Ja,	Housing
HG	En hiervoor? Waar en hoe heb je toen gewoond? Ook via het bedrijf of heb je toen zelf wat gevonden?	
R9	Vroeger ook via bedrijf	Housing
HG	Hoe zag zo'n woning eruit, was het gewoon netjes ingericht, had je je eigen huisje of had je, moest je het delen met een paar mensen?	
R9	Vroeger ik woonde in een vrije woning, was een paar kamers en ik woonde niet alleen, maar met andere mensen van bedrijf, maar weet je dat is geen leuke ding, weet je, wonen met veel mensen, sommige mensen willen een schone kamer en in een schone omgeving wonen, voor andere maakt het niet uit. Ik rook niet, sommige mensen roken, sommige mensen willen niet buiten roken, maar alleen binnen; dat vind ik ook niet leuk. Dat gaat door ruzie, weet je. Ik heb ook hobby, ik ben geïnteresseerd in muziek, ik ook zelf spelen op gitaar en vaak op concert in HMH, in Amsterdam, Ziggodome, het is, dat is voor mij beetje leuke tijd en sommige mensen hebben in Polen zeg maar families, gezin, en sparen zo veel mogelijk en daarna geld opsturen naar Polen, en hier alleen wat kunnen ze doen, ja, alcohol drinken en dat is leuke tijd voor die mensen. Ik vind iets anders is leuk.	Housing EA Quality housing
HG	En dan hier in 's Gravendeel, heb je hier wel een huis voor jezelf, of woon je hier ook met anderen samen?	
R9	Nee, ik woon in een kleine kamertje, in een kleine woning, dat is, ik heb, het is woning voor maximaal 2 personen zeg maar, maar deze woning is koud. Misschien andersom, in mijn woning is aparte opwarming, verwarming en op een kamer is kachel en komen gasten voor 2 dagen, 2 nachten slapen, daarna ze wonen daar, maar Bijna door jaar heen woon ik alleen.	Housing

HG	Want heb je een partner, heb je een vrouw of een vriendin?	
R9	Nee, vrijgezellig. Sommigen mensen hebben partners in Polen, maar het werkt niet weet je, je moet echt stevige relatie zijn anders in vrouw in Polen, vrouw heeft nodig ook man om te leven, eigenlijk heeft ze man, maar ze zoekt andere jongen om beetje gemeente en man doet het zelfde hier	Partner
HG	Je zei dus dat je eigenlijk tijdens de vakantie voor de eerste keer in Nederland kwam werken, met het idee ik ga tijdens de vakantie een beetje geld verdienen. Was je toen gericht naar Nederland gekomen of had je zoiets als het ergens anders is, is het ook goed?	
R9	Alles was eigenlijk duidelijk omdat mijn collega hier werkte, dus ja ik heb met hem hier gekomen en hij gezegd wij gaan hier slapen wij gaan dit doen, alles was geregeld dus was eigenlijk heel makkelijk.	Intention to stay Other countries
HG	Want wist je zelf iets van Nederland toen je hier de eerste keer kwam?	
R9	Ja, Nederland is het anders dan Polen, zijn andere baantjes zijn andere gebouwen in Polen is iets anders. Vroeger ik dacht dat Nederland is weet je, artificial, als boom staat op straat dan staat hij echt recht, overal mensen hebben iets gedaan. In Polen is beetje hier natuur, als er boom staat, boom staat beetje krom, na een paar jaar ik ben gewend, ik vind het hier leuker, als ik ga naar Polen toe ik zie kromme boom en ik denk is niet netjes misschien, weet je, ja mensen ook veranderd, ik verander ook	Knowlede of NL
HG	Maar toen je kwam wist je iets over wonen in Nederland, leven in Nederland	
R9	Ik speelde ook in band, 7 jaar, en elke weekend ik was op de bruiloft of andere feestje en wat dat is ik mis, hier weekend was stil, daar in Polen was iets gebeurd gewoon veel mensen, ja maar misschien niet lawaai maar altijd harde muziek dus dat was mis voor mij.	Social position
HG	Maar toen je bent terug gegaan om je opleiding af te maken, om je school af te maken, had je toen ook zoiets van ik wil per se terug naar Nederland? Of was een baan in Frankrijk of in Duitsland, maakte dat niet uit? Of was je baan in Nederland wel goed bevallen?	
R9	Vroeger ik dacht dat Engels dat is echt universeel, ik dacht misschien naar Engeland beter te gaan, maar ik kon niemand van Engeland dus ja het was voor mij makkelijker om naar Nederland te gaan. Zeg maar naar Duitsland als ik niemand ken is dat moeilijk. Waar is bank hoe rekening open maken en mijn Duits is ook niks. Dus Duitsland is buurland van Polen, maar	Migration process Other countries
HG	Maar is ook een grote groep Polen die in Nederland werken en ook een Duits paspoort hebben, maar jij hebt alleen de Poolse nationaliteit	
R9	Ja, ik heb alleen Poolse	Migration process
HG	En toen je hier kwam, bank rekening openen dat soort dingen, dat hebben ze op je werk allemaal gedaan?	
R9	Ja, iemand op het werk is met mij mee gekomen naar bank toe, rekening open maken, ook verzekeringen mensen uit het bedrijf geregeld	Migration process
HG	En ook de registratie bij de gemeente?	
R9	Registratie ik heb zelf gedaan,	Registration
HG	Dus Sofinummer en dat soort dingen	
R9	Sofinummer ook van bedrijf iemand heeft me geholpen	Registration
HG	Meteen de eerste keer al, of is dit pas later	
R9	Nee, nee, Sofinummer was gelijk en verzekering was iets later, omdat bij eerste bedrijf werkte was genoeg zeg maar Poolse verzekering, ik was verzekerd bij Poolse verzekering, bij andere bedrijf waar ik, meubels bedrijf, mensen ((XXXX)) Dat is ook gevaarlijk werk, weet je, kan ook veel gebeuren, dus iedereen in Nederland is verzekerd jullie moeten ook.	Registration
HG	Dus daarom ook hier verzekerd. Je zei dus al dat je in 2007 bent gekomen voor het eerst, of 2008, dus toen had je niks nodig aan een visum of een werk visum, alleen je paspoort of je ID kaart	
R9	Nee was niks nodig,	
HG	Ben je wel eens in Nederland werkeloos geweest, of heb je altijd werk gehad?	

R9	Nee, werk gehad, ik ben niet	Unemployment
HG	Dus je bent pas gestopt bij je vorige werk, nadat je deze had gevonden?	
R9	Ja, ja, was ik stoppen ik ga of terug naar Polen of beetje uitrusten en daarna op zoek naar werk. ik ben niet het mens, ik lust niet alleen op de bank liggen,	Unemployment
HG	En heb je ooit zwart gewerkt?	
R9	Nee, nee, nee, ik nooit	
HG	En via het uitzendbureau is ook altijd goed gegaan, dat heb je ook betaald gekregen?	
R9	Ja	
HG	En moest je daarna nog wel geld terug betalen voor bijvoorbeeld wonen?	
R9	Nee, het bedrijf, meubels bedrijf, ik moest woning betalen, maar ook meer dan 300 euro per maand, 350 of zoiets,	Housing EA
HG	Maar verdiende je dan wel ook genoeg om dat ook te kunnen betalen?	
R9	Ja, ((XXX))	
HG	Weet je bedragen ongeveer?	
R9	Nu ik woon gratis, zeg maar, ik heb nodig geld om eten te kopen of naar concert te gaan, maar als ik wil eigen woning kopen of huren heb ook geld nodig om te betalen en daarna misschien auto met belasting, maar op dit moment nog zeker, dat is nog toekomst weet je.	Housing current
HG	Want op dit moment kan je nog niet gaan verhuizen? Of heb je wel al geld kunnen sparen de afgelopen jaren?	
R9	Ja, ja, ja	Housing future
HG	Dus als je zou willen kan je gaan kijken naar iets anders en het ook leuk inrichten. Want je zei net auto? Kom je nu op de fiets naar je werk?	
R9	Ik kom met fiets, dat kost maar 2 minuutjes, weet je, het is in de buurt, maar ik heb nodig ook beweging, beetje gezond met fiets, vroeger heb ik, ik kwam hier altijd met auto, ((XXXX)) Heb ook Nederlandse fiets gekocht, Gazelle,	
HG	Ja, als het twee minuutjes duurt inderdaad om er te komen	
R9	Maar ik heb auto en ik heb motor, met Nederlandse kenteken, want wegbelasting en verzekering is goedkoop voor motor.	
HG	En je auto?	
R9	Auto is nog steeds Poolse auto,	
HG	Omdat het dan een stuk goedkoper is dan een Nederlands kenteken?	
R9	Ja, maar weetje als ik met mij eigen woning op zoek ga, ik ga dan ook Nederlandse kleine autootje kopen. Is auto nodig voor mij? Alleen voor eten van de winkel halen. Vroeger was ik ook in school, en ik moest ook naar school, maar nu school klaar is dus auto staat stil.	Housing Social position
HG	Oké, Heb je je vrienden, zijn die van hier binnen het bedrijf? Of zijn het vooral Polen van, die hier in de buurt wonen of is het een combinatie van van alles?	
R9	Hier in Nederland ik heb een paar kennissen, ik ben niet echt socialized man, weet je, ik blijf stil met muziek, ik luister muziek, ik heb niet veel vrienden nodig, ik heb een goede collega van hier in werkplek dus als ik iets wil weten over Nederlandse regels of ik heb echte vragen dat dan die jongen zegt tegen mij, hij heeft goed uitgelegd hij helpt altijd graag en ik heb ook nog andere Poolse collega hij woont in Polen maar hij is ook vaak, hij is business man, weet je, dus hij is ook vaak in Nederland en België hij spreekt ook goed Nederlands dus, ja, wij gaan samen op concert en veel spreken en verder niet veel.	Social network
HG	En als je de media volgt, kijk je dan naar Nederlandse TV, of	
R9	Soms, ik kijk naar Nederlandse tv, om beetje Nederlandse taal te luisteren maar niet vaak, meestal internet, of in kantine kranten beetje bekijken en soms lezen ik luister wat mensen ook zeggen in kantine. Ik kijk niet veel tv weet je, meestal internet,	Language capabilities
HG	En op het internet zijn dat dan vaak Poolse websites of zijn dat dan Nederlandse websites?	

R9	Meestal Nederlandse, ik bekijk op marktplaats verschillende dingen, hoeveel kost het in Nederland hoeveel kost het in Polen, daarmee vergelijk ik, ik lees zeg maar over motoren en concerten kan ik daar foto maken of niet, in die zaal, in bepaalde zaal niet overal kan je fotos maken. dus Je moet ook lezen, over parkeerplek	Language capabilities
HG	Maar denk je dat je het Nederlandse nieuws een beetje kunt volgen? Dat je weet wat er speelt	
R9	Ja, Nederland is ook klein, is klein, dus als er iets gebeurd iedereen zegt. Vanavond is iets gebeurd, morgenochtend zeggen mijn collega's tegen mij, dus kan ik ook straks zelf opzoeken op internet. Maar ik kijk tv soms in het weekend.	Language capabilities Social network
HG	Ik had net nog een vraag, even verzinnen. Nu je bij Company F, nu je hier werkt, je zei net dat je gewoon gesolliciteerd had, hadden ze een vacature open staan of	
R9	Ja, op de website van Company F staan zijn vacatures. Daarbij mijn collega hebben gezegd dat zij vaak hebben mensen nodig, soms Company F moet grote project maken en tijdelijk hebben ze mensen nodig. Ik dacht misschien ik kan proberen. Gelukt	Employment
HG	En dat was toen in principe ook een tijdelijke opdracht toen je hier begon? Of was het wel meteen een baan voor langere tijd.	
R9	Ik werkte nog bij oude baas, ik was hier 's avonds klaar met sollicitatie ik heb toen daar gezegd dat ik zou willen stoppen, maar toen ik hier kwam ik solliciteerde op kantoor werken, tekeningen maken, maar de mensen van Company F gezegd, dan weet je niks over onze machine dus wat kan je tekenen, dan moet je eerst beneden beginnen en kijken wat doen we, van welke onderdelen onze machines zijn gebouwen en daarna kan je iets verder op kantoor doen. En dat gebeurd, en toen ik hier werken, op de werkplek, ja ik gekregen informatie over naar boven daar iets te doen tijdelijk en weer naar beneden en daarna nog langer boven werken, maar ik heb gezegd ik ben niet verder geïnteresseerd om op kantoor te werken.	Employment
HG	Om dan hier in de werkplaats te blijven werken	
R9	Ja	
HG	En is Company F af en toe op zoek naar Poolse werknemers, of maakt het niet uit waar ze krachten vandaan halen. Heb je daar ideeën over?	
R9	Dat is moeilijk te zeggen, Company F heeft ook in Polen filiaal en veel bedrijven doen iets voor Company F dus als mensen in Polen doen een machine nog niet 100% klaar of moet nog iets gemaakt worden, verder na transport dan mensen hier, dus dat is moeilijk te zeggen er zijn hier vaak mensen uit Polen, maar alleen tijdelijk.	Work environment
HG	En dat zijn dan ook mensen die eigenlijk voor de Poolse vestiging werken?	
R9	Ja	
HG	Maar was het dan ook een bewuste keuze om bijvoorbeeld jou aan te nemen in plaats van een Nederlands iemand, om dan toch een beetje een band te krijgen tussen Polen en Nederland?	
R9	Ik denk het niet.	
HG	Dan denk ik dat ik alles heb. Dan heb ik verder geen vragen meer. Ik ga hem uit zetten.	

Transcribed interview no. 10

Date: 23-05-2015

Duration: 14:23

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 10 (R10)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective coding
R10	Jij vragen hè en ik zeggen!	
HG	Ja (lacht)	
R10	Oké (ehm)	
HG	Nou wie ben je? En waar kom je vandaan?	
R10	Ik ben (eeh) Respondent 10 en ik kom (eh) ik kom uit Roemenië.	C.o.O.
HG	Roemenië (..) en waar vandaan in Roemenië?	
R10	Nog een keer?	
HG	Waar uit Roemenië	
R10	Uit Noord Roemenië, uit Suceava	C.o.O.
HG	Dat is een dorp of?	
R10	Nee dat is een grote stad, en ik woon in een dorp //Naam onverstaabaar//	C.o.O.
HG	En hoe oud ben je?	
R10	Ik ben 40 jaar	Age
HG	40 jaar (...) Ben je getrouwd?	
R10	Ja getrouwd, 2 kinderen	Partner
	Ja één meisje (...) één dochter en één jongen.	Children
HG	En die zijn ook in Nederland?	
R10	Nee, die zitten in Roemenië.	Partner
HG	En je vrouw (..) ook?	
R10	Ja, ja	Partner
HG	En ben je naar school geweest in Roemenië, heb je daar (...)	
R10	Ja ik heb daar school gedaan	Education
HG	En wat is dan je hoogste diploma?	
R10	Mijn hoogste diploma is voor XXXXXX mathematic en physics	Education
HG	En is dat universitair niveau of iets	
R10	Nee, nee, dat is die twaalfde klas. Niet universiteit	Education
HG	(eehmmm) En nu werk je hier bij Company G, kan je daar iets over vertellen, over je werk hier.	
R10	Nou ik werk al lang hier, van 7-8, nog meer jaar	Employment
HG	Oké en wat houdt t werk dan zo'n beetje in?	
R10	Ja het gaat goed	
HG	Maar wat doe je voor werk, wat (...)	
R10	Ja ik (ehm) coördineer een groep van de arbeidsploeg	Employment
HG	En die mensen zijn dus bezig met aardbeien plukken en (ehm) het land (ehm)	
R10	Ja	
HG	Bewerken.... Dus je zegt je werkt 7-8 jaar nu hier. Is dat altijd (...) Heb je altijd hier gewerkt? Of heb je ook ergens anders (...)	
R10	Ja ik heb 6 maanden hier gewerkt en dan terug naar Roemenië en nog 1-2 maanden komt werken en terug. Het is hier niet non-stop. Elk jaar is het 1-2 keer naar huis.	Employment
HG	Aah oke. En dan thuis in Roemenië, heb je daar werk?	
R10	Ja daar werk ik in bouw	Employment CoO
HG	Bouw?	
R10	Ja in constructie	
HG	En is dit je enige werkgever in Nederland? Of heb je nog voor andere mensen gewerkt?	
R10	Ja ik heb nog in België gewerkt, 10 jaar geleden	Migration history
HG	Als wat?	

R10	Ook in constructie, ook in arbeidsploegen. Iets van alles	Migration history
HG	Ah Oké, beetje van alles. Je zegt je hebt een diploma in wiskunde in mathematica, is daar geen werk in?	
R10	Daar is te moeilijk om werk te vinden. Daar zijn te weinig plaats voor werk. En overall vragen ze experience en als je finisht met school, kan je niet 5 jaar experience verwachten.	Education-Employment
HG	Dus je hebt gewoon in Roemenië met je opleiding, geen werk?	
R10	Nee, geen werk. Geen werk en geen goeie salaris	Employment CoO Migration Motive
HG	Geen goed salaris (...) oké (...) Is dat vergelijkbaar? Kan je zeg maar met je diploma, kan je dan meer verdienen? Of verdien je dan minder dan dat je hier doet?	
R10	Ja veel minder als hier	Migration motive
HG	En dat werk zou je dat hier ook in Nederland kunnen doen?	
R10	Nog een keer zeggen (...)	
HG	Dat werk wat je in Roemenië kan doen, kan je dat ook bijvoorbeeld hier doen?	
R10	Ja ja	
HG	En heb je daar dan geprobeerd bijvoorbeeld werk in te vinden?	
R10	Aaah je kan proberen als je non-stop komen deze kant.	Employment-education
HG	Maar als je er steeds maar eventjes bent is dat lastig, oké (...) Je zegt dat je ook in België hebt gewerkt	
R10	Ja, hebben gewerkt bij nog een teler en bij eentje in de constructie.	Migration history
HG	En verder nog? In de Europese Unie?	
R10	Ik heb nog in Servia en Turkije en Nederland en België	Migration history
HG	Aah oké. En hoe ben je hier dan terecht gekomen? Hoe heb je dit werk gevonden?	
R10	Ja ik kom (...) ik heb een Schengenvisum en daarmee kom ik werk zoeken in deze landen	Migration process
HG	Maar hoe heb je dat gevonden? Heb je daar een organisatie voor benaderd	
R10	Nee, nee. Eerst praten een paar woorden en dan vragen bij iedereen.	Migration process
HG	Dus je bent hier gewoon in de buurt gaan rondvragen?	
R10	Ja.	Migration process
HG	En stonden ze meteen te springen; van jou wil ik graag in huren of kon het werk ook worden gedaan door andere mensen?	
R10	Nog één keer?	
HG	Het werk wat je hier doet, kan dat ook gedaan worden door andere mensen? Zijn die mensen beschikbaar?	
R10	Nee,	
HG	En waarom? Wat is dan zo bijzonder aan jou?	
R10	Ik niet verstaan zo goed je woorden	
HG	Dus, je zegt dat andere mensen je werk ook kunnen doen (...)	
R10	Ja, kan	
HG	Zouden dat ook Nederlandse mensen kunnen zijn?	
R10	Nee	
HG	Nee? En waarom niet?	
R10	Ik weet het niet, ik denk dat Nederlandse niet willen werken in deze (...) in agrarisch Ik heb nooit gezien Nederlandse employee	Employment
HG	Oké	
R10	Ik ben al lang hier, maar	
HG	Ja, (...) Dus je bent zeg maar vanuit Roemenië, heb je dus gewerkt in Servië en Turkije; Hoe ben je dan uiteindelijk binnen de Europese Unie terecht gekomen? Want dat was al voor dat Roemenië lid was van de Europese Unie, toch?	
R10	Ja, ik kom gewoon met een visum op Duitsland	Migration process
HG	Uit Duitsland? Heb je dan ook een Duits paspoort of alleen (...)	
R10	Nee, nee ik heb geen Duits paspoort. Het was vroeger, meer als 10 jaar geleden ofzo, krijg je een invitatie van eentje, ik krijg invitatie van jou, ik ga bij ambassade en daar doen interview: wat zoeken ik, waarom daar en dit en dat en dan krijg je die visum.	Migration process Migration history
HG	Oké	

R10	Voor alleen een maand	Migration process
HG	(...) Voor alleen een maand?	
R10	Één maand is niet genoeg voor werk	Migration process
HG	Nee, en daarna?	
R10	En daarna iedereen terug gaan	Migration process
HG	Dus elk jaar opnieuw heb je een visum aan moeten vragen?	
R10	Ja	
HG	En nu, nu dat Roemenië lid is van de Europese Unie? Is dat makkelijker geworden?	
R10	Ja nou is dus makkelijk je kan altijd komen, gaan weg, is vrij voor werk Is heel goed	Migration history
HG	En ik ben ook benieuwd naar hoe je woont. Woon je hier op het bedrijf? Of (...)	
R10	Ja ik woon hier op deze bedrijf.	Housing
HG	En is dat in een huis, is dat in een (...)	
R10	Ja, Company G heeft twee huizen	
HG	En dat huis wat je daar, met hoeveel mensen woon je daar, woon je daar alleen?	
R10	Ik woon daar nog met drie mensen,	Housing
HG	Drie mensen	
R10	Ja	
HG	En dan heb je wel allemaal een eigen slaapkamer	
R10	Ja, alles	Housing
HG	En dan hebben jullie een gedeelde keuken	
R10	Ja, hebben alles wat is in een huis Dat is geen probleem Meer als nodig	Housing
HG	Meer als nodig? Dat is helemaal goed. En dan krijg je ook betaald, je krijgt salaris voor je werk. Weet je of je ook pensioen op bouwt?	
R10	Ja straks, kan je zien wat komt, wat niet komt. Is alles betaald en	
HG	En betaal je ook voor de huisvesting? Of gaat er dan nog iets van je loon af, om hier te wonen?	
R10	Ja, bij mij niet, maar bij anderen wel.	Housing
HG	Omdat je hoofdman, voorman, bent? Heb je ook wel eens illegaal gewerkt, zonder documenten	
R10	((Lacht))	
HG	Je mag eerlijk antwoord geven, het blijft bij mij	
R10	Ja, is normaal soms om illegaal werk (.....)	Employment -black
HG	En wat voor werk was dat?	
R10	Is soort van alles	Employment -black
HG	Tussen het werk hier door, doe je dan nog wat anders	
R10	Hier? Nee	Employment -black
HG	Hier niet	
R10	Nou niet meer, vroeger oké, maar nou niet meer. Deze (...) al lang, met die problemen met die visum en nou niet meer.	Employment -black
HG	Dus omdat je dus soms geen visum kreeg, was het dus makkelijker om zwart te werken?	
R10	Ja.	Employment -black
HG	Maar nu je hier gewoon overal vrij kan reizen kan je gewoon werken?	
R10	Ja	
HG	Oké Heb je een beetje een idee hoe andere mensen hier zijn? Andere Roemenen die in Nederland zijn, hebben die een zelfde situatie als waar jij in zit? Hebben die het beter of slechter?	
R10	Ja er zijn veel mensen, mensen in dezelfde situatie, slechter hoor niet zo veel.	Social position
HG	En als je ook aan het werk bent, werk je dan de hele week, werk je 7 dagen of ben je ook af en toe een dag vrij?	

