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Ethno-migrant inequality in career development

A field study carried out at the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science

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Master Thesis Management of Cultural Diversity

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Preface

During my Bachelor on Human Resource Studies I got more and more interested in the topic of cultural diversity. I started wondering: what should one do with all these cultural differences in organizations in specific?! Subsequently, I started my Master in Management of Cultural Diversity, in order to solve this previous question. Although I did not success in solving this matter yet, I do have some more, greatly interesting, insights into this topic after having completed my master thesis on cultural diversity in the Ministry of Education Culture and Science. It has not always been easy and it took a long time (and some tears), though, I am very proud to present you my final work (and a big smile).

I would like take this opportunity to express my gratitude towards all the people that have been of great support during this project. First, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. H. Siebers for all the guidance and feedback he has provided me with. Second, I would like to thank the two contact persons at the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science for guiding me through the organization. In addition, I would like to thank all my respondents for their willingness to participate and the enthusiasm by which they did.

Last, but not least, I would really like to thank my friends and family. I have not always been easy for them either… Thank you all for the support and the distraction, when needed, and for believing in me.

I wish you a pleasant and foremost inspiring reading.

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Abstract

Recent research indicates that migrant employees are underrepresented in leadership roles and in accordance, that ethno-migrant inequality exists in career development. A growing body of research has attempted to unravel reasons for this ethno-migrant inequality, establishing various indicators to influence career development, such as key events and organizational tenure. In addition, networking, performance, labor control outcomes and power motivation are established to influence one's career development. Hence, as research has never done before, this study will address the relationship between ethno-migrancy, networking, performance, labor control outcomes, motivation and career development, emphasizing key events and organizational tenure.

Research has been carried out in the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. Data were gathered through questionnaires, documents and life-history interviews and analyzed using a key incident analysis approach, in order to compare and understand career development among migrant and non-migrant employees.

The findings of this study show that ethno-migrant inequality does exist in the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, due to ethno-migrant differences in the network and personality, at the disadvantage of the migrant employee. In addition, performance appears to be of minor importance. Finally, no significant ethno-migrant differences have been established referring to power motivation.

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1. Introduction

These days, most corporate settings consist of people with various cultural backgrounds (Chong, 2013), due to the transnational migration flows (Hofmeister & Breitenstein, 2008). However, migrants tend to have less access to jobs and in specific, to career development opportunities compared to their non-migrant counterparts (Heath, 2007). Differential access to workplace power among migrant and non-migrant employees appears to exist (Elliott & Smith, 2004). Recently, the number of minority directors has already increased, (Hillman, Cannella, & Harris, 2002), yet despite these gains, research continues to document evidence of ethno-migrant inequality in career development (Siebers, 2009a).

Over the past years, the difficulties members of minority groups face gaining social and instrumental support in the workplace, has been a central theme in organizational literature (Thomas & Alderfer, 1989). Subsequently, a great amount of research has accumulated on the topic of ethno-migrant inequality in career development. Hence, research has indicated that minority managers fail to advance in their careers and organizations due to exclusion from social networks (Dickens & Dickens, 1982; DiTomaso, Thompson, & Blake, 1988; Fernandez, 1991; Irons & Moore, 1985; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990). In addition, Ng, Eby, Sorensen & Feldman (2005) suggest that human capital – one's individual, educational, and professional experience – enhances career development and is a predictor for career success. Whereas Dewberry (2001) pointed out that migrant minorities show relatively poor performance compared to their majority counterparts, research illustrates that human capital credentials are not equally appreciated for minority members compared to majority members (Tomaskovic-Devey, Thomas & Johnson, 2005).

Further, unequal access to career development might be due to the way in which labor control is organized in most organizations nowadays (Siebers, 2009a). Whereas minority group members tend to strongly prefer technocratic labor control, focusing on output targets; most organizations these days are characterized by socio-ideological labor control, characterized by a regulation of identity and personality (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2004; Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004). Moreover, power motivation is identified as an important component for career development (Judge, Cable, Boudreau, & Bretz, 1995; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1994).

Yet, one's professional behavior is not solely determined by the organizational context, but by life history and related experiences as well (Day, Calderhead & Denicolo, 1993). In accordance, Sikes, Measor and Woods (1985) studied one's career from a

biographical perspective, emphasizing the importance of critical incidents, referring to key events which influence crucial decisions an individual makes in his/her life. Further, organizational tenure, the length of one's employment in the organization, can also determine one's hierarchical level in an organization (Ng & Feldman, 2010). In accordance, this study proposes and tests a comprehensive model of career development, illuminating the relationship between ethno-migrancy, networking, performance, labor control outcomes, power motivation and career development, by means of key events and organizational tenure.

This study will contribute to the literature in various ways. First, relatively little research concerns specific contextual factors that might produce inequality (Heath, 2007; Reskin, 2003). In addition, research taking into account key events (the entire lifespan) and organizational tenure remains scarce.

Second, though Judge et al. (1995) have suggested the need for research to examine multiple determinants of career success in one single investigation, research has never addressed ethno-migrant inequality in career development taking into account these indicators (key events and organizational tenure) and these various factors (networking, performance, labor control outcomes and power motivation) all together.

Thirdly, relatively little research addresses organizational factors (Siebers, 2009a). Moreover, foremost among inequality explanations are racial differences in career development, whereas research on ethno-migrant inequality is scarce. Besides, most of this research has been carried out in the United States (U.S.), yet research in Europe remains limited. Finally, theoretical propositions and models on career development have proliferated, yet, there is a lack in accounting for diversity in the population (Blustein, 2006, 2011; Richardson, 1993, 2000, 2012a,b).

The following study has been carried out in the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (ECS). Recently, this ministry has signed the 'Charter Diversity,' by which an employer connects itself to the advancement of an effective diversity policy and an inclusive corporate culture through specific measures taken by the organization ("Onderwijs en cultuur op de bres voor diversiteit," 2016). Though, in this organization, migrant employees are mostly represented at the lower levels of the organization and do not advance beyond the level of senior consultant/management (personal communication, May 3, 2016). Hence, migrant employees might show different career development patterns compared to their non-migrant counterparts. Consequently, this organization is very well connected to the issue of ethno-migrant inequality in career development.

1.1 Aim and research question

The aim of the current study is to simultaneously address various indicators and organizational factors of career development in one single research. Firstly, key events and one's organizational tenure will be identified. Secondly, this research aims at understanding the relationship between these indicators of career development and networking, performance, labor control outcomes and power motivation. Finally, this study intents to understand how these various factors and indicators differ among migrant and non-migrant employees with reference to their career development in the organization under study. Subsequently, the research question is the following:

How do ethno-migrant differences in networking, performance, labor control outcomes and power motivation produce inequality in the career development of migrant employees compared to non-migrant employees in the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science?

This overall research question is divided into smaller sub-questions, as listed below.

> *1. What are the ethno-migrant differences in experienced key events?*
>
> *2. What are the ethno-migrant differences in an employee's organizational tenure needed to advance in the organization?*
>
> *3. Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in networking?*
>
> *3. Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in performance?*
>
> *4. Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in labor control outcomes?*
>
> *5. Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in power motivation?*

An extension of these sub-questions can be found in Appendix 1 (p. 60).

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Ethno-migrancy

In this study, the current Statistics Netherlands' (CBS) definition of a migrant is enhances, defining a migrant as "a person of whom at least one parent is born abroad" (2012). CBS further divides migrants into first- (people born abroad) and second generation migrants (when born in the Netherlands). In addition, a distinction can be made between Western and non-Western migrants. A western migrant has its origins in either Europe (Turkey excluded), North-America, Oceania, Indonesia or Japan. Contrarily, a non-Western migrant has its origins in Africa, Latin-America, Asia (Indonesia and Japan excluded) or Turkey. In addition, people with their origins in Suriname or the Antilles are considered as non-Western migrants as well (Nederlands Jeugdinstituut, n.d.).

In 2016 (CBS, January 1) 3.752.291 migrants were living in the Netherlands,

compared to 13.226.829 non-migrant, Dutch inhabitants. 2.096.592 of these migrants are classified as non-Western migrants, whereas 1.655.699 are classified as Western migrants.

2.2. Career, career development and indicators

A career is characterized by the combination and various roles one has played during his/her course of a lifetime (Super, 1980). In accordance, recent advances in career development research have resulted in the acceptance of incorporating the lifespan when defining career development (Watson & McMahon, 2005). Subsequently, Patton and McMahon (2014), define career development as "the total constellation of psychological, sociological, educational, physical, economic and chance factors that combine to shape the career of an individual over the life span" (Sears, 1982, p. 139). Additionally, Blustein (2011), Richardson (2012a, b) and Schultheiss (2009) highlight the relational and cultural influences on career development. Consequently, Brown & Lent (2013) suggest the following definition:

> Career development … connotes a continuous stream of career-relevant events that are not necessarily linear or positive in impact and that may or may not be subject to personal agency (e.g., being born into poverty, losing a job due to the bankruptcy of one's company). (p.10)

In general, all developmental theories emphasizing that a career is shaped throughout life, are referred to as life-span approaches (Patton & McMahon, 2014). Since Super is considered to be one of the most influential writers in the career development field (Patton & McMahon, 2014), his life-span and life-space approach to career development will extensively be discussed in the following section.

The terms life-span and life-space represent both the content and process of career development. In specific, these two dimensions of Super's theory concern the chronological time and contextual space (Hartung, 2013). Whereas the "life-span represents the process of career development throughout life" (Patton & McMahon, 2014, p. 72) and relates to life stages, the life-space represents the roles one plays during his/her life and considers the context of life.

Life-span. In his approach, Super (1980, 1990, 1992) has used a diagram, termed the 'life-career rainbow,' as represented in Figure 1 (p. 7). Specifically, whereas the outer arches represent the longitudinal time dimension, the ages and stages of life; the inner arches expose the psycho-social roles (Hartung, 2013). Subsequently, Super, Savickas and Super (1996) have adopted the construct of (a) a life stage, in order to predict the main states in the process of career development and (b) developmental tasks, to incorporate the predictable

challenges in each stage. In addition, Super et al. (1996) identified development stages called (1) growth, (2) exploration, (3) establishment, (4) maintenance and (5) decline, which correspond to the various life stages of childhood, adolescence, adulthood, middle adulthood and old age (and the following ages). In accordance, the various developmental tasks are associated with each specific stage (Super et al., 1996). The various stages and developmental tasks represent a career process from childhood to retirement (Juntunen & Even, 2012).

First, in the stage of growth, children explore the world around them by which they develop a focus for the future. During this stage, an individual goes to school, develops work habits, gains control over his/her life and becomes more future oriented (Super et al., 1996). The developmental tasks in this stage have been expressed in terms of concern about the future, control over decision making, conviction to accomplish and competence in work customs and attitudes. Subsequently, individuals may begin to identify with role models, start to develop interests and become aware of their abilities.

Second, in the exploration stage, career choices are more specified and individuals might participate in trainings or education in order to be prepared for a selected vocation; a vocational identity is developed in this stage. The first developmental task is crystallization, by which an individual forms a vocational goal based on vocational information and creates awareness of interest and values. The second task, specification, concerns selecting a specific career. Finally, the task of implementation involves training for the selected career and beginning employment.

During the third stage of establishment, one gains employment. The first task in this stage is getting familiar with the organization's culture and showing adequate performance in order to stabilize one's position (Super et al., 1996). When stabilized in the occupation, one needs to strengthen his/her position. Some people might also choose the task of promotion or advancement into levels of more responsibility. As suggested by Savickas (2011), this stage may be more variable and extended, due to the increasing unstable work environments these days. In this stage, individuals may decide to change occupation or organization. The stages of exploration and establishment are then recycled.

Those individuals who do not choose to change, enter the fourth stage of maintenance, in which one maintains his/her position in the world of work (Super, 1992). One needs to hold on, keep up and innovate in this stage. As in the stage of establishment, it may be more difficult to maintain in the present situation of less stable and secure employment (Hartung, 2013).

Associated with the final stage of decline, are the tasks of planning for retirement,

possibly reducing workload and retirement eventually. During this fifth stage, one develops a self-concept more fully in roles not necessarily related to work (Hartung, 2013). Super (1990) considered the transition between these stage as being flexible and individuals may, due to planned or unplanned change, recycle through the various stage, named minicycles.

Life-space. The life-space concept "provides the contextual dimension in the theory, denoting the constellation of social positions and roles enacted by an individual" (Super et al., 1996, p. 128). Accordingly, nine life roles have been identified: child, student, leisurite, citizen, worker, spouse, homemaker, parents and pensioner. In addition, four context are established: the home, community, school and workplace, in which the roles are mostly enacted. Super et al. (1996) emphasized the term of role salience, meaning that individuals ascribe importance to some roles more than to others. The life-space considers the context of career development embedded in a web of various social roles an individual occupies during the life span (Hartung, 2013).

The life-career rainbow represents the life-space and the various roles one uses in order to design his/her life (Hartung, 2013). Associated with the concept of role salience, the life-career rainbow can demonstrate the importance of an individual's major life roles and the relationship between the various life roles and the work role. Roles provide an individual with a focus in life and roles can mutually interact. Subsequently, conflict between roles may occur when time is taken away from a satisfying role, by a role that is less satisfying.

Finally, Super (1990) has introduced the concept of both personal and situational determinants, which influence career decision making. One the one hand, personal determinants include factors such as norms, values, interests, needs, intelligence and capacities. Hence, norms may differ referring to what people are expected to contribute by working and what people must expect from work (MOW, 1987; Harpaz, Claes, Depolo, & Ruiz Quintanilla, 1992). Accordingly, differences in value related to work and leisure time can be distinguished (Velde, Feij, & Emmerik, 1998). In addition, research has proven that returns from educational achievements in terms of salary and promotions are significant (Jaskolka, Beyer, & Trice, 1985; Pfeffer & Ross, 1982; Psacharopoulos, 1985; Whitely, Dougherty, & Dreher, 1991).

On the other hand, situational determinants represent contextual factors such as school, family, society, community, the economy and the labor market. Subsequently, Whiston and Keller (2004) show the influence of parents on a child during early elementary years, including both the parent's occupations and the occupational expectations for their children. In accordance, higher occupational expectations are related to a supportive family

environment in which parents have high expectations for their adolescents (Whiston & Keller, 2004). Additionally, career development may also depend on whether one has a freedom of choice of age to enter a certain type of school (Super, 1980). Finally, the global economy increases the ease for people to travel between countries (Vance & Paik, 2006). Subsequently, the labor market and its occupations are becoming increasingly global rather than local (Baruch, 2004).
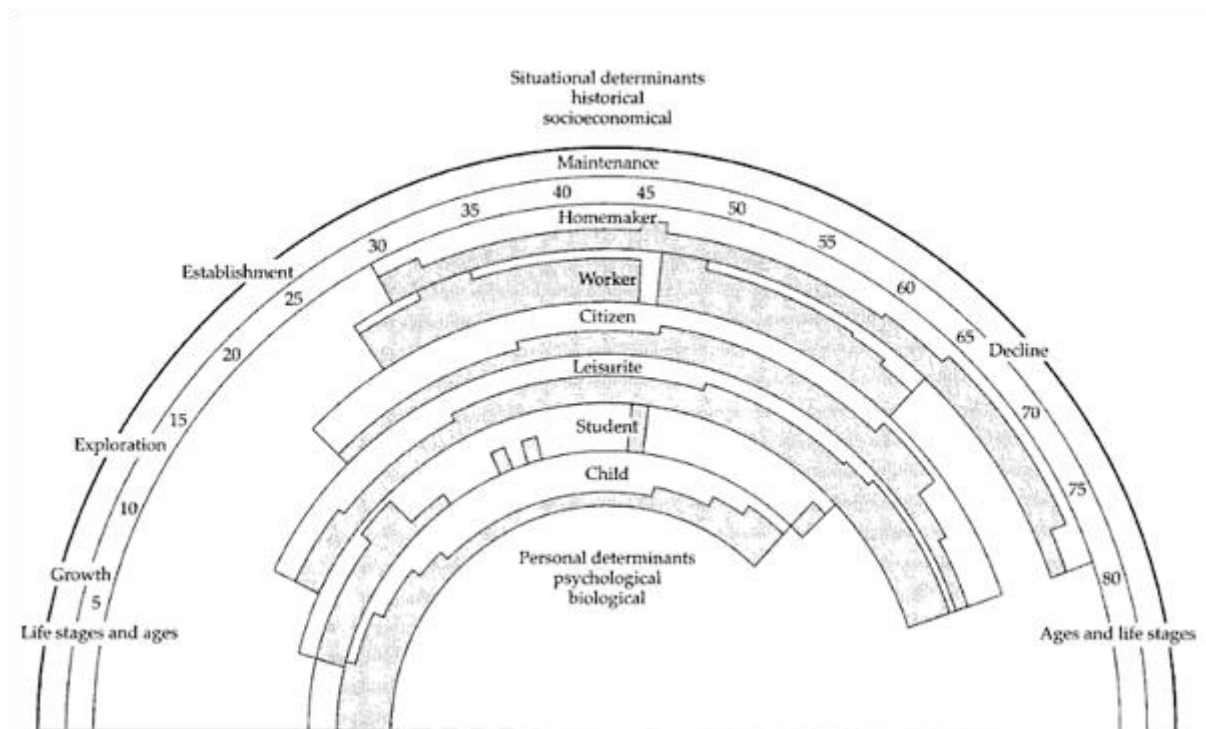
Figure 1. The life-career rainbow: Six life roles in schematic life-space (from Guided Career Exploration, 1979).

2.2.1 Key events

In the research of life-history, the issue of key events, the so called 'critical incidents', has emerged as a subject of great importance (Sikes, Measor, & Woods, 2001). Sikes et al. (1985) emphasize the importance of critical incidents in one's career development, defined as "key events in an individual's life, and around which pivotal decision revolve. They provoke the individual into selecting particular kinds of action, which lead in particular directions" (p.57). Critical incidents are useful to be included in a study, since they reveal major choices and periods of change during an individual's life (Sikes et al., 2001). Critical incidents most likely occur during 'periods of strain,' as identified by Strauss and Rainwater (1962). In these periods, particular events occur, that are of importance for one's career and identity.

Subsequently, Sikes et al. (2001) have identified three particular 'critical phases':

extrinsic, intrinsic and personal. Firstly, extrinsic critical phases are related to events that occur in society, such as war or certain policy innovations. These events force people into making certain decisions that might influence career development. Secondly, intrinsic critical phases occur in one's natural progression of his/her career, such as the choice for a specific profession, career moves and promotions. As in the extrinsic critical phase, people are confronted with decisions and choices. Finally, personal critical phases can be provoked by specific family events, such as marriage or divorce, the birth or illness of a child. These events direct an individual into a different career direction compared to the former career direction. Critical incidents are most likely to occur in these phases of changing and choosing.

In accordance, the intrinsic critical phases take place during one's career, related to the organization (e.g. change of function, promotion, demotion etc.). In contrast, both the extrinsic critical phases and personal critical phases are events which could either happen before one's career begins or during one's career, yet not related to the organization.