R10	((XXX)) Die andere dag kan veel zijn, maakt niet uit, 3 uurtjes, 10, maakt niet uit. Is niet als fabriek, en hebben vast programma, in de agriraïsche sector is de ene keer meer andere keer minder	Employment
HG	Met slecht weer kan je natuurlijk moeilijk de velden op. Bijvoorbeeld zo'n dag als vandaag, het is nu zaterdag, hoelang heb je vandaag dan bijvoorbeeld gewerkt?	
R10	Ja, gisteren een beetje minder en vandaag een beetje meer. Een is niet met andere vegelijken	Employment
HG	Maar uiteindelijk werk je wel alles via de regels. Ben je ooit wel eens aangesproken opdat je Roemeens bent, dat ze dat merken, hebben ze daar een mening over?	
R10	Als andere mensen komen werken?	
HG	Of ook op straat?	
R10	Ja in mijn visie, wij zijn hier naar werk, verdient goed en wat die andere mensen wij hebben niks mee te maken.	Social position Social network
HG	En kom je dan wel eens in een supermarkt, en wordt je daar wel eens op aangesproken dat je Roemeens bent?	
R10	Wij hebben een grote groep hier, bijna 100 mensen en ik heb heel de familie als ZZPer in België, en met de andere mensen heb ik niks te maken.	Social position
HG	Werken hier bijna 100 mensen?	
R10	Ja, ja, 90	
HG	En allemaal uit Roemenie?	
R10	Ja, allemaal uit mijn city	Social network
HG	En dat zijn ook mensen die je al in Roemenie kende of heb die heb je hier leren kennen?	
R10	Nee, nee, van daar kennen en hier brengen en werken	Social network
Hg	Dus eigenlijk aan het begin van de zomer ga jij mensen zoeken die hier willen werken?	
R10	Ja	
HG	Je spreekt Nederlands, hoe heb je dat geleerd?	
R10	Ik heb geleerd dat als je niet beter praten kan je niet werken en als je werkt moet je leren	Language learning
HG	Dus dat heb je zelf gedaan, dat heb je zelf geleerd?	
R10	Ja	Language learning
HG	Heb je nog Nederlandse les gehad, of helemaal niet?	
R10	Nee, helemaal niet. Geen tijd voor	Language learning
HG	Zou je nog meer Nederlands willen leren? Is dat nodig?	
R10	Nee, ik weet genoeg en ik ga straks ook naar Roemenie en niet blijven wonen hier, hier is alleen voor werk.	Language learning Intention to stay
HG	Dus als je hier niet meer werkt, denk je wel dat je in Roemenie gaat wonen	
R10	Ja	Intention to stay
HG	En waarom is dat?	
R10	Daar heb ik de familie, eigen bedrijf daar. Hier komen voor seizoenwerk.	Intention to stay
HG	Echt alleen het geld verdienen?	
R10	Ja	Migration motive
HG	Kijk je wel eens naar de Nerderlandse TV, of luister je naar de Nederlandse radio?	
R10	Nee, wij hebben Roemeense satelliet hier en wij pakken alle programmas uit Roemenie	Netwrok orientation
HG	Je zei net al, dat je niet zo veel te maken hebt met de mensen buiten hier het werk. Denk je dat je weet wat er speelt in de media in de politiek?	
R10	Van de politiek weet ik niks af, van sport ja, van voetbal met fiets, ja.	
HG	Heb je ooit contact gehad met de Nederlandse justitie voor problemen?	
R10	Nee, nee,	
HG	En stel je komt hier zonder werk te zitten, stel ze hebben iemand anders gevonden, stel je zit zonder werk	
R10	Op het moment blijven hier, wat is in de toekomst ik niet weten	Intention to return
HG	Dus volgend jaar ga je gewoon weer opnieuw kijken. Dan bel je Company G op en kijken of ze je weer kunnen gebruiken?	
R10	Ja,	Intention to return

HG	Toen je hier in Nederland aankwam ben je toen ook geregistreerd bij de gemeente en bij de	
R10	Nee,	Registration
HG	En nu?	
R10	Ja, nou is anders	Registration
HG	Waarom eerst niet?	
R10	Wij komen eerst via België en daar komen deze kant en dan begint bij contract, wist dat bij de eerste keer niet. Nu is het een andere situatie.	Registration
HG	Als je minder dan 4 maanden werkt hoe je je ook niet per se te registreren.	
R10	Wij worden nou beter in gemeente, 10 jaar geleden	Registration
HG	En is dat beter voor jezelf en waarom?	
R10	Ja, ik niet weten wat ik moet zeggen.	Registration
HG	Dan denk ik dat ik de belangrijkste dingen heb. Dankjewel!	

Transcribed interview no. 11

Date: 23-06-2015

Duration: 16:13

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 11 (R11)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	So here we go, it's the 23 rd of June. I am with Employment Agency H in Hoek van Holland and I am talking with Respondent 11. Can you tell me something about yourself?	
R11	Yeah, I am (...)	
HG	I am just taking notes..	
R11	Yeah, I am an open minded person (...) I like to do a lot of stuff. I do many things every day, I am searching for new experiences.	
HG	And how old are you?	
R11	22	Age
HG	And you're Romanian. Are you in school or are you (...)	
R11	No, I have been accepted to an university in the UK, but I didn't have money to go so I came to work in Holland for a couple of months.	Migration motive
HG	A couple of months.	
R11	Yeah, only three months actually	Migration motive
HG	And you started, when?	
R11	Two months ago.	Migration when
HG	So you're accepted into university, did that require you to do any previous education in Romania?	
R11	Yeah I finished high school of fine arts; they asked me for an ILS exam an English exam.	Education
HG	And in what field will you be studying?	
R11	Japanese and Korean culture and language.	Education
HG	Okay. So you recently came to the Netherlands, were you employed before coming to the Netherlands?	
R11	No, this is the first time when I work. Also this is the first time I go to a foreign country.	Employment departure
HG	So you moved to the Netherlands a few months ago, how did you come to get here? How did you find it?	
R11	I find this (...) I found about this Employment Agency H, but a company in Romania I know, it was something a friend told me about it and I just applied, because I was desperate to get some money. And everything just happened very fast so I was here.	Migration process
HG	Okay, so it was a friend of yours that told you about the company, did that person also work for the company?	
R11	No, he just know about it. Everybody likes Holland, so (...)	Social network
HG	And why's that?	
R11	I don't know, because I, In my opinion, people are, Dutch people are very open minded and you can talk to them all the time, so. Probably this is a good thing, you know,	
HG	And did you, how did you get to the Netherlands? Did you have to travel yourself or did the company offered you something?	
R11	The company paid me, paid the ticket, bought the ticket, then they take the money from my first salaris, my first pay-check.	Migration process
HG	That was by bus or a flight?	
R11	It was by airplane.	
HG	By airplane, okay,	
R11	Two hours from Romania	
HG	So you did get all the information about it was possible to work here through a friend. Did you know anything else about the Netherlands before coming here?	
R11	My, I know a lot things about the Netherlands, because in 2011 I was applied to the university here in Holland, I have been accepted, but it was on architecture, so I didn't	Knowledge about NL Migration process Migration motive

	want to continue on that field so I didn't come. Also I didn't have money at that time, so I. All the time money is a problem.	
HG	Is it because there was no work in Romania? Also not in the thing you did in high school, for example?	
R11	I don't know.	
HG	Well what did you do in between 2011 and now (...)	
R11	Yeah I worked at home, I painted for myself and also I get some money from some paintings. But at home I am home.	Employment C.o.O.
HG	So you are an artist	
R11	Well	
HG	Ah well, if you make paintings and sell some (...) Did you consider other countries as well?	
R11	Yeah I'd like to visit and also see how it is in Germany and also Switzerland.	Other countries
HG	And also right now?	
R11	My experience is Netherlands is, I think, that this is a good country to live in. I like it very much, I like it because I feel free on the street and everywhere I can, it is easy for me. It is like in my country, so it's no problem. But at work it is a bit different, because I work with Polish, and there is kind of at work I feel stranger and at home I feel okay, I feel like in my country so that is no difference.	
HG	Cause you also live here, or you live elsewhere?	
R11	I live in Den Haag	Housing
HG	In Den Haag, and that is also arranged by Employment Agency H?	
R11	Yeah,	Housing
HG	Yeah? What does that situation look like, where you live? Do you live with your sister (Respondent 12)?	
R11	I live with my sister, another two roommates in an apartment in a flat.	Housing
HG	And there you share the living room, the kitchen and the bathroom.	
R11	Yeah with the other two roommates.	Housing
HG	And that also means that the company takes some of the loon for the rent for the apartment?	
R11	Yeah, yeah, about I don't know exactly, 80 euros, I don't know, I am not too sure.	Housing
HG	And what kind of work are you doing?	
R11	I am working on Company H, I am working with tomatoes, I am packaging tomatoes. It is not a hard job, but if you're not prepared for this kind of job, it is hard. Actually when I came here I wanted to stay until October, but three months is enough for me, because I don't feel so good at work. It's something not made for me, also not for my sister, I want something else. But it's okay, it's not a hard job, you're just doing physical things.	Employment
HG	Did it require any training to do the work, or did you just arrive and they showed you the way and	
R11	Yeah, actually it was really simple	
HG	Because what are you actually doing then?	
R11	I am packaging tomatoes, different types of tomatoes	Employment
HG	And that is in one company, or do you also move around between different companies?	
R11	No, only in one company.	
HG	And they asked you to come there because there was so much work in the summer?	
R11	Yeah, but I also see a difference now, because they don't have so much work, like when I arrived here.	Employment EA
HG	So how many hours a week do you work?	
R11	At first I worked 10 hours or 9 hours and a half a day. Now 8 hours, 7	Employment EA (Misconduct)
HG	Every day or do you also have some days off?	
R11	Yeah, yeah, yeah, 4 days I work and two days off.	Employment EA (Misconduct)
HG	So when you got here, Did you need to register anything? Yourself at the municipality, how did that work?	

R11	I will tell you how it was: I arrived at night and the next day I go to the Employment Agency H office, I just read a contract and sign it and after three weeks I have to take a SOFI number, and also after three weeks I get paid.	Migration process Registration
HG	So you had to open a Dutch bank account as well, I guess.	
R11	Yes at ING bank.	Registration
HG	So you are registered with the municipality of Den Haag?	
R11	Yes.	Registration
HG	And at work did you have to sign a contract there?	
R11	No, only at Employment Agency H.	Registration
HG	So you only work for one employer,	
R11	I have a contract with Employment Agency H for 6 months and with Company H for 3 months	Employment contract
HG	And after that you're planning to stay?	
R11	I am going to see, I want to apply to university in Romania, so I will go to take the entry exam and after that we will see what will happen.	Intention to stay
HG	But you said England before, in the UK, you've got accepted there	
R11	Well, I have been accepted there, but I couldn't go because of money	Other countries
HG	And also not after the summer, it is also not possible to go there?	
R11	I don't know if I will go there, because it is still expensive, but I will see then. I will try in Romania because it's free for Romanians, the university is free. I will see in the future, I don't know.	Intention to stay
HG	You said that you are living with 4 people in 1 apartment	
R11	With 3 people, we are 4 in total	
HG	What do you think about that	
R11	Good things and bad things, it is the first time when I live with someone else, it's a new experience also because you try to share everything with others, you don't have so much privacy, only your room, but it's okay. What do you want to know?	Housing EA
HG	Do you have any complaints about living with other people?	
R11	No, it's okay,	
HG	Is it clean?	
R11	It is clean, because we are lucky for that, because we find some new Romanians and we understand with them and it's okay. And also what I wanted when I came here, I thought I would live with Dutch people, well it's Employment Agency H so I thought that I will work with Dutch people. When I came here it was a shock, I live with Romanians, at work I have only Latvian and especially Polish, but at home it is okay.	Quality housing EA Information about NL
HG	So the work, you were expecting to work with Dutch people as well. Do you know or could you guess why that is not the case?	
R11	I don't know, probably Polish people accept less money, so I guess, in Poland there is not work so that is why they came here.	Employment
HG	So you work through Employment Agency H, so I assume you also pay taxes.	
R11	I pay taxes	Social welfare
HG	Or at least social fees, for pensions and the like.	
R11	I think so, yeah I pay some taxes, it's for home for insurance, for I don't know	
HG	SO you're also entitled in case you fall ill, you can go to the hospital and everything	
R11	Yes, but I think it's not so expensive, so	Welfare use
HG	It's not so expensive if you're insured, of course	
R11	I mean the insurance is not so good, but it's okay I have insurance	Welfare use
HG	Well you said that you would also like to live and work with Dutch people, why is that?	
R11	Why I want that? Because I saw that Dutch people are more open minded, so you can communicate better with them and also you can, I feel like I have more in common with Dutch people, if I have the opportunity I need stay with them and to live the life here so, it's better than with Polish or others?	Migration motive
HG	And are you trying to pick up some Dutch, the language?	
R11	Dutch courses? I wanted but Employment Agency H told me that I have to wait for one year to get some courses	Language learning
HG	Did they give an explanation for that?	
R11	Yeah, there are a lot of people who tried to have,	Language learning

HG	Do you try to catch up some words in the streets?	
	(((((Interview is interrupted by host))))))	
HG	So here we go again.	
	Speaking and learning Dutch, it was not possible to do courses	
R11	It was not possible at Employment Agency H, but when I decided I will only stay three months, I didn't want something else, I didn't search for something in the town	Language learning
HG	But is it possible for you to for example understand the products in the supermarket, do you try to	
R11	No, it's hard but all the time I try to ask somebody to help.	Language capabilities
HG	And that works?	
R11	Yeah it works, I told you Dutch people are very friendly, so if you're asking in the streets everyone will try to help you, I don't know why they are this friendly,	Social interactions
HG	But maybe that's also because you live in The Hague, a lot of people also don't speak Dutch, so it's more common that they might help you. Do you try to for example watch Dutch tv or listen to the Dutch radio?	
R11	Only Dutch radio, every morning.	
HG	Also at home?	
R11	At home no, because I don't have the opportunity, we don't have, we have a television but it is not working, so	
HG	And do you read any Dutch, or not at all?	
R11	No I only have Dutch dictionary, I bought it in 2007, since then I was in love with Dutch.	Language capabilities
HG	And does it work? Can you speak some Dutch?	
R11	No, I can't speak any, it's not hard, but I didn't study, so I think I can learn very easily, but it's difficult without	Language capabilities
HG	Also it might be difficult that at work you mainly work non-Dutch speakers.	
R11	Yeah I work with Polish who doesn't know English, so it's very hard.	Social interactions
HG	But you said on the streets, people are willing to help you, do they sometimes, object that they didn't want to	
R11	No, I didn't experience it.	
HG	Well I think that is about it. That were the most important points. Thank you so much for the time	
R11	Yeah I hope I (...)	

Transcribed interview no. 12

Date: 23-06-2015

Duration: 20:36

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 12 (R12)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	And once again it's the 23 rd of June. I would like to ask you to tell me something about yourself.	
R12	I finished high school of fine arts in 2012.	Education
HG	Don't mind taking me notes,	
R12	I	
HG	So you're Romanian.	
R12	Yeah, I am Romanian. I am 22 years old. I finish architecture but I want to continue on languages, because it defines me and I want to do this in the future. Now I come to the Netherlands to earn some money for the university.	C.o.O. // Age Education Motivation to migration
HG	So when exactly did you come here?	
R12	Two months ago	Migration –when
HG	Two months ago, so in late May?	
R12	Yes, yes, 22 of May.	Migration -when
HG	So you said you finished a fine arts high program, that was already 4 years ago, what did you do in between now and finishing school.	
R12	I studied Japanese in my country, I do a lot of cultural things like tea ceremony, everything about culture.	Employment CoO
HG	And did you have any work?	
R12	I did only painting, I work for myself and I do some paintings for my friends, yeah that's all.	Employment CoO
HG	So you came to the Netherlands quite recently, why?	
R12	Because I wanted to try new experience and I love the Netherlands, since 2006 I think, I thought that (...) I like Dutch people.	Motive to migrate
HG	What is that based on? Why do you like the Dutch people?	
R12	Because they are non-conformists and they think free, they are open minded and they are like me.	Knowledge of NL
HG	So, Why did you move here for work and not for travels for example?	
R12	Because this is the only chance to come in Netherlands, Not the only but for me, because I have some problem with the money, this is the only chance by coming here to work.	Motive to migrate
HG	How did you imagine that, coming to the Netherlands to work, did you have any expectations, or plans?	
R12	I think I had quite an expectation but I am very disappointed, Not about the country, I love the view and everything, the people, but I am very disappointed about the job.	Migration process
HG	Can you elaborate a little bit, can you explain why?	
R12	They, yes because I think it's a Polish company, not a Dutch company I think only the big boss is Dutch. And everyone speak in Polish, they treat us like slaves. I work 10 hours per day, and now it's a bit better, because the season is finished and now I work 8 or 9 hours. I thought that when I come here I would do a lot of stuff, like: learning Dutch, make friends, traveling. But I wake up at 5 and work until 5 and I don't have the time to do nothing else.	Employment EA Misconduct Migration motive
HG	So what did expect? How did you find the company, the Employment Agency H?	
R12	I heard from Romania, by an intermediar from Romania they sent us here.	Migration process
HG	They have an office in Romania?	
R12	Only an intermediar, a person who talk directly with us	Migration process
HG	And what did he tell you about working for Employment Agency H?	
R12	They sent my CV and Employment Agency H choose us, me and my sister (Respondent 11).	Migration process
HG	But they must have told you something about the work	

R12	That we are gonna work in a warehouse or greenhouse, that it's not going to be easy or something, it's a job for normal people.	Migration process EA
HG	And did you have any information about working and living in the Netherlands?	
R12	I searched by myself	Knowledge about NL
HG	And what did you find?	
R12	The website of the embassy is very great, you can find everything you want.	Knowledge about NL
HG	But you were not prepared for the kind of work you are doing?	
R12	No, no, I just took like an experience and what it's gonna be, so.	Employment
HG	Did you consider to go to for example Germany or France as well? Or was it really like I want to go to the Netherlands this summer to earn some money?	
R12	I choose the job first of all, because it's the Netherlands, I don't think about jobs	Other countries
HG	And then, just like your sister, the company paid for your ticket so you could just come here and they deducted it from your salary. For the travel to come from Romania,	
R12	This happened yeah, they did everything	Migration process
HG	What was everything, what did they arrange, what did they do?	
R12	We paid only 50 euro for the plane tickets and they took it from the paycheck.	Migration process
HG	Did they arrange other things as well? When you came here, did you have a job right away, or did you have to wait to go to work?	
R12	I was lucky because I waited a little bit to (...) I applied and the next week I was accepted.	
HG	Well you came to the Netherlands what did Employment Agency H arrange then? Did they pick you up from the airport?	
R12	Yes, they arrange the place where I live.	Housing EA
HG	And what does that place look like?	
R12	It's a flat and I live with Romanians unfortunately, because I thought I would live with Dutch people or, I don't know Latvian, or something, and I thought that if I come here I would speak all the time in English to improve my English but I talk in Romanian all day. Also at work nobody knows English.	Housing EA
HG	So you share a flat with your sister and a few others.	
R12	Yes, I stay in one room with my sister and live with other two Romanians, a couple and two other guys but they move	Housing EA
HG	So you'll get another two housemates soon?	
R12	Yes, yes	
HG	Do you have any say in that yourself? Can you decide who comes to live with you?	
R12	We just have to wait, we don't know nothing	Housing EA
HG	What do you think about the apartment, is everything working?	
R12	It is clean, well it is good, it is quiet, but also I am a bit disappointed because I live in a Turkish town and I don't see other Dutch people and I visited other towns, and I see that there is more, better than Turkish town.	Quality housing EA
HG	So just the neighbourhood where you live in is mainly Turkish people.	
R12	Yeah	
HG	Do you have any other people working in the Netherlands that went before you, for example and said like you really should come to the Netherlands to work there for a summer or whatever.	
R12	I was surprised to meet a friend, an Albanian guy, who work in a greenhouse for one year and I met him in a pub. And I was surprised.	Social network
HG	So you got here, Employment Agency H took care of taking you from the airport to your apartment, did you have to do any kind of registration here?	
R12	Yes I go to the, I don't know how to say, I did my Sofinumber and after three weeks of work	Registration
HG	And do you know why only after three weeks, why not immediately?	
R12	I think this is the Employment Agency H policy, because they don't know if you stay or we go in a week or something.	Registration
HG	So besides you sister, do you have any contact with people you live with or work with or in the streets?	
R12	Not too many, only with our roommates	Social network

HG	I want to talk also about the work, because you said you are very disappointed, mainly because of your colleagues, but what kind of work are you actually doing?	
R12	I cut tomatoes, yeah	Employment
HG	You said you do it 10 hours a day some times, how many days in a week then?	
R12	Yeah, I work 4 days and two free	Employment
HG	And do you have work all the time, or are there also weeks in which you don't work?	
R12	All the time and we also have two breaks, each of half an hour.	(Misconduct employment)
HG	And that is always in the same company or you also go to different locations?	
R12	No, it is the same company on the same line all the time and I stay, how to stay, and I stand up for 10 hours, I don't move, my feet hurt	Employment
HG	I can imagine that. I had a question but now I forgot. So do you try to learn some Dutch, is that possible?	
R12	No it's not possible, because I don't have the time, after work I can do nothing I just take a shower eat something and maybe go outside for a walk and that's it. With this jobs I can't do anything, maybe if I try something else, like university maybe.	Language learning
HG	So you said you came here a few months ago and what is your plan on staying here, are you planning to stay longer or is it just a summer job?	
R12	I want to stay until October and I want to go home on the 19 th of July, because I have an important test for the university, because I want to go to the university, this is the entry exam and in October I will start studying.	Intention to stay
HG	And that is back home?	
R12	In Romania, I choose Romania because it is free for Romanians that is why, it is the only reason.	Intention to stay
HG	But you said languages and you are now here in the Netherlands, have you thought about a Dutch university for example? There are plenty of universities that teach languages or linguistics or something the like.	
R12	Here in Holland? For the moment I will stay one year in Romania and if I want to come here I can, I think it's possible to	Intention to stay
HG	Is that a serious option of coming back?	
R12	I want it, but	Intention to return
HG	Would you also come back for the same kind of job again? Or through Employment Agency H?	
R12	No, no,	Intention to return
HG	Would you come back to do any kind of job in the Netherlands, another job perhaps?	
R12	I think I will go maybe with the university, in this part, not now. I will try, I would like to try a call center I think, this is want to do, but no it's too late	Intention to return
HG	And maybe also difficult, because you don't speak that much Dutch?	
R12	Yes, but only English.	
HG	So, for example, again about speaking Dutch. Is it possible to communicate with Dutch people?	
R12	Yes very easily, because all the Dutch people know English, even the old people. When I ask a lot of old people do you speak English the answer was a little bit, but they try to	Social position
HG	Make you understand. And for example when you are on the streets or in the supermarket is it possible to understand most things there?	
R12	Yes, because I talk in English	
HG	So you can ask the people around.	
R12	And also I know alsjeblieft	
HG	Yeah like when you check out it's like bonnetje, ja-nee, Do you have anything to add about being here, living here, working here.	
R12	When I live here I don't feel like a stranger, I am just me and I feel free and I can do anything I wanted, that is why I love being here.	Social position
HG	But the downside is that you are living with Romanians in a Turkish neighbourhood	
R12	So you can actually mix and it doesn't really happen.	Social position
HG	But for example, you work 4 days and then you are 2 days off, what do you do those 2 days?	

R12	I go visit, I visit I think all of Holland, I visit as much as I can, I went to Amsterdam, because I want to see that side and I liked it, also I want to try Rotterdam, before I go and I also visited the surroundings, all around here.	
HG	I have one more question, when you go to your work, you live in The Hague, is it possible to go there by bike or?	
R12	It's too far,	
HG	So how do you get to your work?	
R12	With the car from Employment Agency H,	
HG	They pick you up or you drive yourself?	
R12	Our, my roommate drives	
HG	So with the 4 of you you go to work?	
R12	But, but, but, sorry, for the first time when I came here our roommate did drive, but now 2 Slovaks pick me up to the work.	
HG	Do you know why is that?	
R12	Because we have 2 different places with the work, with tomatoes and paprika and we have different schedule and we escape later than paprika and that is the reason why	
HG	I think that is about it, if you have anything to add, I have got no more questions.	

Transcribed interview no. 13

Date: 23-06-2015

Duration: 15:27

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 13 (R13)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	So Respondent 13, can you tell me something about yourself? Where you from	
R13	I am from Letland I came to Holland four months ago, I came together with my boyfriend, it was like spontaneous idea to do something different to try something out, so we came here to meet our friend and with the help of this friend we got this job, so we're now here.	C.o.O. Migration When Migration process
HG	And how old are you?	
R13	I am 25	Age
HG	And did you attend any kind of school.	
R13	Yes, high school and university. Do you want to know what kind of studies?	Education
HG	Yeah what kind of field.	
R13	It was sociology it was the university of Latvia.	Education
HG	And that is like similar to the Dutch university degrees?	
R13	Probably, yes.	Education
HG	And now, what are you doing in the Netherlands, what kind of work are you doing?	
R13	I am working in Employment Agency H, In a Company H I am working there as quality controller I am working there for three months, four months something like that.	Employment
HG	And what does a quality controller do?	
R13	A Quality controller, we have to check lines of people that are working, quality of product: tomatoes, cucumber, paprika, and so on. We need to check labels, stickers what goes on the product, boxes the whole pallet, the order, everything, everything there is to check.	Employment
HG	So you said, you came here a few months ago. And was it a decision just to visit friends or was it also with the thought of finding a job in the Netherlands?	
R13	It was a thought to find a job but it wasn't like we wanted to be in the Netherlands, it was like we wanted to go somewhere and it happened to be our friend here in the Netherlands. So we are here.	Migration process
HG	So, how did that work, it was a friend telling you: "I found this job, you can join as well"?	
R13	Our friend is also working in Company H, but with a different company, Employment Agency I, something like that, but he knew one person who is working in Employment Agency H, so personally he knows him. He gave us a telephone number, we called, we get an interview and after the interview we get a job. That's it, that easy.	Migration process
HG	And did you know anything about working in the Netherlands, working in the Netherlands?	
R13	No, nothing.	Knowledge of NL
HG	So what is the experience?	
R13	So far it's good, I like the Netherlands. People here is very nice, are very polite. The government for so far I have seen is great, the situation in the country is great the economics is great. Everything is really, how to say, the surrounding, the nature, everything is good quality.	
HG	You said you studied at university level in sociology. You have a bachelor degree I guess than?	
R13	Yeah	
HG	Was it not possible to find work in that field?	
R13	I had a really good job, I was working in a bank as a credit manager, BUT, I think I am too young to work that kind of job, I want to have some fun and have some kind of life experience, to travel, to see the world, to learn new languages, to meet new people, everything, I want new experiences.	Employment departure Migration motive
HG	So this job is only temporally?	

R13	I think so, yes. But I am learning here also Dutch language, since second here and I like the language so let's see, maybe I would like to stay here I don't know yet.	Intention to stay Language learning
HG	You don't know yet. So you had a job when you came here. Is the job here better paid than the job at home?	
R13	It is better paid, but it wasn't the reason why I left, the salary. Yeah, in Latvia it is hard to find a good job, but as I said I didn't want that job because of the other things.	Migration motive
HG	So you were already in the Netherlands and came here in contact with Employment Agency H, how did that work out after? I do not assume when you were here traveling you did not have an apartment to stay in, or are you living in a hostel now?	
R13	No, we were driving here with our car and we came here to meet our friend, first three nights we stayed with him, first night we stayed in a hotel, then with our friend, then we called with Employment Agency H and we came here and in the first we were here, they already gave us the job, they say we will work, we were on the interview on Friday and they said that on the Monday we will have to start to work and they gave us already the place to stay. In the first day.	Migration process
HG	What kind of place is that?	
R13	We are living in a house it's in 's Gravenzande near sea, nice place, only we live in between of greenhouses that is a little bit weird.	Housing EA
HG	So you're living at the site, at the place where you work actually?	
R13	No, we're living in a house 9-10 people in that house each we have a room. It's a regular house, a normal house and we have a car to the job here in Maasdijk, sure no problem	Housing EA
HG	The house what does it look like, you live with 9-10 people you said, is it clean is it comfortable?	
R13	We need to take care of the house, we need to clean, we can make atmosphere, we are all Latvians there, for now there is one girl Polish, she is living 2-3 days there, but it is not a problem because we are all nice and we talk. So there is no problem that there are all Latvians there it is easy.	Quality Housing EA
HG	And does Employment Agency H check on the house for example?	
R13	I think yes, but I don't see that.	Housing EA
HG	You don't see that, because you are always working? How many days a week do you work?	
R13	I have a schedule, I work 4 days and 2 days I have free, sometimes I need to take an extra day because it is vacation time and we are not so much quality controller jobs. Today, for example was my extra day off, so I am working 4 days, 2 days off usually.	Employment
HG	And did you have to do any kind of registration before starting to work? Because as you said you had your interview on Friday and started work on Monday. Did you have to register for example at the municipality?	
R13	Yes we did that, we went to Den Haag to this municipality we get there our SOFI number, it is for taxes, if I understand it correctly, and after a month from that time we are going to register a declaration that we live in that house, So government can send us letters and everything. So we are registered here, we have to pay taxes and everything.	Registration
HG	But you have no need of employment certificate or visum?	
R13	No, we had to send CV and our work experience and nothing else	Migration process
HG	So what kind of contract do you have now? Is it a temporary contract?	
R13	It is temporary, for 3 months	Employment contract
HG	And you are here for 3 months already, so it is ending soon?	
R13	No, it was for 3 months and then they make it longer for another 3 months	Employment contract
HG	Do you have any idea what happens next, when you finish this contract?	
R13	I don't know, if I want to I can go earlier away, if I need to, because you know everybody is normal person, we can talk, you know, like with humans, if I need I can go probably if I need I can get probably another contract, maybe for a year, I don't know. I don't know how it works because I haven't asked anyone.	Intention to stay
HG	Have you worked for a different employer as well, a different kind of job, or was it from the start a quality controller at the same	

R13	In the first week I was working like I don't know the name, medewerker, just cutting tomatoes and putting in the shelves, it was for the first week	Employment
HG	And did you get something like a promotion?	
R13	It is like a promotion, a different thing	
HG	Did they explain why	
R13	Because I am a good employee I think, I don't know they didn't say they just asked me to another interview, we talked a little bit, they asked about my work experience and they said there are free places as a quality controller and there is another option, it was in label room, but there were no vacancies and I needed to wait, but I didn't want to wait, because that work was boring really, the cutting and that is why I went to the quality controller.	Changing Employment
HG	And at your work, what kind of people work there, where are they from?	
R13	I think most of them are Polish, of course there are Nederlanders also, there are Slovaks, there are Latvians, there are Romanians, probably some kind of other nationalities, but most Polish.	Social network (at work)
HG	And they all work there under the same kind of contract, the short-term	
R13	I don't know, there are different agencies they have different contracts, I don't know. I don't have interest in it either.	
HG	You might have asked or picked it up somewhere.	
R13	No	
HG	So you've always been employed, you have been registered you said, and you said you're learning Dutch. How did you come around that?	
R13	Company H just, they organize these courses, so why not,	Language learning
HG	So you could just apply and	
R13	Yeah	Language learning
HG	And what does the course look like? Is it after work?	
R13	It is after work, it is actually right now going	
HG	I'm sorry for that	
R13	No it's okay, it's from 7 till 10 o'clock, on Tuesdays and on Thursdays, 2 days a week, we have 2 teachers they are really great, they are teaching us all there is.	Language learning
HG	And the classroom, what does it look like?	
R13	It's like a hall, no not a hall, like a you know conference place, where usually conferences take place, we are sitting around this big table and we are 15 or something like that people, all Lat	Language learning
HG	So the language of instruction is Latvian?	
R13	English, the teacher is Dutch	Language learning
HG	So are you also trying to speak it in public? In the streets for example?	
R13	I tried, but for now I don't have a vocabulary so big, it's hard but I start to understand already. I can say some things, but not much	Language capabilities
HG	And do you try to improve it as well by for example reading a Dutch paper or listening to	
R13	I try to, when I have free time, I turn on the tv and there are movies with subtitles in Dutch and the language is English or the opposite Dutch language and English subtitles so you can hear and listen to understand or the other way	Language capabilities
HG	And are you able to speak with for example a Dutch person?	
R13	There are some Dutch people in my work also, sometimes I try to say something, they answer to me, but it is not so easy to, because it's noisy there and they speak really fast and it's hard. But in for example market I try to speak in Dutch, try to understand what they are saying to me.	Language capabilities
HG	Is it also possible that they talk English with you? Do they speak English when you approach people?	
R13	Yeah, actually almost everyone here, that person who I have talked to, almost everyone speaks in English, almost everyone, it's amazing.	Language requirement
HG	Those are the most important things. I think. Oh I have one more thing.	

	When you came here, you went to you friend to visit, this wasn't really planned but it was also an idea of maybe working, did you look up any information about working and living in the Netherlands?	
R13	Not really, no I've had studied a little bit about the Netherlands, because we thought coming here a little bit earlier, half year ago, then our plans changed and my boyfriend went to Denmark to work a little bit there and I stayed in Letland, time went by and we decided to go somewhere, we packed our bags, everything in a car and just drive away.	Knowledge about NL Other countries Migration history
HG	Well I think that's about it, I have nothing more to ask. If you have any remarks, comments.	
R13	If you don't need to know anything else, that is it. I can tell you a lot of things, but I don't think you will need them.	

Transcribed interview no. 14

Date: 23-06-2015

Duration: 23:35

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 14 (R14)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	So there we go. First of all, can you tell me something about yourself? I'll be writing not that much, but don't mind it	
R14	So for example what would you like to hear?	
HG	Who you are, where you from,	
R14	And how I got here right?	
HG	Yeah, just get started.	
R14	Well you know, my name its written on the page	
HG	R14	
R14	They call me R14, it's easier for the English in the past 5 years I was living in England and then I decided to come here. I was with my girlfriend. My friends basically they talked me into it, I was thinking to stay home, but well it didn't happen. So I came here, I am working in this company Employment Agency H, they helped me to move in a place, in a house and that's when I started working here.	Migration history Migration process
HG	And how old are you?	
R14	22	Age
HG	And do you have any kind of education?	
R14	I finished college, I qualified in quite a few things, first it's quite ridiculous small like: first day forklifts basically just for the work.	Education
Hg	So, you said forklifts and?	
R14	Just forklifts in the first day, that's basically all.	Education
HG	And now? What are you doing now? What kind of work?	
R14	The same as probably as the previous people I started cutting tomatoes then I got thrown around from one place to another and now I am working logistics.	Employment
HG	And when did you got here? After 5 years in England	
R14	2 months ago.	Migration when
HG	And you've already seen quite some jobs than already?	
R14	Oh yes, I never worked in one job long, the longest was a month, then I changed places but the job it was the same. Cutting tomatoes, and then they moved me to a different place and what it was the same thing.	Employment - EA
HG	And now you said logistics?	
R14	Yeah now logistics, but they piled up too much people and they can't have enough jobs to give, so they send you back to cutting.	Employment
HG	So logistics is just moving the tomatoes around?	
R14	Yeah, you drive on a little pompwagen and take the pile and look on the sticker and you drive it, you take it to its destination. And that is about it.	Employment
HG	Okay, so you came here two months ago, what was the reason to come to the Netherlands?	
R14	Just to try out something new, I was in, I have been in Ireland, in England, I've seen their culture learned their slang and a little bit of history, and then I was like what is this place like. Well my friend told me, whilst I was in England, they say, you know, you should come here with us it would be fun, but I was like after 5 years of being away from my home I just wanted to chill; and after six months I understood I want to go away. It is nothing, it is boring.	Migration motive
HG	Yeah, you said you came to Ireland, also for work?	
R14	Yeah, I worked in Ireland, in England	Migration history
HG	And what kind of job was that?	
R14	It started off with one company that was something like Employment Agency H, that company was horrible and they sent me off to Ireland to catch chickens. Yes, serious, it sounds fun, probably the first thing that comes to your mind is one chicken and I run	Misconduct EA (Ireland)

	after it, right? That is the standard mistake that people make, actually it is a lot more complicated. As you go on to a huge, long, really long house, nothing like a house, but a building where they run around and you take like these huge boxes and you go from the other side and you drag them	
HG	Scoop them?	
R14	No, you don't scoop them. You just push them to the one end of the building and then you just take them, how many you want, they can't fly. They can gouge your eyes out with their claws ((XXXX)). But the sanitary conditions in there was terrible, so I couldn't take it much and besides the people were very horrible against them, like many of those. There is two types of that kind of work: there is one where you move them from one side and then there is cages. Like I heard here that there is not much of that kind of stuff going around, but first time when I went to the cages the guy said, oh you know, when you go to the cages you will understand, when you walk in you can't even see the end with all the lights on. And I thought nonsense, I will see it and I went upstairs and I went oh damn you really can't see the end and you went around the cages the same process.	
HG	And they went to a butcher afterwards?	
R14	Yes, but the problem with people there they were not so patient, they were really violent against the animals, so I couldn't really bare that. I didn't like it.	
HG	So that was one job,	
R14	Yes that was one job and I got fired from it. It is because I wrecked my feet, well the company like I said is like Employment Agency H, but it's not this one and they sent me off with the promise that the company which means ((XXX)) provides me with the equipment, you know, safety shoes or clothing basically all the work outfit and they didn't, so that is how I wrecked my feet so I get fired.	Misconduct EA (Ireland)
HG	And there was nothing you could do?	
R14	No, absolutely not, he even stopped the van in the middle of the road, well he pulled off and pulled over and said take off your shoes and show me and I took off my shoes and there were bloody feet, come on you can't really work with those. So that is how it ended.	
HG	And then other jobs?	
R14	Oh no, the company kind of screwed me over and they had nothing so I was stranded in the middle of nowhere, knowing absolutely nobody, with no money in my pocket, that ended up pretty bad. But well that is a different story,	Misconduct EA (Ireland)
HG	Do you want to elaborate on that?	
R14	If you want to hear it, it is a very long story. Okay, well, it started with that finished, he didn't tell me I was fired instantly, I went home I took some money and the next day I went to some pharmaceuticals I bought some medication to prepare my feet for the next day, I bought my own safety shoes, but it's not like the ((XXXX)) things, you need specifics and I wrote him a message "when do I go back to work?" and he said well you're not suitable for this job, and I was like why? He said you're just not, it is ridiculous he fired me because he didn't provide what was promised. The guys even laughed when I asked if he provides with equipment they really had a little giggle and said you're freaking mental, so basically no. So that is how it ended, but then, you know, you need to pay the rent, you need to eat and I had none of the above.	Misconduct EA (Ireland)
HG	You were able to stay at your place, or?	
R14	For a little while, the house owner, no it's not the house owner it's something like our guy employee 4, he manages many houses	Housing EA (Ireland)
HG	Like a landlord?	
R14	Yes, yes, that is word I was looking for, yeah, my landlord was very nice, he said: you need to pay up and you can stay here for a while. The guys at the office are just asking when you're going to pay or, and I explained them the situation and I say give me a few days and I figure out something, so basically after a few days they call me up and ask me what I'm like at DIY, you know, painting, fixing etcetera, etcetera, and I said I am good, I can do anything. It's like thank god, so they sent me off to a few houses to see what I'm like and there was people like living in there. The first time I was like, I went into a British house, which is not mine and you see all those cameras and there was	Housing EA (Ireland) Misconduct Employment (Ireland)

	<p>technology everywhere and I was like Jesus there are like some techno geeks living there. So basically I fixed up that house, I painted the walls, changed the wallpapers and did what I needed to do, so they paid me a little bit of money of course, but I couldn't last much. But the house I was put in was, it was with people from my own country and a few, I forgot, Ukrainians and the rest ones I didn't know I didn't communicate with. Oh no wait, one was Hungarian, three guys, well it doesn't matter there were Hungarians, Latvians and some other people. One I was really good friends with, you'll understand why I am stretching so long in a little bit, but I was good friends with this Ukrainian guy, we talked and he said you can call me anytime you want. Basically what happened after a few days, the house was all the time drinking, all the time using all kinds of nonsense to make themselves happy and I don't really know I changed, because I did not really like it, you know partying and using crap, that sort of things and they started kind of turning on me, so they said you're not going to live here long, if you're not with us you're against us and I was like surprised these are not my own people. So basically what they did, they twisted the stories, somebody's stuff got nicked, you know stolen, and they blamed me for it and they phoned up my landlord and said this guy is a thief and everything else and I said that's nonsense, I was working in British houses full of everything and I never take nothing, so basically he believed me and I had to leave so I packed my stuff and I left and that was the first time I slept on the street, with nobody to help me nothing.</p>	Misconduct EA
HG	So that was a few years ago?	
R14	Yeah that was quite a few years ago, about 3 or 4 years ago. That was the first experience of sleeping on a bench outside.	
HG	And you've had it more?	
R14	Twice, twice. Yeah twice, that was the first time. Well after that, ooh Jesus this is going to stretch out a long story.	
HG	No, no, don't worry. So this the experience of working in the UK and Ireland?	
R14	Yes, yes, in Ireland, it was negative, it was just the circumstances, I loved the culture it was great: the people were nice, you could go to the bar, or as they call it the pub, you could drink a few pints and have a laugh with the locals the same thing isn't in England. The culture is very different from the Irish: it's like they kind of don't like each other; I think so, at least that is what they have been telling me.	Migration history
HG	So then after Ireland, you moved to the UK?	
R14	Yes and basically the same story repeats, but now with stores, but it's freaking too long of a story, and after all the nonsense that happened in my life it got sorted, I moved and I settled down, I even opened some kind of a business that was gardening, you know making fences, sheds etcetera, etcetera, it went really good, on there I forwards I learned a lot about their history: why all their metal fences are missing, it was really puzzling me	
HG	((Giggles))	
R14	No seriously, when you walk down the middle of a street, not in London, You'll never see metal fences in London, there is too much people, but if you go to a quiet town like for example this one, you'll see metal, like the concrete or bricked fencing, like this tall ((points a certain height)) and you see little bits of metal left in them and I couldn't figure out what the hell was that, so I asked the guys and they said: Well when there was WWII, they needed metal, so every, all the country gathered together	
HG	All the fences	
R14	Donated all of their fences to make weaponry and defences. How cool is that? So after that I went back to my country, for my sisters' wedding and then I came here. So here I am, sitting in front of you and asking me all these ((laughs))	
HG	So experiences here? Better?	
R14	Experiences here? It is not so bad, only the job, I think for everybody it's the same thing, it's the routine it's just same old, same old. If, like for instance, to start in the beginning, it's the housing and everything else that Employment Agency H provides me, I came and they told there is a job, just like before, they found me a job, they put me in a house and everything is going to be honky-donkey fine and it is, the living is great, the job is okayish I suppose,	Employment - EA
HG	It's the job?	

R14	A job is a job, right? But the locals are cool, there is like the one thing I could not wrap my head around is that all the bikes, all the bicycles are not chained up, they are just there.	
HG	Not? That's different in the cities	
R14	No. Yeah, it is, but they are just there, everywhere, tons of them, and nobody is stealing them. That is something you can't get used to. In my country when you leave a bike it disappear within minutes. So about so, but the experience is good. The people are nice, welcoming. The weather is okay, but the job is, god knows, if it wouldn't be for not communicating with others. It is just, in my line of work, well I do the same thing as everybody else basically: starting with cutting, then I went to logistics as I told you before, but the biggest issue in our job is the communication with the colleagues. You try to ask one something and he just cannot reply, because he just doesn't know English, well I think, well I am a foreigner here, right, I am not from here, so I should kind of learn the respects of learning Dutch, so I did, I signed up for the courses and I am learning now. Well not now, I am on sick roll, but as soon as I get better I get back to it. But nobody, not nobody, there are many people who do, the biggest issue basically is that many people don't speak English and can't	Employment Social position Motive to learn language Language Learning
HG	And those people are here for a longer period or doesn't that matter?	
R14	It doesn't even matter really, because most of the people there are Polish and they are stubborn, they really like brick wall, you try to tell him something and he's like: what? Just like this lady I met a little while ago, I just asked her to pass me one of the, what was it called, basically I asked her to pass me something and she just stood there looking at me like "what?"	Social position
HG	Can you reply in Polish	
R14	No, no, no, this is not Poland, this is the Netherlands, if you're not from here and I am not from here then we have to speak a neutral language, you know, so nobody gets offended and anything else. But if you can't even do that, seriously how the hell am I supposed to work with you? And they put you in a place where there is many of those	Social position
HG	Like how many?	
R14	Oh a lot, really a lot, everywhere you go you can hear Polish, and that is it.	
HG	And well for the future, do you think you'll stay longer?	
R14	Well I have these courses, the Dutch courses for 9 months, and I have been in for only 2 months, so I am going to stay in for the next year, unless I get fired. You see many weird things going on at work line, but hopefully not,	Language learning Intention to stay
HG	Like?	
R14	Like you want to know? People are getting fired for nothing, really for nothing. If you, this a rumour I've heard, but personal experience also, is that for example when you go upstairs, you have 2 breaks every day, every three hours to not get too tired, yeah basically you get two breaks, and you go upstairs and you take off your jacket you take off your hairnet, you take of your clothes, you leave the jacket hanging, I mean to remember which jacket is theirs they tie their hands, you know, their sleeves and many people get fired for that. When I checked out my contract there was nothing mentioned in that, that you cannot do it.	Misconduct employers
HG	Do you know a reason why you should be fired for that?	
R14	The only thing I think is, the thing I can't wrap my head around is why does Company H need so many people, then they cannot provide enough jobs and then they have to make up silly things like this to fire them.	Misconduct Employers
HG	So there are more people working now than there are contracts or jobs?	
R14	Well the first three months are test and then gives you a contract assigned. So my contract is going to be over, but the contract I signed with Employment Agency H I checked and everything is cool, so it's really the things you cannot understand that bugs you out.	Employment contract
HG	Okay so that is the job, and the place where you live?	
R14	Oh that is perfect that is good, everything is fine over there, we have ((XXXX)) If you need anything Employee 4 is there, our landlord, if you give him a rind and after, well it depends on how busy he is, he'll bring you anything if you ask, If you say I have a broken door. Well basically he takes care of everything, it is no problem, no difficulties.	Housing – EA Quality housing
HG	And what does the place look like?	

R14	The house? It is a nice lovely house, huge, spacious, two toilets, two showers, 4 fridges,	Quality housing
HG	How many people living there?	
R14	10, well for now it's only 9, in the base there are couples, so it kinds of spreads out. It is in a nice neighbourhood, we have a front yard, we have provided with everything, we have a tv, we have a radios we have internet, we have everything. Everything we need for a good living	Housing – EA
HG	And the rent?	
R14	The rent? I haven't really looked at it, the price of it, but I can't really feel it on my wage, so I suppose it is good,	Housing - EA
HG	And then with registration, I assume you also	
R14	Registered, yes, we do. Employment Agency H provided us with transportation, they sorted everything out and all I needed to do was show up, so this was yeah, this was good.	Registration
HG	And that also means you pay taxes and everything	
R14	Yes!	Social welfare
HG	But you also said you are on sick leave,	
R14	Now I am on sick leave, because I wrecked my back, that wasn't at work unfortunately, from all points of view. But I get paid for it and it sorted out.	Welfare use
HG	And that is the hours on your contract or the hours you should've worked or?	
R14	It's for, the basics, 45 hours every week, no more, no less,	Welfare use
HG	Well 45 hours is already a lot	
R14	Yes, it is the legal limit I think,	
HG	Well a 40 hour work week is standard in the Netherlands	
R14	Well then it's 40	
HG	It is still a lot for a temporary contract	
R14	Yes, yes,	
HG	So you said you're learning Dutch as well, in the courses, do you also try to use it in the street?	
R14	Yes! I go shopping and I try to listen, you know when you go with the flow with the people and try to listen and try to hear the familiar words and sentences. For example, when I came here I could not say hi or where are you from, what time is it, you know the basic childhood things, but after like a month or so, something like a month I can go to a shop and say hi and that and that and that and thank you, bye, that sort of things.	Language capabilities
HG	Do you also think it is because you went to Ireland and the UK before?	
R14	It is not just that, I also want to learn Dutch just out of respect, it is not you coming to me it is the other way around: I coming here. Like many, here we go again, many Poles don't do it, they just don't care, they come here they do their jobs and try to enforce their own language upon us, which I think is kind of stupid. I don't know what their side of the story is going to be, but it's probably going to be all flowery and blue and	Language learning motive Social position
HG	Well that is always, you have to sides of a story, in a language I don't speak, so	
R14	It is very hard to find a Polish person. Like at work this maybe two people out of a whole bunch. who does is one guy his name is ((XXX)) he is a funny freaking guy, he is Polish too, I think he was Polish too, well it doesn't matter, if there would be a perfect side of communication he would be great, there would absolutely no problem, this would be the best job in the world, but if you don't have communication how are you supposed to do your work?	Social position
HG	I can imagine. I think that is already a lot of information you gave me. I am really happy with this interview,	
R14	Very nice	
HG	Yeah, as you said a lot of things are similar to what the others experience here, although you have the different experience from before. So you said it's maybe for a year, or do you have any plans to stay here longer?	
R14	Oh yes definitely, If I learn the language I am going to use it. It would be ridiculous to come here, learn the language and	Intention to stay
HG	And is Employment Agency H supporting you in trying to find something else?	