2.2.2 Organizational tenure

Organizational tenure can be defined as "the length of employment in an organization" (McEnrue, 1988; Shirom & Mahez, 1988). In this study, organizational tenure will be addressed in terms of the functional promotions and/or demotions one has made during his/her time in the company under study. In general, organizational tenure is found to be positively related to one's hierarchical level in an organization (Ng & Feldman, 2010). Although some organizations might use seniority as a criterion for promotions (e.g. Civil Service), employees with high organizational tenure do not necessarily occupy jobs at the top of an organization (Ng & Feldman, 2010).

2.3. Ethno-migrancy, networks and career development

Research has proposed that social capital increases the probability of instrumental returns, such as good jobs, promotions and high salary (Lin, 2000). Lin (1999, 2000) defined social capital as the investment in and the use of enclosed resources in social relations for the returns one expects. Related to career development, a network is considered to be a set of job-related contacts that an individual relies on in order to acquire task-related, social and career support (Ibarra, 1995). The sociological literature addresses the utility of a network as a function of (1) the network's range and (2) its status. The first refers to the diversity of group relations and the potential access to resources and information from more distant and diverse groups (Burt, 1992; Campbell, Marsden, & Hurlbert, 1986; Granovetter, 1973), whereas the latter refers to the network contacts' positions in the status hierarchy (Lin, 1982).

In addition, network literature addresses (3) tie strength: the closeness of a network relationship, which is an important characteristic of social relationships (Granovetter, 1973). Tie strength is characterized by the intensity, intimacy, the amount of time and the reciprocal services related to the tie (Berkowitz, 1982; Fischer et al., 1977; Granovetter, 1973; Marsden & Lin, 1982). Strong, close ties are generally characterized by an intimate and special relationship, voluntary invested in and a great desire for companionship with the partner; frequent interactions in various social contexts during a longer period of time; and a sense of mutuality in the relationship, in which the needs of both partners are known and supported (Wellman, 1992). Contrarily, people with whom an individual only socializes with through a common group, or at school or work, are considered to be weak ties, as would be people whom might be asked to be a reference when applying for a job (Kavanaugh, Reese, Carroll, & Rosson, 2005).

Organizational literature emphasizes the importance of strong, close ties that ensure reliability in situations of uncertainty (Kanter, 1977). From a career development perspective, close relationships most likely fulfill a psychosocial function (Kram, 1988), which enhance one's sense of identity, competence and effectiveness in a professional role. Contrarily, weak ties provide more instrumental functions, such as the exposure to senior management, support for promotion, social integration and professional recognition (Ibarra, 1995; Haythornthwaite, 2001). In accordance, weak ties provide increased opportunities related to one's career.

Furthermore, as all organizational, social and personal relationships can be instrumental for career development (Collinson, 2003), individuals might also attempt to construct a certain reputation in the workplace by means of impression management (Goffman, 1959). Impression management concerns the behavior one directs towards others in order to create and maintain a desired perception of him/herself (Schneider, 1981). In accordance, impression management behaviors are potentially related to an employee's promotability and career development in an organization (Gardner & Martinko, 1988).

Yet, not all individuals similarly acquire social capital or receive the returns they expected from their acquired social capital (Lin, 2000). Migrant groups often encounter barriers to and exclusion from social networks (Dickens & Dickens, 1982; DiTomaso, Thompson & Blake, 1988; Fernandez, 1991; Irons & Moore, 1985; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990). With respect to network range, if minority employees seek ties to migrant similar others, they mostly likely have to reach out further in the organization; beyond immediate peers and superiors (Ibarra, 1995).

Coincide with status, if minority members are mostly clustered in the lower

occupations of an organization, a network with a large proportion of minority employees will be lower in status compared to a network with a demographic composition that is different (Thomas, 1990). Consequently, the lower number of minority employees in managerial positions in predominantly white companies means that the benefits of having high-status contacts is likely to be in contrast with the psychosocial benefits for minority members when interacting with similar others (Thomas, 1993).

Referring to the closeness of relationships, migrant minorities tend to be represented in uncertain situations, in which strong ties tend to provide assistance (Granovetter, 1982; Kaplan, 1984; Krackhardt, 1992). Yet, as mentioned, strong ties are less instrumental for one's career, compared to weak ties.

Finally, individuals have a general tendency to associate with people of a similar group or socioeconomic characteristic, a phenomenon called homophily (Lin, 2000). Homophily, or interpersonal similarity, facilitates the ease of communication, promotes the predictability of behavior and fosters a relationship of trust and reciprocity (Kanter, 1977; Lincoln & Miller, 1979). This phenomenon is particularly strong among migrant groups (Bayer, Ferreira, & McMillan, 2007; Marmaros & Sacerdote, 2006; Moody, 2001; Topa, 2001). Subsequently, minorities more likely interact with people represented in the lower occupations of an organization, face a minimal availability of similar others for contact (Ibarra, 1993) and less likely reach out for contact with the higher managers in an organization.

2.3.1 Conclusions on ethno-migrancy, network and career development

Sociological literature emphasizes the utility of a great network's range (Burt, 1992; Campbell, et al., 1986; Granovetter, 1973), a high position in the status hierarchy (Lin, 1982) and weak ties (Haythornthwaite, 2001; Ibarra, 1995). Yet, migrant minority group members likely have to reach out further in order to extend their network's range (Ibarra, 1995); are clustered in the lower positions of status hierarchy (Thomas, 1990); minority group members most likely prefer strong ties (Granovetter, 1982; Kaplan, 1984; Krackhardt, 1992) and finally, they tend to mostly associate with similar others (Lin, 2000). Consequently, migrant minority employees less likely benefit from their social networks in comparison to the migrant majority employees.

2.4. Ethno-migrancy, performance and career development

As identified by Turner (1960), the contest-mobility norm of upward mobility allows for open and fair decisions related to an individual's career development, assuming that an employee's

career success is largely a function of how hard one works and an employee's ability, education and training (Rosenbaum, 1984). This contest-mobility perspective suggests that performance on the job is the most determining in getting ahead in an organization (Ng, et al., 2005). Hence, performance is considered objectively in this study, applying technocratic standards. Subsequently, performance is considered in terms of output targets: (1) the quality and (2) the quantity of work (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2004; Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004).

Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1993) have shown that disparities in work performance may lead to differential career development opportunities among various races. Although a great amount of research suggests disparities in performance evaluations, previous research in the U.S. has shown that real performance disparities exist between migrant minority and white majority employees (Ford, Kraiger & Schechtman, 1986; Landau, 1995; Waldman & Avolio, 1991). In addition, recent meta-analytic research conducted in the U.S., also suggests job performance disparities among blacks and whites, favoring whites (McKay & McDaniel, 2006; Roth, Hufcutt & Bobko, 2003). Similarly, research on performance disparities among whites and migrant minorities in England confirmed previous findings, showing relatively poor performance of migrant minorities (Dewberry, 2001).

Yet, when showing high performance or high ability, this does not necessarily lead to higher achievement for migrant minorities (Perrone, Sedlacek & Alexander, 2001).

2.4.1 Conclusions on ethno-migrancy, performance and career development
When applying technocratic standards in an organization and thus considering performance objectively, performance is a legitimate determinant for career success. On the one hand, research has indicated that performance disparities exist among migrant minority and majority employees, favoring majority employees (Ford et al., 1986; Waldman & Avolio, 1991; Landua, 1995; Dewberry, 2001; Roth et al., 2003; McKay & McDaniel, 2006). On the other hand, Perrone et al. (2001) have illustrated that even when showing high performance, achievement does not necessarily follow for migrant minority employees.

2.5. Ethno-migrancy, labor control outcomes and career development
Controlling labor typically concerns specifying, monitoring and evaluating both collective and individual action (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2004; Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004). It can focus on an employee's behavior, output and mind. Assessment of specific characteristics in labor control can lead to disparities in outcomes. In this study, labor control outcomes are assessed in terms of (1) the assessment of socio-ideological standards; (2) the interpretation of outcomes; and (3) career development opportunities.

Labor control can be labeled as either socio-ideological or technocratic. Socio-ideological control aims at controlling worker behavior; emphasizing and assessing one's identity characteristics (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2004). These control standards may leave relatively much room for subjectivity (Siebers, 2009a). Contrarily, technocratic labor control is carried out through rules, policies and standardization of work-processes, defining which work behavior is either appropriate or not (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2004). Technocratic standards are more concrete, specific and easier to check, for which they tend to be more objectivistic.

In accordance, migrant minority members generally prefer technocratic control (Siebers, 2009a) and tend to show lower performance assessments when socio-ideological labor control is applied (Siebers, 2009a; Alvesson & Kärreman, 2004; Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004). Yet, most companies nowadays are organized post-bureaucratically (Maravelias, 2003), characterized by socio-ideological labor control. Moreover, when engaged in socio-ideological control efforts, the organization tries to persuade its employees to adapt to specific norms, values and ideas about what is good and what is of importance related to work and organizational life. As such, socio-ideological standards aim at controlling the employees' attitude, personality and identity (Willmott, 1993).

In addition, previous American research has shown that North American black individuals tend to receive lower performance ratings at work and are evaluated to have lower promotion potential, compared to whites (Ford, et al., 1986; Landau, 1995; Waldman & Avolio, 1991). Moreover, Greenhaus & Parasuraman (1993) indicated that even when showing similar performance, success of white managers was likely to be attributed to ability and effort, whereas high performance of black managers was more likely to be attributed to luck and help from others. Accordingly, with research carried out in the U.S., Perrone, et al. (2001) indicated that for migrant minorities, high ability does not necessarily lead to higher achievement. Moreover, research illustrates that performance credentials are not equally appreciated for minority members compared to majority members (Tomaskovic-Devey, et al., 2005).

2.5.1 Conclusions on ethno-migrancy, labor control outcomes and career development
Literature distinguishes between technocratic labor control and socio-ideological (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2004). The first tends to be more objectivistic, whereas the latter leaves room for subjectivity (Siebers, 2009a). Accordingly, migrant minority members prefer technocratic labor control (Siebers, 2009a). Yet, these days, most organizations apply socio-ideological

standards (Maravelias, 2003). Subsequently, research has shown that this may be at the disadvantage of migrant minority employees (Ford, et al., 1986; Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1993; Landau, 1995; Perrone et al., 2001; Waldman & Avolio, 1991).

2.6. Ethno-migrancy, power motivation and career development
Empirical research has shown that power motivation, amongst others, is strongly related to career success (Judge et al., 1995; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1994). McClelland (1985) and Miner (1978) define power motivation as the desire to influence others, which might differ among individuals. Subsequently, individuals who score high on power motivation, strive to achieve positions which provide them with additional impact and authority and show higher aspirations for managerial positions (McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982). High power motivation individuals seem to (1) be motivated to participate more often in formal leadership trainings and (2) be motivated to strive for opportunities to talk to coaches and leaders and (Van Iddekinge, Ferris & Heffner, 2009).

In addition, Wayne, Liden, Kraimer and Graf (1999) include motivation in the contest-mobility norm, as mentioned before. Vroom's (1964) expectancy theory explains motivated behavior by means of three components: expectancy, instrumentality and valence (Campbell & Pritchard, 1976). Firstly, in order to reach a certain goal, an individual must expect that his/her effort will lead to a particular performance. Secondly, an individual must believe that the given performance will result in a particular outcome (instrumentality). Finally, the outcome one expects must be valued (valence) (Campbell & Pritchard, 1976).

Migrant minority clients enter a labor market in which people of their own migrant minority group are positioned in the lower level and unskilled occupations, which affects the perception they have related to the labor market opportunities available to them (United States, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2002). Hence, migrant employees might show lower expectancy and instrumentality and accordingly, lower power motivation.

Research taking a motivational perspective on ethno-migrant inequality on career development is scarce. Yet, drawing on research on gender differences in the domain of leadership (Heilman, 2001), recent research has suggested that leadership behavior is strongly associated with attributes such as competitiveness, assertiveness and decisiveness, which are often referred to as non-migrant characteristics (Siebers, 2015). This might result in a misfit between a migrant employee and the perceived requirements of the leadership role (Heilman, 2001). Previous research has shown that role-incongruent behavior often is related to social sanctions and disapproval. Subsequently, migrant employees striving to attain a leadership

position are more vulnerable to role conflict compared to their non-migrant counterparts. They risk negative social reactions, since their aspirations may be judged as violating the convention of migrant behavior. Given these unfavorable dynamics, it might appear that power motivation is lower among migrant employees compared to non-migrant employees.

2.6.1 Conclusions on ethno-migrancy, power motivation and career development
Research has indicated that motivation is strongly related to career success (Judge et al., 1995; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1994). Vroom's (1964) expectancy theory explains that motivation is determined by one's expectancy, instrumentality and valence (Campbell and Pritchard, 1976). However, migrant minority group members are positioned in the lower level and unskilled occupations, which might decrease migrant minorities' perceptions of expectancy and instrumentality. Additionally, Heilman (2001) suggested that leadership behavior is often associated with characteristics, which appear to be non-migrant characteristics. As a consequence, this could lead to a lowered motivation among migrant employees.

2.7 Final conclusions
Various researchers have indicated that social capital (Lin, 2000), performance (Ng, et al., 2005), labor control outcomes (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2004; Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004; Siebers, 2009a) and power motivation (Judge et al., 1995; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1994) are strongly related to career development. Yet, research has emphasized that migrant employees do not always profit from these various indicators compared to their non-migrant counterparts.

Hence, migrant employees seem to face exclusion from social networks ((Dickens & Dickens, 1982; DiTomaso, Thompson, & Blake, 1988; Fernandez, 1991; Irons & Moore, 1985; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990) and they show relatively poor performance compared to their non-migrant counterparts (Dewberry, 2001). Though, their performance is not equally appreciated when comparing with majority group members (Tomaskovic-Devey et al., 2005). And finally, due to the association of leadership behavior with non-migrant characteristics (Heilman, 2001; Siebers, 2015), migrant employees might show lower power motivation. Subsequently, the various indicators of career development as indicated in this study might have a different affect among migrant and non-migrant employees, at the disadvantage of migrant employees.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research design

This study's aim is to understand ethno-migrant inequality in career development, by constructing and comparing migrant and non-migrant employees' career development, by means of incorporating a life-span life-space perspective. In accordance, life course reconstruction requires a qualitative research design for its ability to provide rich, in-depth data. More specifically, the qualitative method of a case study has been applied, since it draws on multiple perspectives, tends to be very detailed, and is rooted in a specific context (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Data for qualitative analysis have been gathered through life-course questionnaires, documents and interviews.

3.2 Sample strategy

In this study, stratified purposive sampling has been applied, illustrating the characteristics of a particular subgroup and facilitating comparison between subgroups (migrant and non-migrant employees) (Patton, 2002). The focus in this research is on employees positioned in the higher occupational functions of the organization.

In accordance, career development in this study is related to career success, which can be defined as "the positive psychological or work-related outcomes or achievement one has accumulated as a result of one's work experiences" (Judge et al., 1995). Career success is an evaluative concept and can be determined based on objective and visible criteria (Jaskolka et al., 1985), such as salary and the number of promotions one has made (Gattiker & Larwood, 1988; Judge & Bretz, 1994; Kotter, 1982). Subsequently, an increase in one's career is considered to be a promotion in terms of an increase in the pay scale in the organization.

Hence, respondents were selected based on objective career success accomplishments and in specific based on compensation (pay scale). Originally, one had to be positioned in a 13 pay scale at least (Appendix 2, p. 63) in order to be included in the sample. However, it appeared that the amount of migrant employees positioned in these scales was too limited. In accordance, employees positioned in a pay scale 11 were selected as well. In addition, this adjustment was useful, since it allowed to also study why employees positioned in pay scale 11 did not (yet) have developed into a higher position.

First, employees in the organization were send an email by the two contact persons in the organization. Employees could then respond when willing to participate in this study. If willing to do so, the respondents were approached by the researcher: they were sent an email in order to arrange an appointment. In addition, the questionnaire was attached to this e-mail,

so respondents could complete this questionnaire in advance and return it prior to the interview.

Yet, this first attempt to complete the study's sample did not yield enough respondents. Hence, second, respondents were recruited by means of snowball sampling, a repetitive process in which a respondent refers the researcher to other respondents, who are then approached by the researcher and refer him or her to yet other respondents (Noy, 2008). In specific, new respondents were accessed through contact information provided by other informants.

Both migrant and non-migrant employees were interviewed. Subsequently, ethno-migrancy (migrant – non-migrant) was a first control variable applied in this sample. Non-migrant employees should preferably be non-Western. In addition, gender (male – female) was included as a control variable, since literature suggests that gender inequality in career development exists as well (Elliot & Smith, 2004; Roscigno, Garcia & Zeher, 2007).

Finally, tenure (one has been working more or less than five years in ECS) was included in the model. Yet, 13 out of the 17 respondents were already working at ECS for more than five years. The remaining four respondents either were doing a project at ECS or were already working at another department before entering ECS.

Hence, this would have led to four dyads of interviews (Appendix 3, p. 64). In addition, two more dyads were added in this study and three additional respondents were interviewed. However, they could not be placed in a dyad since their counterpart was not found.

In addition, it was strived for to include each respondent's mentor or supervisor in the sample as well. Yet, only the supervisor of the two respondents in the first dyad has been interviewed. In the other dyads, the supervisor was either unavailable or he/she could not elaborate on the subordinate's career due to a lack of information.

Finally, an amount of 18 interviews have been conducted, of which 13 interviews consisted of primary respondents, three interviews of secondary respondents and one of a supervisor. These interviews were conducted among eight non-migrant respondents, of whom four were men and four women. Similarly, eight migrant respondents were included in the sample: four men and four women. All of them were second-generation and non-western migrants, except for one western female respondent and one first-generation male respondent. An overview of the final sample with its specific characteristics can be found in Table 1 (p. 17).