R14	Yes, Employment Agency H was, basically if you need anything, you just pick up your phone and Employment Agency H sorts it out for you. I don't know about the rest of the people, but my experience with this company is I have no problems whatsoever. Artis our landlord is great, if I phone him up with you know there is a leaking tap or we need a new wardrobe or bring us some tools, he'll do it. If you ring up Employment Agency H I'm sick I cannot work, it's no problem, rest we sort you out a doctor and the next day they take you to the doctors'. How cool is that? You don't get that in England, you have to find a doctor yourself, doesn't matter if you go with a company or not. So otherwise if all companies would be like this I don't there would be anybody who wants to stay at home.	Employment Agency Experiences
HG	Yeah, I am going to turn this thing off, If you've nothing more to add, or	
R14	Is there anything else you need to know?	
HG	I think I am good. Thank you	

Transcribed interview no. 15

Date: 23-06-2015

Duration: 20:16

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 15 (R15)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	Well can you tell me something about yourself?	
R15	What do you want to know about me?	
HG	Where are you from first?	
R15	I am from Poland, from the province ((XXX))it's really large province, but I come here because in my province there is not a lot work for me and the most, I am so nervous sorry	C.o.O.
HG	Don't worry	
R15	And most important is make a better money than I can make in Poland, finally I come here only for this.	Migration motive
HG	Okay, and did you attend some education in Poland?	
R15	I finished only the basic school and after it I earned, I forgot this word, I make the specialization in cooking, chief in the kitchen and that is all for me, for my schools.	Education
HG	So you could work in a restaurant for example?	
R15	I was working two years, but like private company it's a little bit difficult, because all the time they want something more. First, you come you need to have experience with this work, but after school you have to make this experience, it is first type. Second, realized prices than other companies in rest of my country, in my province is really bad to find some good work, and then I come here only for this.	Employment departure
HG	So, when did you come here?	
R15	When I come here? First time I come here is 5 years ago, for 3 months I was working for other office, then I have really bad experience with them, I moved to Poland back, then one week after I got home I go to Germany, then I was worked there maybe 1 year and then I moved back to Poland and then I lived in whole Europe: Belgium, England, only looking at job and my life experience	Migration –when Migration history Migration motive
HG	And how old are you now then?	
R15	I am 24.	Age
HG	So in the past 5 years, you've seen a lot of and worked all over Europe	
R15	It's, maybe other way, the best place for me is Dutch, after this 5 years I come here back, because my cousin tells me a really good things about this office and I was, and I work now for it 8 months.	Migration motive Migration process
HG	And what kind of work do you do here?	
R15	I am more come quality control and packing company.	Employment
HG	And that is again the tomatoes, like the others?	
R15	No, no, we have fruits, we have oranges, strawberries and other vegetables	Employment
HG	And where is it?	
R15	It's in Barendrecht.	
HG	So you came here for the first time, 5 years ago, you said it was a bad experience, can you tell me something more?	
R15	Mostly not from a job, but from the office. Can you stop for a moment, I must check	
	((Recording paused))	
	I was finish the job for this office for the punishments, from one person can he come to my apartment and see ((XXX)) something and not clear and BAM 20 to 150 euro only for something part of bruit on the table, really, really small things can be punishments for really large prices. It's only this, other way, it's the basic for this I am moving back to Poland.	Misconduct EA
HG	And what kind of work were you doing back then?	
R15	I also worked on the greenhouse, on the glasshouses with the flowers, and not like for 3 weeks before I was working like now at the Barendrecht, Ridderkerk in 2 companies with vegetables and fruits.	Employment

HG	Yeah well, the company did treat you bad at your housing, what kind of housing was it? Did you live by yourself or did you share it with other people?	
R15	No, I was live in my office apartment, I think it is good, because we have all we need. We have roof upside our head, we have warm in apartment we have internet, we have everything that we need to live.	Housing EA Quality Housing EA
HG	And that is also now the case with Employment Agency H?	
R15	Yeah	Housing EA
HG	The previous apartment, they punished you and fined you for everything?	
R15	Yeah, yeah, yeah.	
HG	And does Employment Agency H check as well on the apartment?	
R15	They don't check, other way, they check the apartment only when someone calls the office because something is wrong there. Something is so much noisily, or something else, but normally they doesn't come, maybe one time a month someone come and check is everything all right.	Housing EA Quality Housing EA
HG	And you live with a few people there?	
R15	I live with two peoples more. I have one neighbour in my room and one in other room, down and he is working in Employment Agency H. But mostly lives on the some apartments because it is in bigger house it is 4 to 5 persons at the apartments it's maximum.	Housing EA
HG	And is it clean? You said you have hot water.	
R15	No, no, it's everything all right, when I come first everything is clear and I must check because I don't come in to really not clean not clean room, and if I see this is broken, this is broken, I go to, I call to office and then this is wrong, you must check it, you must repair it and that is all.	Quality Housing EA
HG	You said you came to the Netherlands already 5 years ago and found a job, did you apply already in Poland for that job or did you just come to the Netherlands and see?	
R15	I preferred staying for longer, but this office makes me really bad experience. I don't think I would come back now, maybe after some years I come back and now I am here. I come here because the payment in Holland and the, I want to stay here for a longer time because I want to open my own company in Poland, it is my little hobby in computers, consoles, electronics and I like to repair it, manual work is what I like. There are maybe, I want to stay here for maybe 4-3 years like my cousin. My cousin lives here.	Intention to stay Changing employers Intention to stay
HG	Just earn enough and maybe return to Poland	
R15	Maybe, maybe, because living here is really a lot easier than Poland. From one day, I can make enough money to live per one week; In Poland after full month I must check I have enough for electricity, water, trash management, paying for apartment so much basic things cost too much than here.	Intention to stay
HG	And is it just that it is just more expensive there or is the wage, the salary better here?	
R15	Here in Netherlands, because I was live last year at the North Holland and I was paid for one week 50 euro and it's really nice because I have everything to live, but at the finish in December the season has stopped and I must go for 2 months to Poland and there I was found an apartment, but after 2 months I don't have any money.	Intention to stay
HG	And now, since you came to Employment Agency H, do you work for one employer or work for different?	
R15	I was working I was work one employer the ((XXXX)) in Barendrecht with the fruits, but now I am waiting for some other job, because I just quit, I just quitted because in the work there is one large Polish family and they make it from us animals, you know, they pushing us, they don't say any, I forgot this word,	Employment Misconduct employer
HG	They just don't communicate with you?	
R15	Yeah, yeah, we shall just make this job and it is not more, they joking from us. I am asking my manager last time when I go out, I quit, how long will we stay more, because it's 7pm on the clock and we want to know at what time we finish, we have 6 pallets half hour ago, now we have how much more to do, and he said to me we have 25 pallets more to do and you will stay here to the morning next day. That is not normal. This is the reason what I quit for, from this company.	Misconduct employer
HG	And did you inform Employment Agency H about it?	
R15	Yeah, yeah, yeah, office knows everything and now I am just waiting for a job?	

HG	Do you know, does Employment Agency H do something about it?	
R15	I don't know, but if they want to fire me, they can do it	Misconduct employer
HG	I mean not to you, but also for the other people working there, to the company. Like we don't do business with you anymore because of this and this and this	
R15	I think, I think, it is a good question, because I think the office do as well as they can to find a job for people like me, but I know people who lives, who quits the job 1-2-3-5 times and office take new job, but we see now it's little bit pause in the season, they don't have as much work for all people and they can't send us to other work instantly, you must just wait.	Unemployment
HG	And now, when did you quit? Was it recently? You said you did quit your last job, was it, when was it?	
R15	Last Friday,	
HG	And do you know? Do you get any payments now? Or do you	
R15	The payments is normal	
HG	And now that you don't have work? Do you get something because you are unemployed?	
R15	I don't know, they need, they take from me any payment from apartment and something else, but I think no, if I don't have hours I don't have money to pay.	Unemployment
HG	So you don't have a contract that states I will work a certain amount of hours a week?	
R15	Can you repeat?	
HG	Do you have a contract that says I am working, let's say 10 hours a week, so you get paid 10 hours at least, do you have such a contract? Or is it when you work, you work and get money, if you don't work you don't get any?	
R15	I don't remember about it	
HG	Well, you have been working for quite some time already also in the Netherlands, have you ever worked illegally?	
R15	Illegally no, only in Poland.	
HG	Why not here? Is it possible to do it here?	
R15	I think it is possible, but I don't, other way, I don't want to have some bad experience with government here because if I can't find some legal job, like your uitzendbureau, like Employment Agency H, we have a lot of companies here, we have Employment Agency G, ((XXXX)) it is not a problem to make a call one day to 6 or 7 office, it is not really hard to find some legal.	Employment
HG	But do you think this unemployment will last long? As you said, it is off season, do you think they will find a job fast?	
R15	Maybe not fast, but I think if someone want to find they just find, if I want to work I just make 100 calls a day and I go to some companies, asking, talking, if someone wants, someone can do it, it is not a problem here is a lot of companies.	Unemployment
HG	So, at work what kind of people do you meet there? Is it a mix of Dutch and Polish or?	
R15	At the North-Holland I was meet mostly Polish people, but I was working in one company we have Polish 3 persons, and from Dutch we have 2, it is a boss and a manager and I don't like companies where there is a really big mix, then 100 people 200 people is too much. If I work in a small group we can make some friendship and we can talk just, other way, we work as a team because it's really easier than in the biggest group.	Social network
HG	Do you try to use Dutch, are you learning? you're learning right.	
R15	Ja, ik leren Dutch.	Learning Dutch
HG	And do you try to use it as well, at work?	
R15	Sometimes in shop I use it, but I only now starting the basics like a child I can talk something about, ik wil soep, or rode riem or something else, but the basics like good morning, goede middag, goede avond, or thank you, you're welcome it is really easy because Dutch language is like little bit German, little bit English. If I know English language it is more easy to learn Dutch, because the basics from this language is really, really, simple like in English. Then I must just learn the words.	Language capabilities Language learning
HG	Yeah, I can imagine. As you said you want to stay a bit longer, but will you always be working through an uitzendbureau, through an office or try to find a job directly?	

R15	At this moment I don't think about finding the job by myself, because if I work for office I have everything complete. I have apartment, I have all payments to belastingen, other places, I don't must think about ((XXXX)) I just go to work and make a money and come back home.	Intention to stay
HG	I think this is it. If you have anything to add	
R15	No, I think I am told you everything what you want to know	
HG	Okay, thank you so much	
R15	You're welcome	

Transcribed interview no. 16

Date: 23-06-2015

Duration: 18:36

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 16 (R16)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	(..) and we can get started.	
	So, Pavel can you tell me something about yourself? Where are you from, how old are you?	
R16	Yes, I am 27. I came from Poland. I finished university also. I get a (...) I was graduated as a master in tourism and recreation on the physical education university in Rzeszow, I came between (...) I live in Poland between Rzeszow and Krakow. Till both of them I have about 80 kilometers. I have a family also there. Here I work with my future wife, we get married in three weeks, something like this. So I think about me this is most important things	AGE // CoO Education Partner
HG	Okay, and you work now in the Netherlands, in Employment Agency H, what kind of work are you doing?	
R16	I work in, from Employment Agency H, I work in a company named Company I, Naaldwijk. They produce of course Tomatoes, I work as a technical man. I make reparations like hydraulic, like mechanic like electronic. Basically anything that I can do, for example without any special certificates or something I try do by myself. Other, more real things came another company to do this with special papers or something, but general I try to do everything by myself.	Employment
HG	Does it require any training? Do you have any training in it?	
R16	Eeh (...) Life	Employment // Education
HG	Life?	
R16	Something like this, I came from I am coming from, I am from a village. Poland is a very specific country for me, because if you came from village and you are (...) handyman, something like this, you can do a lot things at your home by own, for example you have garage you can repair your car you can do a lot of things, you can create something from the metal. My family was a farmer workers family, like from the grandpas, grand(...) So I was, I was all the time on the village I was also working on the field like my father, when I was younger. Later I went from home and went to studies. So, many things I was learning by myself or by my father at, so that is why I can do a lot of different things. Of course, my education like is tourism and recreation as I said, but I am not doing this because of money of course. I could work there in Poland also, it wasn't a big problem to find a work or job or something, but for example salary what I can there per month I can get, make it more per week. So the choose was simple, I had my dreams I wanted to come true, so that's why I choose (....)	Education Education // Employment Migration motive
HG	And when did you come here?	
R16	When did I coming, yeah it was almost three years ago. 2012. I finished my studies, I defend my work and in August I came here. Three weeks I spent after school at home, I decide, I try something different, I applicated to Employment Agency H in Poland office. They called me after two weeks, I said okay and I came here. I started to work at Company I as every new guy do the most simple work. After three weeks they saw that I can communicate in English, so they gave me another work, I was working about 1 year in this position. I started to learn a little bit Dutch language also and they saw that I am also handyman or something and they proposed me this. So till now I am doing this. For me it is good.	Migration – When Migration process Employment Language learning
HG	For how long have you been working as an engineer, basically mechanic?	
R16	Now almost 2 years, in the current job.	Employment
HG	So you said I want to make some money, I am going to the Netherlands. Did you have any information when you came here?	
R16	About Nederlands, basically, yeah, especially from the internet or from the tv from the books, yeah. Nederland, I am always thinking like it is a very, how to say it, free country. You can do what you want, everyone do what they want. It is individual case,	Knowledge about NL

	what do you want, who want you be, and I was also knew, the country was quite rich, for example people get high level of the life. So I decide why not I have the possibility, I can also try and came here and see how it looks, try my luck.	Migration Motive
HG	But you already found a job in the Polish office of Employment Agency H	
R16	Yes, Yes. That's why	
HG	Did you consider like going to another country? Or was it just (...)	
R16	Also, yes, especially the Scandinavian countries like Norway or Sweden. It is also really good country for work, if you want to get real money, always can try go there. But it is more difficult to go there, I couldn't found any agency who hired people to work there. In Rzeszow was the Employment Agency H where I was study where I was living, so I know that office. Also I think two or three person who I know who already tried it, they said it was okay, they pay money they not cheating you, that is why I put my papers here and it was a bit of luck and that is why I came here.	Other countries Migration process Social network
HG	Where do you live now?	
R16	Now I live in Monster, it is an uitzendbureau house, still, but I will start thinking about hire something	Housing - EA
HG	Yeah because you're getting married	
R16	Of course and it's more difficult when you live with your wife and also live with other people.	Housing -EA
HG	I can imagine	
R16	So after wedding I want try to find a house or livings better, flat for example, to rent it and move it	Housing- Private
HG	Have you already tried it, have you already looked into it?	
R16	Yes, of course there is a lot of advertisement, but it is also difficult to looking by yourself, because when you call it and people ask about nationality and they hear that I came from Poland they okay, I will call you back or something and they didn't. I also understand it, because I know how other people behave, or what they do and how they live. If I were a Dutch people and other people called me for a house for example, I would also two times think about this, until I decide. That is why I have to go to a makelaar or someone, try by this. But it is complicated	Housing
HG	You said, you know how other people live and how they behave. Can you tell me something more about that?	
R16	Polish people like, general I didn't met here a lot of people with a good education. After university or technical university, it is really few percent for me. Lot of people came here because they had a problem in Poland: Not well educated people came here also here is much easier for the work. In Poland when you are not well educated you cannot find good work or quite good salary (...)	Social Position
HG	So you can't find the same work as you're doing here in Poland?	
R16	(...) In Poland, the companies expect a lot but they don't give a lot if you are well qualified. So, a lot of people coming here and try their luck, because if you are, after studies and you hear that you are going to earn something like 350 euro per month, it is really not good motivation for work. And if you're not well educated you hear even worse or something companies expect from you experience after school, but where can you get it? Here no one ask it, of course if you are experienced you can get a better work but if you're not that is no problem you can came, try two three weeks work. If you are a good worker they can learn you something, if you are intelligent quite and you have, and you want to work	Employment CoO Employment Social Position
HG	You have motivation	
R16	Yeah you have motivation, than it's not a problem. I think that is why they came here. It is easier.	
HG	So you said you are sharing a house? What kind of, what does it look like?	
R16	It's quite old, but we try to keep it in well condition. So, like normal like in private house just cleaning, keep an eye on everything, also (...) I try also to learn Dutch so I start forgetting some words in English	Quality housing Language learning
HG	You can also talk in Dutch, that's no problem	
R16	Yeah, so,	
HG	You try to clean it you said	

R16	Yeah clean it, keeping it in good shape. When it's something more real, for example and we don't want to spend the money for it because it's not ours. We also call every time the office and they came and look on this and they try to fix it so. For me it is really comfortable because you don't have to think about nothing they only take money from your salary for the house and everything you need sometimes and	Quality housing
HG	Yeah, and do you think it's expensive?	
R16	For me yes, the rule is something like this: no matter how many people live in a room or a house, you all pay the same. It is about 80 euros per week. So for example, some people live in new houses, new flats, new rooms, in house where live 5 people for example. Some people live where is a big house and sometimes it's old, not very nice looking and they have to pay the same. So yeah, for me it should depend, if you (...)	Housing EA
HG	Like a good house (...)	
R16	Like a good house you should pay more, if not (...)Than also if you make the choice, if you do the choice (...)	Housing EA
	<i>((Interviews is interrupted by Employee 4 of Employment Agency H))</i>	
HG	We were talking about living and renting	
R16	Living and renting, yeah exactly. As I said before if you make possibility for people for example live in something new, something old, than also I understand the office, the Employment Agency H, If you make that possibility, they also make a mess with the people, everyone wants something different. When you hire for example 2000 people you can't let for this. I think the 80 euro in some cases is too much, but they have to make something in between. I also try to understand it, but trust me a lot of people don't understand it.	Housing EA
HG	And do they file complaints or try to do something about it?	
R16	Yes, yes, they complain all the time. If someone is a problematic person, they complain, they complain all the time.	Social Position
HG	Do they also complain to the office?	
R16	Also to the office, yeah they call every day to the office, with a really small thing, for which for me they shouldn't call. For example: of course people here get case on their head they have to take care about a lot of people, so some people should be more understandable for others. But they think like, I pay I pay service cost, I pay something I pay for house so I have right to call any time anywhere for everything. I think maybe that's why it is like this.	Social position
HG	I have one question, not really related to my thesis, but are you marrying in the Netherlands or	
R16	In Poland, In Poland we wanted from the beginning the real traditional Polish wedding, so that means two days partying: Saturday Sunday, that means good Polish music band, the folk band for example, Also that means a lot of Polish good food a lot of Polish wodka for example for the guests. Also of course church wedding, it's a church wedding. What more of course number of people, we invited almost 200 people. Especially, maybe from Nederland coming maybe 8-10 people from the work, also two Dutch guys one with a wife one with a girlfriend. General they are supervisors, but we build a good relationship after work. I invited them and they said that they will came so for me that's no problem. And of course prices, if you want to make a wedding here, it is big cost for a few hours in one day, what if you want to make a party for two days	Partner
HG	The entire weekend	
R16	Yeah the entire weekend, you have to take a credit or something, it is really really, so (...)	
HG	And did your wife here in the Netherlands?	
R16	No, we are now together since almost 18 years, we were going to the same school, the primary school, the high school, the studies were different because she was studied physiotherapist. But we were together from 6 years, and after maybe 4 years it was time to start to plan everything, we decided to get married we try to rent the band rent the place, everything. This year is the time for this.	Partner
HG	And did you come together, when you came to the Netherlands?	
R16	No I came first, because I first finished my studies, she had to take one year extra, because she started one year later, after me. And when she finished, In Poland it was a really, really hard situation to find the work. Even after good studies like	Migration process

	<p>physiotherapy, there were a lot of people who finished this, more people than work, so she decided if I work here she want to came with me and work here, but we also decided after the wedding she will stay for a few months more, and later we start to build a house there and maybe start to looking for the job. Not with the pressure that she has to work now, because we get some money here and we can look for the work a little bit slowly, without any stress. And I have planned to stay a little bit longer, because after the wedding we need a lot of money still, because build house it is also big cost in Poland, we need about 70 thousand euro to start and finish it. The good situation is that we have the ground from the parents, so big cost is gone, because we can get it from the parents and we pay nothing no.</p>	<p>Migration motive</p> <p>Intention to stay</p>
HG	Then I think this is it. If you have anything to add, or ask me	
R16	Maybe you have some questions to me, I think that other people also say a lot of things. I saw two people from Letland and two people from Romania, one Polish.	
	Really really interesting talk (...)	

Transcribed interview no. 17

Date: 24-06-2015

Duration: 22:54

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 17 (R17)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	So R17, can you tell me something about yourself, who you are, where you are from, your age?	
R17	I am from Letland, Captial is Riga, I am from Riga, when I first time leave I was 18, the country was where I came it was Ireland, nearby Limerick, it was the same job with meat and I was living there 7 years, and when the crisis was finished in Letland all people start taking a credit make a building site, I come back and I earn also good money in Riga on the building site and then start in 2009 the start of crisis and I have to start looking for other job outside of Riga as many people from Letland, I was looking somewhere because Ireland was not good for me because there was different climate from Riga also like from Netherlands, there was always raining and cold, maximal plus 22 degrees two weeks in a year, when you can go to river and swim, but also there was different money, it was good payable, more than here, but now when next time when I must choose what to do I choose a different country, wherever it is warmer, but here in Netherlands it's quite good climate, not too cold, not too hot and when I came first it was Netherlands it was when I travelling from Letland to Ireland with the bus, when I see the first time the Netherlands I like it very much, because it's completely different weather, completely different people, people look nice, dress good and also I think next country I want to visit and work there it will be the Netherlands.	CoO Migration history Knowledge of NL
HG	And before going to Ireland did you finish	
R17	I was studying, I was trying to go to university also but it was very difficult times after 90s because SU is crashed and nobody helped, my mom was a teacher as a father they were living separate from each other and mother couldn't help me to pay for university and I choose for myself what I go for work outside of Letland and earn some money for the university. One time I tried to go back and go to university, it was university of say logistic university in Riga TCI, you can maybe try to look in internet, but when	Education Migration motive
HG	It was logistics you said?	
R17	Logistics, yes, when I came there I have studied first year I understood it is not for me, that profession is not for me, I didn't like it simply because I was studying only in Saturdays other days I worked as security in the bar or coffee and then money is finished, because other job on the building site is not good payable.	Education
HG	So after high school, you left to Ireland	
R17	Yeah, again I go there let's say I look for a job, they say no problem you are a very good worker, you can come.	Migration history
HG	What kind of job was it? I am not really familiar with it.	
R17	The same as here. It's boning the cows from the clean meat from the bones and other factory was burger plant it was mixed minced, meat minced, for burgers and I was working with the machines.	Employment
HG	And at the place, what are you doing?	
R17	Fishing, normally it was always in the rain, I think 9 months of the year, other times it is cold.	
HG	But what are you doing in the factory?	
R17	Just coming in there take the meat from the pallets, check the temperature, some meat must be temperature around 12 degrees, some meat must be temperature about 1,5 and frozen meat. I mix it by specification, it is the second factory where I speak about, I put it on the line, turn the line on, fill out all the sheets, the comments about it, push the button, the meat going in the mixer and it is going out of the mixer and minced and then other	Employment
HG	Somebody else does it	
R17	Yes, somebody else do that. Before I worked in meat boning.	

HG	So here it the meat boning?	
R17	Yes, it is the same as here, meat boning.	Employment
HG	Does it require any training any	
R17	Yeah, gym, I visiting a gym and swimming pool something like that.	
HG	You need to be strong?	
R17	No, when you have a lot of time and you don't know what to do. Or else I visited a course of English, but it finished 6 months ago, that's it, normally it is fishing, the gym and swimming pool, but working. What I also don't like about Ireland there is not too many parks as here, If I want to go somewhere else with the fiets, you cannot do this because there is no road for the fiets, you almost must go by the road with the other machines.	Language capabilities
HG	Yeah that can be tricky.	
R17	Yeah, they don't care about that	
HG	So the first time you came to the Netherlands was in 2009?	
R17	Yeah, in Netherlands, yeah.	Migration - when
HG	And since 2009 you are working here?	
R17	No, sometimes I finished work here and I tried to look for something better for me, tried to relax my mind from this, because it is hard job for mind: always doing the same, operating the machine and then I am gone. The last time that I came here was this year, it was 4 th of January, before this time I worked in Letland for about 9 months.	Employment Migration history
	<i>((Interview is interrupted by office manager))</i>	
R17	And then I meet with the girl, she cannot come here with, because she doesn't have a passport of citizen of Letland, until she gets it and now we are here together and she lives here with me.	Partner
HG	And she is also working here?	
R17	She is accepted a work, maybe in the next week, maybe in another factory.	Partner
HG	So you said the reason to go to the Netherlands was mainly because it seemed nice.	
R17	Yeah, but you work in Letland but it's	
	<i>((Interview is interrupted by office manager))</i>	
R17	But you can't get any help from government, from the country, many people leaving now Letland	Migration motive
HG	So you had a job in Letland and	
R17	Yeah it was also building site, it was roofing, I was making a roof as a foreman.	Employment CoO
HG	And then you had just the project and then you had no certainty about	
R17	No, no, my project is finished it was about 6 months what I did, in Letland, it finished, I was supposed to look for another job, but we decide with my girlfriend that leaving Letland, because we say what is the future in Letland, our future, rich people going richer and poor people going down, down, down	Migration motive
HG	So you went to Ireland and then to the Netherlands, did you know anything about the Netherlands, besides what you saw from the bus? Did you know what it was to live here, what it was like to	
R17	No, no, no, I live in my private house. I don't have any problems with the boss, or with anything.	Housing
HG	But I mean you saw the Netherlands for the first time when you went to Ireland, you said, but did you know anything about working here, living here?	
R17	No, I know that the job is the same, but I know all procedures in the factory so I came here and I had house from the company, they care about anything they care about documents it is very nice, because, but some things in Netherlands is expensive than in Ireland but not the groceries, house is expensive, much expensive than	Housing EA
HG	So you started in a house offered by the office	
R17	Yeah, yeah I rent with my friends for now, but I spent from the social firehouse.	Housing
HG	So you're living there now already or?	
R17	No, no, I live in the private house from the landlord. It is a different house.	Housing
HG	And what does the house look like?	
R17	It is a nice house, but all my collega's who live with me, they are nice people we choose each other to live together, they are nice people. I know them because of same language, but	Housing

HG	Do you, how many people do you live with?	
R17	5, 5 rooms we have 5 rooms each a room	Housing
HG	And then you share the kitchen and?	
R17	Yeah, yeah, yeah, we make a separate of the schaps,	Housing
HG	And do you have any contact with Dutch people, like?	
R17	Yes, of course I have many friends here, Dutch people, and I speak with them.	Social network
HG	They also work here?	
R17	Yeah, yeah, they also work	Social network
HG	And do they do the same jobs	
R17	They do the same jobs, yeah	Social network
HG	And do you know about payment? Is that the same?	
R17	The payment is different, but who live long here they make more, because they make a correction every year for the salary, but the, I came here now like a new man, like a new man here, because I am leaving they put me to less than they got.	
HG	So you have to work your way up	
R17	Yeah, yeah, but that is my fault because I leave, sadly I don't dais about that.	
HG	You said you came here in January for this job, and when do you think you will leave?	
R17	No, I came to my friends already when I was leaving already, they say we have a room for you, come, come to use and I said yeah okay	Migration process
HG	And is it clean?	
R17	Yeah, it is clean, everybody cares about cleaning, the house must be in good condition, because if somebody make dirt somewhere, some say you make a dirt go and clean it now.	Quality housing
HG	And does the office check on the house?	
R17	In the beginning they checked a few times, because of course the owner is cared about that, maybe some people coming there and then do drink alcohol or marihuana planting, I don't know	Quality housing
HG	But now they don't check?	
R17	No he was a few times, but came there and everything is, floor is clean and everything is no nothing.	Quality housing
HG	Was there a time it wasn't clean, or it wasn't okay?	
R17	We clean every Sunday, we have shifts for every body and we change every Sunday.	Quality housing
HG	And does the landlord give fines, when it isn't clean for example?	
R17	We don't speak about that with the landlord, because we do it for ourselves. Nobody wants to live in dirt and garbage.	
HG	And when you came here, did you need to do any registration with the	
R17	First time I came to this house I made the registration, but now I didn't because I am looking for another house now. We have a contract with this house owner until the new year and I was there with the contract, to change the contract, we must pay 100 euro to change the contract, it was with this contract in gemeente to say: I live here, with this 2 people don't live in this house, I want to make a registration without the contract, but I am living here, change this people in this house. They say sorry you must have maked a contract and now I wait	Registration
HG	Just for a short time.	
R17	Yeah, just for a short time.	Registration
HG	Have you ever been unemployed, for example in Ireland or here?	
R17	Here? No.	Unemployment
HG	You've always worked?	
R17	I always worked	Unemployment
HG	Always the same work?	
R17	Always same work, I think about different work, but at this moment I can't make this, because my girlfriend not work this moment, she's about 4 weeks here and I am not sure ((XX)) tomorrow, If I found, find a nice job, what this is job be very good, with a good pay.	Employment (future)
HG	But there is also not a period when they say we have enough people now working, so you are a few days off?	
R17	No	

HG	So how many days a week do you work?	
R17	5, 5 normal days, 36 hours	Misconduct employer
HG	And every week?	
R17	Every week yeah	
HG	And did you work elsewhere in the Netherlands?	
R17	No, nowhere, only here.	
HG	So once again, you went from Latvia to Ireland, back to Latvia, and back to Ireland again?	
R17	No, no, it was short period when I come back to Ireland again, but I try to look for something else in my life, because I was young I must try everything, what to do, I was trying to study in this period and then I decide for myself what must I get professionally of this to know everything about that. Then I come back to Ireland, to earn the money of course and also to look for another future for myself.	Migration process Migration motive
HG	And how do you see the future?	
R17	I see the future for now in the Netherlands I see, because we got a plan for my girlfriend in the Netherlands, work in Netherlands, maybe in the future buy house here	Intention to stay
HG	And will that be still with an office, or will that be like apply directly to a job?	
R17	I like to work physically, but all what I want maybe to change the job to the building site, because you will always work with your mind and you think what to do, you must decide the problems in the product.	Changing employment
HG	Will you always be working for the uitzendbureau or will you try to find a job with a contract	
R17	It's like a difficult question, uitzendbureau also is taking money from you, they ((XXXXXXX)) the money. Of course I want a vast contract with a different employer, with the employer for the	Changing employment
HG	And do you think that is possible?	
R17	Of course that is possible, you must be lucky	
HG	Why lucky?	
R17	Why lucky, because if you're looking for job, if you check job in the Tilburg, you have only this and this job, all other it will be uitzendbureau, but if I check I send my CV to them and they say sorry we don't need ((XXX)) who don't have Dutch language speakers.	Changing employment
HG	Will that be the main issue? Speaking Dutch?	
R17	Yeah, I tried to learn Dutch, but it is very difficult, you know, when you difficult to understand and hear, and many people also speak English that is a huge problem, especially when I try to speak in Dutch and I say some words in Dutch and try to speak with some words in English. They understand very well, but nobody speaks with me the Dutch. That is what I don't have here. When I was living in Ireland everybody speaks only English, nobody speaks Russian or Let.	Language learning
HG	So you said you've been taking classes in English, have you also been thinking about taking Dutch classes.	
R17	For now, because I am, how to say, I am citizen of the EU, it very expensive at this moment for me, because it is pay about 900 euros for half a year and maybe in the future, because we need to decide the problem with the living place for my girlfriend and then when she will get a job, so we have more money, then we go together to class in Dutch. Of course when I think about my future in Netherlands I must speak Netherlands, there is no question about that.	Language learning Intention to stay
HG	Well aren't you trying than to learn it some other way? For example by watching TV or talking Dutch with colleagues?	
R17	Yes, look I am always sitting in internet and look for Dutch sites, because it is interesting, but they are always must take a time for this it is not easy, because when I have another language and it's very difficult to spell some words in Dutch, Dutch spelling is different than French or English, so the German, in school I was learning German language, it is completely different from Dutch.	Language learning
HG	But it has some similarities?	
R17	Yes it is like American English and the English of England, one time I was trying to change my job on the ship, fishing on the ship and there was captain he was English,	

	one man was Scottish, nobody understands each other they speak like ((XXXXXX)) and nobody understands each other, say Marcus say it again. Irish people is different English than	
HG	I can imagine yeah. I think I have most important topics. As you said, in the future you will try to stay in the Netherlands, and then retire here?	
R17	Yeah probably, as I say before to buy a house, maybe kids in the future, because I am not too young, I'm 33 years old and I must think all about that. You cannot change the house every year, of course it is growing, of course I must think about that, but I don't see my future in Letland, any other country but 90% will be Netherlands	Intention to stay
HG	And why not in Letland?	
R17	As I said before, I am not sure of tomorrow, you can go work and don't know, only small percent what you get with a normal salary with a good tax or what you will get when you're old or what you get good pensioen. As I said, rich people get more money, poor people only spending money. Also young people think about to leave, there is no production area, not too much production area.	Intention to stay
HG	It is really hard?	
R17	Yeah, everybody tries to sit in the office to count and make a good college. You understand, not everybody can sit in the office, somebody must work with the hands.	
HG	Okay, I think we covered the most important things. If you have anything to add	
R17	No, no, no, nothing to add. I think I say everything about my life and what I think about my future.	
HG	Okay	

Transcribed interview no. 18

Date: 24-06-2015

Duration: 17:32

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 18 (R18)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
R18	I am better at writing and reading, the speech no, but I try to	
HG	That will be fine.	
R18	We are from Hungary, we have been working here since last November. Before that, we worked in Germany, also at a meat product industry. So, in Nederland I think working conditions is better than it was in Germany. Better duty time for example, and the leaders are much more directly than it was in Germany. Wages is not so good than Germany and living costs is higher.	CoO Migration –when Migration history Migration motive
HG	You earn less here than in Germany? You get a lower wage and the cost of living are higher?	
R18	Yeah, yeah.	
HG	But back home, when you were in Hungary, did you finish a school?	
R18	I went to school, after school we an exam, I started my studies at college and I, after 4 years I got brokeed, because of my financial situation. And I made my diploma thesis, but I didn't go to graduation, so I didn't finish.	Education
HG	And that is for both of you the same story?	
R18	It is very difficult for me. He	
HG	Did you go to high school?	
R18	No, no, he didn't	Education
HG	You started working	
R18	After secondary school	
HG	And then did you find work in Hungary.	
R18	Yeah there is a lot of jobs, but wages is very low and we couldn't save money.	Employment CoO
HG	And what kind of job was it? What did you do?	
R18	I worked in an office as a secretary and later I went to Germany for 4 years.	Employment CoO Migration history
HG	And what kind of work did you do there, in Germany?	
R18	In Germany, the same as here.	Employment
HG	And what do you do here? You work in the meat factory as well?	
R18	I just clear the meat from fat and ligament	Employment
HG	And the organs etcetera? And the work itself, is it a good job?	
R18	It is a, no, it isn't a good job for me, but I need more money than it was in Hungary.	Migration motive
HG	And have you tried finding something else? For example somewhere else in the Netherlands?	
R18	Yes, later I will try, but at first I have to learn English better and Dutch.	Employment (future) Language capabilities
HG	You went to Germany and then you came to the Netherlands, why did you move from Germany to the Netherlands?	
R18	As I said, in Germany the leaders are very	
HG	Very strict?	
R18	Yes, yes, and duty time, we worked 12 hours one day and from Monday to Saturday and here we work from Monday to Friday and it's 8-9 hours.	Migration motive
HG	And how did you come to the Netherlands? How did you find out that the work might be better here? Did you plan to go from Germany to the Netherland? Or did you just want to leave Germany and it doesn't matter where I go?	
R18	It was a plan?	
HG	You said the conditions here are better, how did you find out that it might be better to work here than in Germany?	

R18	I just read internet, I find on internet and I could see our pages	Migration process
HG	So you saw you work less hours for another wage? So how did you find the work? How did you find the work in Holland?	
R18	In internet,	Migration process
HG	So you found this office or did you find a job right away?	
R18	There was a, I can't say this word, there was a reclame and there was a phone number and I phoned it, he was a Hungarian colleague	Migration process
HG	Yeah I had already contact with him with Employee 5. And then he said, well you can come to Tilburg to work and get a job.	
R18	Yes, yes, yes,	
HG	And now, where do you live? You live in Tilburg, but...?	
R18	Yes, at first we lived at working hostel. But it wasn't good. Because the price, the cost, was too higher. We together paid for one room, six hundred euros.	Housing EA
HG	That is a lot.	
R18	Yeah. Now, we rent a flat. No not flat.	Housing
HG	An apartment?	
R18	Yes, an apartment. The cost is the same.	Housing
HG	How did you find that place. Did the office offer it to you? Or did you find it some other way?	
R18	This ?	
HG	Where you live now, how did you find it?	
R18	Internet ((xxxxx))	Housing
HG	Was another website that has places?	
R18	Yes.	Housing
HG	Ok. And it is in Tilburg?	
R18	Yes.	Housing
HG	Ok. This goes so far really well I think. It works. You said you stayed at the hostel. Together you shared a room. Do you know how many people lived there, more or less?	
R18	How many people with we lived together? Uh. Five or six, it was changing.	Housing
HG	And the conditions? Was it a clean house? Was it a nice house? Was it a good house?	
R18	It was good. It was good.	Quality housing
HG	And was it better than where you live now? Like as in the house itself. The place where you live now, is it better?	
R18	Oh, it is better	
HG	Why is that?	
R18	Now. It is better. We are only two. And the cost is the same. And we are more closer.	Housing
HG	So you said you came here last year in November. What are your plans for the future? Are you planning to stay or? Have you thought about it?	
R18	We. No. We tried to learn foreign language, English and that. Later we will see it. I don't know.	Language learning Intention to stay
HG	Do you have a contract with the company that says you can work here until, I don't know, a year? Maybe longer?	
R18	Our contract is for two years.	Employment contract
HG	Two years, ok.	
R18	It is finishing next November.	Employment contract
HG	So in 2016, so next year?	
R18	Yeah.	
HG	You said you are trying to learn English or Dutch. How do you do it? Do you have classes? Or do you go to school to learn it?	
R18	No no. I try to learn it at home. And I pay teacher and at skype once a week she help me speaking.	Language learning
HG	So, that is English right? And how do you try to learn Dutch? Or are you trying?	
R18	At first English. And if I decide to stay here, I begin learn Dutch.	Language learning Intention to stay
HG	Than we have the short term future. How do you see the future long term? Do you go back to Hungary eventually? Or will you stay here, if possible, for ever?	

R18	No no. The Dutch people are more kind than... I don't ((xxx)) it before. Maybe we stay here, but I am not sure.	Intention to stay
HG	Ok.	
R18	We are here six, no seven months. I cannot decide it.	Intention to stay
HG	Ok. So for now you think you will just do the contract and see what happens next?	
R18	Yeah.	Intention to stay
HG	In these few months that you have lived and worked here. Have you ever been at home without work? Have there been weeks that there was no work? And you did not have to go to the factory? Have you ever had a period where you did not have to work? While being in the Netherlands.	
R18	Repeat please?	
HG	Ok. You came here in November and now it is June. Have you worked every single week from November till now?	
R18	Yeah. Yes. Oh! You mean it, I was on holiday?	Unemployment
HG	On holiday or maybe there was no work?	
R18	No no. Oh, there was four day. And we plan longer holiday in October.	Unemployment
HG	Because then the season... There is not the season for meat? Or do you have the time to do it?	
R18	We need relax.	
HG	I can imagine. I have one more question and then I think we are done. When you came here to the office. You have to register also for the city hall and stuff. How was it organised? <i>((Drilling in background))</i> You came here and because you work in the Netherlands, you need to be registered. You need to be in the books. Did the office made sure that you go to the city hall to register and everything?	
R18	<i>((inaudible mumbling to indicate that she does not understand))</i>	
HG	Did you get a sofi number?	
R18	Yes I have a sofi number. It is in office and they help me.	Registration
HG	They helped you to get it?	
R18	Yes.	Registration
HG	Ok.	
R18	Oh it was the last question! Ok.	
HG	Yeah then I think I got everything. If you have nothing to add...	
R18	Ok.	
HG	Then we are done.	

Transcribed interview no. 19

Date: 24-06-2015

Duration: 15:44

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 19 (R19)

Interpreter (IT): This interview is mediated by an interpreter. All literal transcription from the interviewee (R19) is translated by the interpreter.

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	Then we can get started. Can you tell me something about yourself, who you are, where you are from, how old you are?	
R19	I am student, my name is R19, I am student technology food, specialist mes	Education
HG	You are a student in Poland?	CoO
R19	Yes, student administratia	Education
HG	How old are you?	
R19	((Writes down 28))	Age
HG	And when did you come to the Netherlands?	
R19	I come work	Migration motive
HG	And when did you start working?	
R19	I start working today	Migration when
HG	Today?	
R19	Yes	
HG	Today was the first day at the job?	Migration when
R19	Two days	
HG	So you started on Tuesday-Monday. Why did you come to the Netherlands?	
R19	Because Polish is small money in Netherlands better money	Migration motive
HG	And how did you come to this decision? How did you know about working in the Netherlands? How did you know that working in the Netherlands would be better money? You said there is better money in the Netherlands	
R19	I like looking Nederland, people and cultura, pictures, I like pictures Holland	Migration motive
HG	You came here via the office, via this agency? How did you find them?	
R19	Office, I looking in internet	Migration process
HG	And what were you looking for?	
R19	And I sent CV	Migration process
HG	But what were you looking for on internet when you found the job?	
R19	My job is specialist mes	Employment
	((Interview interrupted by interviewer, to look for help to overcome language problem))	
	--file 2--	
HG	Ja, dan wil ik graag iets weten wie je bent, hoe oud je bent, waar je vandaan komt.	
R19	Hij is 28, en is oud Radon in Polen en dat is in de buurt van Warschau van de hoofdstad.	Age CoO
HG	En ben je naar school geweest, of ga je nog naar school?	
R19	Na de basisschool heeft hij een vakschool beëindigd en nu is hij aan het studeren voor administratie.	Education
HG	Je werkt nu voor het uitzendbureau, wat voor werk doe je?	
R19	Hij is kanter, dus hij selecteert verschillende soorten vlees, voor de vleesverwerking.	Employment
HG	En hij is pas begonnen, hè?	
R19	Ja, hij is pas begonnen, maar heeft vroeger ook hier gewerkt, ja, in 2011 nog	Migration -when
HG	Kan je daar iets over vertellen?	
R19	Hij heeft het zelfde werk gedaan als vroeger.	Employment
HG	En dat was ook hier in Tilburg?	
R19	Niet alleen in maar Tilburg, maar ook in Tilburg. In Polen was hij ook bezig met auto's handel	Emploment Employment CoO

HG	En ook op het moment dat je nu naar Nederland bent gekomen? Die auto's handelen?	
R19	Hij is hier gekomen om gewoon stabiel werk te hebben, maar als hij komt terug zal hij opnieuw met auto's gaan	Motives to migrate
HG	Hoe ziet er nu uit? Hoe lang wil je blijven?	
R19	Zolang mogelijk, maar het contract is voor één jaar, dus minimum één jaar.	Intention to stay
HG	Maar je zei net ook dat je nog op school zat, ben je klaar op school?	
R19	Dat is een soort avondstudie, dus hij hoeft niet per se daar te zitten.	Education
HG	Je kwam dus ook al in 2011 naar Nederland, wat wist je toen al van wonen en werken in Nederland?	
R19	Het klimaat is goed in Nederland en woning is ook altijd goed. Hij zat altijd in bedrijfspanden, niet privé gehuurd.	Knowledge of NL
HG	Om werk te vinden hoe heb je werk gedaan?	
R19	De eerste keer dat hij naar Nederland is gekomen is via via, via kennissen en dan via uitzendbureau.	Migration process EA
HG	Via hetzelfde uitzendbureau, of via een andere?	
R19	Via ons uitzendbureau, ook vroeger.	Migration process
HG	Hoe bevalt het tot nu toe, het werk en wonen in Nederland?	
R19	Hij heeft goeie ervaring, hij is altijd ook goed behandeld, ook op werk, houdt van tempo van werk en heeft niet veel tijd om aan iets anders te denken. Hij zegt in Polen is het tempo nog harder als hier.	Employment
HG	En de vorige keer was dat ook voor een jaar, of was het toen alleen tijdens een vakantie?	
R19	Één jaar	Migration history
HG	En toen ook omdat hij de school niet hoefde te volgen?	
R19	Ja.	
HG	En toen je hier aankwam, de eerste keer, moest je je registreren, bijvoorbeeld een SOFI nummer en dergelijken, hoe is dat geregeld?	
R19	Toevallig was ik met hem naar belastingdienst toen, toen was belastingdienst, in Doetichem.	Registration
HG	En dat werd allemaal geregeld via het uitzendbureau?	
R19	Ja	Registration
HG	Nu heb je een jaarcontract, wat houdt dat in, hoeveel uur?	
R19	Standaard is 36 uur per week in vleesindustrie,	Employment // Contract
HG	En is dat ook meteen het eerste contract wat je krijgt? Meteen een jaar contract?	
R19	Ja, ja, meteen een jaar contract, maar die eerste maand is altijd proef maand, maar wij kennen deze meneer al dus dat is gewoon voor één jaar.	Contract
HG	En dan ben ik benieuwd naar waar je woont, wat voor huis?	
R19	Wil je die adres weten ook?	
HG	Nee, nee, wat voor situatie, via het uitzendbureau had ik al begrepen,	
R19	Ja via onze huisvesting	Housing EA
HG	Wat voor iets is dat? Is dat een gedeelde woning,	
R19	Dat is een woning gewoon met, is een grote woning met grote woonkamer en 4 slaapkamers, normaal voor 6 mensen, maar nu wonen er 3	Housing EA
HG	Dat is dus van het uitzendbureau, hoe is dat geregeld, wordt er iets van het loon ingehouden?	
R19	Dat is gewoon van zijn salaris afgeboekt, en hier is dat 2,60 bruto per gewerkt uur, maar niet meer dan 43 uren. Dus als hij minder werkt dan betaalt hij minder voor huisvesting.	Housing EA
HG	Oké, dat is een heel andere oplossing dan ik eerder heb gehoord. En wat denk je hier van, is dat redelijk?	
R19	Het is beter als het minder is, maar het is gewoon	Housing EA
HG	En de situatie van het huis, is het een schoon huis is het een net huis?	
R19	Het is schoon huis, rustige omgeving	Quality housing
HG	En wordt er ook gecontroleerd door het uitzendbureau?	
R19	Ja,	Housing EA
HG	En wat gebeurt er als er bijvoorbeeld iets niet in orde is?	

R19	Er is een systeem van boetes, ik weet ook, de eerste is een waarschuwing en in 2 weken tijd om alles in orde te brengen en dan financiële boete of komt schoonmaakster die moet schoonmaken en die inwoners moeten dat betalen en dan later als het de 4 ^e is dan moeten ze een eigen woning zoeken.	Housing EA
HG	Daar kom ik zo op terug. Nee, je bent dus in Nederland komen werken en wonen, probeer je iets van Nederlands te leren of ook Engels?	
R19	De eerste keer dat hij hier was, hij wilde doen maar dat was te kort en heeft bij de cursus niet ingeschreven. Hij heeft niet gedaan.	Learning language
HG	En in de toekomst, nu bijvoorbeeld?	
R19	Hij is nu pas begonnen, maar dat is afhankelijk van de situatie hier en ook in Polen.	Learning language
HG	En in wat voor opzicht?	
R19	Hij wil graag in Nederland blijven leven	Intention to stay
HG	Hoe zie je dat dan in de toekomst? Wil je ook graag langere tijd in Nederland blijven, wil je hier oud worden?	
R19	Hij wil voor langere periode hier blijven, maar dat is ook afhankelijk van de financiële situatie	Intention to stay
HG	Nee dat is denk ik wel het belangrijkste, dan heb ik verder geen vragen meer. Als je niks meer toe te voegen hebt, dan	

Transcribed interview no. 20

Date: 24-06-2015

Duration: 15:24

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 20 (R20)

Interpreter (IT): This interview is mediated by an interpreter. All literal transcription from the interviewee (R20) is translated by the interpreter.

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	Ja, dan wil ik graag weten wie u bent, waar u vandaan komt, hoe oud u bent en zo.	
R20	Hij komt uit Polen uit Leszo, dat is een beetje Zuiden van Polen, en hij is 54. Hij is een technicus van de vleesverwerking, specialisatie vleesverwerking.	CoO // Age Education
HG	Toevallig getrouwd en kinderen?	
R20	Ja, 5 kinderen en getrouwd	Partner // Children
HG	En uw vrouw is die hier?	
R20	De vrouw is huisvrouw	Partner
HG	Die is hier in Nederland of in Polen?	
R20	Nee, in Polen. 3 jongens en 2 meisjes. ((laat foto's zien van kinderen) Kijk, kijk, goed?	Partner
HG	En wat voor werk doet u hier?	
R20	Hij is uitbener en werkt met mes en vleesverwerking, zoals die anderen ook.	Employment
HG	En wanneer bent u voor het eerst naar NL gekomen?	
R20	2004	Migration -when
HG	2004, toen was Polen, toen was er nog geen vrij verkeer van werknemers	
R20	Hij heeft speciale vergunning en visum in paspoort en werk vergunning.	Migration process
HG	En sinds 2004 heeft u altijd in Nederland gewerkt?	
R20	Daar ging hij in pauze en vanaf 2006 werkt hij continue in Nederland.	Employment
HG	En al die tijd voor het uitzendbureau?	
R20	Ja	Employment EA
HG	En waarom bent eigenlijk in eerste instantie naar Nederland gekomen?	
R20	Hier zijn normale omstandigheden in werkbedrijven.	Migration motive
HG	En in wat voor opzichten normaal dan?	
R20	In Polen is helemaal anders in zijn ervaring	Migration motive
HG	Wilt u daar over uitweiden?	
R20	Dus het feit dat hij hier is niet met familie, omdat hier is beter, financieel is het hier gunstiger dan daar.	Migration motive
HG	Even kijken voor de eerste keer is dan 10 jaar terug. Dus toen had u al een gezin in Polen?	
R20	Ja, die familie is nog steeds één familie en die zoon van hem werkt ook hier. 3 jaren en mijn tweede zoon komt maandag.	Partner // children
HG	En hoe heeft u dan het werk hier gevonden?	
R20	Via internet heeft hij zich gemeld bij het uitzendbureau en zij hebben teruggebeld en uitgenodigd.	Migration process
HG	Wat wist u in die tijd al over Nederland, over hier werken en over hier wonen?	
R20	Niets	Knowledge of NL
HG	En hoe was dan de periode nadat u hier aan kwam? Was het boven verwachting, viel het	
R20	Dus dat was niet helemaal mooi vanaf begin, één maand wachten op werk en na die ene maand hier gekomen en vanaf die tijd altijd hier in Tilburg gewerkt.	Migration process
HG	Nou dan moet u dus ook ergens verblijven, waar woont u, in wat voor huis?	
R20	Heel mooi huis, kein discussie, garage, garten, platz, alles zu koffie, grill, barbecue, een normaal huis	Housing –EA Quality housing
HG	En dat is een huis van uzelf of van het uitzendbureau?	
R20	Nee, van het uitzendbureau, maar niet hier in Tilburg het is in een dorpje Maren-Kessel, prima,	Housing – EA

HG	Dat deelt u ook met anderen?	
R20	Ja, ja, hij woont samen met andere mensen in totaal nu 6, en komen nog 2 daarbij. Prima huis, luxe huis. Hij zegt hij kan niets slechts zeggen over dit huis.	Housing - EA
HG	En u heeft dan ook andere ervaring met andere huizen?	
R20	Hij heeft grote ervaring, gedurende die 10 jaren heeft hij op verschillende locaties hier in Tilburg, in Diessen ook, Dongen. Zoveel huizen maar deze is Die laatste waar hij nu woont is de beste.	Housing – EA Quality housing
HG	En in wat voor opzichten waren die andere huizen minder dan?	
R20	Ja dat is in principe technisch gezien, geen mooie huizen. Een landhuis met alles in de keuken wat nodig is Garten, Bloemen Tuin en gewoon alles.	Housing – EA Quality housing
HG	En gaat u ook nog wel eens terug naar Polen?	
R20	Als hij geen geld heeft dan rijdt hij, alleen Ongeveer 4-5 keer per jaar. De reis kost ook Cadeautje voor familie moet je kopen, alles, alles, alles	Social orientation
HG	En u spreekt wat Nederlands, u begrijpt het, hoe heeft u dat geleerd?	
R20	Alleen maar van horen van contacten met Nederlandse mensen maar die andere willen dat hij naar een cursus gaan, hij niet tekenen maar heeft geen consequenties.	Language capabilities Language learning
HG	Maar niet de ambities om Nederlands te leren als u hier al 10 jaar bent?	
R20	Nee, hij vindt dat niet nodig, omdat overal kan hij met handen en voeten terecht komen. Iedereen in Nederland, nou ja niet iedereen, of Poolse wil helpen ook administratief of Kein probleem, water, koffie, thee	Language learning (Requirement)
HG	Meer is niet nodig? En dan op het werk is het daar niet belangrijk om daar Nederlands te spreken?	
R20	Nee, dus iedereen maakt eigen werk hier, dat hoeft niet veel te communiceren en hier ook 90% van de mensen is Pools	Language requirement
HG	En later als u klaar bent met werken, wilt u in Nederland blijven of wilt u terug naar Polen?	
R20	Bedoel je met pensioen?	
HG	Ja, met pensioen of	
R20	Ik weet nog niet	Intention to stay
HG	Zijn er redenen om in Nederland te blijven of redenen om te vertrekken? Dat is gewoon kijken wat de tijd brengt?	
R20		Intention to stay
HG	Ik ben alleen wel nieuwsgierig, u werkt nu al 10 jaar hier en werkt nog steeds via het uitzendbureau, maar wat voor soort contract heeft u nu dan?	
R20	Een vast contract	Employment contract
HG	Een vast contract, via het uitzendbureau bij de	
R20	Ja	Employment contract
HG	En nooit geprobeerd om direct in dienst te gaan bij?	
R20	Ik kan die antwoord geven, maar Succes! Hij probeerde een keer maar hij heeft op papier een antwoord gekregen dat het niet mogelijk is	Employment contract
HG	Niet mogelijk is?	
R20	Ongeveer 6 jaar geleden.	
HG	U bent eigenlijk de eerste die ik spreek die hier al vrij lang woont al, merkt u verschil in, over de tijd dat u hier bent in het werk in de omgeving,	
R20	Gedurende die 10 jaar?	
HG	Ja	
R20	Ja die bedrijf is gemoderniseerd, verbeterd, er zijn veel dingen gemaakt om de krachten van de medewerkers te sparen en goed middelen dat is veel verbeterd.	Employment
HG	Maar bent u ook bijvoorbeeld wel eens een poos zonder werk geweest?	