Table 1

Overview respondents included in the sample

Dyad	Respondent bi-cultural		Respondent non bi-cultural	Supervisor
1.	*Respondent 1 (non-western, second generation)* Gender: Male Organizational tenure: > 5 years Pay scale: 13		*Respondent 2* Gender: Male Organizational tenure: > 5 years Pay scale: 13	Respondent 3
2.	*Respondent 4 (non-western, second generation)* Gender: Male Organizational tenure: > 5 years Pay scale: 13		*Respondent 5* Gender: Male Organizational tenure: > 5 years Pay scale: 13	
3.	*Respondent 6* Gender: Male Organizational tenure: < 5 years (project at ECS in advance) Pay scale: 14		*Respondent 7* Gender: Male Organizational tenure: > 5 years Pay scale: 15	
4.	*Respondent 8 (Western, second generation)* Gender: Female Organizational tenure: > 5 years Pay scale: 11	*Respondent 9 (non-Western, second generation)* Gender: Female Organizational tenure: > 5 years Pay scale: 11	*Respondent 10* Gender: Female Organizational tenure: > 5 years Pay scale: 11	
5.	*Respondent 11(non-western, second generation)* Gender: Female Organizational tenure: > 5 years Pay scale: 13		*Respondent 12* Gender: Female Organizational tenure: < 5 years (though > 5 in 'Rijksoverheid') Pay scale: 13	
6.	*Respondent 13 (non-western, second generation)* Gender: Female Organizational tenure: > 5 years Pay scale: 13		*Respondent 14* Gender: Female Organizational tenure: < 5 years Pay scale: 13	
Additional interviews	*Respondent 16 (non-western, first generation)* Gender: Male Organizational tenure: < 5 years Pay scale: 12		*Respondent 15* Gender: Male Organizational tenure: > 5 years Pay scale: 16 *Respondent 17* Gender: Female Organizational tenure: > 5 years Pay scale: 14	

3.3 Data collection

Various data collection methods were used in order to gather data, thus applying triangulation (Stake, 2010). Firstly, in order to get an impression of one's key events and organizational tenure in ECS, informants were asked to fill in a questionnaire concerning their residential background, education, previous work experience and organizational work experience in the Ministry of ECS (Appendix 4, p. 65). Secondly, in order to construct the life-span life-space career development in more detail, interviews have been conducted among both the migrant and non-migrant respondents. This life-span life-space interview method collects a series of time-lines referring to residence, family, work and the external world, in order to record change in the relevant domains of life and specifically, career development (Blane, Berney, Smith, Gunnell & Holland, 1999). In addition, experiences related to networking, performance, labor control outcomes and power motivation have guided the interview transcript.

Within this study the term ethno-migrancy is enhanced referring to ethno-migrant differences in the career development and ethno-migrant inequality as a consequence. Yet, when referring to the specific ethno-migrant background of respondents, persons or groups, the term migrant and non-migrant employee are maintained. However, the two contact persons in the organization emphasized to use the term of bi-cultural employees during the research carried out in the Ministry of ECS, since this is the most accepted denomination related to ethno-migrancy, in the organization. In accordance, in contrast to the maintenance of the term migrant employee in this study, the term bi-cultural employee was enhanced during the research and the interviews carried out in Ministry of ECS.

Due to the length of the list of sub-questions, not all of them have been discussed extensively. Hence, they were used as sensitizing concepts, guiding the interview. Each sub-topic was discussed during the interview, yet dependent on how important each sub-topic appeared to be, some were discussed more extensively than others. When interviewing the mentor or supervisor, the focus was on the mentee's career and the influence of the relationship between the mentor and mentee, on the mentee's career development.

Interviews were open-ended and semi-structured. Structure in the interview was needed in order to be able to compare answers (e.g. key events) (Patton, 2002) between migrant and non-migrant respondents. However, individual differences and circumstances should also have been able to be queried. Hence, certain questions were specified as key questions, since they must be asked, whereas other items were explored in more detail at the interviewer's discretion (Patton, 2002).

The interview scripts (Appendix 5.1 and 5.2, p. 67 and p. 71) were based upon the established sub-questions (Appendix 1, p. 60). The interviews have all been carried out in Dutch, as this is the official language in the organization. Due to the in depth, life-space life-span approach, interviews have had a longer duration (approximately one hour) (Patton, 2002).

In addition, all interviews were recorded and notes were taken in order to establish non-verbal cues that indicate particular importance, and facilitate later analysis. In addition, data were gathered through additional interviews with the former and the current head of the human resource (HR) department. Finally, documents concerning HR practices and demographics were gathered through these persons. These documents included the Annual Report Management of the State (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2015) and a document concerning competence profiles related to various occupations and pay scale.

3.3.1 Life-span life-space career development reconstruction

The method of reconstructing one's life history out of an oral biographic presentation (Schütze, 1977; 1983), has continuously been developed over the past decades. The main purpose of this biographical research is to uncover the total life of a person (Kohli, 1986). Though, not every single event that has taken place in an individual's life can be reviewed. Subsequently, a life history represents the biographers' (the autobiographical narrator) overall reconstruction of his or her past and anticipated life, in which he or she determines the way in which this past is reconstructed and which experiences are mostly relevant. The story mostly directs towards a specific topic, usually established by the interviewer. The topics can focus on a certain period of life, on experiences related to specific historical or social events, or on a single biographical pattern, such as an individual's occupational career (Rosenthal, 1993).

Hence, during these interviews, the biographers were firstly asked to give a full overview of events and experiences from their own lives. Secondly, the interviewer elaborated more on topics and biographical events already mentioned, which seemed to be of great importance (the key events). The stories selected by the biographer in order to represent his/her life history are embedded in a consistent, meaningful context, a biographical construct.

3.4 Data analysis

Questionnaires were distributed at least one week before the interview and they must have been returned at least 24 hours prior the interview, in order to be able to extensively analyze them and use them as input for the interviews. These questionnaires were of significance in

order to facilitate a clearer focus on the life-span and life-space of the respondent. Moreover, due to the questionnaire, time was saved during the interview, since the history of residence, education and work experience did not have to be discovered that extensively anymore during the interview. After having conducted the interviews, they were fully transcribed, which already started during the period of data collection.

Secondly, all the transcripts were classified and coded. Strauss and Corbin (1990) have distinguished between three types of coding: selective, open and axial coding. First, selective coding refers to labelling and categorizing phenomena as indicated by the theory. Hence, these codes are based on the categories as mentioned in the Theoretical Framework (section 2, p.3) (key events, organizational tenure, networking, performance, labor control outcomes and motivation). Second, open coding refers to the process of developing additional labels as indicated by the respondents. Hence, codes and categories are generated directly from the data and are thus not selected prior to data analysis (Glaser, 1978, 1992). Data are broken down and compared in this stage, and similar (key) incidents are grouped together and assigned the same label. Third, axial coding refers to the process of "whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between categories" (p. 96). Eventually, the data were put into a coding scheme (see Appendix 6, p. 73), which connects the subcategories to the central idea of this study and facilitates analysis of how categories relate to each other (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Subsequently, the established categories were integrated with the initial Theoretical Framework (section 2, p. 3) of this study.

Third, after the process of coding, all the various career development (including the life-span and life-space) patterns of the individual respondents were compared *in* the various dyads in order to establish differences between the migrant and non-migrant respondent. Next, the various dyads were compared and differences *between* these dyads were detected. In this stage of data-analysis, key incident analysis approach (Green & Bloome, 1997) was applied, in order to firstly address similarities/patterns in the subgroups of migrant employees and non-migrant employees, yet secondly to establish differences between subgroups in order to compare them. With key incident analysis, key events are linked to other incidents, phenomena or theoretical concepts. Finally, based on the analysis of data as mentioned, all sub-questions were answered in order to formulate a final answer on the main question in this study.

3.5 Research quality indicators
Referring to the reliability of this study, anonymity was strongly emphasized towards

informants in order to reduce the probability of social desirability. Reliability has appeared to be high, since the respondents showed honesty to a great extent, as illustrated by the following quotes: "Yes, yes, that is just the honest story."; "I say that very honestly now that I am thinking about it."; "Is that honest? Yes, it is."; and "I must say, in all sincerity".

Moreover, the identity of the researcher has extensively been discussed to increase trust and thus reliability. Subsequently, it was emphasized that data would exclusively be used for research purposes; that respondents would not be judged; and that answers could not be either right or wrong. In addition, a pilot questionnaire and interview were conducted in order to ensure that the respondents understood what would be asked; and to recognize and constrain biases (Stake, 2010).

Secondly, construct validity was considered to be high, since central concepts and measurements were established based on existing literature. Thirdly, aiming at high internal validity, this study applied life-history interviewing in order to reconstruct one's career development.

Finally, external validity has not been prioritized while designing this study, since this study was carried out in an organization with specific characteristics, with a limited amount of informants. Subsequently, generalizability of results was difficult to be achieved and was not aimed at either.

4. Context

This study has been carried out in the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, part of the Dutch government. The most specific aim of this ministry is providing good education for all students in the Netherlands and preparing them for independence and responsibility. Moreover, this organization wants to make sure that every Dutch inhabitant is able to experience culture and that all teachers, as well as artists and scientists, can properly execute their jobs.

The employees of the Ministry of ECS are spread over the management department: the formal board of managers, various executive departments and the various inspections. The board of managers consist of the secretary-general, various director-generals and the inspector-general. The minister and the state secretary occupy the top of the organization.

The organization has five different locations. Yet, this study has been carried out at the "Hoftoren" in The Hague, the central body of the Ministry of ECS. This department consists of 800-900 employees.

Concerning cultural diversity, the Dutch State emphasizes the aim of reflecting the

diversity of the society in its organization (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2015). In accordance, the Ministry of ECS, amongst others, has signed the "Charter Diversity". By means of signing this charter, the employer connects itself to the advancement of an effective policy concerning diversity and an inclusive corporate culture through specific measures taken by the organization (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en, 2015). More specifically, this means that an organization applies equal treatment of all employees regardless of age, physical limitations, gender, sexual or cultural orientation and ethno-migrancy or religious backgrounds.

Subsequently, the share of migrant employees has already increased compared to previous years (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en, 2015). Yet only 6,6 per cent of all employees of the Ministry of ECS had a bi-cultural background in 2015. Moreover, relating to the vertical flow of employees and their career development, this percentage of migrant employees drastically decreases with each increase in the pay scale (see table 2, p. 22).

Table 2

Share of migrant employees in percentages related to pay scale

Pay scale	Amount of migrant employees in percentages
1-2	41,0
3-5	15,6
6-8	13,3
9-11	7,3
12-14	4,1
15 +	1,7

Adapted from "Jaarrapportage Bedrijfsvoering Rijk 2015", by Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2015, p. 55.

5. Findings

5.1 Key events

Respondents were asked to indicate various key events themselves. Subsequently, the respondents mainly indicated how various key factors have been of influence in their life course and life career. In accordance, various sub-categories were assigned to either intrinsic critical phases or extrinsic and personal critical phases.

5.1.1 Intrinsic critical phases – receiving support and opportunities

Four out of eight migrant respondents indicated receiving work related support and opportunities as being a key factor. This support was related to the chance to either start working or develop themselves in the organization. In addition, two male migrant respondents

reported the support they received from a former employer in order to develop. Contrarily, the non-migrant respondents did not indicate any key events related to receiving support and opportunities.

5.1.2 Extrinsic and personal critical phases
Firstly, two out of eight non-migrant respondents indicated that the home environment has been of great influence in their life course. More specifically, these respondents emphasized a *supportive home environment* in which they were encouraged to work hard and to manage on their own. In addition, five out of eight migrant respondents have emphasized a supportive home environment as well. These migrant respondents indicated that they were educated to work hard and make the best out of it. Yet, three of these migrant respondents explained that this situation was also caused by a shortage of resources at home, both financially and related to knowledge and education.

Secondly, various *family events* have been indicated as being of importance in the life course. One female non-migrant respondent has mentioned the birth of her children as a key event and one male non-migrant respondent has emphasized the ending of a relationship. In contrast, three migrant employees reported having lost a family member. They explained that as a reason they have become tougher.

In addition*, personal circumstances* appeared to be of importance in the life course of the respondents. Both one non-migrant and one migrant respondent explained how a depression has made them put things more into perspective. In specific, they explained how they started to relativize things more and that work has decreased in importance, since they noticed that there were more things in life rather than work only.

Furthermore, three migrant respondents have explained how their *cultural background* has both been an advantage and a disadvantage in their life course. On the one hand, two of these migrant respondents have both learned a lot from their cultural norms and values. Yet, on the other hand they indicated how cultural modesty and not being familiar with the Dutch culture has made them face difficulties. More specifically, related to the vocational career, the female migrant respondent explained that in the Ministry of ECS, she noticed that modesty is not of support in her career; that one should rather behave less modest. Moreover, since in first occasion the male migrant respondent did not know how one must behave according to Dutch norms and values, it was difficult for him to behave in accordance with what is valued in the Dutch culture in general and the Dutch organizational culture.

In addition, one female migrant respondent indicated that the choice of education was

related to how she would earn her livings later, due to being part of a migrant family. In contrast, one migrant respondent described how getting familiar with the Dutch culture at the age of 15 has been of help in order to understand and more easily deal with the Dutch culture.

Finally, three non-migrant respondents described how *education* has helped them in order to enter a specific segment of the labor market. Additionally, two migrant respondents explained how working hard and the decision to continue studying has been of influence in their life course.

5.1.3 Ethno-migrant differences in the life-career course

The life-career course of both migrant and non-migrant employees has been determined by a supportive home environment, various personal circumstances and education. Though, three migrant employees indicated that their home environment has also been characterized by a lack of resources, financially and knowledge related. They therefore knew less about the educational system and organizational cultures compared to the non-migrant respondents, as explained in the interviews.

Furthermore, a different cultural background has made three migrant employees face difficulties, due to not being familiar with the Dutch language and the Dutch norms and values. Subsequently, as explained by one of the female migrant respondents, her cultural modesty has not been useful for jobs and opportunities in the Netherlands, as it is of importance to clearly indicate what one wants. In accordance, as explained by another one of the female migrant respondents in the interview, she needed some time to experience and learn how to behave according the Dutch cultural norms and values work. Subsequently, she explained that therefore her career might have developed at a slower pace.

Finally, with reference to education, no ethno-migrant differences have appeared related to career development. Four out of six dyads showed the same educational level when comparing respondents positioned in the same pay scale. In the remaining two dyads, the differences were both at the advantage and the disadvantage of the migrant and non-migrant employee. In specific, in one of these two dyads, the migrant employee has participated in academic education and the non-migrant employee has participated in higher vocational training. In contrast, in the other one of these remaining dyads, it was the other way around.

5.2 Organizational tenure

12 out of 16 respondents showed an organizational tenure of more than five years of employment at the Ministry of ECS. Of the remaining four respondents, two male respondents participated in a project at ECS before being officially hired at the ministry. Two other female

non-migrant respondents were already working at the government for more than five years, when being hired at the Ministry of ECS.

The ratio of increases one has made in the organization compared to one's organizational tenure are 1:7,9 for the non-migrant respondents on average and 1:7,7 for the migrant respondents. In specific, this means that the non-migrant respondents appeared to have increased one pay scale in each 7.9 years of employment, whereas the migrant employees did so in each 7,7 years of employment. Subsequently, these results do not establish real significant differences among migrant and non-migrant employees.

5.3 Network

5.3.1 Network's range

Generally, the findings related to one's network range show that in the Ministry of ECS it is of great importance to know many people. In specific, one's network is of importance in order to enter the organization and afterwards one should know many people in order to develop him/herself in the organization.

In accordance, formal selection procedures do exist in ECS, though most of the time candidates are already approached in advance. Often, employees do indeed have to participate in the formal procedure, yet they are approached to do so in advance. Moreover, often someone is selected based on network rather than on capacities, competences, or how one works, as explained by the following male non-migrant respondent:

> *And ehm becoming fifteen (pay scale), that was network. I mean, afterwards I did realized the expectations, but at that moment there was no reason to assume that I would have been a good manager, because yes, they could just not say that.*

As illustrated by the quote, the respondent was recruited for a 15 pay scale based on his network, whereas there was no reason to assume that he would fit in the position of a manager. In addition, respondents have indicated being assessed based on how externally focused one is.

Further, one's network range seems to be of importance in order to strive for information. On the one hand, when applying for a job or different function at ECS, it is of support to be able to retrieve some information about the organizational or departmental culture in advance. On the other hand, one can consult his/her network for information related to the content of work itself.

5.3.1.1 Ethno-migrant differences in the network's range

First of all, six out of eight non-migrant respondents indicated having entered the organization with the support of their network. They either already knew someone working at the organization in advance, they were pointed at a vacancy at the organization, or they were approached by someone they knew in advance at ECS, in order to already start working there. Referring to the pay scale, they were all positioned in a 13 or 15 pay scale.

However, only one out of eight migrant respondents has entered the organization by means of his network. In contrast, three migrant respondents (one male, two female) had to apply for a job at ECS; two male migrant respondents entered ECS by means of a project; one female migrant employee got into the organization through an employment agency; and one female migrant respondent coincidentally was transferred to the Ministry of ECS.

Second, four out of eight non-migrant respondents and for out of eight migrant respondents increased in a pay scale by support of their network. In specific, they were asked to fulfill a specific function. In addition, one male non-migrant respondent had to apply for an increase in the occupational function. Though, four female migrant employees also had to additionally apply for increases in the pay scale.

In accordance, three migrant employees emphasized that they think it is difficult to effectively use their network. As explained by the following female migrant employee, she does think that she has a broad network's range, though she is too timid to effectively use it:

> *So that you, you must use your network. So you must make sure that they give good press and that they know they must do so. I do not do that good enough. […] I think my network is broader than I realize. So I think yes. I do think that I have a lot of timidity to use it.*

As she explains during the interview, she has been educated by her African mother to behave modestly. Subsequently, due to this modesty, she appears to behave more timid in the interaction with other people. She emphasized that she has to overcome this timidity in order to more effectively use her network.

Moreover, a female migrant respondent positioned in a human resource function, often noticed that one is selected for a specific function because he/she is actively involved in networks and relationships and is known by many people. As she indicated, this could become a problem for her, since she does not actively use her network at all times.

Finally, two non-migrant female respondents explained how they were able to approach a contact working at ECS before applying in order to be better prepared for the

application. One female migrant respondent was also supported by a contact at ECS before entering the organization, though she only knew about the possibility of working at ECS by this contact.

5.3.2 Network's status

The findings of this study indicate that, related to upward mobility, employees are mainly supported by people positioned in the higher echelons of the organization, such as a head of department, a director and secretary generals. The respondents who emphasized the importance of the contact's network's status are all positioned in a 13, 14, 15 or 16 pay scale. In accordance, it was indicated that the higher the occupational level, the more network starts to matter. Subsequently, an employee is then also more assessed on how he/she operates in networks and how the relationship is with the elite.

Finally, as generally explained, one should be visible for the people who occupy the higher positions in the organization, since they are the ones who are mostly able to be of support in one's career development.

5.3.2.1 Ethno-migrant differences in network's status

Four out of eight non-migrant respondents indicated being supported by a contact high in network's status in order to either enter the organization or increase in the organization. In addition, two more non-migrant respondents emphasized the importance of being visible for the people in the higher occupational positions of the organization.

Though, only two out of eight migrant respondents have emphasized the support of a director and a director general in their career. A male migrant respondent clearly emphasized that working for the director general has been of support in order to get a higher occupational function in ECS:

> *Ehm that I have worked for the director general, as a personal assistant. That... Yes, o yes, you were talking about networking earlier right. And then I said: 'you just have to do a good job, then you will be seen.' No, but it did help, let's say, I am very honest, now that I think about it. Because ehm I had a very good relationship with her and that, say, helped me in order to get a good, high function. [...] Yes, yes, that is just the honest story.*

Earlier in the interview, this respondent emphasized that it was mostly important to perform in order to develop in the career. However, later on, it appeared that the respondent got into his function (pay scale 13) because of the support of the director general he has worked for.

In contrast, as one male migrant employee noted, it is more difficult for migrant employees to understand that in the higher echelons of the organization, network is of great importance:

> *Ehm if you for example consider the director generals and the secretary general at the various ministries ehm they are chosen by certain ministers and not based on capacities. But really based on how they interact with the minister. And most director generals and secretary generals are brought in because the minister is then supported by those director generals and secretary generals and that means that you bring in people that will further support you. So it is actually a political game. And as an immigrant you do not understand that. You then think: well I do not know how this works. And it takes a lot of time to understand that in the government, to understand that, and to really participate.*

As illustrated by this migrant respondent, it takes more time for migrant employees to understand how one must use the network's status of his/her contacts in order to increase in one's career. Moreover, one female migrant employee has also reported that migrant employees probably have less contacts high in status hierarchy in their networks.

5.3.3 Tie strength

The findings of this study show that in the respondent's career in the organization, weak ties appear to be of more support in comparison to strong ties. When entering the organization through a network, respondents did so by means of weak ties. In addition, referring to the career development in ECS, weak ties were of support as well. Finally, as respondents emphasized the importance of a network in order to retrieve information related to work, weak ties also were of most importance.

5.3.3.1 Ethno-migrant differences in tie strength

Five out of eight non-migrant respondents indicated having entered the Ministry of ECS with support of a weak tie, such as a former employer or a former or current colleague. They were either asked to start working at the Ministry of ECS or their received information about the organization by means of those weak ties. In addition, one non-migrant respondent explained using weak ties in order to strive for information related to work.

In contrast, only two migrant respondents have explained being supported by means of weak ties. Moreover, one female migrant respondent noted that she should not focus too much on the people whom she already knows (the strong ties), yet more on the people whom know her less, the weak ties:

In any case I have to use my network more independently, what I insufficiently do, because I am a little too timid to do so. […] And also tactically deal with, not so much my network, because I think my network already knows me pretty well, so that differs, I should use that. But especially the people who know me less well, use that more tactically, like: how do I enrich the view about me and…

As she explains throughout the interview, she has been educated to behave modest and timid. Consequently, she thinks it is more difficult to effectively use her network and to more strongly focus on the people whom she knows less, her weak ties.

Moreover, another female migrant respondent has explained that, when started working at the government, she thought it was difficult to consult supervisors or colleagues about the work she had to do in the organization. Yet, she noted that these are the weak ties that she should have indeed consulted in order to receive this support.

5.3.4 Impression management

Generally, respondents emphasized the importance of visibility in the organization, meaning that people – in specific those occupying the higher positions – must know who one is and what one does. In order to do so, an employee should make sure that people see what he/she is doing; how well he/she is doing; and tell people what he/she wants, as explained by the following male migrant respondent: "*And in the ministry, if you want to distinguish yourself, then you have to, in other organizations as well, then you have to profile yourself in terms of: 'I am doing a good job'.*"

In addition, respondents have reported that it is very important that people speak positively about one another; to create a positive image, which is achieved by acting in favor of the people one is working for. In specific, this means acting according to the interests of the minister, secretary generals and the directors. Subsequently, this might mean that one has to act in contrast to his own beliefs.

5.3.4.1 Ethno-migrant differences in impression management

Both two non-migrant and two migrant respondents emphasized that it is important to create a positive image of oneself in the organization and that it is therefore important to be visible. Though, both one male and one female migrant respondent explained that it is more difficult for a migrant employee to be visible. As the following female migrant employee has indicated, in first occasion, she wrongly applied her visibility:

I: And how do you create a good image so to say?

R: […] The answer to that question is visibility. But I see, I see, and many people do not understand that, but I also see that often that visibility is wrongly applied. So I see some people being visible very excessively, like: visibility, image forming, positivity. While ehm and I think that in a certain period of time I also did so, so saying yes to everything, being in projects everywhere and ehm talking big, having a real strong opinion. […] And in the meanwhile visibility for me is, it is still visibility but more solidly.

As this migrant respondent explained in the interview, she did not know how to behave when starting working at the government. When having learned and experienced that visibility was of great importance in the organization, she indicated that she might have overcompensated in visibility and acted visible too much. In specific, she explained that she has said 'yes' to everything, she was talking really big and she had a real strong opinion. Subsequently, she indicated that nowadays she still is visible, but more solidly.

5.3.5 Findings on network

Network appears to be a great determinant for career development in the Ministry of ECS. More specific, one's network is or great importance in order to 1) enter the organization, 2) develop/increase in the organization, 3) strive for information related to work and finally 4) to be visible for many people.

Yet, the findings show that employees do not equally profit from their network. First, migrant employees in general indicated that due to being educated to behave modest, it is difficult for them to actively appeal to many people, in specific those who occupy the higher functions in the organization. Second, migrant employees did not equally take advantage of their weak ties compared to the non-migrant employees. Finally, due to modesty again, migrant employees appear to face difficulties referring to being visible in the organization. When understanding that one must do so, one of the migrant employees reported to have applied this visibility wrongly.

5.4 Performance

5.4.1 Quality

In the Ministry of ECS, a certain level of performance is required, since it is clearly noticed when one fails. In specific, one must clearly realize his expectations when being positioned at a certain occupational level. However, performance appeared to be of minor importance. It was indicated that the level of performance should only be normal/good. In other words,

employees are generally assumed to perform well.

Subsequently, the one supervisor of two respondents has explained that performance is of minor importance, especially when compared to the importance of one's network:

I think that with little performance and a really good network, you will achieve more compared to a small network and very good performance. Because then you will get, you know, then it is more about how visible you are. And well yes, and if you have little, just little, if you are not that good in networking, then I do not think you will come much further.

In this statement, the supervisor illustrated how one rather develops in his/her career with little performance and a good network, compared to high performance, yet a bad network.

5.4.1.1 Ethno-migrant differences in quality

Whereas the findings on quality of performance show that performance appears not to be valued in the organization to a great extent, the findings did not indicate ethno-migrant differences in how the quality of performance is assessed among employees either.

Yet, three out of eight non-migrant respondents have indicated that the quality of their performance has been determining in their career/promotions. In contrast, three migrant respondents explained that performance has not at all been of influence in their career. Moreover, as one male migrant respondent noted that it is often more about the clarity of expression instead of the work itself:

At the same time it is a lot, too much, about skills of expression, the debate. […] And unfortunately I think it is about that too often, about who talks the biggest. Is that performance? Yes, that is performance, which in this domain is appreciated, but does it always have to… […] Sometimes I think: we should talk less and just start doing things.

As explained by the migrant respondent, he thinks performance is more valued in terms of skills of expression, while he emphasized that this should be of less importance and people should start doing things related to work.

5.4.2 Quantity

As one non-migrant and two migrant respondents have emphasized, there are people who work harder and more, yet showing less career development. As one male migrant respondent noted, there are colleagues who work harder and who even work in the evenings and weekends, though eventually they are not assessed as expected:

> *Really I know colleagues of mine that really worked extremely hard. [...] But I, I just work*
> *normal. Other ones, really, they are working Saturday and Sunday, and in the evenings they*
> *are mailing and calling and recording voicemails. And then at the ehm, say, the moment ehm*
> *of assessment, then you see them crying.*

As the quote exposes, the respondents him/herself works normally compared to colleagues who work extremely hard. Yet, this quantity of work does not seem to be assessed this way.

With reference to the quantity of performance, the findings do not indicate significant ethno-migrant differences on this aspect. Though, as the findings on key events show, the migrant employees behave according to the norm of working hard and the value attached to it.

5.4.3 Findings on performance

Performance appears to be of minor importance in the Ministry of ECS, in specific in comparison to network and labor control outcomes. Contrarily, the migrant respondents in general indicate that they are educated to work indeed hard. However, as the findings show, performance is not assessed in output targets referring to the quality and quantity of work, yet rather in terms of how one operates in his/her network.

5.5 Labor control outcomes

5.5.1 Socio-ideological standards

Relationships are of great importance in the Ministry of ECS. Subsequently, the person one is perceived to be, is very important in these relationships. In specific, it is of great importance that people like you and that people positively judge you. In accordance, one of the female migrant respondents indicated that this judgement might sometimes be based on the person you are perceived to be rather than based on the work you deliver:

> *So if you are a pleasant, friendly personality. And if they get what they want. So if things, if*
> *they are not hindered by the things you can help with. And the reason why I say so, because*
> *you are going to ask more about it. [...] I do not think that you also deliver good work if*
> *there is a positive judgement about you. Sometimes you just have to be critical.*

As illustrated by this respondent, it is important to be liked by others and to be positively judged. As explained, when one is friendly and pleasant and does not hinder others in their work, then one tends to be positively judged. However, as she indicates, when one is

positively judged, this does not necessarily mean that an employee does perform decently. In accordance, a positive judgement appears to be based on personality rather than on the performance itself.

In addition, various identity characteristics have been identified that an employee in ECS must have in order to develop his/her career in the organization: being extravert, expressive, political sensitive, proactive and assertive, open and vulnerable.

Subsequently, referring to expressiveness, one must indicate when he/she wants to develop and increase in the organization and one must tell others what he/she is doing. Additionally, political sensitivity refers to taking into account that, in the work itself, one should always support the minister's interests and one must always do what the minister considers to be right. However, this could be opposite to your own feelings and interests.

In contrast, respondents expressed that one should not be shy, modest, fragile, introvert or non-assertive. In other words, employees characterized by such a personality, do not increase in the organization, as indicated.

5.5.1.1 Ethno-migrant differences in socio-ideological standards

Five out of eight non-migrant respondents emphasized the importance of expressing your interests and behaving assertive and extravert. In addition, five non-migrant respondents indicated that political sensitivity is of great importance as well.

In contrast, three migrant respondents also emphasized expressiveness, yet four migrant respondents indicated that for them, it is more difficult to engage in expressive and assertive behavior. They have explained that they have been educated with more modesty, timidity and politeness, whereas in general the findings show that these identity characteristics are not related to career development in ECS. As one female non-migrant respondent explained:

> *Negatively, forms of politeness are very important. And whereas women can already be reserved related to praising, for me that might be even extra because is it not really customary in African cultures. [...] And I think that it is very important, especially in the Netherlands, to clearly indicate what you want. And then is it not useful for, for jobs and opportunities, which could be remarked honorable, to wait until you are being asked. So letting know, really letting know. But that is a kind of timidity, like: I do want it. Yes, off course I want it, it is a position of honor, it is very nice if you are allowed to do it. So that, that timidity is what I should overcome.*

In accordance, this migrant respondent explains that, due to her timidity and politeness, is it more difficult for her to express that she would want to occupy a certain position. Subsequently it might appear that she does not want to occupy the certain positions, whereas she explains that she does want to do so.

Moreover, two female migrant respondents reported that they might have overcompensated with reference to assertive behavior. As one of them explained, she did not know how to engage in the assertive behavior when started working at the organization. In addition, the other female migrant respondent indicated that this might have been at her disadvantage; that people would less likely have asked her for something, due to being assertive to much.

In addition, two migrant employees also noted that one has to show to be vulnerable in the organization. As one female migrant reported, she has just been rejected for a course in order to become a starting manager, since she did not expose to be vulnerable:

> *[…] I just heard that I am not vulnerable enough. And then I said: 'but what do you mean by vulnerable?' I do not face any problems with being vulnerable, but it is just no my instinctive reaction if, if shit hits the fan, my reaction will not be: oooh; my reaction will be: taking care of it. […] You will not very likely hear me complaining. But that is, that is completely different from… Is it going to be used against me that I do not complain? No, probably it is, I just have to think about how I make sure, although I do not have specific issues or pains, that there is a need to get hold on it. […] It makes you more pleasant if you are vulnerable, then you are more pleasant.*

As she explained, she has been rejected for the management course, since she does not appear to be vulnerable. She thought that this is incompatible, because considering her point of view it is indeed a good thing not to complain. In contrast, she explained that she must try to act more vulnerable in order to be considered more pleasant, which supports one's career.

Finally, with reference to political sensitivity, none of the migrant employees expressed to engage in political sensitive behavior. Yet, one male migrant respondent emphasized that he wants to do what is good for society in contrast to what is politically desirable.

5.5.2 Interpretation

Respondents explain that an employee is mainly assessed on whether the manager either likes the employee or not. Subsequently, this might be different for each employee/manager.

In addition, as a great amount of the work in ECS is executed by means of projects and advices, performance is difficult to measure. In the assessment of one's work, the manager is dependent on the judgement of the client one is working for. Yet, respondents emphasized that clients differ to a great extent related to what they consider as good work. As a consequence, the assessment is mostly dependent on the interpretation of the client. As a female migrant respondent illustrated, what is considered as good work by the client, does not coincide with what he/she must do in her function:

> *Because there are managers in here who think: 'well, all that nagging about your advice and I have to do all those difficult things, which I do not feel like.' If I would say, and now I exaggerate, but if I would […] do all the executive tasks and then they think: that is nice, I do not have to do it myself. And then they are really satisfied. 'Yes, *respondent*, she is great.' But am I operating well? No, then you are not operating well at all at an eleven pay scale, because it is not what you should do. And we were talking about it earlier, about how do we make sure it is more clear and transparent, that is very difficult.*

The respondent explained that when she would just be advising, the manager would not be satisfied. In contrast, when doing additional executive tasks, most managers are indeed satisfied. Though, this is part of her job responsibilities.

5.5.2.1 Ethno-migrant differences in interpretation
Three out of eight migrant respondents have exposed that their work is subject to the interpretation of people whom one is working for. In contrast, the non-migrant respondents did not indicate anything related to the interpretation of work in the organization.

5.5.3 Offered development opportunities
The findings of this study reveal that many development opportunities are offered at ECS. However, one should express him/herself wanting participate in them. In addition, during an assessment interview, development is also discussed to a great extent. Furthermore, participating in trainings and courses is of importance in order to keep up with all developments in work and society.

5.5.3.1 Ethno-migrant differences in offered development opportunities
Three out of eight non-migrant respondents indicated getting offered plenty of development opportunities. In addition, four out of eight migrant respondents did also report that they were offered plenty of development opportunities.

Though, two female migrant respondents reported that they have been rejected to participate in a management course.

5.5.4 Findings on labor control outcomes

The findings show that labor control outcomes are of great importance for one's career in the Ministry of ECS. First, both migrant and non-migrant respondents emphasize the importance of the identity traits of expressiveness, assertiveness, political sensitivity and vulnerability. However, migrant employees needed more time in order to understand the importance of the personality traits and they indicate having more difficulties with behaving according to these traits. In addition, only migrant employees have reported being subject to the interpretation of their performance, which according to them, leads to subjectivity in the assessment.

Finally, both migrant and non-migrant employees have indicated being offered various development opportunities. Yet, two female migrant employees are rejected to participate in management courses, due to a lack of vulnerability as one of them has explained. In accordance, this rejection for the management course is related to an interpretation of an identity trait.

5.6 Power motivation

5.6.1 Motivation to increase in the organization

Generally, two motivation types can be distinguished as indicated by the respondents. On the one hand, respondents indicated being motivated to increase in the organization referring to an increase in their pay scale. On the other hand, respondents strived for being challenged in their work, independent of the pay scale. In addition, the occupational function of the manager is reported to be unattractive by some of the respondents.

5.6.1.1 Ethno-migrant differences in the motivation to increase in the organization

Only one female non-migrant respondent reported to be motivated to increase in the pay scale. In contrast, two female migrant respondents expressed the motivation and drive to increase.

In addition, one non-migrant male respondent explained not wanting to increase in the occupational level of functions, since one is then more positioned between the employees in the bottom and the top occupational functions in the organization. Contrarily, three migrant respondents reported that they do not want to increase either, since this is related to a decrease of independency.

5.6.2 Participate in trainings

In general, respondents have emphasized that participating in development opportunities is of

great importance for one's career at the Ministry of ECS. As explained, many opportunities are offered, though one must express him/herself wanting to participate. In addition, in the assessment interview, development is an important topic that is being discussed.

5.6.2.1 Ethno-migrant differences in trainings

Five out of eight non-migrant respondents reported having participated in various courses and trainings during their career. In contrast, only three out of eight migrant respondents indicated having participated in these courses and trainings. Moreover, whereas two female migrant employees did want to participate in trainings, they have been rejected to do so. In addition, one female migrant employee explained that she did not participate in trainings and courses as much as she could have done and wanted to do.

However, two of the migrant respondents are indeed participating in the management development course, which is greatly determining for career development.

5.6.3 Talk to leaders and coaches

In general, the importance of talking to leaders and coaches has not been strongly emphasized. Though, is it possible to consult a coach at the Ministry of ECS. Again, one must indicate him/herself that he/she wants to consult one.

5.6.3.1 Ethno-migrant differences in talking to leaders and coaches

Three out of eight non-migrant employees actively consulted coaches and where supported by them in their careers. In contrast, one male migrant employee explained that he did have a coach, but he did not profit from it at all. Though, he consulted a lot of colleagues and supervisors during his career.

Moreover, one female migrant respondent explained that, in the beginning of her career, she thought it was difficult to ask for help:

> *... I thought it was very difficult to ask for help, I did not do that. I had the image of: I have a serious job now at the Ministry so I have to... I am selected out of hundreds, so I have to show that I can do it. While little had been arranged for me. And I should have asked much more of the department I was at like: just help me and offer me some more guidance related to what you ask.*

As she explained throughout the interview, she did not know what was expected of her, and in addition, she still had to learn that you should indeed consult other people in order for help.

5.6.4 Findings on motivation

The findings on motivation show that, in general, motivation does not appear to be a great determinant of career development in the Ministry of ECS. The respondents rather indicate not striving for increases in pay scale than striving to do so. In addition, no significant differences in motivation were to be established.

5.7 Explanations of ethno-migrant inequality in the Ministry of ECS

Six out of eight migrant respondents of the Ministry of ECS indicated not experiencing that their migrant background has been at their disadvantage in their career at ECS. Contrarily, three of them expressed that it might have even been of support, since they might have indeed been selected, because there would have been a policy related to cultural diversity. Though, as indicated at the key events, the migrant employees in general do face difficulties in their career due to being more modest and not behaving expressive to a great extent.

In accordance, when asking all respondents to indicate reasons that could be related to the ethno-migrant inequality in career development in the organization, three migrant respondents expressed that migrant employees in general might not be familiar with the Dutch culture. In addition, they explained that in many other migrant groups, the group tends to be the norm, while they emphasized that one must profile his/herself more individually in this organization.

Further, it was expressed by both one non-migrant and one migrant respondent and the former head of the human resources department, that the government is not always considered attractive to many migrants. Moreover, one female non-migrant respondent and one female migrant respondent positioned at a human resource function noted that migrant employees do not often apply for the higher occupational positions in the organization.

Additionally, two non-migrant and one migrant respondent indicated that the lower percentage of migrant employees at the ministry could also be due to the selection procedure of the state trainee and the general management service. As indicated by the respondents, people are often selected based on a selection profile focusing on similar personality traits, which could exclude migrant employees from the selection, due to not corresponding to these identity traits.

Finally, language deficiencies, biases and educational differences are indicated, though only by one respondent each.