R20	Nee, nooit. Als hij een been gebroken heeft, maar dat was een ziekte wet, dus niet zonder werk, want het been was in gips.	Unemployment Welfare use
HG	En toen had u wel gewoon recht op alle uitkeringen en kreeg	
R20	Hij ging gewoon in ziekte wet	Welfare use
HG	En ook als u bijvoorbeeld korte tijd ziek bent, zijn daar dingen in veranderd qua regels, is het makkelijker, moeilijker om een uitkering te krijgen	
R20	Nee	
HG	Nooit ervaring mee gehad?	
R20	Nee, geen probleem. Hij vertelde over het been in het gips en hij wilde met de auto rijden.	Welfare use
HG	Ja lastig.	
R20	Dan hij heeft veel problemen van gehad in Polen. Hij heeft zijn been in Polen gebroken tijdens de vakantie. En dan is hier gekomen om toch ja Gips hier, foto, 3 doktoren En dan had hij terug naar Polen voor fysiotherapie en dat was moeilijk daar te vinden rond die tijd.	
HG	Nee, dan heb ik verder niet echt vragen	

Transcribed interview no. 21

Date: 24-06-2015

Duration: 19:38

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 21 (R21)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	So R21, can you tell me something about yourself? Where you're from, how old you are, what you're doing here.	
R21	Yes, I give answers in Nederlands ja?	
	Mijn naam is R21 ik kom uit Letland. Wanneer kom ik? Ik was 19 jaren, ja ik kom hier om te werken omdat in mijn land ik heb geen idee wat ik kan doen na school. Nu is bijna 25 jaren, kom hier alleen, ja, en nu ik woon hier met mijn vrouw en mijn kinderen.	CoO Migration when Migration motive Partner // Children
HG	Je zei dat je op school zat, you said you were in school, what kind of school was it?	
R21	Middelbare school, ik had alleen 2 wegen, naar de werk of naar de universiteit. Universiteit in Letland was duur en ik kies werk, in Letland ik heb geen werk, het was economische crisis, ik vind werk hier.	Education Migration process Migration motive
HG	Ik zit even te denken, toen kwam je in 2009 naar Nederland?	
R21	Ja in 2009	Migration when
HG	En waarom naar Nederland?	
R21	Ik denk niet toe, ik zoek werk in Spanje, in Engeland, Duitsland maar vinden Nederland, ik heb geen kies zo groot en ik begin, en ik wil proberen.	Other countries
HG	Hoe heb je het werk hier gevonden?	
R21	Mijn vader vindt werk door 1 kantoor in Letland en hij spreekt met zijn baas, hij heeft baan en dat ik wel wil werken, en baas oké ik kan proberen, baas vindt mij goed en ik werk.	Migration process
HG	Dus je vader werkt hier ook?	
R21	Nee, hij gaat weg voor anderhalf jaren.	
HG	Maar hij heeft hier ook gewerkt? Je vader heeft ook in hier gewerkt in Nederland? Ook hier in Tilburg?	
R21	Ja, wij woonden bij dezelfde fabriek, maar misschien ander half jaren, 2 jaren niet meer.	Social network
HG	En kan je iets vertellen over je vader, wanneer is die naar Nederland gekomen?	
R21	Hij komen op de april 2009	
HG	Dus vlak voor jou.	
R21	Half jaar ongeveer	
HG	Wat wist je over Nederland toen je naar Nederland kwam?	
R21	Ik vind werk en ja dat in East Europe, veel mensen horen dat in west Europe is veel geld alles als paradijs en ik hoopte misschien niet zo'n paradijs, maar misschien klein beetje, maar beter leave, in Letland was grote veel problemen en ik kom hier.	Knowledge NL Migration motive
HG	En wat voor problemen waren dat in Letland?	
R21	In Letland was, begin van de crisis, geen werk, en erg klein loon en vandaag jij werk en morgen jij kan niet werken dat is veel stress.	Migration motive
HG	En in Nederland? Hoe beviel het?	
R21	In Nederland ik kom, ook vandaag werk morgen kan niet, maar hier beter loon, ja, ongeveer hier ik kom en op een week ik in de winkels ik spend ongeveer 30 euro per week, in Letland 30 euro was niks, op ander halve dag	Employment
HG	Dus je krijgt hier meer betaald en je geeft hier minder uit?	
R21	Ja,	
HG	En hoe ben je dan naar Nederland gekomen? Ben jezelf gegaan of heeft het uitzendbureau betaald voor de reis?	
R21	Nee, ik zelf hebben betalen.	Migration process
HG	Dus je bent in het vliegtuig gestapt of in de auto en toen gekomen?	
R21	Kan u deze vraag vertellen in Engels?	
HG	So you took a car or a plane from	

R21	A plane,	
HG	And then the office, they picked you up	
R21	Nee, mijn vader hebt auto en picked mij	Migration process
HG	And then you started working, what kind of work do you do?	
R21	Ik ben vleesmedewerker, ik werk met vlees, met mes. Uitbener.	Employment
HG	You have been doing that all the time? Ever since you came here?	
R21	Ja,	Employment
HG	And what do you think of the job?	
R21	Ik vind leuk om te werken met vlees, maar dit work is hard. En niet betaald zo veel als ik wil.	Employment
HG	And do you have other options to work?	
	<i>((R21's phone rings; Interview is paused))</i>	
HG	So you said the work is tough and it doesn't pay as much as you would have wanted. Are there other options?	
R21	Ik nu leren in de universiteit, door internet, maar <i>((XXXXX))</i> Ik hoop na 3-4 jaren ik heb hoog opleiding en dan ik heb betere werk. Tot deze moment ik kan niet, hopelijk ik eerst leren Engels, en klein beetje en daarna bijna 2 en half jaren Nederlands.	Education
HG	Je zegt je bent aan het studeren, waarvoor?	
R21	Ik studeer in universiteit door internet het is, IT technology.	Education
HG	Wil je dan werk daar in zoeken in Nederland of toch weer terug naar Letland?	
R21	Nee, hier. Ik wil hier blijven	Intention to stay
HG	En waarom is dat?	
R21	Hier is betere atmosfeer overal. Mensen is rustig, betere situatie met geld, hier met woning, ik denk dat ik hier blijf.	Intention to stay
HG	Je zei net dat je ook getrouwd bent en dat je vrouw ook hier is.	
R21	Ja, ik heb een vrouw en 2 kinderen.	Partner
HG	En je vrouw die werkt ook?	
R21	Nee, nog niet, maar kinderen is anderhalf jaar en drieënhalf	Partner
HG	Dus die is thuis met de kinderen?	
R21	Ja	Partner
HG	Je zegt een kind van drieënhalf, die gaat ook naar school?	
R21	Ja, vanaf januari hij gaat naar school in Nederland.	Children
HG	En hoe bevalt dat? How's that a child going to a Dutch school? Your oldest child is going to school, is it a Dutch school? Is it difficult for you or	
R21	Ja, het is moeilijk, want ik heb geen vrienden wie kinderen ook gaan naar school, maar ik moet proberen, ik wil met mijn kinderen terug hier wonen, zij moeten gaan naar Nederlandse school, Nederlandse taal leren, daarna heeft betere live,	Children Social position
HG	Is it a boy or a girl?	
R21	Ik heb drieënhalve Jaren dochter en anderhalve Jaren zoon.	Children
HG	Did she already speak some Dutch before going to school?	
R21	Nee	Children
HG	How does she deal with it, is she picking up Dutch?	
R21	Ik weet dat in Nederland in eerste jaar, kinderen van buitenlandse, gaan naar taalklas waar zij meer taal leren, en ik denk ook gaan naar dezelfde klas en over één of anderhalf jaren meestal kinderen gaan naar Nederlandse of home met Nederlandse kinderen. En bij de jongste gaat zo het zelfde.	Children
HG	En jij zelf? How did you learn your Dutch?	
R21	Ik zelf learn Dutch in Eindhoven was Dutch taal les, volunteer school, 1 jaar ik leer en 1 jaar ik leer in ROC school en 2 Nederlands taal cursus.	Language learning
HG	And that was possible to combine with the work?	
R21	Ja, het was 's avonds cursus.	Language learning
HG	Did you have to pay for that?	
R21	Yeah I paid for it	Language learning
HG	And compared to your salary, was it a lot?	
R21	Was niet klein geld	
HG	And was it worth it?	

R21	Yes	
HG	Why is the money worth learning Dutch?	
R21	Omdat overall Nederlands taal en ik kan spreken met andere Nederlands people ik kan lees overall, ik kan gebruiken bij dokter, zonder taal dat is not possible.	Language learning
HG	I assume you live together with your wife and your kids. Where do you live, is it your own house?	
R21	Nee, ik huur appartement, maar niet bij Nederlandse mensen ik huur van gemeente, 3 kamer appartement, ik huur appartement.	Housing
HG	And did you ever live in a house by the office? By the uitzendbureau?	
R21	Nee, wanneer ik kom ik woon 3 jaren of 4 woon ik het huis van het office en daarna	Housing EA
HG	Heb je zelf iets gevonden?	
R21	Ja	
HG	Have you always had work?	
R21	Yes	Employment
HG	And what kind of contract do you have?	
R21	Vast	Employment contract
HG	And in the past, you just start with a	
R21	Tijdelijk contract. Eerste contract was half jaar, daarna 2 jaar, en daarna 3 contracten voor 1 jaar, nu contract voor 1 jaar, nu contract voor 1 jaar en nu vast daarna	Employment contract
HG	So you've always had work, have you ever been sick or have you ever been	
R21	Als ik ziek ben, ik bel naar office en vertel welke reden en geen probleem.	
HG	And do you get paid when you're sick?	
R21	Yes.	Welfare use
HG	Do you get any other benefits from the government, for the rent for example?	
R21	Ja, ik ontvang huurtoeslag, en ook zorgtoeslag want ik betaal ook voor mijn vrouw verzekering en ik ontvang ook belasting terug na elk jaar, omdat voor mijn familie het is laag inkomen, belasting voor 1 jaar klein beetje geld terug.	Welfare use
HG	Do you do that yourself or is someone helping you with the	
R21	Eerst, ik doe door kantoor, maar laatste anderhalf jaar ik doe zelf.	
HG	Is it hard to go through those forms?	
R21	Eerste keer was moeilijk ja, maar nu is geen probleem	
HG	You got Dutch classes from the ROC and in Eindhoven, but do you also try to watch the Dutch TV, or listen to the Dutch radio?	
R21	Nee, ik heb geen tijd.	
HG	Do you think you can communicate with Dutch people?	
R21	Als mensen willen communicate met mij, wij kunnen, ja. Als mensen niet willen, ja, mijn Nederlands is niet zo goed, maar ik leer, ik ga leren	Language capabilities
HG	And your wife, is she learning Dutch?	
R21	Het begint in September	Language learning
HG	So not right now?	
R21	Nee, nee, nee	
HG	And your wife, did you meet her here in the Netherlands?	
R21	Nee, in Letland	Partner
HG	Can you tell me something about it?	
R21	Wij begin, wanneer pas 17 jaren, wij drieënhalf jaren wonen apart, ik hier, mijn vrouw in Letland, was moeilijk, maar zij leren in school en 3 jaar geleden wanneer dochter was 9 maanden zij kwam naar hier en hier blijven	Partner
HG	And for the future? How do you see that? You said you'd like to stay longer in the Netherlands, how long is longer?	
R21	Ja, ik wil hier blijven wonen tot pensioen, omdat ik wil kinderen hier blijven, als zij gaan naar school daarna zij worden Nederlands kinderen en daarna zij feels hier als Nederlands en dit is beter.	Intention to stay
HG	But you said till your pension, so retiring in Latvia?	
R21	Nee, nee, nee ik wil hier blijven.	Intention to stay
HG	You want to grow old here and	

R21	Ja, als ik nu ga op vakantie naar Letland, ene week goed als in vroeger, tweede week mwah-mwah, derde week ik ga weg van Letland, dit is andere deel van Europe, grote verschillende dingen	Intention to stay
HG	I think these are the most important issues. Yeah I think that is it, if you have anything to add you think might be interesting	
R21	Ik weet niet	
HG	Oké	

Transcribed interview no. 22

Date: 14-07-2015

Duration: 26:05

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 22 (R22)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	R22, let's get started. Can you tell me something about yourself: who you are, where you're from, how old you are	
R22	I am 27 years old, I come from Poland around 7, in the March it will be 7 years that I am in the Netherlands, I begin in the simplest works in different uitzendbureau, there I worked in meat factories, later I worked in order pickers and then I have the possibilities to be coordinator in the one company, that was first line coordinator only in the one company, in different uitzendbureau and after 2 years of working over there I am going to grow up and make CVs and I find job over here.	Age C.o.O. Migration -when Employment EA Changing employer Employment current
HG	I am going to close the window <i>((Interview paused))</i>	
HG	So you've been here for 7 years, before that did you finish any kind of school in Poland?	
R22	Yes, I finished middle school, I start study I finish first year study and then I decide to come here, just for 3 months, but when I see perspective, possibilities over here I prefer stay and not finish school over there, only I stay here	Education Intention to stay
HG	So the middle school, what kind of school was that? Was it general education or was it more specific?	
R22	Yes, that was more like specialistic was for the law, something between law and sociologist school, you know, law and social intimidation and law, so that was one direction, so I finished middle school and later study, but I not finished this	Education
HG	And your current situation? Do you have a partner, do you have a wife?	
R22	I has, but right now not, actually for 2 months not, I am single	Partner
HG	And your current job here, what does that entail? What do you do?	
R22	I am a coordinator	Employment
HG	Yeah and what does that imply?	
R22	I plan the people, I have contact with the people, so most things that we have to do is contacting with the persons, the workers we send to the clients, from the begin to the end, from the recruitment to send someone to work, this is little bit longer wait, because we don't know what we can expect, before we find somebody, you need to know what skills somebody needs to have, then you need to check the skills, if they are really correctly, later you have to find sometimes home, accommodation for the people, transport to work, catch contact with them, you know, when you have their contact and people can communicate with you and like it, later they are more motivated to work and everything, so this is beginning part and later everything that is around: cars, conditions of the house I don't know everything.	Employment
HG	So are you also a landlord, do you also check the houses?	
R22	No, I am not responsible for it, we have special controller for it, but we always drive together, to go to house to support for each other, so we always drive together, but also I check the conditions for example. If people call with complemenations about the conditions of the house then I can be first person, because who can help them, or when something happens, sometimes it can happen that water leaks from the roof or they have no hot water, so like that problems you can fix. When it is something more important and difficult then we have to ask for help for their problems.	Employment
HG	So you said you've been here for 7 years now, so what was your motivation to come here?	
R22	Money for study, first money for study and then finish school in Poland, but the possibilities, what I said before, the possibilities what I checked on the place, when I was here already and when I compare this to the study in Poland than I prefer stay here make me smarter and more experienced in the different kind of the work and come somewhere in this direction where I am right now.	Migration- motive Intention to stay

HG	And how did you find the work?	
R22	Just CV and I come for inschrijving, so I prepare CV and I visit some office	Employment EA
HG	In Poland?	
R22	Before, when I come to Holland for the first time I hear this from my colleague, this is some company I called them I contacted them and I sent them documents and they told me to drive here.	Migration process
HG	So a friend of yours told you that there was work here?	
R22	Yes, yes, yes, that was, not here in Employment Agency J, but in my first work, 7 years ago. I was never before in the Holland and I speak with my friend and decide to come here for holiday job to earn money and come back to second year, but then he gives me signals that we have some companies when I started and I started.	Migration process Intention to stay
HG	And what kind of work were you doing?	
R22	My first work here was meat factory, the basic work, just production work I stand at a table and I pack the meat in the boxes.	Employment
HG	And what did you know about the Netherlands when you came here for the first time? Did you know anything about living here, working here?	
R22	No, only about the, not our times, only from the history lessons, only what happened in the past over here, but what is the situation right now, It's only for me the legend, and when you meet and see this is the best experience and true about it. But what I heard I don't know almost nothing.	Knowledge NL
HG	So you weren't prepared at all?	
R22	No, I have 30 euro in my pocket and let's go	Migration process
HG	So how was the first period when you came here? How did you experience it?	
R22	The most difficult is the missing of the things you left behind, because you missed and left the things and people who spent all your life, your friends, family and places what you know, so that's impressive and the experience was very difficult and you're, I am especially, I was a little bit scared, maybe not scared, but interesting you know. You have some doubt about everything. So this doubt was inside, if you can manage this and what you can do, but when I spent here just 2 months then I saw possibilities of what people can have over here, what they give you. So later with the time, doubt's gone.	Migration process
HG	Did you have housing right away and did you have work right away when you got here?	
R22	Yes, the company brought me the accommodation?	Housing - EA
HG	And also work?	
R22	Yes, yes, yes, I called also to uitzendbureau so they care about work, transport and house for me.	EA Arrival
HG	And registration? Were you registered at the municipality, or with the tax service at the time?	
R22	No, then I have my own private bookmarks with it, who helped me with, I always rent a different or the same person for it.	
HG	But I mean, when you got here you have to registered in the Netherlands to work.	
R22	Right now, in the past nobody have to, you can be for example temporary workers and nobody has to be registered in the systems.	Registration
HG	So you weren't in the systems right away?	
R22	Not from the company, later I did by myself.	Registration
HG	And did you consider going somewhere else as well? Or was it just like I want a summer job and I can find a summer job in the Netherlands? Or could you go to Germany for example and you had the same restrictions or opportunities	
R22	Yes I have few opportunities, but I used this one, because someone from my city was here already and he had some positive, also negative, but some positive comments, it's the more checked place for me to go to.	Other countries Migration motive
HG	And where did you go to? What was the first place you worked? Was it also Roosendaal?	
R22	I lived in Roosendaal and then I work in Best, so first place was Roosendaal en work place was Best.	
HG	Best, near Eindhoven right, that's quite far from here?	
R22	First half year I drive in one side 50 minutes always, so	

HG	Was that also arranged, or was it with your private car?	
R22	No, that was everything arranged by the company: cars, fuel, everything.	EA
HG	So you started working in production company in a meat company you said, as a production line worker, that was a temporary contract, what happened after that?	
R22	It was a phase contract, first I start phase A,B, and I never received phase C, always phase A-B-A-B, they sent me, after 8 months I have to stop there because I would receive phase C, but the uitzendbureau was not allowed to give somebody contract like that, so they changed work for me and I started working in a different place. So, before I start working here I have maybe 20 different works, sometimes the works was more constant, sometimes it was for a few days project, something like that, but from the same begin, or else, what I talked to the office this is what I expect, this is the most constant work, no matter the hard level, only the time, the work where you can create your own space	Employment EA Changing work
HG	The work you doing now?	
R22	Yes, for example right now this is the best option. Before, when you haven't skills, haven't any experience, you haven't a language very well, than it is more difficult for you to catch the constant work, you know, and you haven't any papers for heftruck like me, for example. When I come here my general skill was motivation, so it's more important. When you have motivation you can do anything.	Changing work Language capabilities
HG	So that was in the 20 different jobs, they were all basic production jobs for example, or what kind of jobs were those?	
R22	The best job what I had was order picker by Company J, this is a big company over here, so of course you know the Company J. This is the great client and great, I've been working inside, later Company J give up from all uitzendbureau over there, so that is the reason why I lose job. Also by Company J and then I receive offer to stay as first line coordinator, so after Company J this is the most responsibility and later I stayed coordinator in old company. I worked around 1 year and then I stopped, I had a different opinion about on having to decide which side we go, the client, for example when I worked in the past wasn't fair, he thinking about people like a slave, for example, they have bad ((XXXX)) and inside was 50 or 60 degrees and they told this is not allowed, if they can drink water over there or something. I said sorry, but I cannot stay and look to the face of somebody and talk to him when inside it's 60 degrees and you cannot drink the water, so, I cannot do it, it is my decision and don't tell me this is good, so then I said, everything was broken, our relation was broken after this situation so this is better for me when I stopped and then I speak if they have constant work for and they say temporally not, so then I prepare and try to work somewhere else. For example when I was coordinator over there more than one year, so I think I have enough experience to try somewhere else	Employment Misconduct Employer Changing work
HG	So in between the two jobs? In between being a coordinator at your old job and where you are working now, were you unemployed for a long time? For a few months for example, or longer?	
R22	Before this job? Before this job one year I was coordinator, one and half year I was order picker, so totally we have 4 and half, and 2 and half I worked I worked in the different jobs, so then one year was for the meat factory and one half year I was jumping a little bit, few months here, few months there, few months off somewhere different also	
HG	And when you left the previous job, was there a period that you didn't have any work?	
R22	I haven't got that period, no, I haven't. I can, you have to pay for everything around I am not sleeping with my parents in home, so my parents can't help me with something like that, so I need to have money to pay my monthly things	Unemployment
HG	So it was quite easy to get another job?	
R22	When I haven't work, it is not easy, but you have to be interested. So what are looking for than you'll find it, when you stay in depression and complain you'll never find any job, so that was the sample when I started to work over here. They also told no we don't have any jobs, so I have the opportunity to either go to Poland and I have to pay double house, because I have also house in Poland, so I have to pay for double house here and in Poland, so it's better for me to move there and pay one house than to stay here without job, don't earn the money and I have to pay two house, so I give myself	Unemployment Intention to stay

	for example deadline, okay I have one month to find a job, because I social things that don't interested me, so I want to work I want to be in the circle, you know. So I don't want to lose the days for uitkering or so like that thing.	
HG	So you never applied for an uitkering?	
R22	No, no, never, and that is the reason I have to do the choices, or I come back to my country or I find a job. For my luck I find job here.	Welfare use
HG	So here you are a coordinator, was there a special skill you had, why you were hired for that position? Was it possible to have anyone else doing the job?	
R22	It is difficult to say, I don't know, maybe you have to ask Employee 5, but for this job for sure you have to be patient and communicative and be protected, don't care about opinion, but you need to be smart and have your own idea and a very thick skin for everything what is happening around and work without emotion, be patient and everything than is good. And communicative with the people, so communication.	
HG	So also language?	
	<i>((Both speakers speak indistinctively))</i>	
HG	But you are Polish, is that also an advantage for the job you're doing?	
R22	Yes I think we cooperate 80% in the Polish language, with the Polish people, so of course if you work in the uitzendbranche with Polish people the Polish language is very important for it. Yeah, but later when you can also not be only coordinator and you are going to Mount Everest and you have the everything and then you have to for example make another respect you, that is the reason why I start learning Dutch language, because it is not so good level to speak like we speak right now, we can speak, I can told you okay tomorrow I send one person to work and after 2 days I stop them, no problem, but for like those things I prefer English yet. But I am still learning so I hope in the coming 3-4-5 months I can speak Dutch enough communicative so I know this another step for me when I work here	Employment Learning Dutch
HG	So how did you learn Dutch, just by yourself while working?	
R22	By myself, the most things around here and also together with the colleague from the work, with Respondent 24, we speak, we meet one day at week and we speak 3-4 hours only Dutch and we have books and I make notifications	Learning Dutch
HG	But did you have any classes?	
R22	No, I do it totally private, my way, so	Learning Dutch
HG	And doesn't the company offer you Dutch classes?	
R22	I haven't time for it to be honest, because when I come back from work I still need to be available by phone, because somebody can call me, and when you try to learn something, for example language, you have to be focussed for the language, but you cannot be focussed for 100% when I do it, with Respondent 24, she is sitting downstairs, we do it together, than when you have something to do we do it together, so we stop we focus on language we start job things and then we come back to lesson. So right now it is very difficult, because I haven't enough energy, sometimes I come back very late to home, I can start later, but I come back very late, because we receive planning from the clients also 4-5 o'clock, so this is most busy time for us, so then I have to stay and I finish work 7-8 o'clock and then I have to go back to school, also I have dog, also my things in home, so I haven't got time for it, to go to school regularly	Learning Dutch
HG	I can imagine. Under what kind of contract do you work now? Is it a temporally contract again or is it a fixed contract?	
R22	This is the last part in the temporally contract, so I have a contract to next February.	Employment contract
HG	So that is rather long already. So then I have a question about where you live,	
R22	On the private home,	housing
HG	And before?	
R22	Now, from 3 years, I live in the private way and 4 years I live in the company home	Housing
HG	And that was always the same house with the company?	
R22	No, no no no. The company that, most was one house (general was one house), but sometimes they have to move, I don't care where I work. I come here to work, not to spend and that is what I translate to our people sometimes that have problems.	Housing EA Changing Housing EA

	<p>"Please you have to be moved, because we have work somewhere else for you." "No, no I already have some friend relationship over here so I don't want to move." "But this is not a hotel or this is not makelaar, where you can choose. You come here to work." So always also I keep in myself in my mind: Ok I am here to do work, so when I have nearest I have to be moved. So when I will meet my friends, I have to meet with them after work. When somebody told me I had to move, this never was a problem. While general I live in the one house.</p>	
HG	<p>And what was the house like? Did you share it? Was it a ... did you share it with roommates, with housemates?</p>	
R22	<p>Sometimes I have to share it, but this is too personal. But this was not a problem, because normally you live with five or six persons in the one house. I have lucky that if I do not live in a pension or lot of people in only a single house. ((xxxxxxx)) I have lucky in this case.</p>	Housing Quality EA
HG	<p>You said the comfort was good. So you have... So the house itself was in good shape? Everything was there what you needed?</p>	
R22	<p>Yes, everything was inside. I never had to buy any stuff.</p>	Housing quality EA
HG	<p>And when there was a problem in the house? For example what you said, you have a leaking roof or no hot water?</p>	
R22	<p>Ah, then we contact with makelaar, because for every house there is a responsible makelaar. When I live in company house, then we contact with our coordinator and I explain him problem and he try to fix it for us.</p>	Housing EA
HG	<p>Ok. And how did you find your current house? Was it through the municipality? Was it-</p>	
R22	<p>No, by website in makelaar. I have checked the offers, I saw the foto which house I like, and then I choose the one and ask about possibilities. If I can rent it and so on.</p>	Housing current
HG	<p>Are you renting it?</p>	
R22	<p>Hmmm.</p>	Housing current
HG	<p>You are renting it, ok. Do you get subsidies for the house?</p>	
R22	<p>Subsidie?</p>	
HG	<p>Do you get like huurtoeslag?</p>	
R22	<p>Yes.</p>	Welfare use
HG	<p>So it is the lowest segment of the rent in the region. So the municipality helped you to actually rent it?</p>	
R22	<p>The company, you mean? Right now? No no, I rent it via private way.</p>	
HG	<p>And as you said you were lucky about your house with the company. Why lucky? Shouldn't it be like that always?</p>	
R22	<p>I am lucky, because I never live in this pension. Because I don't like for example in the place where thirty people in one house. One big pension, it is too big mess around and too crazy. So I am lucky to live in the apart standing house for four or five persons. Not so many people.</p>	Housing EA
HG	<p>Ok. Well as you said, you were unemployed for a month. So you never applied for those benefits from the government? Did you apply to any other benefits whenever? Just the huurtoeslag and- ?</p>	
R22	<p>No no.</p>	Welfare use
HG	<p>And how do you see your future? Do you think you'll stay here forever or-?</p>	
R22	<p>I cannot plan. I am trying to be creative for impossible situations. When I have possibility and I see it is better for my life that I will stay, then I want to be here. But if I see something happens and that I have to come back, then I don't have any doubts that I will come back. I don't want to-</p>	Intention to stay
HG	<p>When something happens? Family related? Or else when-</p>	
R22	<p>For example, if I lose the job. I don't know. Or... maybe there is a possibility that when I come back then I have a job or something like that. But I don't think so. So for me, I prefer at this moment to stay in Holland.</p>	Intention to stay
HG	<p>And can you predict like in ten, fifteen years?</p>	
R22	<p>Really difficult to say. I am trying not to plan my life. Maybe I plan next day, but for the future I know what kind of direction I want to be so for this moment the direction is Netherlands and I want to stay in the Netherlands. Maybe over some time. In the future we have also company. I don't like jumping from this work to another work. I</p>	Intention to stay

	want to be ((xxx)) they're my work and follow this. For example we have here possibilities to do... Our company have also "vestigingen" in Poland. So maybe in the future I have possibilities to move over there. But I will see, I don't know. I don't want nothing.	
HG	So you said you are learning Dutch. Not by the company, but by yourself. But are you able to use it? You were able to speak it with some parties. But for example in the streets, do you think you can manage there with the Dutch you-?	
R22	Yes, in the shop. When someone asks me about the way and when I am in the shop I always use Dutch. Maybe from that that was the last one year I start. Because I cannot do it for work. Some part of the client when you have a good relation, and you can be nice and see them and drink a lot of coffee with them. You can start learning together with them. Mostly Dutch old person, they like. They don't care about grammatical faults, but that you try to speak Dutch. When somebody gives me that signal, yes of course I am allowed to speak with him Dutch. But with some clients you have to be professional. You have to explain really different, and from all words. How many people and how many stories you can have. What is happening at home, what they do for example? For this for sure I cannot communicate in Dutch.	Language capabilities
HG	And you said you have lived here for seven years now. Why don't you try to pick up Dutch before?	
R22	Before it wasn't necessary for me. Wherever I go, everybody speaks to me English. When I was in the work, meat factory, 90% of the people who work there is Polish people and 10% is people from Netherlands who use Dutch. But I need to practice, everybody speaks English. This situation same situation was with another project I worked at. I think that is the reason. Nobody expects this from you especially. I never heard it like: "You need to learn Dutch in order to keep this job", so that wasn't necessary for me. And I also have not a barrier to communicate or to fix something. Because whenever I go to gemeente or to bank, I can arrange everything for myself. So, I don't feel any responsibility for that.	Learning Dutch requirement
HG	I think that is the most important things about you. I also have some questions about, like an uitzendbureau, but I don't know if you have the time for that. I can also ask the others or maybe ask Employee 5 at the end.	
R22	How long this will be?	
HG	I don't know, it depends on what new topics come up.	
R22	Yeah, because at four I have to be in Maden. I think I will be ten minutes later right now.	
HG	If you have anything to add, like about things that might be interesting.	
R22	Well I think this is everything.	
HG	Well I have no more questions.	
R22	Ok.	

Transcribed interview no. 23

Date: 14-07-2015

Duration: 15:19

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 23 (R23)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	So R23 can you tell me something about yourself? Who you are, where you're from, how old you are.	
R23	I'm 28 years old, I'm from Slovakia, from a city Štúrovo, it's on the border with Hungary so I am a bilingualist, so I speak Hungarian and Slovak as well. And I born there I lived there, I was in England before, but now I try Netherlands, so that's it.	Age // C.o.O. Migration history
HG	Do you have a girlfriend? Are you married?	
R23	Not serious, but I have something, yeah.	Partner
HG	And she is also here, or?	
R23	No, no, no, she is at home, she is studying.	Partner
HG	And you, did you study?	
R23	I stopped after secondary school.	Education
HG	And did it have a specific field, or?	
R23	Specialism, it's a technical and informatical services in electro technics, that was the field.	Education
HG	And what kind of work are you doing now?	
R23	Coordinating, driving, everything what they need, so I am at the company for only one month so I am learning new things, so everything that is possible I can help.	Employment
HG	And before?	
R23	Before, I was working in a, my last job you mean?	
HG	Yeah, well everything?	
R23	Ooh well, it's a lot.	
HG	So when did you come to the Netherlands, you said?	
R23	One month ago,	Migration -when
HG	And you said before you were in England?	
R23	In England I was 4 years ago, or something like this. At home I was water rescuer, receptionist and my last job was in a casino I was bartender and cashier there, so that was the last.	Migration history Employment departure
HG	So then you went to England	
R23	No, before I was in England, in England I was barista in a coffee shop, Company K, if you know?	Migration history
HG	So 4 years ago you went to England and in between you went back to Slovakia?	
R23	Yeah, yeah, it was only half year or something like this in England, in London.	Migration history
HG	So 4 years ago you went for half a year, just to get it straight, then you went back to Slovakia to do the service jobs and then why did you come to the Netherlands?	
R23	It is quite simple, my friend told me that they were looking for a new coordinator and they were looking for, they needed somebody who speaks Hungarian language and I could start because I speak Hungarian, Slovak, Czech and English. So I can communicate with my boss and I can communicate with people also, so that's why.	Migration process
HG	So a friend told you, what did you have to do to get hired? Just send in your papers and have a talk?	
R23	No, I just start because they have a hotel far away for workers, there was living more than 30 people and after I have to be there because to keep the hotel clean to keep the people like calm, because there was some problems with people with behaving, you know. So that was my first, I am living there as well, now, after I want to move.	Migration process
HG	But did you have a job at that time in Slovakia?	
R23	Yeah, I was in the casino, so I left the casino and I start here, so it was 2 days, so step by step I was knowing on Wednesday my friend called me like you can start on Friday so I had to finish the job, do all the paper things everything and I take a flight and I am in Nederland. It was	Employment departure

HG	That really is kind of a rush	
R23	Yeah really a rush	
HG	Did you plan on going	
R23	Yeah, yeah, yeah, sure but waiting for the moment for a good job, something like	Migration motive
HG	And this was the job you really liked?	
R23	Yeah I like it.	
HG	But did you know anything about being in the Netherlands, about	
R23	I was here when I was 20 years old, 8 years ago, just like a tourist, so I see something, but I don't know what I can await from the country, but I like it, it is really clean. It is not like at home, I can't see like destroyed house or something like in Slovakia, every place is like used, so the fields, everything is organized I like it really.	Knowledge of NL
HG	But were you also waiting for a job in the Netherlands or were you just also looking in Slovakia?	
R23	I was trying in Slovakia, but in Slovakia it is a bit strange country, less money, you don't have enough for your rent and your food, it's really different there.	Migration motive
HG	So you were really looking for something that earned a little more?	
R23	Yeah earned a little more and get some new experience. That was it.	Migration motive
HG	Did you consider going somewhere else as well?	
R23	Yeah, I was thinking about England again, I was thinking about Australia, because my best friend is living there, and I have time till 30 years old to, like move there and live there, because after 30 years, if you are older than 30 you can't live there, only you can work, you can get the visa but you can't get the nationality, you know. And that is really important in Australia.	Other countries
HG	Still those dreams, like going there?	
R23	I just follow these dreams	
HG	One at a time?	
R23	Yeah, yeah, yeah.	
HG	And what kind of contract do you have now? Is it just temporally, for the summer for example?	
R23	Yes it is a temporally, but I want to do my best to stay longer, because for summer I was needed, because in summer is more work, so I can help them a lot.	Employment contract
HG	So the office is renting the hotel only for	
R23	Only for workers and I can	
HG	But only for a short period?	
R23	No it's for longer period, but it was really messy, so that is why I am there now. But now it's better a lot. I am there 3 weeks, maybe it's enough.	Housing EA
HG	And what does your job look like then?	
R23	I am just coordinating the people, who, when have to go to job, just warn them if there is something messy or clean your dishes or something like this, make clean the living room and don't left your trash there, thing like this. And I am driving with guys in the morning to job and picking them up and taking them home.	Employment EA
HG	And those people, do you know anything about them, how did they find the job in the Netherlands?	
R23	Not from everybody, because somebody really don't want to cooperate but yeah, most of them I know.	
HG	They are just here for the summer?	
R23	Yeah, somebody yes, but somebody has problems at home so he had to stay more, for like longer time and somebody don't know nothing, he just come without money and after they went home. It's a possibility as well, so.	Employment EA
HG	So are they prepared in general?	
R23	No, not everybody, the half of them I think, to be honest.	
HG	And what kind of people are those, really with problems at home or is it people that need a summer job?	
R23	There are students who need a summer job, but the older coming for money only, I think, to help the family at home and things like this	Migration motive/process
HG	So you said, you had a friend living here in the Netherlands, telling you about the job, do you have any other people you know here?	

R23	Yeah, sure I have maybe 10 people here from home, one of my friends is living in Maastricht. He's printing t-shirts in, it's his love, that job, he loves to draw, paint, so and I have 2 more friends in Susteren, in Goes, my cousin is here as well and an Irish girl in Amsterdam, that is all I think, yet.	Social network/migration process
HG	And well what did the period when you came here look like? Did you have any contact with these people, or was	
R23	Not with everyone, because it was really fast, so I have 2 days to prepare myself to I am going to Nederland, my mother is just looking, everybody is "are you going in 2 days, oh my god", you know. So somebody didn't know.	
HG	But were you well prepared when you got here? Did you exactly know what you had to do here?	
R23	Yeah, I just bought the ticket for the flight, prepare my things and bag and just going.	
HG	And also for the job?	
R23	Yeah, I have to stop the contract with my boss, he was a bit upset, because I left.	
HG	So shortly after. Like now, do you need any registration to work here?	
R23	What do you mean with it?	
HG	Did you have to go to the municipality? For the registration for like a SOFI number.	
R23	Yeah, yeah, yeah, I need, sure.	Registration
HG	How was that arranged, did you have to do that yourself?	
R23	No my friend helped me, because I don't know how that is going and now I can help other people to do that.	Registration
HG	But the company didn't help you with that?	
R23	The company helped me, sure. The company helps everyone who is coming with this, we make an appointment for them and we take them there, we arrange everything.	Registration
HG	Yeah it's kind of difficult, because you've only been here for such a short time. So you live in the hotel as well, what does it look like? You said you live with 30 people and it was a mess.	
R23	Yeah it was, but now it is a lot better, you know if you put together people, it depends on what kind of people they are, so it was really like people who can't listen so they have to go and the rest is good.	Housing EA
HG	So you sent people out as well?	
R23	Yes, because we have to, because they can't behave and the others can't have their rest, so it's	Housing EA
HG	What do you mean by not behave, what kind of, did they bring any problems?	
R23	Maybe kick out the door, destroy something in the night time loud music, some things like this, because it is a place for workers so we need to rest them.	Housing EA
HG	And also the stereotypical things, like drinking?	
R23	Yeah, some times, yeah some times	
HG	Does the company kick people out or do you have to call the police? How does that work?	
R23	Once I think about it, I had to call the police, but after I can manage it, so, just it is up to you how to manage it, I think. I can call the police, but why if it's not that important.	Housing EA
HG	And what happens when someone is kicked out?	
R23	They have, they was angry, girl and a guy, there was a couple and the girl locked out the guy and the guy kicked out the door and that was it.	
HG	And then, what happened to the guy, he was kicked out of the hotel?	
R23	He is still there, he repaired the door and that's it.	
HG	But I mean, do you have the power to really kick someone out?	
R23	We never kick out somebody, it not like: you, you have to go in an hour, so they have time, they have everything to manage their things, to get some money, we are waiting for their salary and he can move to another agency or another house, so	Housing EA
HG	So you just end the contract?	
R23	Yes, because we have the rules in our houses, so if you don't respect the rules they have to go.	Housing EA
HG	Isn't it like playing for police instead of being a boss?	

R23	Sometimes it is strange, but you can behave good to people if they give you good, you can give back that good, I think. I don't want to be like a police officer or something.	Housing EA
HG	You said you speak a lot of languages, are you also trying to pick up Dutch?	
R23	Yeah, yeah, yeah, I really want, but I haven't got time in summer, but after I want to go for a language school, just the basics to talk	Language learning
HG	Because right now, do you manage in the streets or the shops for example?	
R23	I can say dankjewel, alstublieft, like this, or tafel, I know words	Language capabilities
HG	You learn by	
R23	By hearing and	Language learning
HG	Do you know, does the company offer language classes?	
R23	No, I don't know about it. I am really busy every day, so	Language learning
HG	No I think that is about it, because you're only here for such a short period it is kind of different from the previous one.	
R23	Okay	

Transcribed interview no. 24

Date: 14-07-2015

Duration: 34:26

Interviewer: Hidde Gramsma (HG)

Respondent 24 (R24)

Who	Literal transcription	Selective codes
HG	R24, kun je iets over jezelf vertellen? Wie je bent, waar je vandaan komt, hoe oud je bent?	
R24	Mijn naam is R24. Ik ben 29 en ik woon in Nederland 10 jaar. Momenteel woon ik in Zeeland. Dichtbij Yerseke. Ja. Ik woon hier nu al 10 jaar, dus ik heb geen planning om terug te komen naar Polen want ik heb hier alles opgebouwd. Vrienden, baan, en huis ook. Dus voor mij is het moeilijk om weer naar ander land te gaan en opnieuw alles beginnen, want dat wil ik niet. Ik zoek stabiliteit en ik begin dit van zeker niet, want als jij gaat naar ander land en ben je zonder jouw familie. Spreek je geen taal. Dat is niet zo makkelijk hoe is jouw familieland.	Age Migration –When Intention to stay
R24	Ja, wat doe ik voor werk? Al vijf jaar werk in uitzendbranche. Functie? Ik had verschillende functie. Ook als relatiebeheerder, vestigingsmedewerkster, coördinatie. En nu werk ik bij Employment Agency J. Ongeveer drie jaar in totaal en doe ik eigenlijk twee functies tegelijk: coördinatie- en vestigingsmedewerkster. Dus dit betekent dat doe ik veel administratie voor Poolse medewerkers. En niet alleen Poolse, maar ook voor gewone medewerkers, ook Nederlandse, Hongaarse. En ook coördinatie als problemen oplossen en alles wat. Ik heb ook tijdje in Afrika gewerkt. Het was 9 maanden, maar omdat dit was wel Arabische land. Dit was niet zo prettig voor mij. Het was leuke ervaring om nieuwe culturen te leren kennen. Ik hou van reizen en gewoon nieuwe mensen leren kennen, maar ik vond gewoon Nederland leuk. Echt leuk land, want als jij kan goed Nederlands praten, heb je veel mogelijkheden en kan je echt toekomst opbouwen. En is zo niet in landen als bijvoorbeeld Tunesië. Kan je goede studie hebben, kan je alles wat, maar toch. Dit is niet zo makkelijk als hier. Hier moet je alleen willen. En toekomst staat voor jou open. En in Polen is het hetzelfde. Ik ben hier eigenlijk aangekomen alleen om geld verdienen voor studie in Polen en terugkomen, maar ik was ook vroeg vertrokken. Ik was 19 toen. Dus planning was alleen voor maximaal 1 jaar. Maar ik vind gewoon leuk, want Nederland is wel open voor buitenlanders zegmaar. Open, dit vind ik echt leuk. Ik merk ook soms toch discriminatie, maarja dat is zo gewoon. Het is wel gewoon maar. Na aantal jaren heb ik ook Nederlandse nationaliteit gevraagd. Dus het was wel veel kost, energie en geld ook. Maar ik ben vanaf vorig jaar officieel ook Nederlander geworden. Dat vind ik gewoon makkelijk om bijvoorbeeld in toekomst of andere baan zoeken of stel dat wil ik ergens anders werken, dan kijken ze altijd anders naar jou toe. Dan zien ze Nederlandse documenten en wat is ook leuk. Kan jij makkelijker reizen.	Employment Intention to stay Migration Motive Intention to stay
HG	Zelfs als je met een Poolse nationaliteit reist?	
R24	Met Poolse nationaliteit is moeilijk. Ik zeg voorbeeld. Ik ga over een paar maanden naar Amerika voor vakantie. En met Nederlandse nationaliteit moet ik 72 uren van te voren alleen melden ergens op website. Maar met Poolse nationaliteit moet je vragen half jaar van te voren vragen visum en is nooit bekend dat het wel akkoord is of niet. Kost veel energie en tijd en geld. En soms vind ik dit niet eerlijk, want het is alleen papier. En ik hou van reizen. Ik hou van dit heel erg. Ik ben echt zo trots op mij dat ik ben naar Nederland vertrokken, want ik zie wel verschil met die mensen die wonen bijvoorbeeld in Polen. En ze zijn nooit buiten Polen geweest. Die mensen zijn een beetje afgesloten. Ik weet het niet of ik zeg het goed, maar ik heb zoveel in mijn leven gezien en geleerd. En dit vind ik echt, echt leuk. Dus ben ik echt trots op mij dat heb ik hier aangekomen. En ja, ik wil toch hier blijven. Ik heb ook vrienden hier en alles is voor mij bekend. Favoriete bars, bioscoop of. Ik doe niet alleen werken, tv en sparen en alles naar Polen. Ik ben echt weinig in Polen, 1x per jaar alleen om familie te bezoeken. Maar de rest is... ((maakt zin niet af, maar begint anders)). Ik heb echt niks nodig. Voor mij beter die dagen sparen voor echte reizen doen. Dus uhm, ik ben echt blij hier. En ik heb echt gemist Nederland toen ik was tijdje in Afrika geweest, want daar is echt	

	anders. Hebben niet zo snelle wifi of geen internet. Heb je geen varkensvlees. En echt warm. En mentaliteit is anders, mensen zijn anders. Het is zo groot verschil, dat die verschil tussen Polen en Nederland is niet zo groot als tussen Tunesië en Nederland. En nou Tunesië zeker ook niet goede situatie. Maar dat was echt leuke ervaring voor mij, om zien nieuwe cultuur. En ik ben zo blij dat ik ben in Europa geboren en niet daarzo. Want daar kun je goede studie hebben en geld, maar toch kan je niet zo makkelijk reizen en vrouwen hebben niks om te zeggen. Dus, ik ben 29 maar ik heb veel ervaring in mijn leven.	
HG	Maar je zei je bent op je 19 ^e naar Nederland gekomen om geld voor studie te verdienen. Want had je daarvoor wel een school afgemaakt?	
R24	Ja, ik heb alleen middelbare school gemaakt. Maar ik heb hier ook paar cursussen gedaan. Nederlandse cursussen want kan je niet zo Nederlandse nationaliteit krijgen, dus moet ik echt... Ik ben vergeten de naam van die certificaat. Maar ik heb wel nou certificaat dat Nederlands is mijn tweede moedertaal. Maar ja ik heb geen studie gedaan, want weinig tijd en als je werkt fulltime. Dat kan je niet combineren en ik hou van reizen, dus voor reizen heb ik geld nodig. Dus met studie ben ik klaar eigenlijk. Maar wie weet, misschien in toekomst ga ik toch even iets meer doen. Maar om te studeren in Nederland moet je toch beter taal leren kennen. En die heb ik nog beetje tijd. Kan ik 50 zijn, kan ik ook studeren. Maar voorlopig groei ik gewoon op werk. En dit is wel niet alleen productie, maar ik doe echt veel administratie dus komt goed.	Education Language learning Education
HG	Maar je zei je was 19 toen je kwam en je hebt 5 jaar gewerkt. Hoe kan dat dan? Want je bent er nu 10 jaar?	
R24	Maar je bedoelt hoe kan dat nou dat ik ben hier gekomen, of?	
HG	Je bent 19, toen ging je werken voor je studie. En daarna ben je gewoon blijven werken alsmat tot uh?	
R24	Ja, want toen heb ik geen zin. Ja ik ga terugkomen naar Polen, ja maar wat kan ik doen? Na studie heb ik toch geen baan. En hier zie ik ook veel mensen met hoge studie, echt niet normaal, en ze toch uitsorteren. Voor mij beter was om gewoon hier groeien. Om hier leuke functie te krijgen, want ik Polen krijg ik niet zo. Dus hier kijken ze meer naar ervaring dan naar studie natuurlijk. Maar ja als jij wil in een bank of dokter zijn, dat kan niet. Maar gewoon administratie dat kan je gewoon makkelijk doen. Dus ja. Planning was studie, maar ik heb toch gezien dat hier is leuk land en open en dat heb ik voorlopig zeker geen zin om terug komen.	Intention to stay Employment
HG	Maar je zegt dus, 10 jaar terug, toen was het 2005. Toen waren de grenzen nog niet helemaal open. Hoe ging dat dan in zijn werk?	
R24	Dit was wel moeilijk voor mij, want toen moest je ook of Duits paspoort hebben of Franse, maakt niet uit wat. Maar ik had die geluk niet, ik had alleen Poolse nationaliteit. Toen kan je werken met krijgen zo'n vergunning om te werken gewoon, want Polen toen was ook in Unie. Was natuurlijk niet makkelijk, maar nou die tijd is voorbij. Dus ja, eerste jaar was wel. Ik moest veel bellen en veel stress. Hoe ga ik dit doen. En nou bel je naar uitzendbureau en heb je morgen werk. Maar, meestal die werk is voor 1 dag of is nooit bekend wat gaat gebeuren. Vroeger kon je meer werk vinden voor langere periode. Want nou zo veel Hongaarse, Romeense, Poolse, alles wat zeg maar. Dus is niet zo makkelijk hoe dat was. Nu moet je echt veel talen leren en ervaring hebben en proberen doen jouw best.	Migration process
HG	Maar toen je dus 19 was en naar Nederland kwam. Had je toen ook overwogen ergens anders heen te gaan? Bijvoorbeeld naar Duitsland of Frankrijk? Want dat zijn een beetje dezelfde situatie.	
R24	Eigenlijk eerste bedoeling was ga naar Engeland, want ik kan ook Engels. Maar ik kon daar geen werk vinden vanaf Polen. En in Polen heb je veel kantoor. Dan kom je daar naar binnen, doe je inschrijving en ze sturen je nou naar Nederland. In Nederland is zo makkelijk als jij wilt werken. Krijg je huis, krijg je vervoer. Moet je alleen werken. Het was wel makkelijker voor mij. En Nederland is natuurlijk dicht bij Polen. Eerste drie jaren, ik zo erg gemist; Polen, familie, vrienden. Het was makkelijker als ik moest zo rijden, dan ben ik binnen 10 uren in Polen. Maar vanaf Londen ofzo, dan moet je nog meer rekening houden. Of vliegen, of met boot, of weet ik niet wat. Dus wel dichtbij vind ik. En Nederland is wel leuk en centraal in Europa. Ben je snel in Frankrijk,	Other countries Migration process EA