6. Conclusion and discussion

6.1 Conclusion

In the final conclusion of this study, the research question is to be answered: *How do ethno-migrant differences in networking, performance, labor control outcomes and power motivation produce inequality in the career development of migrant employees compared to non-migrant employees in the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science?*

The findings of this study show that in the Ministry of ECS, network and labor control outcomes appear to be of most importance for one's career. In contrast, performance is of minor importance compared to these determinants. Finally, no significant ethno-migrant differences in power motivation have been established.

Network is of great support in one's career in order to 1) enter the organization and 2) to increase in the organization. In specific, the persons who occupy the higher functions in the organization appear to be of most support. In addition, an employee is mainly assessed based on personality characteristics and dependent on the interpretation of the client or the manager one is working for. In the assessment of employees, one's participation in courses and trainings is discussed to a great extent as well.

As one must notice, both network and personality appear to be strongly connected. In order to be able to effectively network, one must make sure he/she is visible for others in the organization. This means actively showing and telling others what good work one does and expressing one's interests related to career development. Subsequently, to be visible in the organization, expressiveness is of significant importance. In addition, to participate in the offered development opportunities, an employee has to express that he/she wants to do so.

Yet, as appeared in the key events, migrant employees tend to be more modest for the most part in contrast to the expressive non-migrant counterparts, due to their cultural background and parental education. In accordance, migrant respondents do less effectively benefit from their networks due to a lack of expressiveness, compared to the non-migrant respondents. Moreover, because of the influence of the home environment and various family events, migrant employees seem to have become tougher and less likely to complain. Subsequently, they show less vulnerability, which in in contrast to what is valued to a great extent in the Ministry of ECS.

In addition, performance is of minor importance in the Ministry of ECS, compared to network and personality. An employee must indeed realize a certain level of performance, though afterwards one is mainly assessed on his network, expressiveness and visibility.

Again, this is at the disadvantage of the migrant employees. As mentioned, due to the home environment and cultural background of the migrant respondents, working hard and not complaining is the norm, which is in contrast with how expressiveness and vulnerability are valued in the Ministry of ECS.

Moreover, the findings do not show significant ethno-migrant differences referring to motivation to increase in the organization. However, it did appear that migrant employees have participated less in trainings and courses compared to the non-migrant employees in the organization. Subsequently, as an employee must express his/her motivation to participate in these trainings and courses, the migrant employee might appear to be less motivated due to a lack of expressiveness in one's personality.

Finally, based on the findings in this study, one could conclude that ethno-migrant differences in expressive behavior lead to ethno-migrant differences in how one effectively uses his/her network, which eventually results in inequality in the career development of migrant employees compared to non-migrant employees in the Ministry of ECS. As network and personality get even more important in the higher occupational functions in the organization, ethno-migrant inequality increases in these higher echelons of the organization. Moreover, whereas the migrant employees in general are educated to work extra hard, performance is of minor importance in the organization.

When critically reflecting on these findings, this study might also indicate gender inequality in addition to the ethno-migrant inequality in career development. Whereas both male and female migrant respondents indicate facing difficulties with this expressiveness, female migrants more strongly emphasize to do so. In addition, some non-migrant women also appear not to have an expressive personality. Consequently, migrant female employees might even face more inequality compared to their migrant male counterparts.

6.2 Discussion

In the section of discussion, the findings of these study are linked to the presented literature on ethno-migrant inequality in career development. Ethno-migrant inequality in networking and labor control outcomes appears to be of most importance in this study. Both literature and data support that migrant employees do not equally benefit from their network compared to non-migrant employees. In addition, the socio-ideological standards applied in the Ministry of ECS turn out at the migrant employee's disadvantage.

In contrast to what literature suggests, performance is little determining in getting ahead in the organization. Still, the results of this study indicate ethno-migrant inequality

related to performance in the organization. Finally, as leadership is associated to be a non-migrant characteristic, the migrant employees in the organization might less likely indicate wanting to increase.

Subsequently, this section underlines how ethno-migrant differences in network, performance, labor control outcomes and power motivation influence ethno-migrant inequality in career development.

6.2.1 Network and ethno-migrant inequality

In line with the presented literature, data support that social capital increases the probability of promotions and high salary in the Ministry of ECS (Lin, 2000). First, the broader one's network's range, the more the utility of the network increases. Second, the higher the contact's position in the status hierarchy, the more this contact is of support in one's career. In addition, both in the organization and the literature, weak ties provide increased opportunities for one's career (Ibarra, 1995; Haythornthwaite, 2001). Finally, in line with the argumentation of Gardner and Martinko (1988), impression management and visible behavior are related to one's career development.

First, as suggested in literature, migrant employees likely have to reach out further in the organization to seek ties with ethno-migrant similar others (Ibarra, 1995). In accordance, as the amount of migrant employees drastically increases in the higher occupation functions at ECS, migrant employees might indeed have to do so. However, the migrant employees themselves did not indicate having to reach out further. They rather thought it is difficult to use their network in order to get a specific function. As the migrant respondent's parental education is characterized by modesty and timidity, it is more difficult to actively approach and appeal to their network.

Second, literature mainly suggests that migrant employees are excluded from networks, because they mostly seek out for ethno-migrant similar others, whom for the most part are clustered in the lower occupations of the organization (Thomas, 1990; Ibarra, 1995).Yet, in the Ministry of ECS, employees might be excluded from networks and the higher occupational positions, due to not behaving expressive. Subsequently, this might correspondent to the ethno-migrant background of the employee, since they have indicated being educated to behave more timid and expressive rather than expressive. In accordance, referring to the phenomenon of homophily (Lin, 2000), individuals might have a great tendency to associate with people based on similarity in personality and expressiveness in specific – rather than based on similarities in socioeconomic characteristics, in the

organization under study.

Further, migrant respondents appear to very little use their weak ties in the Ministry of ECS. Contrarily, literature shows that weak ties are more of instrumental support for one's career. As explained in the literature, migrant minorities tend to appeal to strong ties since they are of most assistance in uncertain situations (Granovetter, 1982; Kaplan, 1984; Krackhardt, 1992). Although not implicitly indicated by the migrant respondents, they might feel being positioned in an uncertain situation. The migrant respondents did indicate that they are not greatly familiar with the organizational culture of the ministry of ECS. In combination with being underrepresented in the higher echelons of the organization, migrant employees might experience uncertainty. In line with what literature has suggested, migrant employees might prefer to more strongly focus on their strong ties.

6.2.2 Labor control outcomes and ethno-migrant inequality

The findings of this study show that in the Ministry of ECS, labor control can be labeled as socio-ideological to a great extent. In the organization, the assessment of identity characteristics is strongly emphasized. The work itself is indeed of some importance, though they way in which one does so, is even more important. As suggested by literature, this socio-ideological labor control leaves relatively much room subjectivity (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2004; Siebers, 2009a).

The study reveals that in the assessment of identity characteristics, the following appear to be of most importance: expressiveness, political sensitivity and vulnerability. Yet, these identity traits appear to be mostly related to the non-migrant respondent in the organization. In contrast, the greater part of the migrant respondents indicated being more modest and timid. Subsequently, being assessed on these identity characteristics is at the disadvantage of migrant employees compared to non-migrant employees. Subsequently, the findings of this study correspond to the argument that migrant employees prefer technocratic control (Siebers, 2009a).

In accordance, research has shown that though performing equally, migrant minority employees tend to receive lower performance ratings and are evaluated to have lower promotion potential, compared to majority employees (Ford, et al., 1986; Waldman & Avolio, 1991; Landau, 1995; Peronne et al., 2001; Tomaskovic-Devey et al., 2005). Yet, in this study, no data have been available on the performance ratings of migrant employees compared to non-migrant employees. However, the migrant employees in ECS could receive worse assessment, compared to non-migrant employees because of being assessed on the specific

identity characteristics, which they do not associate with in general. Subsequently, their career in the organization might be restrained.

6.2.3 Performance and ethno-migrant inequality

As suggested by Ng et al. (2005), performance on the job is the most determining in getting ahead in an organization. Accordingly, as suggested by the greater part of the migrant respondents, there were educated to indeed work hard. Yet, in contrast to what literature tends to suggest, in the Ministry of ECS performance appears to be of minor importance. As a consequence, in line with the literature, high performance does not lead to the instrumental returns such as a promotion or a higher pay scale for the migrant minorities (Peronne et al., 2001).

In addition, research shows that real performance disparities exist among migrant and non-migrant employees, favoring non-migrant employees (Dewberry, 2001; McKay & McDaniel, 2006; Roth, Hufcutt & Bobko, 2003). Subsequently, when assessing performance by means of these objective terms, it would be of legitimate support for the underrepresentation of migrant employees in the higher occupational function in the Ministry of ECS. Yet, as performance does not appear to be assessed in objective terms in the organization, the former is not a legitimate foundation to base the underrepresentation of migrant employees on.

Still, when migrant performance disparities do appear to exist, one should consider how performance is defined. As the findings of this study show, performance appears to be assessed on network and personality for the most part. Accordingly, real performance disparities might exist among migrant and non-migrant respondents, yet based on these soft skills rather than on hard skills. Hence, these are not legitimate indicators in order to assess one's performance.

6.2.4 Power motivation and ethno-migrant inequality

As explained by the expectancy theory (Vroom, 1964), in order to reach a goal, one must expect that his/her effort will lead to a particular outcome; that the given performance will result in a particular outcome and that the outcome must be valued. In addition, in line with the represented literature on gender differences in the domain of leadership (Heilman, 2001), suggesting that leadership behavior is strongly associated with assertiveness amongst others, assertiveness is considered a male characteristic (Heilman, 2001), and a non-migrant one (Siebers, 2015).

Yet, from a human resources perspective, it is noted that migrant employees do very

little apply for the available higher occupational functions in the Ministry of ECS. In line with the findings on network, personality and performance, migrant employees might less likely apply for the higher occupational function, because they might not expect that their performance (working hard) and their personality of more modesty and less assertiveness is valued and leads to being selected for the higher occupational functions.

6.3 Reflections

As this study shows, ethno-migrant inequality in the Ministry of ECS is for the most part due to ethno-migrant differences in network and personality. In order to actively and effectively use one's network, one must engage in assertive and expressive behavior.

Yet, as indicated, the migrant employee appears to be educated by his/her parents to be more modest and consequently shows less expressive and assertive behavior compared to the non-migrant employee. In addition, the migrant respondent is taught to work hard and not to be vulnerable.

Both in literature and this study, the lack of assertiveness and the modest behavior of migrant employees are explained by means of cultural elements stemming from the ethno-migrant background (Siebers, 2009b). Yet, less assertive and expressive behavior can also be due to the experience of insecurity (Çankaya, 2011). This insecurity is referred to as precarity (Anderson, B., 2010; Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson, & Waite, 2015), which describes the conditions of uncertainty and insecurity, vulnerability and instability, in which migrant people are mostly overrepresented.

In accordance, migrant respondents' parents might have experienced this precarity when having entered the Netherlands. The first-generation guest workers were positioned in the lowers socioeconomic strata in their home country (Crul & Doomernik, 2003). When having arrived in the Netherlands, most men were working in factories, shipyards and the cleaning industry. Due to the industrial restructuring in the 1980's, many of them got unemployed (Crul & Doomernik, 2003). Subsequently, these first-generation migrants were positioned in conditions of uncertainty, insecurity and instability.

Assuming this condition of precarity, it can easily translate into less assertive behavior (Siebers & van Gastel, 2015). In other words, one is more likely to engage in assertive behavior, when one feels being positioned in conditions of security. In accordance, the education of the second-generation migrants' children and thus the respondents in the current study, may be characterized by this precarity, by which they are less likely to show assertive behavior.

Additionally, the findings show that migrant employees appear to less likely apply for a higher function in the organization. Subsequently, second-generation respondents might not only act less expressive due to their parental education; they might experience this precarity themselves as well. As the numbers in the Ministry of ECS reveal, migrant employees are for a great part underrepresented in the higher echelons of the organization. Consequently, the migrant respondents in the organization may feel more uncertain and insecure about their position in the organization and they might therefore less likely apply for the higher occupational functions.

Moreover, an interaction might appear to exist between the mentioned position of precarity and career success in the Ministry of ECS. As explained, on the one hand migrant employees might experience feelings of precarity and therefore less likely apply for occupational functions, by which their career success could be hampered. Yet, on the other hand, due to a worse career development pattern compared to the non-migrant counterparts, migrant employees might experience a position of precarity.

Finally, due to the position of precarity, migrant employees appear to be less involved in work communication (Siebers, 2009a; Siebers & van Gastel, 2015). As a consequence, migrant employees in the Ministry of ECS are less visible in communication and their networks as well. However, visibility in networks is greatly assessed in the organization and migrant employees might therefore receive worse assessment compared to the non-migrant counterpart.

6.4 Limitations and future research

In addition to the findings of this study, a number of limitations should be mentioned. First, qualitative research is mainly dependent on the individual skills of the researcher him/herself and is more likely to be influenced by the researcher's idiosyncrasies and personal bias (Anderson, C., 2010). In accordance, the interpretation of the findings in this study might have been subject to these idiosyncrasies and personal bias. Subsequently, for future research it is required that two or more researchers analyze and interpret the same set of data and then compare them (Patton, 1999), decreasing the influence of personal bias.

Moreover, as this study concerns ethno-migrant diversity, the ethno-migrant background of the researcher might have affected the results of this study. In accordance, researchers have warned against the 'racial difference bias' that might occur when the researcher is a majority group member in society and the respondents belong to the minority group (Meloen & Veenman, 1990). Subsequently, the migrant respondents might have feared

negative consequences and they could therefore have responded more socially desirable. However, a great part of the respondents did appear to answer honest, by for example stating: "If I am honest…" and "I must honestly say…"

In contrast, the migrant majority, non-migrant respondents also appeared to answer socially desirable when asking about possible reasons for the ethno-migrant inequality in the organization. In their answers, they tended to blame the migrant employees themselves, referring to reasons as a lack of labor supply of migrant employees, language deficiency and inadequate education of the migrant people in society.

Second, this research has been carried out among employees that work in the Hoftoren in The Hague. However, the Ministry of ECS exists of several additional executive services. This research might reveal other findings when carried out in these executive services, since performance might be easier to measure because of the executive nature of these divisions. In accordance, findings of this specific study should not be generalized for the Ministry of ECS as a whole, referring to external validity. Subsequently, future research including all services of the Ministry of ECS is called for.

In addition, the underrepresentation of migrant employees is related to all of the ministries in the government. The total amount of migrant employees in the Government is 9,1% (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2015). Subsequently, future research on ethno-migrant inequality is required to also incorporate the other ministries.

Third, the findings of this research do not indicate ethno-migrant differences referring to organizational tenure. Yet, the migrant respondents included in this sample are migrant employees who did succeed in developing in the organization. In line with the limited amount of respondents included in this study, future research should therefore increase the number of respondents and should also include the migrant respondents positioned in the lower occupational functions, in order to exclude the possibility that there would indeed be ethno-migrant inequality in organization tenure.

Finally, as the findings of the study show, one is greatly dependent on his/her network in the higher occupational functions in specific. In accordance, when striving for an occupational function high is status hierarchy, it could be determining for which party one is working, since it might be an advantage if working for the same party as the minister, whom mostly likely influences who becomes the secretary general. During the years of 1998-2002, only 1,4 % of the counsels showed an ethno-migrant background (Dorrestein, & du Long, 2004). Subsequently, migrant employees might not be selected by a minister for the higher occupational functions, since they are less likely to work for the minister's party. In

accordance, future researchers are advised to study whether this also impacts the ethno-migrant inequality in the Ministry of ECS.

6.5 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, some measures are advised to be taken in order to proceed against the ethno-migrant inequality in the Ministry of ECS. When effectively applying the following recommendations, the ministry of ECS could increase the opportunities of migrant employees compared to non-migrant employees referring to career development in the organization.

First, findings show that network is one of the most important determinants for career success in the organization. In addition, formal selection procedures do exist in the organization, yet often one is already approached in advance to fulfill a specific function by means of his/her network. Hence, in order to constrict the informal network stream, it is advisable to formalize the processes in the organization to a greater extent. Subsequently, it is advisable to be openly publish each vacancy in order to ensure that every employee has an equal chance to apply.

Moreover, every employee should have a fair and open chance during the selection procedure itself. The Ministry of ECS could do so by requesting the people involved in the selection procedure for more transparency. In specific, the people involved in the selection procedure could be requested to justify based on what factors one is selected.

Subsequently, employees should be selected based on legitimate factors, such as human capital credentials, and based on the quality and quantity of performance or assessment scores. In other words, one should be selected based on his/her qualifications, a fit between one's capacities and the function, in contrast to his/her activity and effectivity in the informal network in the organization and a fit between the person and the occupational function.

In accordance, performance appears to be of minor importance in the Ministry of ECS. As the findings show, one is mainly assessed on how he/she effectively uses his network, which is dependent on whether one appears to be expressive and assertive. Contrarily, assessing one's performance based on output targets in terms of the quality and quantity of performance, allows for open and fair decisions related to an individual's career (Turner, 1960). Hence, the assessment of performance is advised to be revaluated. As a consequence, the organization is advised to establish output targets in terms of the quality and quantity of performance in advance. Subsequently, this leads to a more convenient and fair foundation to

base the assessment of one's performance on.

Finally, the identity traits appear to be greatly determining for career success in the Ministry of ECS. In specific, assertiveness, expressiveness and political sensitivity are emphasized in the organization. Yet, the migrant respondent involved in this study have indicated that it is difficult for them to behave according to these identity traits, since they are for the most part unfamiliar with these traits.

Subsequently, the Ministry of ECS is advised to offer each employee equal opportunities in order to learn how to behave according these personality traits. The organization could offer a specific training for each employee when entering the organization, in which the importance of these personality traits is made explicit and clear and in which one could train to engage in these traits. In addition, the organization is advised to oblige all employees to participate in these trainings in order to ensure that every employee is informed about how one should operate in the organization.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1 – An extensive overview of sub-questions

1. Ethno-migrant inequality in career development

    1.1 What are the ethno-migrant differences in experienced key events?

    1.2 What are the ethno-migrant differences in an employee's organizational tenure needed to advance in the organization?

2. Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in networking?

    2.1 Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in the network's range one has?

    2.1.1 If so, how does ethno-migrant inequality in the network's range influence experienced key events?

    2.1.2 If so (2.1), how does ethno-migrant inequality in the network's range influence organizational tenure needed to advance in the organization?

    2.2 Does ethno-migrant inequality exist related to network's status of one's contacts?

    2.2.1 If so, how does ethno-migrant inequality in network's status influence experienced key events?

    2.2.2 If so, how does ethno-migrant inequality in network's status influence organizational tenure needed to advance in the organization?

    2.3. Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in the strength of one's ties?

    2.3.1 If so, how does ethno-migrant inequality in the strength of ties influence experienced key events?

    2.3.2 If so (2.2), how does ethno-migrant inequality in the strength of ties influence organizational tenure needed to advance in the organization?

3. Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in performance?

    3.1 Does ethno-migrant inequality in an employee's quality of work exist?

    3.1.1 If so, how does ethno-migrant inequality in the quality of work influence experienced key events?

    3.1.2 If so (3.1), how does ethno-migrant inequality in the quality of work influence organizational tenure needed to advance in the organization?

    3.2 Does ethno-migrant inequality in an employee's quantity of work exist?

    3.2.1 If so, how does ethno-migrant inequality in the quantity of work influence experienced key events?

    3.2.2 If so (3.2), how does ethno-migrant inequality in the quantity of work influence organizational tenure needed to advance in the organization?

4. Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in labor control outcomes?

    4.1 Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in the interpretation of labor control outcomes?

    4.1.1 If so, how does ethno-migrant inequality in the interpretation of labor control outcomes influence experienced key events?

    4.1.2 If so (4.1), how does ethno-migrant inequality in the interpretation of labor control outcomes influence organizational tenure needed to advance in the organization?

    4.2 Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in the assessment of identity characteristics?

    4.2.1 If so, how does ethno-migrant inequality in the assessment of identity characteristics influence experiences key events?

    4.2.2 If so (4.2), how does ethno-migrant inequality in the assessment of identity characteristics influence organizational tenure needed to advance in the organization?

    4.3 Does ethno-migrant inequality exists in development opportunities?

    4.3.1 If so, how does ethno-migrant inequality in development opportunities influence experiences key events?

    4.3.2 If so (4.3), how does ethno-migrant inequality in development opportunities influence organizational tenure needed to advance in the organization?

5. Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in power motivation?

    5.1 Does ethno-migrant inequality exist in motivation to participate in leadership trainings?

    5.1.1 If so, how does ethno-migrant inequality in motivation to participate in leadership trainings influence experiences key events?

    5.1.2 If so (5.1), how does ethno-migrant inequality in motivation to participate in leadership trainings influence organizational tenure needed to advance in the organization?

    5.2 Does ethno-migrant inequality exists in motivation to seek for opportunities to talk to leaders and coaches?

    5.2.1 If so, how does ethno-migrant inequality in motivation to seek for opportunities to talk to leaders and coaches influence experienced key events?

    5.2.2 If so (5.2), how does ethno-migrant inequality in motivation to seek for opportunities to talk to leaders and coaches influence organizational tenure needed to

advance in the organization?

Appendix 2 – Pay scale subdivided into steps

Pay scale	Step													
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	1542	1547	1606	1642	1680	1717	1755	1793	1832	1871	1911			
2	1574	1606	1642	1680	1717	1755	1793	1832	1871	1911	1972	2033	2094	
3	1642	1680	1717	1755	1793	1832	1871	1911	1972	2033	2094	2151	2214	2274
4	1755	1793	1832	1871	1911	1972	2033	2094	2151	2214	2274	2335	2397	
5	1832	1871	1911	1972	2033	2094	2151	2214	2274	2335	2397	2458	2519	
6	1972	2033	2094	2151	2214	2274	2335	2397	2458	2519	2581	2642		
7	2214	2274	2335	2397	2458	2519	2581	2642	2703	2788	2885			
8	2397	2458	2519	2581	2642	2703	2788	2885	2996	3117	3240			
9	2581	2642	2703	2788	2885	2996	3117	3240	3375	3511	3647			
10	2519	2642	2788	2996	3240	3375	3511	3647	3776	3913	4049			
11	2996	3240	3375	3511	3647	3776	3913	4049	4224	4415	4605			
12	3511	3647	3779	3913	4049	4224	4415	4605	4807	5013	5219			
13	3913	4049	4224	4415	4605	4807	5013	5219	5425	5631	5837			
14	4415	4605	4807	5013	5219	5425	5631	5837	6041	6247	6453			
15	5013	5219	5425	5631	5837	6041	6247	6453	6657	6864	7070			
16	5631	5837	6041	6247	6453	6657	6864	7070	7273	7479	7705			
17	6247	6453	6657	6864	7070	7273	7479	7705	7936	8169	8400			
18	6864	7070	7273	7479	7705	7936	8169	8400	8653	8906	9159			

Appendix 3 – Interview dyads

Migrant employees			
		Tenure	
		> 5 years	< 5 years
	Male	1	1
Gender	Female	1	1
Non-migrant employees			
		Tenure	
		> 5 years	< 5 years
	Male	1	1
Gender	Female	1	1

Appendix 4 – The life course questionnaire

Appendix 4.1 – The life course questionnaire in Dutch

Geachte deelnemer,

In het kader van mijn onderzoek en voor de voorbereiding van het interview dat plaats zal gaan vinden, verzoek ik u vriendelijk om deze vragenlijst in te vullen. De vragenlijst betreft een kleine samenvatting van uw levensloop. Uw gegevens worden uitsluitend gebruikt voor onderzoeksdoeleinden en zullen strikt vertrouwelijk behandeld worden.

Het invullen van de vragenlijst duurt maximaal 5 minuten.

Bij voorbaat dank.

Persoonlijke gegevens:

1. Naam:

2. Geslacht:

3. Geboortedatum:

4. Nationaliteit:

5. In welk jaar bent u in dienst getreden van OCW:

Woonplaats gegevens – waar heeft u gewoond en voor hoelang (van geboorte tot nu):

Opleiding(en) (van geboorte tot nu):

Werkervaring voor OCW:

Loopbaan binnen OCW (promoties/demoties):

Appendix 4.2 – The life course questionnaire in English

Dear participant,

In the scope of my research and the preparation of the interviews that will be carried out, I would very much appreciate it if you could fill in this questionnaire. The questionnaire considers a small resume of your course of life. The data will exclusively be used for research purposes and will be treated strictly confidential.

Completing the questionnaire will take five minutes at the utmost.

Thank you in advance.

Personal information: 1. Name: 2. Gender: 3. Date of birth: 4. Nationality: 5. In which year did you start working at ECS:
Residential background – where have you lived and for how long (from birth until now):
Education (from birth until now):
Work experience before ECS: *Career in ECS (promotions/demotions):*

Appendix 5 – The interview scripts

Appendix 5.1 – The interview transcript for the respondent in Dutch

Volgorde & onderwerp	*Voorbeeldvraag*
1. *Introductie* - Zelf introduceren - Het onderzoek uitleggen - Betrouwbaarheid, vertrouwelijkheid en anonimiteit benadrukken	
2. *De vragenlijst* De vragenlijst kort bespreken en gaten/onduidelijkheden opvullen, waar nodig	U bent … geboren, waar zijn uw ouders geboren?
3. *Levensloop reconstrueren*	- Kunt u uw levelsloop beschrijven van jongs af aan tot nu? (Hoe zag uw jeugd eruit; Hoe waren uw familieomstandigheden? Wat heeft u gedaan? En toen; en toen? Ofwel: hoe bent u de persoon geworden die u nu bent? Hoe bent u terecht gekomen in uw huidige situatie?
4. *'Key events' identificeren* Kort uitleggen wat 'key events' zijn en deze identificeren	- Welke gebeurtenissen/evenementen zijn vooral belangrijk geweest in uw leven? Hoe? En waarom? - Kan ik correct concluderen dat deze gebeurtenissen (gebeurtenissen noemen), voor u belangrijke/invloedrijke gebeurtenissen zijn? (voor en tijdens OCW)
5. *'Organizational tenure' identificeren* Onderzoeken welke stappen de respondent heeft gemaakt binnen OCW, en wanneer?	- Wat voor stappen (promoties/demoties) heeft u gemaakt binnen deze organisatie? Wanneer? - Kan ik correct concluderen dat uw carrière binnen OCW als volgt (benoemen) is gelopen?
6. *Netwerken, prestaties, 'labor control' uitkomsten & motivatie* 'Key events' & 'organizational tenure' analyseren aan de hand van netwerken, prestaties, labor control uitkomsten en motivatie	*Algemeen:* - Hoe maakt men carrière binnen OCW? Hoe komt men hogerop? *Functie:* - Kunt u uw huidige functie beschrijven? Welke schaal? *Netwerken:* - Hoe bent u OCW binnen gekomen? Heeft u daarbij hulp gehad van iemand? Kunt u deze relatie beschrijven? - Hoe bent u in deze functie terecht gekomen? Heeft u daarbij hulp gehad van anderen? Van wie? Kunt u deze relatie(s) beschrijven? *Prestaties:* - Kunt u uw prestaties binnen OCW beschrijven? Heeft u uw doelen gehaald? Wat voor rol hebben deze doelen gespeeld in uw carrière ontwikkeling? *Labor control uitkomsten:* - Heeft persoonlijkheid een (belangrijke) rol gespeeld in uw carrière ontwikkeling? Hoe? - Hoe heeft de beoordeling van uw persoonlijkheid een rol gespeeld in het terecht komen in uw huidige functie? *Motivatie:* - Welke persoon(/personen) heeft u geïnspireerd om hogerop te

	komen binnen OCW? - Wat was de invloed van uw mentor/leidinggevende op uw carrière binnen OCW? *Uiteindelijk:* Wat was de meest bepalende factor in uw carrière ontwikkeling?
7. *Etniciteit* Alleen als dit mogelijk lijkt	- Heeft u ooit het gevoel gehad dat uw etnische achtergrond invloed heeft gehad op uw carrière? Zo ja, kunt u beschrijven hoe?

8. *Afsluiten* - Vragen of de respondent nog vragen heeft - Nog een keer betrouwbaarheid, vertrouwelijkheid en anonimiteit benadrukken - Bedanken

Appendix 5.1.1 – The interview transcript for the respondent in English

Sequence and subject	Example question
1. *Introduction* - Introducing oneself - Explaining the research - Emphasizing confidentially and anonymity	
2. *The questionnaire* Discussing the questionnaire and declaring uncertainties, if necessary	U have born in …, where have your parents been born?
3. *Reconstructing the life course*	- Could you describe your life course from youth until now? (What did your childhood look like; What were the circumstances related to family; What did you do?; And then? In other words: how have you become the person you are now? How did you end up in the current situation?
4. *Identify Key events* Shortly explain what key events are and identify them	- What events have mainly been of importance in your life? How? And why? - Could I correctly conclude that these events have been the most important/influencing for you?
5. *Identify organizational tenure* Figure out what steps one has made in ECS and when.	- What kind of steps (promotions/demotions) have u made in this organization? When? - Could I correctly conclude that your career in OCW is the following?
6. *Network, performance, labor control outcomes and motivation* Analyze key events and organizational tenure by means of network, performance, labor control outcomes and motivation	*In general:* - How does one make career in ECS? How does one increase? *Function:* - Could you describe your current function? In which pay scale? *Network:* - How did you enter OCW? Have you received support of someone else? Could you describe this relationship? - How did you end up in this position? Have you received support of someone else? Could you describe this relationship? *Performance:* - Could you describe your performance in ECS? Have you reached your targets? How did these targets influence your career development? *Labor control outcomes:* - Has you personality been of importance in your career development? How? - Did the assessment of your personality been of influence on ending up in your current position? *Motivation:* - Which person (/persons) have inspired you in order to increase in ECS? - What has been the influence of your mentor/supervisor on your career in ECS? *Eventually:*

	What has been the most determining factor in your career development?
7. *Ethno-migrancy* If it appears to be possible to ask	- Have you ever got the feeling that your ethno-migrant background has been of influence on your career? If so, could you explain how?
8. *Finishing* - Ask whether the respondent has questions - Again emphasize confidentiality and anonymity - Express gratitude	

Appendix 5.2 – Interview transcript mentor in Dutch

Volgorde & onderwerp	Voorbeeldvraag
1. *Introductie* - Zelf introduceren - Het onderzoek uitleggen - Betrouwbaarheid, vertrouwelijkheid en anonimiteit benadrukken	
2. *Relatie tussen mentor en mentee* De relatie tussen de mentor en mentee onderzoeken	- Wat is uw rol als mentor, in het algemeen? - Kunt u de relatie tussen u en uw mentee beschrijven? - Hoe is uw mentee aan u gekoppeld? Op basis waarvan? - Hoe vaak had/heeft u contact met uw mentee? - Wat is uw invloed geweest op uw mentee's carrière ontwikkeling?
3. *'Organizational tenure'* De carrière van de mentee verder onderzoeken	Kunt u de stappen beschrijven (promotie/demotie) die uw mentee heeft gemaakt binnen OCW?
4. *Netwerken, prestaties, 'labor control' uitkomsten & motivatie* 'Key events' & 'organizational tenure' analyseren aan de hand van netwerken, prestaties, labor control uitkomsten en motivatie	*Algemeen:* - Hoe maakt men carrière binnen OCW? Hoe komt men hogerop? *Netwerken:* - Wie heeft/hebben er vooral invloed gehad op uw mentee's carrière ontwikkeling en hoe? Kunt u de relatie tussen uw mentee en deze persoon(en) beschrijven? *Prestaties:* - Kunt u de prestaties van uw mentee binnen OCW beschrijven? Heeft uw mentee zijn/haar doelen (altijd) gehaald? Hoe belangrijk zijn zijn/haar prestaties geweest in zijn/haar carrière ontwikkeling? *Labor control uitkomsten:* - Kunt u de persoonlijkheid van uw mentee beschrijven? Heeft deze invloed gehad op zijn/haar carrière? Hoe belangrijk is deze geweest in zijn/haar carrière ontwikkeling? *Motivatie:* - Hoe heeft u uw mentee gemotiveerd om carrière te maken binnen OCW? - Wat was, in uw ogen, uw mentee's motivatie om carrière te maken binnen OCW? *Uiteindelijk:* Wat was de meest bepalende factor in uw mentee's carrière ontwikkeling?
5. *Etniciteit* Alleen als dit mogelijk lijkt	Ziet u verschillen in de carrière ontwikkeling van uw migrante mentee vergeleken met uw niet-migrante mentee? Zo ja, kunt u deze verschillen benoemen/beschrijven?
6. Afsluiten - Vragen of de respondent nog vragen heeft - Nog een keer betrouwbaarheid, vertrouwelijkheid en anonimiteit benadrukken - Bedanken	

Appendix 5.2.1 – Interview transcript mentor in English

Sequence and subject	Example question
1. *Introduction* - Introducing oneself - Explaining the research - Emphasizing confidentially and anonymity	
2. *The relation between the mentor and mentee* Discussing the relationship between the mentor and mentee	- What is your role as a mentor, in general? - Could you describe the relation between you and your mentee? - How has your mentee been matched to you? Based on what? - How often do you interact with your mentee? - What has been your influence on your mentee's career?
3. *Organizational tenure* Exploring the mentee's career	Could you describe the steps (promotions/demotions) that your mentee has made in ECS?
4. *Network, performance, labor control outcomes and motivation* Analyze key events and organizational tenure by means of network, performance, labor control outcomes and motivation	*In general:* - How does one make career in ECS? How does one increase? *Network* - Who has had the most influence on your mentee's career development and how? Could you descibe the relationship between your mentee and this person(s)? *Performance:* - Could you desribe your mentee's performance in ECS? Has you mentee reached his/her targets? How important has the performance been in his/her career development? *Labor control outcomes:* - Could you desribe your mentee's personality? Has it been of influence on his/her career? How importance has personality been in his/her career? *Motivation:* - How did you motivate your mentee to make career in ECS? - What do you think has been your mentee's motivation to develop in his/her career? *Eventually:* What has been the most determining factor in your mentee's career development?
5. *Ethno-migrancy* If it appears to be possible to ask	Do you notice differences in the career development of your migrant mentee compared to your non-migrant mentee? If so, could you describe these differences?
7. *Finishing* - Ask whether the respondent has questions - Again emphasize confidentiality and anonymity - Express gratitude	

Appendix 6 – Coding Scheme

1. Coding key events

1.1 Extrinsic critical phases – non organizational key events

R7: "But ehm I think that my educational career is also characterized by the time, the beginning of the eighties, the moment at which I further chose and formed my educational career, was a period of enormous unemployment amongst the youth. So the atmosphere which arose later in the nineties of doing what you like, that was not there at all back then. And it starts to change again nowadays, times are just harder. Ehm so the economically and pragmatically choosing in contrast to the subjective idiosyncratic choosing, that did determine my choice. […] Ehm well yes, so that made me more careful related to my decisions."

1.2 Intrinsic critical phases – organizational key events

1.2.1 Support – opportunities

R6: "The best support I got in my career was from *former employer*. And that is because their concept assumes, in contrast to what all traditional organizations assume, namely: show us what you have already done and then maybe the door will be opened for you to do something over here, because we want certainty. We want to know whether you can make it based on what is written on your resume. So not considering where you want to go, what your talents and ambitions are, but only showing whether you are already able to make it. So everyone strives for a save match. And at *former employer* they do not. They go for the exciting people. […] And, so that really helped me."

I: "And could you think about something from your life course that has contributed to the fact that you have increased in the organization?"
R9: "Yes ehm well, when I came here, so when I, back then it was called a learn and work job. And then I started working for a certain manager and he actually estimated pretty good what my strengths and weaknesses were, at that moment, but I was just 19. And he really talked to me about it. And therefore I started doing things in which I could become really good, because he was like: you can do it and you are very good at it. And eventually he was right. And he wanted to give me an opportunity back then, when those two years of temporary employment ended. […] So that is something of which I think: that event was really important. Because if he did not see me, than it just might have ended after two years and then you leave and you should look for something else."

R13: "And I think that some managers have also played an important role. I think, and then I am specifically thinking about one director that I have had, also in the following jobs, who has here at ECS eventually. People who ehm, I think that I also have needed it that various people expressed their confidence towards me, and said: 'he, I do see that you have talents.' Ehm and I really needed that to also believe in myself. I really am really amazed by people who are, who have that confidence by themselves. Honestly, I really needed it, to be supported by others."

R16: "And ehm another decision that has been very important for me ehm, the work I am doing at *company X* right now." […] "This is, the person that I am right now. And ehm *company X* is an organization in which you are really busy with personal development, in which you do not necessarily follow the usual paths, but that you really look at yourself, who

you are and who you want to be. And you get all the space to do so. So that is also one of the most important decisions."

1.2.2 Development

R10: "Well my internship, my detachment of the past six months at the learning and development square. I do not know if you know what that… Yes, that has been determining."

I: "And ehm can you name two, three events in your life of which you think that they really influenced […] in general, the person who you now are. Or your career."
R15: "Well, until I was 40 I was a specialist as accountant. And then I temporary started running a department. And then suddenly I replaced a director's position. And in that way I actually got in to the management. And from that moment, about 13, 14 years ago, I am a manager."

1.3 Personal critical phases – non organizational key events

1.3.1 Supportive, motivating home environment

R1: "I think the most most most important is that my parents are not necessarily high educated, since they are not, but they did have education. But my parents moved to here and were pretty open-minded."
"... that was very determining for me, that both of my parents were like: 'hey, we came here for a better life, but for you as well. Make something out of it. Well, if you hear that every day: 'here you have the opportunity and not somewhere else,' and I can tell you, it is right."
[…] "Our parents were on the background, you know, supportive you know, sometimes even a little bit angry."
"Yes, well, the home situation, the background, the ehm background of my parents. And I really think that that is essential."
"Yes, my parents knew that it was the best to fully strive your opportunities. That really formed me. The nice thing is that my, my parents were always talking about seeing opportunities, taking opportunities, and finishing opportunities."