	Luxemburg, Duitsland. Vind ik echt leuk. Vliegen vanaf hierzo ook, makkelijker dan Polen bijvoorbeeld.	
HG	En wist je iets over Nederland toen je hierheen kwam? Wist je wat het was om hier te wonen of te werken? Of had je al vrienden bijvoorbeeld die hier waren?	
R24	Nee ik had hier helemaal niet, ik kende niemand. Maar ik ben hier wel met vriend gekomen hier, mijn ex-vriend. Hij heeft me wel geholpen, want hij was toen echt ook aantal jaren. Dus ik was niet helemaal alleen. Wat ik wist, ja..? Helemaal niks. Ik was 19 en ik was er wel open voor om hiernaartoe te komen. Wat ik wist? Ja, ik wist het alleen dat kan je hier vrij marihuana roken. En dat vond ik echt in het begin: wauw. In Polen dit is echt onmogelijk. Maar gewoon het land is wel open en het eerste wat je doet als kom je hier meestal kijk je wauw, die "red street" zegmaar. Hoe kan dat nou? Dit is onmogelijk in Polen en andere landen. Dat Nederland is zo open voor dit soort dingen. Die ga je echt... Over dit soort dingen weet je allemaal. Dat is dit en marihuana. En verder ja... Nederland is denk ik kaaskoppen? Die weet ik wel. Belgen zijn domme Belg. Iedereen heeft eigen naam, maar ik heb echt niet veel. Nee. Niet veel.	Information about NL Migration process Information about NL
HG	Hoe ging het dan in zijn werk. Toen je naar het kantoor ging. Van je ging je aanmelden voor het werk in Nederland. Hadden ze meteen werk? En wat voor werk was dat?	
R24	Dit was zo dat ik ben hier aangekomen toen ik wist het niet waar ga ik werken. Mijn vriend heeft mij geholpen en ik heb gewoon een uitzendbureau gebeld en toen was alles geregeld voor mij. Mijn eerste baan was in de kas met planten volgens mij. Het was wel warm en zwaar, maar in het begin als kan jij alleen een klein beetje Engels. Ja, wat kan je verder? Niks. Je moet proberen groeien. Dit was, is echt makkelijk hier werken. Serius. Moet je alleen willen.	Migration process
HG	En nu je hier zegt dat je nu op kantoor werkt. Dus heb je altijd ook voor Employment Agency J gewerkt of ook voor andere uitzendbureaus?	
R24	Ja, ik heb ook voor andere uitzendbureaus intern gewerkt. Vroeger als relatie beheerder. Maar ik vond toen een beetje veel stressbaan. Daar heb je veel mee te maken met klanten. En dat vond ik eigenlijk niet zo leuk. Ja, hier heb ik ook veel stress, maar dat is andere stress en die kan ik wel hebben. En eigenlijk ik ben begonnen ook volgens mij 5 jaren geleden bij Employment Agency K als job coach. En daar moest ik komen voor bezoeken en problemen opschrijven van uitzendkrachten. Maar was wel een beetje te makkelijke baan voor mij, beetje saai. Dan vond ik: Oja, elke maandag bezoek klant, problemen oplossen en klaar. En hier is elke dag anders. Daarom vind ik leuk Employment Agency J. Dusja, 5 jaren ervaring als uitzendbranche. Kan ik wel helpen mensen, want ben ik hier 10 jaar en ik snap problemen van de mensen.	Employment EA
HG	Levenservaring...	
R24	Ja, ervaring is echt belangrijk in jou leven. Echt serius.	
HG	Heb je zelf ook problemen gezien. Toen je zelf als uitzendkracht ergens werkte. Zelf in de problemen geweest misschien?	
R24	Er zijn vaak probleem als mensen hier komen en ze hebben geen geld. Want normaal is afgesproken, dan zeggen we tegen die mensen voor als ze hier komen neem even een beetje geld. Contant geld voor boodschappen, want het is niet altijd zo dat krijg je meteen salaris. Dat is niet altijd zo. Het is soms van moet contract getekend zijn of zij missen de uren. En kosten zijn altijd, hier ben je alleen, hier moet je toch kopen. Kan je niet vragen om moeder kan je voor mij koken of water kopen ofzo. Dus dit is wel probleem dat in begin kom je hier met bijna niks. Sommige mensen hebben alleen 10 euro in portemonnee en moet je met dat leven. Dat is wel een probleem die veel mensen hebben in het begin. <i>((stilte))</i> En probleem is ook. Stel dat als iemand is getrouwd of heeft kinderen. Dat mis je, familie. Dan mis je jouw vrouw of jouw man. En is ook vaak zo dat die mensen gaan ook twee leven bouwen. Leven in Nederland en leven in Polen. Is ook vaak zo dat gaan ze ook vreemd doen. Want mis je alles, mis je om met iemand samen te zijn. Hier iemand heeft vriend en in Polen ook vriend. En het is ook wel vaak vreemdgaan. <i>((stilte))</i> Ja wat kan? Ja, het is ook veel, ook niet in begin gewoon huis kopen of huren. Daar heb je geen geld voor en soms als iemand wilt huis huren. Ze kijken naar jou. Ja, jij bent toch buitenlander, ga je alles kapot maken. Dus soms zeggen ze tegen buitenlanders	EA Partner Housing

	nee, maar tegen Nederlanders wel ja voor huis. Dit heb ik ook vaak gezien. Maar dit niet betekent dat ze allemaal zijn slecht. Nederlanders drinken ook. Maar ze kijken naar ons, wij drinken veel. Maar, voor mij maakt niet uit. Kan je denken wat je wilt. Maar uhm. Dit zijn wel problemen die kom ik vaak. Met huisproblemen, geen geld in begin en mis familie. Het is gewoon in begin. Maar moet je gewoon hard werken, dat komt wel goed.	
HG	En heb je zelf ook zulke ervaringen? Heb je zelf hier problemen gehad?	
R24	Ja in het begin toen ben ik hier aangekomen, ik had alleen 10 euro in mijn portemonnee. Maar dit was niet zo dat, ik ben met hier iemand aangekomen. Dus hij heeft mij wel geholpen in het begin. Dus dat was geen situatie dat ik had geen geld om te eten ofzo. Als ik ben toen alleen, dat heb ik wel probleem. En nou ik heb relatie met Nederlander, dus dat is wel makkelijker. Soms kan ik zelf bellen, maar soms kan hij bellen. Anders horen ze mijn accent, kijken ze meteen anders naar mij. Dus dit is wel lastig. Dus dit zijn wel problemen, maar toch probeer ik altijd zelf oplossen. Gewoon zelf bellen en proberen doen mijn best. En praat hoe ik kan en die werk gewoon zo. Die problemen met discriminatie, discriminatie misschien is te grote woord, maar kan je wel zien soms. Ja. Als moet ik mijn achternaam zeggen, dan ze kijken: jeetje kan je dit nog een keer?	Migration process Partner Language capabilities
HG	Nou bij aankomst, je zei dus dat alles al voor je was geregeld. Huis en vervoer en alles en werk. Wat voor huis was dat waar je in belandt bent?	
R24	Dit was wel een huis dat moet ik met andere mensen delen. En ken ik die mensen niet toen en is niet altijd makkelijk. Zelfs als je woont met ouders, zussen, broers, heb je ook ruzie, dat is normaal. En als je woont met iemand die ken je niet. Die eerste keer moet je vertrouwen. Moet je delen samen keuken, badkamer. Dat is wel niet zo makkelijk. Ik kan niet met mensen wonen, niet meer. Nee, nu woon ik al 6 jaren alleen met mijn vriend en dit wil ik niet veranderen. Want, ja dat is wel leuk als kan je met iemand wonen, want kan je extra geld verdienen. Maar soms beter vrij rustig dan moeilijk met mensen.	Housing EA Housing current
HG	En verder het huis? Waren die schoon? Waren die teveel mensen? Woonden er teveel mensen?	
R24	Soms, bij sommige uitzendbureaus is wel, dat de kamers echt verschrikkelijk. Dan kan je daar echt niet wonen. Maar ja, wat kan je doen? Kan je alleen vakbond bellen. Maar die mensen kennen dit niet, weten dit niet wat is vakbond. Sommige huizen zijn wel mooi, maar ik had wel geluk in mijn leven. Ik had wel altijd mooiere huizen. Maar ik had wel gezien bij andere mensen, dan denk ik jeetje: dit is hetzelfde als op straat wonen. Echt serieus. Die uitzendbureaus zoeken gewoon kosten sparen. En die huizen zijn echt heel slecht. Kakkerlak en alles wat. Dus die-	Quality Housing EA
HG	Maar denk je dat dat nu ook veranderd? Dat de overheid er bijvoorbeeld invloed op heeft. Dat de huisvesting beter wordt. Of zijn er nog steeds bureaus die de-	
R24	Ik denk dit gaat nog erger.	Quality housing EA
HG	Ok, wanneer dan?	
R24	Ja, ik kan natuurlijk geen namen noemen ofzo, zeggen. Want dit is ja, ik kan dit niet. Maar het is echt niet dit is alleen bij Employment Agency J. Dit is alleen maar... Ja, sommige huizen of camping of dat soort dingen. Die kan je niet zo, in zomer misschien wel maar niet in winter. En kijk-	Quality housing EA
HG	Je weet je mag tegen mij gewoon namen zeggen, daar komt niks van terug.	
R24	Ja. Maar kijk ik heb voor 3 verschillende uitzendbureaus gewerkt en ik had verschillende functies. Dus ik heb echt heel veel met mensen gesproken, gezien. Ik doe dit al vijf jaar. Dus ik weet het, ik geloof dat is echt soms niet goed. Dat die huizen... Dan denk ik, ja hoe kan dat nou? Maar soms mensen maken die rommel zelf. Ze zijn zo gewend: ja, mama alles schoonmaak. Nu ben ik alleen, maakt niet uit iemand anders gaat hier schoonmaken. Dit is ook verschil met karakter. Dus die slechte woning, gaat nog steeds niet goed vind ik in algemeen. En ik vind dat, vakbond moet wel meer aandacht in dit maken. Echt, het is echt belangrijk. Want je kan hier niet zo doen.	Quality housing EA
HG	En ook, zijn er inspecties vanuit de uitzendbranche zelf bijvoorbeeld? Zijn er controles vanuit de uitzendbranche zelf. Dat je een certificaat moet halen als je..?	
R24	Ja. Zijn zo ook certificaten. Maar denk ik Employment Agency J hebben die niet meer, maar sommige uitzendbureau hebben wel certificaat voor huisvesting. Maar sommige	Quality housing EA

	klanten zeggen: ok, ik wil met jullie samen werken, maar ik wil dat jullie hebben een certificaat voor goede woningen ofzo. Dat die uitzendkrachten hebben goede woning. Die kan wel zo, maar dit is wel wat klant wil. Dusja..	
HG	Waarom dan jullie klanten niet? Waarom hebben jullie dan dat certificaat niet meer?	
R24	Alle klanten zijn verschillende. Voor sommige: mij maakt niet uit, ik wil lagere tarief betalen. Kosten sparen en voor mij maakt niet uit waar die mensen wonen, want ook veel mensen privé wonen. Ze delen samen huis met iemand. Ze doen privé, want heb je nooit zeker wat gaat gebeuren. Misschien vandaag woon ik met die persoon en andere week met iemand anders. Dus ook niet uh...	Misconduct Employers
HG	Maar als je toch via een uitzendbureau werkt, dan moet je toch ook soms van locatie wisselen. Hoe kan je dan privé wonen? Is dat te doen?	
R24	Ja, punt nummer één, dan moet je vaste baan hebben. Dat is wel. Ja, dat is ook nooit zeker maar uh... Ja, als je deelt met iemand huis, dan kan je toch zeggen: ja dit maand ga ik niet betalen en volgende maand wel ofzo. Kan je ook huurtoeslag volgens mij krijgen ofzo. Er zijn altijd mogelijkheden, maaruh. Maarja woning is echt niet uh.. Soms dat ik denk hoe kan je zo wonen. Ja, moet je ergens beginnen.	EA
HG	Je zegt dus dat de huizen achterblijft. Hoe heb je zelf je huis gevonden?	
R24	Ja ik ben geen.. Ik was wel bezig om inschrijven bij woningstichting, want ik was alleen. Dus woningstichting was voor mij beste optie. Hypotheek, ja nee. Dat kan ik echt niet. (neder of buiten) ((xx))-landers kunnen dat niet. Maar toen heb ik mijn vriend leren kennen en wij hebben samen besloten hypotheek doen. En wij hebben hypotheek nu al 5 jaar ofzo. Dusja met twee salaris kun je makkelijk hypotheek betalen, gewoon leven. Hij heeft mij veel geholpen natuurlijk. En met hypotheek eigenlijk was niet zoveel, geen grote probleem voor mij ook. Want ze hebben naar ons allebei gekeken. En ik heb natuurlijk, we hebben hypotheek voor ons twee nou. Want ik heb geen zin dat die hypotheek staat alleen op zijn naam. Want stel dat als we gaan uit, dan wat? Blijf ik zonder huis? Wij toch samen verdienen, samen alles doen. Dus dat is wel belangrijk dat stel dat als iets gaat gebeuren, dat we samen delen. Ik ben niet zo dom niet meer. ((licht))	Changing housing
HG	En ben je wel eens... Heb je ook wel eens zonder werk gezeten in Nederland?	
R24	Was heel kort. 3 maanden.	Unemployment
HG	Ja.	
R24	Ja, mijn contract was niet verlengd. En toen... dat was na 7 jaar gewerkt. Dus denk ik: ja, ik heb echt 5 jaar hele jaar gewerkt, dus is toch beetje tijd rust te nemen. Maar ik was alleen 3 maanden zonder werk en eerste maand heb ik gewoon hier rustig gedaan. Gewoon lekker genieten van vrijheid. En voor mij was ook een beetje pijn. Hoe kan dat nou, dat ik krijg geen nieuwe contract? Dat heb ik nooit gehad in mijn leven. Dus eerste maand moest ik rustig doen, maar toen heb ik een paar CVs gestuurd en binnen 2 weken heb ik wel reactie terug gekregen. En eigenlijk ik kon kiezen tussen twee uitzendbureaus zelfs. Dus vond ik echt leuk. Ik had wel heel veel geluk. Dus alleen 3 maanden vrij en-	Unemployment
HG	Heb je toen ook WW aangevraagd?	
R24	Ja.	Welfare use
HG	En heb je verder nog ooit een beroep gedaan op een uitkering?	
R24	Nee.	Welfare use
HG	Of op toeslagen?	
R24	Nee. Uh, zorgtoeslag natuurlijk, maar verder kon ik niet meer. Want dat is ook veranderd, want kijk naar ons twee met vriend. Dus onze salarissen zijn te hoog om zorgtoeslag te krijgen. En moest ik die zelf een keer terug betalen, want was te veel. Dus ik wil niks meer, gewoon geen zorgtoeslag, geen huurtoeslag. Nee wil ik echt niet meer. Als je werkt met z'n twee fulltime, kan je echt hier alles doen.	Welfare use
HG	Je zei dat je een Nederlandse vriend hebt. Wat voor werk doet hij? Werkt ie ook hier op kantoor?	
R24	Hij heeft ongeveer dertien jaar gewerkt als bedrijfsleider voor een bedrijf die is bezig met tomaten in de kas. En hij heeft van hetzelfde bedrijf kans gekregen naar andere locatie te gaan werken en dit is in Afrika. Hij is daar nog steeds. Hij werkt daar nog steeds. Bedoeling is hij gaat ooit terugkomen. Hij is wel tevreden met zijn baan. En	Partner

	daar heb ik hem ook eerste keer gezien, gewoon op werk. Kom ik voor bezoek, voor problemen en dan zie ik meteen zo iemand. Maar, hij is nu in Afrika.	
HG	Ging je daarom dus ook naar Tunesië?	
R24	Ja, ik was daar wel geweest, ik vond het leuk. Maar ik wil liever in Nederland.	
HG	Ok. En je zegt net ook van je kent ook speciale restaurant en cafés, en dat soort dingen. Ziet dan ook je sociale netwerk, je vrienden enzo, zijn dat ook divers. Met zowel mensen uit Nederland en Polen?	
R24	Als mag ik eerlijk zeggen, ik heb meer Poolse vrienden dan Nederlanders. Maar dat is niet omdat is taalbarrière. Maar gewoon, lekker met iemand uit Polen, dat begrijpen wij een beetje meer. En dan misschien daardoor mis ik ook Polen niet zo veel. Want hier heb je alles, winkels, bars, Poolse bars, en zoveel collega's ook Pools en vrienden ook. Mis je dit niet. Dus Nederlanders heb ik niet zoveel. Maar ik heb ook niet zoveel tijd. Als je werkt fulltime, ben je eindelijk op weekend vrij, dan wil je ook zumba doen, fitness of zwemmen.	Social network
HG	Ja, want je komt dan van Yerseke naar Roosendaal. Dat is ook een uurtje rijden denk ik ofzo?	
R24	Half uurtje.	
HG	Ok, valt nog mee.	
R24	Ja, valt mee.	
HG	In Yerseke. Zijn er dan ook veel Polen die daar wonen?	
R24	Nee, die heb ik niet zoveel contact. Want mijn functie is zo dat, ze moeten niet teveel over mij praten eigenlijk. Ze moeten niet mij zien dronken op straat, want ik ben representatief. Dus ik heb niet zoveel, die stad waar ik woon niet zoveel vrienden, want anders gaan ze me zien en dat is niet geen goede naam voor Company J. Dus met uitzendkrachten, zeker heb ik geen... Ik heb alleen contact gewoon met werk en klaar. En soms ja, als je bent vriend met iemand uit Polen, dan die iemand kent toch uitzendkracht en dan gaat dit gewoon zo en dan heb ik echt geen zin. Dus ik heb eigenlijk heel veel meer collega's als mijn vrienden. Want jij hebt ook gesproken met Adam volgens mij, mijn echte ((xxx)) vrienden en privé tijd kunnen wij samen ook iets leuks doen	Social network
HG	Je spreekt dus echt heel goed Nederlands. Hoe heb je dat geleerd? Heb je lessen gehad? Of heb je net zoals de rest ook ervaring?	
R24	Ja, nummer één lessen, zeker. Lessen en tv. Ik heb geen Poolse tv, want ik wil graag Poolse tv maar mijn vriend vind het niks. Dusja, ik ben toch hier. Nou ben ik toch alleen thuis, want hij komt één keer per maand naar Nederland. Dus ben ik vaak alleen, maar kijk ik toch ook Nederlandse tv. Maar kijk ik ook niet veel tv, want ik vind zonde voor tijd. Er is altijd iets anders wat moet ik doen. Of zumba. Of gewoon lezen. Dusja, mijn favoriete programma is <i>Hotter than my Daughter</i> . ((lacht)). Dat vind ik grappig. En ja, nieuws kijk ik ook. Hoe heb ik ook meer geleerd? Cursus en op werk ook. Veel ervaring, met mijn baas is ook Nederlands, dus moeten we Nederlands communiceren. Maar wat ik vind leuk, die andere collega die heb je met hun gesproken. Die spreken nog geen Nederlands. Maar ik probeer oefenen met hun twee. Om toch Nederlands-	Language learning
HG	Ja, hij zei het. Een paar keer per week een uurtje ofzo te pakken?	
R24	Ja, hij heeft gezegd dat?	
HG	Ja. En die les. Hoe heb je die..? Zijn die door je werk aangeboden? Of heb je er zelf naar moeten zoeken?	
R24	Uhm ja. Kan je googlen doen, kan je alles vinden. In Nederland is zo makkelijk, moet je alleen willen. En vorige werkgever heeft wel mijn taal cursus betaalt. Dus dat is nog meer motivatie. Gratis en beter voor je toekomst. Ja, cursus gedaan, veel tv kijken en oefenen met Nederlanders praten. Dit is wel een goede tip voor mensen om te leren Nederlands.	Language learning
HG	Je zegt dus ook dat je het Nederlands nieuws enzo bijhoudt. Je ziet natuurlijk vaak op tv dat er ook van alles wordt geroepen over buitenlanders in Nederland in het algemeen. Denk je dat dat een beetje representatief is? Van wat daar gezegd wordt en wat eigenlijk de situatie is?	
R24	Wat ik vond altijd grappig, die wegmisbruikers. Als ze pakken mensen uit Oost-Europa dan moeten ze meteen betalen. Of die mensen begrijpen niet goed in Engels. Dus wel	Social position

	taalbarrière probleem. En het is zo vaak dat moet je meteen zoveel contant betalen en die mensen hebben soms geld niet. Maarja, moet je gewoon opletten hoe je moet rijden. Want zijn echt de regels hier echt streng. In Polen is niet zo. En op tv kom ik niet echt vaak, dat is vaak over Polen. Misschien vroeger wel, maar nu niet meer. Nu zijn er zoveel mensen, dat Nederland dat zijn gewoon gewend. Dat is zoveel buitenlanders. Ik noem maar, ik voel me niet als buitenlander. Ik voel soort half-Nederlander, half-Pools. Want ja ik moet toch daar geboren. Dus beetje ((xxx)) hier gegroeid. Want ik was 19, dusja dat was wel heel vroeg.	
HG	Maar voel je je dan ook thuis, én in Nederland én in Polen?	
R24	Ik voel hier meer thuis dan in Polen	Intention to stay
HG	En waarom is dat?	
R24	Hier heb ik eigen huis. Hier heb ik alles, baan en vrienden en favoriete winkels en vrienden en vrienden. En in Polen, wat heb ik? Na 10 jaren heb ik weinig contact. En cultuur en mentaliteit, ik zie zo grote verschil. Dat wil ik niet meer. Bijvoorbeeld. Als komen naar gemeente in Polen, ze zijn minder vriendelijk. Het is typisch Pools. Maar als jij naar gemeente in Nederland, je bent altijd van welkom welkom, open en vriendelijk. Dat vond ik gewoon leuk. Ik zie mij niet in Polen, maarja wie weet. Misschien ga ik ooit, ooit naar ander land toe. Ik ben nog 29, dus kan ik toch nog maar. Van één kant: ik wil stabiliteit. En hier kan ik wel voelen een beetje stabiliteit. Weekend vrij, dichtbij Frankrijk. Wat kan meer zijn?	Intention to stay
HG	En hoe zie je je toekomst? Is dat in Nederland?	
R24	Vroeger, vroeger ik was persoon die heb ik alles gepland. 2015 dit. 2017 ga ik zo doen en anders doen. Ik heb een beetje geleerd dat in jouw leven moet je niet zoveel plannen, want leven is zo dat gaat zo opeens veranderen en dat weet je niet meer. Vroeger als iemand tegen mij zegt; Ja, ga je even voor aantal maanden naar Afrika werken. Ik zeg: zo ik ga dit nooit doen. Maar ik ben toch daar gegaan. Dus voor mij is wel moeilijk.. Ik wil niet zo plannen ver weg. Ja, ik ben 29. Ik wil ooit misschien... Dit jaar ik wil veel reizen. Ik wil wel Brazilië. Ga ik ook naar Las Vegas dit jaar. En ik was ook bij Mallorca. Dus ik heb echt heel veel plekken in mijn leven gezien. Dus dit jaar even vakanties en volgende jaar wil ik iets minder vakantie doen en misschien meer sparen en grotere huis kopen. En wil ik mooiere grond, een open haard. En ja, gaan we kijken of mijn vriend terug is. Dan misschien moeten we even denken over trouwen. ((lacht)). Maar dat is zo... Nee, voel niet echt helemaal. Maarja, dus beetje tijd-	Intention to stay
HG	Maar in principe in Nederland blijven voorlopig?	
R24	Ja, ja.	Intention to stay
HG	Ok. Uhm. Ik ga er even snel overheen, want we hebben heel veel besproken maar. Neeja, ik denk dat we het belangrijkste hebben. Ik ben alleen nog nieuwsgierig naar wat voor contract je hier hebt. Heb je een vast contract? Of is het tijdelijk?	
R24	Nee, ik heb tijdelijk contract. Voor bepaalde tijd natuurlijk. Maar ik hoop dat krijg ik vast uit. Moet je al wachten 2 jaar, met nieuwe regeling per 1 juli. Ik werk hier 3 jaar, maar ik ben gestopt en daardoor is alles opnieuw. Anders heb ik nou al vast contract. ((lacht))	Employment contract
HG	Nee dan heb ik alles denk ik.	
R24	Ok, leuk!	