R4: "... yes, I could, I could do what I wanted. They [parents] had no idea, say, about school. Yes, what I did, I did get a work ethos right, like you have to hold on and you should not give up ehm and it is important to really make something out of life and that was what I did learn. So that is more posi-, positive, say it is more positive that they encouraged me. But the negative thing is that related to content they could not do as much, since they did not have, we did not have a bookshelf at home."

R6: "Yes, then you were already in your third year and I did not progress that much and then suddenly I was motivated: this was not going well. And I thought, somewhere intrinsically, I thought that education was indeed important. I knew, somewhere in the back of my mind, and I remember very carefully, like: I need to have a paper, no matter what, but that is sort of a ticket to… I raised up in a family that was pretty short of money. My father was just a factory worker; my mother was ill, she could not work. So the situation has never been like: well you are just going to study and live on your own and daddy will pay or whatever; you had to do it on your own."

R7: "I have, my parent were always very involved in my school career. […] Ehm that obviously affects your own commitment and ambition. And that has, for me it was. I have

always had the feeling: yes, I have to work for it. There can always be things that do not work out, but is has been some kind of motive."

[…]

I: "Ehm how do those two things that you have mentioned influence that you advanced in your career?"

[…]

R7: "And I think that that is related to my tendency of doing the best I can, to sometimes work hard, prepare myself and to not deliver bad work."

R8: "And it was not a case of: 'oh I, you know, I have to profile myself,' no I just am. You know, I am like: I get paid a lot of money, also in that period, I get a salary and I should do some things for that. So I also think it is related to parental education, related to personality. I think that there are always things of which you can think: well, you know, do I really have to do this? Or you just accept it. […] You know, my father used to have a very good job in Indonesia, but in here he did not participate. You know and that is, it makes you a lot stronger. Just the ehm, we were the first browns."

R12: "I have the idea that how my parents have raised me and what I learned from it… So that is not one specific moment, but more that you started to look at things in a certain way, to your life and your environment and how you deal with things. That that is determining for my life course."

I: "And how did that influence your life?"

R12: "Ehm the stimulant I guess, a very simple example: when my brother and I graduated high school and we were both going to college, my parents said: 'part of studying is living on your own. Because is influences you further.'"

I: "And the parental education, how is that on influence on you career?"

R12: "Ehm finishing something. You have to do it yourself. Making things discussible, being open, being honest and that you just… But mainly that you have to do it yourself. It is not the case that someone will guide you. Obviously you have a network, but in the end you do have to do it yourself."

R16: "Ehm in first case my education, how I was raised by my parents, that is really determining for who I am these days. Ehm my cult-, my cultural background, norms and values which I learned from my own culture, those have shaped me."

1.3.2 Family events

R2: "Yes. Ehm in 2005 that girlfriend from high school with whom I got children said to me: 'R2, I am leaving you.' Well, that came as a complete surprise. So that was really a key event."

R4: "The passing away of my girlfriend. Then I was 25, after 8 years. That is obviously always, then you learn many things. And ehm and I also think, yes for the third I think I would say, yes I then have, afterwards I have made a world tour on my own, that was a key event. I have done a lot of things, met many people and learned a lot of things which gave me the power to move on."

I: "Ehm can you name two or three events that have been really determining for your life course?"

R8: "Yes the passing away of my mother, that is one. Ehm yes and the passing away of my

father as well. Because that was pretty, pretty, I was 23. I was 15 when my mother passed away and 23 when my father passed away. So then, yes, then you actually are, you know, you just have to survive. And it is the way it is. During that period there was no psychologist for example with whom you could talk or something. So you just move one and that is a good thing at the one side."

R10: "Really determining… Well I do think that the birth of my children were determining for my career. You then have, or I actually then created some space, just at home, a new rhythm. You could always just do the things the way you wanted, but then you have to organize. And that was a big event, which I would never have wanted to miss. But it is a big event. And ehm then actually I went from full time to part time, by which I became employable diversely."

R11: "The passing away of my father has been very influencing. The model that my mother was in this situation and how powerful she coped with it."

R11: "And another key event is my little ones. Life changing, really, life changing. […] It is the same as with children, that also enriches your view. What until it happens to you. Ehm the, your perspective changes. And you should actually experience it, to realize that your view on the world changes. You, you are going to put things more in perspective."

R14: "And that my father passed away, I think it made me, I really had to fight. Because it would have been a lot easier if he would still have been here. Then we would have ended up in a completely different part of the country, not as isolated in Friesland."

1.3.3 Personal circumstances

R4: "Ehm for me it was the diagnosis of ADHD when I was 15. Ehm that is a positive thing."

R5: "Yes, you know, if I relate it to work, than it is the moment around when I was 30. I ran into a wall and a relationship that ended and I had a lot of influence on me. […] It gave me more stress than I had expected. So I became ill a lot and so. Also complaint that I thought: I am going to die. So that was pretty heavy. But that turned me, […] a moment in life in which you have to decide in what direction you will go. And ehm yes, that was definitely such a moment, a sort of trigger. But it also triggered my working situation, like: what should I do with this? You know, because I actually do not like it and I do not think it contributes to something."

R5: "Ehm yes maybe another one that was also related to my private situation and work, was that when I was working at *name former company*, around four years later, I really went like this (upward movement) and I had pretty much responsibility. A high function that people wanted to give to me. I had much more responsibility. But then my father broke his neck. […] But I had, had actually already expected, the awareness of: you know, work is an important part of my life, but not, it should not be too dominant."

R6: "At a certain point in time I had, I had a hard time with those two studies at the same time. And ehm I really wanted to do that. And ehm that is the period in which, well, I did not feel so good. And ehm then I almost quit, I was almost like: I am no going do that. And eventually I graduated cum laude. […] But ehm that was, that has also, I had to ask a lot of myself. And then I let go of some things and just accepted: this is not going to be the best year, but I just want to do this. And when I then graduated, I remember that that had make a

big impression, I was even a bit emotional like: I did it. And I had the feeling that I did not necessarily had a lot of support from my home situation and yeah just how I was feeling."
[…]
I: "And if you consider those two key events, did they also have had an influence on your career?"
R6: "Well the first key event has had an influence in terms of that I maybe might have, well that I would not have been able to apply for, for which I went applying back then, by which I ended up here in the Hague."

R6: "I have had a period, when I was already working at *name former employer* for two years or so and I was working on a project and personally I was not feeling good. The second time in my life that I, well, it was not a burn out I think, but it was just maybe really a depression. So unhappy, lifeless, no energy, I just did not know it anymore lalalala. And that really cut in. Then I have really… And the crazy thing is that in that same period one of my best friends committed suicide. That happened during that period. That impressed me even more. And I remember very carefully that afterwards, when that happened, everything came together. And for me that was like: well, *name friend* - I knew him very well obviously and I knew with what he was struggling and ehm an awareness like: we are a bit on our own obviously. You do have each other, definitely, but you have to do it on your own. And that was sort of a switch like: make the best out of it you know, because it can end every moment."
[…]
I: "And if you consider those two key events, did they also have had an influence on your career?"
R6: "And that other one, the other has made me put things more in perspective. […] And so to say, that last key event has contrarily caused me to think several times: wait a minute, I can also do something totally different, you understand? Up till now I have never done that, especially because during this last project I found out that the leadership I am having now, that I like that."

R12: "During vwo five I have been ill for a year, or almost a year, which caused me not finishing vwo five, no reports. […] The year that I have been ill is a key moment I think."
I: "… if you relate it to your career, how is that of influence?"
R12: "Ehm I think that that year that I have been ill, has made me tougher. Just tough for yourself. Is sounds a little… Tough for myself. But I just am not a complainer. So I do not complain about every little pain and I am not ill very quickly. At by that you get more driven and motivated to do things and accomplish things."

1.3.4 Cultural background

R11: "Ehm and I think that the time I have spent in Tanzania has been a key event as well. You return, although I was pretty young, you return with a certain perspective. We returned when my father passed away, so maybe it also coincides with that. […] I was at an international school, so the way by which life was shaped over there, was different from here in the Netherlands. So when I returned to the Netherlands, I also faced difficulties with using this and that. So you are confronted with differences or so. And that is why is has been determining for me. Your, your, your, I think that your view is enriched. You have seen more of the world, although I was very little. And it enriches your view, which makes you look

differently to things."

I: "And the fact that you have been to Tanzania for a while, do you think – you mentioned that it enriches your view – do you think that that has influenced your career?"

R11: "Ehm for sure I do think that being raised by an African mother could have influenced my career. Positively because it has enriched your view for example, because you have experienced more, you are more open, which is positive. Negatively, forms of politeness are very important. And whereas women can already be reserved related to praising, for me that might be even extra because is it not really customary in African cultures. […] And I think that it is very important, especially in the Netherlands, to clearly indicate what you want. And then is it not useful for, for jobs and opportunities, which could be remarked honorable, to wait until you are being asked. So letting know, really letting know. But that is a kind of timidity, like: I do want it. Yes off course I want it, it is a position of honor, it is very nice if you are allowed to do it. So that, that timidity is what I should overcome."

R13: "And I think that, I was talking with someone about it lately, I think it also worked out for me that – well I am not sure if I am very different compared to the average child of 18 years old – is that social mobility is also really a thing when you come from a migrant family. So that the choice of education is also related to: what kind of work am I going to do later and is it something I can earn my livings instead of: what am I talented at and what do I like?"

R16: "Ehm besides, I run away at the Netherlands when I was 16, which is an age at which you are already partly shaped. So that is different from when you at the age of 2 of 3 already went to the Netherlands. So I have learned a lot from my own culture and norms and values. And sometimes that is difficult. So that is also determining. Ehm the fact that we run away from Afghanistan to the Netherlands, has been a really important decision. If I was still living in Afghanistan nowadays, than I would have had a completely different life compared to here. And further ehm I think it was partly fear that, that determined that I had to follow this path. And the fear was related to not speaking the language, not understanding the Dutch culture that good, what it really is and not having guidance." […] "So the fear of not being enough and that you know that you are less, that you are a refugee. That determined the fact that I had to follow this route."

1.3.5 Getting familiar with the Dutch culture

R1: "When I was 15, I ended up at the Blokker. And you should imagine, ehm, as, say, child of an immigrant..." [..] "But from, from another environment, I end up at Blokker."
"Look, I ended up at Blokker ehm supposing that that was a representation of society, right, so the people who were working there." [..] "Ehm what I mainly learned over there, that is why I think it is a beautiful moment in my life, I actually, yes, discovered the Dutch culture. And the Dutch culture is a very different culture compared to what I learned from home." [..] "Ehm and I can tell you, you can only learn this by experiencing it for a while. You cannot learn this out of a book." "... you just have to ehm ehm ehm put people somewhere between." "Right, that that that was for me ehm, that was for me, say, something that really influenced me in my thoughts, to understand, you know, also for example certain things where, where you know, for example: at home we never attached value to it, because..." [...] "Later on you are going to understand and appreciate it and the interaction that exists, you are going to participate and."
"Really, otherwise you keep staying on a distance. Because you do not know that, you are

anxious, you you do not know what happens. You think it is insane." [..] "Yes, but by with others... Look, you learn from it, it is not the case that I incorporated it, right. Some things I have never been able to incorporate them. But I started to understand that others enjoy it." "And Blokker, later I also worked for KPN and such." [...] "But that was for me the beginning of understanding that there are more interests..." [...] "And that really helped me in my career."

"So the more, you know, referring to that, Blokker has really given a boost to the facts that is can easily deal with different people and that I am more approachable for other and that I can connect with others. And that really supported me in my career."

1.3.6 Coincidences

R1: "… that I discovered ehm that, that you know, that life depends on coincidences. Ehm I met that relevant man, that is a director here in ECS. Well he says: 'come to ECS. And I have got something for you. And we can do beautiful things together.' The reason was, I had ehm said something in a short movie on a big screen, which appealed to him and it accidentally went so. You know, and then, and afterwards you end up here for and after almost nine years you have a fantastic job and you have been able to develop..."

"... the fact of coincidences has ehm has a certain effect for me, that I do not worry that much about: am I going to take that specific, am I not going to do that. I just know that if you function normally that there will always be an opportunity, you know and that you meet someone that says: 'Hey, don't you...'"

1.3.7 Partner

R8: "And well, yes, you get boyfriends, which is not always rosy. So the man I am married to now […] So that has been very determining for me, in my life. […] He has given me the space to do the HR. […] It is good to have someone who allows you to do so. […] I, I rely more on my feelings, I come from a very sensitive family. And he is more rational and you know, he shows me that you can consider different things from different points of view. And therefore you also develop."

R11: "And yes, another key event, which is not necessarily my formation, my partner, my choice of partner."

R14: "And my partner, who is always there, no matter wat. Yes."

1.3.8 Education

R2: "Well, the most determining in my working life might be that I went to the Montessori primary school. [...] The Montessori school focuses on the development of the individual student. [...] And so you develop yourself very individually and at an individual pace."

R13: "But for me, afterwards, that has always been an important moment, because at the new primary school I got more hold on studying and learning. […] I was increasingly concerning: what kind of school do I want to go afterwards. And I know, my brother went to mavo afterwards and I was like: I want to do something higher. So that feeling arose there."

R14: "Ehm well education is obvious right, it makes it possible to enter a specific segment of the labor market."

R16: "Ehm and the most important decision of my life was deciding to continue studying."

R17: "I did note that during high school, that that helped me, that I really enjoyed studying and that it was offered."

2. Entering the organization

2.1 Network

R1: "And you know, one day in the Ridderzaal at the farewell of *name person of farewell*, and then there was someone ehm, say my former boss in this organization was there and he said: 'yes, we should talk because...' Well, here I was in ECS in October 2007."

R2: "And then I had a contact person here at the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, a policy civil servant and he said: 'R2, I am going to do something else, isn't this place something for you?' Well, that appealed to me. So then I entered at the first of July 1990, I entered ehm at O, C and W..."

R5: "But the one who then, who then set up the project […] he asked me back. And he was always my person of contact."

I: "And could you briefly describe how you got into ECS?"
R7: "Yes I am, I have just replied to a vacancy in the newspaper. But ehm that was at a department of which I knew somebody already pretty good. And I was working at the expertise center for diversity policy, which did many things for the higher education and universities. So I I, well, I did really reply to a public vacancy, though it helped that I could call that colleague like: what is it for kind of department? Then you are better prepared. And what also helped me was that the former head of department at which I was going to work was ehm very active in the Labor Party, she went to the parliament later, well she was the president of the Social and Economic Council. Ehm so she really liked that I was also working for the parliament, especially for her party. So she saw something in me. A very advantageous concurrence. Because those interviews did not go very well. I was thinking like: what a dull organization, it does not appeal to me at all. And then I was invited for a second conversation and I was like: what do we get? And it is related to that."

I: "And how did you enter ECS?"
R12: "Ehm well it, it was ECS, but it could have been another ministry as well. It mainly came down to that after eleven years at Defense, I was ready for a new environment. And therefore I was looking around and approached some people from my network to catch up and to see: what kind of developments are happening and how is it going. And just through the vacancy database I saw the function on which I have applied: business consultant or coordinating business consultant. And then I just reached out for contact."
I: "And did you get any help of other people to get in here?"
R12: "Well, not really help, but the former director I already knew, because he originally also came from Defense, so then you easily already have contact. So you already know each other, you know you can rely on each other. So I called him like: 'I see that a vacancy is available, can we talk about that?' Well then we extensively talked and then he said: 'well, you should apply.' And then he also mentioned: 'I will not involve myself in this selection procedure.' […] But he said: 'in any case, I will not hinder.' So that he, that I knew: his advice will be possible. So then I got in contact with the head of the department. And previously I had also talked with a former colleague coordination business consultant. So I was prepared very well by talking to many people in advance. And when I had the first conversation, well I was

meant to also have a second conversation, but that would be with the director. And I then said that we would not do that, because it would just be a bit silly if I would have a conversation with him."

R14: "I lost my job and then through network-movements I ended up at another department. And then I also had access to the mobility-bank."

R17: "An application. But later on I heard that someone knew me from a former function, who was like… He had a good image of me, so that helped."

2.2 Through projects

R5: "Ehm and then I ended up here at ECS with a project and that is 14, 15 years ago. Firstly external, in Zoetermeer back then. Ehm yes and after one and a half years or something, two years I think, a small trip in between, I became an employee of ECS."

R6: "And then I got into this project, as head counsel."

R16: "Ehm ECS just needed someone who could work over here as a staff member, partly project leader. And then they asked *name organization* because they cooperate."

2.3 Through an employment agency

I: "And at the beginning of your career, how did you ended up at ECS?"
R8: "Through an employment agency. […] In '82 I was temporary employed because a colleague went with maternity leave and she did not come back. So then they asked: "well…" I was not dating that boy anymore at that moment, so I was able to work full time."

2.4 Through vacancy – application

I: "And before you mentioned, you have applied for a job at ECS. Was it just, you saw a vacancy, so not through anybody ehm…"
R4: "No, just randomly applied. There were 250 candidates back then for the vacancy. And I was then selected with someone and eventually that girl was chosen. And ehm then another vacancy was there, shortly after, and then they called me."

I: "… could you describe ones more how you entered ECS?"
R9: "Ehm yes well actually by applying for a learn and work job. […] And well, I had written a letter about what I have done and what my qualities were, as far as you can say that when you are nineteen, but all right. And after the conversations and that kind of stuff they have placed me at the personnel advice center back then."

I: "And when you entered ECS, how did you enter ECS?"
R10: "Ehm through a vacancy. I just applied and I was one out of six and I could immediately start, because no one was left."
I: "And did you get any help of other people?"
R10: "No, there was just a vacancy available on the website and I just applied and the standard procedure so to say."

I: "And ehm did you enter through a vacancy?"
R11: "Yes."
I: "Okay. And did you get any help from people with entering ECS?"
R11: "No."

R14: "I lost my job and then though network-movements I ended up at another department. And then I also had access to the mobility-bank. And there I saw the advertisement and there I was, I just, I was made for it, I mean, I had everything. And ehm I wanted a fixed job, so I ended up over here."

R15: "Yes and this accidentally, this is the first I applied to and I got hired and I was like: we will see."

R17: "An application. But later on I heard that someone knew me from a former function, who was like… He had a good image of me, so that helped."

2.5 Through a traineeship

R6: "And ehm then I actually applied for a state traineeship. Ehm and then I was selected."

2.6 Coincidentally

R13: "But then with the change of government, the department I was working for back then was transferred to ECS. So I automatically was transferred as well."

3. Promotion – advancements

3.1 Through network – being asked/offered

I: "And how did you get into your current position?
R1: "And so ehm, I was walking in Marrakesh with a couple of people and at a specific moment ehm I was called by someone from ECS. That person said: 'we have a vacancy, but yes, you have to respond. But we have made a top three of people we would really like to see applying. And you are one of them. Would you like to reply?' [...] Well, next Tuesday I went to drink coffee with that specific person and she then said: 'a letter, not too heavy, not too big, just write something. And then we will invite you for an interview and then we will see.' Well, subsequently I entered the procedure. It took a while, but I got the job."

R2: "And when I went to the Inspection, I was asked by someone at the Inspection who was previously at the department ICT as well. He went to the Inspection half a year earlier and he said to me: 'R2, I need someone to co-operate with at the Inspection. Do you feel like coming to the Inspection?'"

R4: "I am not sure, I have never actively applied for those functions. From the moment I came in, I was asked for things each time."

R5: "It is even better if you advance sort of automatically. That you are already active in a higher function due to development. And then it is also evident for your environment that it is the most logical next step. So then you are there already. That is how it actually went. And ehm so actually it was a director who was at the HR at ECS back then, and he really liked me and he actually speeded up the process."

I: "So how have you been able to make those steps?"
R7: "And ehm next you can become a program manager. And that was offered to me. Because, well, there was a program of which the former director thought I would be appropriate for. And ehm afterwards I was asked to become head of department."
I: "Hm hm. So it is more, do I correctly conclude that it is more your networks than that you have really applied…"

R7: "Yes, indeed. From 13, from 12 until 15, it is all… I did let know that I wanted to become 13. But it was all, it went all by itself. And 14 and 15 I just got because it was offered."

R9: "The first step was by being asked, because I had to go to the documentary information services, and then I, they really wanted me at the function of personnel assistance, that was a pay scale seven more or less."

R9: "And then there was a junior personnel… That was just an application procedure. Though I was an intern candidate and it obviously is an advantage that people already know you."

R15: "You always have to apply for a heavier, other high function. Ehm yes, in the beginning I was just an accountant, that is also a function, well then you just continue to grow, right. So each time you apply for a higher function and then you grow through various scales of pay and you get more responsibility. And then at a certain moment… That went quite easily. Say, procedures. Then 14 years ago I became head of a department instead of director. That was a heavier procedure, some external assessments and that kind of stuff. And ehm then I ehm went to the inspection in 2008 to become director over there. Yes, I was asked then."

R17: "I obviously entered by means of an application, without network, just by writing an application letter. Though afterwards, my next jobs always were always established by means of network."

3.2 Through application

I: "So how have you been able to make those steps?"
R7: "[…] But at a certain moment ehm the 12 (pay scale) is a, was always a big group. And I have been that for quite a long period. So I was, in the context of a reorganization, you had to apply for functions once more. And then I immediately applied to become 13."

R7: "And for the function I occupy now, for that I have applied."

R8: "For the final function I had to apply."

R9: "And then there was a junior personnel… That was just an application procedure. Though I was an intern candidate and it obviously is an advantage that people already know you."

I: "And the step you have made from scale twelve to scale thirteen, how did that go?"
R11: "Also a vacancy, just applied."

R13: "And over here, the step towards co advisor was just an application."

3.3 Through performance

I: "And the steps, the promotions that you have made in the company, how did that go? Was it through contact of intern applications?"
R2: "When I was research coordinator and became staff member, it was because of a reorganization and yet, it was in, I stayed in the same department or direction. And a few people were rewarded because they had done such a good job. And who wanted something else. So I wanted something else and they were really satisfied about how I had performed."
"Ehm I do think, the step I described when I have been research coordinator for a while to staff member, it then really helped. Well, I was really good. I thought so, but my environment thought so too ehm. Ehm I think that that really helped in order to, well you know, that I got

that promotion. During that reorganization there were two people that really made progress and I was one of them. I think performance did play part in it."

3.4 Automatically

R8: "During that time it was more that I, at a certain moment a function became available and I did not really need to apply for it. It was more of an organic movement, during that time right."

3.5 Own initiative

R9: "Then there was a reorganization and I became a replacement candidate, which means that actually our functions were eliminated and a scale op pay ten function returned and then there actually said: 'this is another type of function, so it does not really fit you, so you are a replacement candidate.' And then I was still here for a while and then that function was completed in a team and people entered and I saw what they were doing and I thought: well, this is my job, expect for that they had a little plus. But principally, when you are a replacement candidate a lot of things suit you, a scale below, a scale on top. And then I started a conversation and wrote a letter about how I thought that it was not right. And then he said, he just became director concern assistance and then: no it was not right indeed. So then I did it myself […] And then they did place me."

R13: "Yes, well, that is indeed – I am not that far yet, but from 11 to 12 (pay scale) I really stipulated that. […] I really had to be tough for that, also towards the management. And that was not easy. Because firstly they said: 'well, no you should wait for a vacancy, because then it is more transparent towards others.' And eventually that was not the case and then for the first time in my career I got angry: 'it was promised to me and I just want it.'"

3.6 Revaluation

R9: "And the other step towards eleven (pay scale) was actually, the work that we were doing for already a few years was actually, the care was overdue, like: that function has been changed so much over the past year and then we had revaluated this position, on our own initiative, like: guys you should have a look. And then after that revaluation it became an eleven (pay scale)."

R10: "No, we entered at ten (pay scale). And meanwhile we are at eleven, because the function has changed, a revaluation has occurred."

4. Coding networking

4.1 Network's range

R1: "... my former boss in this organization and he said: 'yes, we should talk because...' Well, here I was in ECS in October 2007."

R1: "Look, if you [...] build up a network, in the meantime show many many people who you are, what you are doing and and and such.. Yes, the nice function will automatically follow. This is such a huge organization..." [..] "So various functions always get available, at every level, right so, or or or security till high public servant. Well, the only thing you must do is, when those functions are available, you must be at the right place, you must be, well, yeah, have the right contacts and you have to be ready."

R1: "The most determining is just ehm personality combined with... Yes personality also contains knowledge and ability, combined with network. Yes, you know, really, believe me, make sure that you know the right people." [..] "So it is a combination of who you are, but also who you know. They do so, that, that is not the case in the Netherlands, but it is only, say... Sure, fortunately we have regulations and you know, I have never had to pay anyone in order to get a function. In other countries sometimes you have to do that, you have to give a big present for a job. Fortunately that is not the case he, but eventually it is by way of connections. People like you and you get the job."

R1: "And in ECS it is not different at all. Off course, we operate a lot through procedure, but I set out a vacancy and then I approach someone myself: 'just write a letter.'"

R1: "... when something happens, you must, yes, you must accidentally be at the right position or you must know the right people. That is how simple it is. [...] Something else is not possible. [...] You know, it is really crazy. Look, some people here are really engaged with completing their educational passport. Every quarter of the year they have done something, a whole portfolio. But they apply for certain functions and then they are not hired. [...] It is a network. It really is a network."

R3 (about R1): "But, you know, R1 is an enormous networker. If he had wanted… If he want to go somewhere else, that is, then he is gone."

I: "What is the importance of networking compared to performance? Or is it all equally important?"
R3 (about R1): "Well, look, I think that networking is really important, maybe the most important. If you must make a decision. But you also need a good name, so that is related to being able to develop and maintain good relationships, but also that you can mean something for you relationships. Ehm if, then it is nothing. So I do not think you can do the one thing without the other. But I do think, that if you would choose, I think that with a little performance and a really good network, you will achieve more compared to a small network and very good performance. Because then you will get, you know, then it is more about how visible you are. And well yes, and if you have little, just little, if you are not that good in networking, then I do not think you will come much further."

I: "What is the most determining factor in his [R1] career development?"
R3 (about R1): Yes, I think that, well, yes, firstly his personality, his, what I just mentioned, his commitment, his ehm right, that he is very good in relationships. Ehm that is, I think, the way by which he reached his goals, mainly through the relationship."

R2: "And then I had a contact person here at the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, a policy civil servant and he said: 'R2, I am going to do something else, isn't this place something for you?' Well, that appealed to me. So then I entered at the first of July 1990, I entered ehm at O, C and W..."

R2: "I was first positioned in scale 13 and at the Inspection I ended up in scale 14. And ehm I was actually brought in by someone I knew over there."

R2: "And when I went to the Inspection, I was asked by someone at the Inspection who was previously at the department ICT as well. He went to the Inspection half a year earlier and he

said to me: 'R2, I need someone to co-operate with at the Inspection. Do you feel like coming to the Inspection?'"

I: "Related to the career of R2, what do you think has been the most determining with reference to the fact that he increased in the organization?"
R3 (about R2): "Oe, that is a difficult question. Ehm I think that it is a combination between him exploring, so thinking by himself. Maybe, I am not so sure, it is kind of guessing for me. Nice question. I think it is a combination between ehm networking right, so wanting to work with many people. And then maybe thinking: that is nice, I would like to do something what that. And then go to it, inform about it and the moment that the opportunity arises, make use of the opportunity. And I think that that is how it works for him. Or that people think: this is something for R2, we ask if he wants to do this, if you wants to come over here."

R3 (in general): "And anyhow, you know, in an organization such as ECS, there are so many ehm… In this environment there are so many different interests and so many different groups that you are dealing with. You must be very good in relationships, otherwise you will not get any step further in here."

I: "How, how do you make sure that you increase?"
R3 (in general): "Ehm I do think by being really visible. I think that that is super important. So by being visible for people in the higher positions. And ehm by making sure that they see what good things you do. And ehm I think, again, by having a wide network. That really helps."

R3: "Well, I think ehm ehm in theory we have a really open… We have pretty strict rules related to the design of applications and ehm well it should be open, everyone should be able to apply. But off course that does not always happen since obviously sometimes people just want a specific person and then they position that person in the specific function. Sometimes the procedure is executed but then actually there is already a candidate. So that is nice (*sarcastic*), if you are one of those candidates that will not be chosen."

R5: "But the one who then, who then set up the project […] he asked me back. And he was always my person of contact."

R6: "And what you said about network for example right, I really have, due to my work at *former employer*, the fact that I am working for the government for a longer time, I have a really good and big network."

I: "What are you mainly assessed on?"
R7: […] "And what is also considered to a great extent is how innovative you are. And how focused your networkers are. Ehm here at ECS we call that: working from the outside to the inside. But it mainly comes down to: how focused you are towards to outside world."

R9: "And then there was a junior personnel… That was just an application procedure. Though I was an intern candidate and it obviously is an advantage that people already know you."

I: "How do you feel about the importance of a network in your career?"
R9: "Ehm well I think, which does not mean that I do so, but I do think that network is really important and is getting even more important. What also means that is you are less visible for certain people and you do not have a big network, that people forget you or that they think

about other people, because they do have a big network. Ehm it is getting more important. We are talking about a network society and things like that."

R10: "But also for you own development. I have been detached and I did that through my network. The director of the learning and development square of there was someone I knew and then it is just being cheeky and making a phone call and arrange a meeting. But if I would not have known him, then I would not have been there for half a year."

I: "And how did you enter ECS?"
R12: "Ehm well it, it was ECS, but it could have been another ministry as well. It mainly came down to that after eleven years at Defense, I was ready for a new environment. And therefore I was looking around and approached some people from my network to catch up and to see: what kind of developments are happening and how is it going. And just through the vacancy database I saw the function on which I have applied: business consultant or coordinating business consultant. And then I just reached out for contact."
I: "And did you get any help of other people to get in here?"
R12: "Well, not really help, but the former director I already knew, because he originally also came from Defense, so then you easily already have contact. So you already know each other, you know you can rely on each other. So I called him like: 'I see that a vacancy is available, can we talk about that?' Well then we extensively talked and then he said: 'well, you should apply.' And then he also mentioned: 'I will not involve myself in this selection procedure.' […] But he said: 'in any case, I will not hinder.' So that he, that I knew: his advice will be possible. So then I got in contact with the head of the department. And previously I had also talked with a former colleague coordination business consultant. So I was prepared very well by talking to many people in advance. And when I had the first conversation, well I was meant to also have a second conversation, but that would be with the director. And I then said that we would not do that, because it would just be a bit silly if I would have a conversation with him."

R14: "Well I think that that is very important. But you should also take the initiative yourself. You will not get support. If you want something different you should talk to people who are favorable towards you or who just are able to connect very well."

R14: "I think networking and personality."
I: "Network and personality. And how are they the most important?"
R14: "You have to find the right people, you have to know the vacancies before they get public. And you have to be liked by people. It is a real culture of gossip over here…"

I: "But how do you make sure that you get into a higher function? Ehm how do you become minister?"
R16: "Ehm […] if you want to become a minister then you have to know many people. You must be able to distort things, unfortunately. You must know the important people in the organization. And and often that is a process that takes years, that you make people dependent on you. By making people dependent on you, people always need you. And by that you can increase in the organization all time. And working hard. Showing that you perform well. That is not always apparent, that people just accept that. Many times if you reach a certain position, then you are hired more easily because you know people. And in the beginning you must work hard and show that you are worth it, that people trust you. So the first option is just being yourself, doing what is good for society and what is good for you and your

environment. That is the normal way, by which it is very difficult to get into a higher position. And the second way is just having a good network, knowing the right people. Working hard in the beginning and afterwards just using your network."

4.1.1 Access to information about ECS

I: "And could you briefly describe how you got into ECS?"
R7: "Yes I am, I have just replied to a vacancy in the newspaper. But ehm that was at a department of which I knew somebody already pretty good. And I was working at the expertise center for diversity policy, which did many thing for the higher education and universities. So I, I, well, I did really reply to a public vacancy, though it helped that I could call that colleague like: what is it for kind of department? Then you are better prepared."

R9: "And then there was a friend of mine from the primary school, at least she was at ECS as well and she started a learn and work job, learning and working simultaneously. […]"
I: "And the person you already knew over here, did she help you in order to enter ECS?"
R9: "No, she, she was just doing a learn and work job. No, she did that and said: 'that might be something for you, since you do not know yet want you want to do.'[…] So I knew about this place through her. And then I thought: it might be nice to do that at ECS as well. Then I already know some people and she said – she was working here for almost more than a year – and she said: 'it is really informal and a really warm place.' So I thought: well, you know, we will see. I am just going to try."

I: "And how did you enter ECS?"
R12: "Ehm well it, it was ECS, but it could have been another ministry as well. It mainly came down to that after eleven years at Defense, I was ready for a new environment. And therefore I was looking around and approached some people from my network to catch up and to see: what kind of developments are happening and how is it going. And just through the vacancy database I saw the function on which I have applied: business consultant or coordinating business consultant. And then I just reached out for contact."
I: "And did you get any help of other people to get in here?"
R12: "Well, not really help, but the former director I already knew, because he originally also came from Defense, so then you easily already have contact. So you already know each other, you know you can rely on each other. So I called him like: 'I see that a vacancy is available, can we talk about that?' Well then we extensively talked and then he said: 'well, you should apply.' And then he also mentioned: 'I will not involve myself in this selection procedure.' […] But he said: 'in any case, I will not hinder.' So that he, that I knew: his advice will be possible. So then I got in contact with the head of the department. And previously I had also talked with a former colleague coordination business consultant. So I was prepared very well by talking to many people in advance. And when I had the first conversation, well I was meant to also have a second conversation, but that would be with the director. And I then said that we would not do that, because it would just be a bit silly if I would have a conversation with him."

4.1.1.1 Access to information related to work itself

R9: "Ehm but a bigger network, for example between departments… Yes I did participate in the HR professionalization. All departments participated, at least one or two people of each department. And with that group, with part of that group we agreed on having a sort of

intervision every two months or so. And we will continue doing that. By that I maintain my network a little bit, like: how do you handle that and ehm, we hit upon this, how do you do that. So it is more based on my field of study."

R10: "Network is very important. We also have contact with the personnel advisors of other departments, so about how they operate. If we have to do something, new regulations of something that has to be used again or something that we have to develop and that already exists somewhere else; then it is useful to use your own or other one's networks and to be able to discuss with other people. So that you do not have to reinvent something on your own. But also at the expertise center, the ECOP, we have a lot of networks over there, because there are career advisors, mobility advisors, coaches are positioned over there, job searchers. So you have quite a big network over there."

4.1.2 Inequality in network's range

R9: "I do think it has it disadvantages. Because what I also see, not for me personally, but from my job, is that many times people choose based on network. 'Yes, we want him, because he is so good,' while they actually have no idea whether he is that good and suitable in that function. 'But he is such a nice and social and networking and assertive and proactive person, so we must have him.' […] So I am not like… I know that I should and I do it when necessary, but I am not someone who is always networking to just network. I do not think that is like me. […] That could become a problem, but I thing I will stick with it."

4.1.3 Ethno-migrant inequality in network's range

R4: "Ehm yes that is of importance. So that people know who you are. But not a network in terms of knowing where to be, in order to get a specific function. You know, I really think that is difficult. I do not like to do so."

R11: "[…] So that you, you must use your network. So you must make sure that they give good press and that they know they must do so. I do not do that good enough. […] I think my network is more broadly than I realize. So I think yes. I do think that I have a lot of timidity to use it."

R16: "That is number one, that we as immigrants still do not have the capacity to, to occupy those high positions. Ehm we know very little about how to use your network. We know very little ehm about how the Dutch culture operates. What is previously mentioned, how does feedback to your supervisor work. A good relationship makes sure you get all of the positions. I recently understood that. Many people still do not understand that. They are like: I just do my job and then I will see. But if you understand those small things about how Dutch people increase, that it is actually a political game and that you just have to participate with everything. Then you can be dark-colored or just colored and that you do enter into a high positions. However, that is a skill which you must possess and you must understand how the Dutch culture operates."

4.2 Network's status

R1: "... my former boss in this organization and he said: 'yes, we should talk because...' Well, here I was in ECS in October 2007."

R1: "I was called by someone from ECS, who said: 'we have a vacancy, but you have to apply. But we have made a top three of people we would really like to see applying. And you are one of them. Do you want to apply?'[…] Well, next Tuesday I went to drink coffee with that specific person and she then said: 'a letter, not too heavy, not too big, just write something. And then we will invite you for an interview and then we will see.' Well, subsequently I entered the procedure. It took a while, but I got the job."
I: "And that colleague, was that..."
R1: "That was a person with power of decision. [...] It was just a nice connection who knew who I was, who ehm... [...] So how strong the connection or relationship was, I do not know. I do know that we did not work together that much, but that she knew who is was. And that she therefore thought: well ehm, he must be a good one."

R1: "And, and the higher the level, the more people work by means of a network."

R1: "And, and, the higher the level, the more network matters."

R2: "... then I went to the department of ICT, what I have just told, where… And then I ended up there, because I knew the former director from the past."

I: "How, how do you make sure that you increase?"
R3: "Ehm I do think by being really visible. I think that that is super important. So by being visible for people in the higher positions. And ehm by making sure that they see what good things you do. And ehm I think, again, by having a wide network. That really helps."

I: "And if you look back, what had been de most determining factor in your career development in ECS, you think?"
R4: "Ehm that I have worked for the director general, as personal assistant. That... Yes, o yes, you were talking about networking earlier right. And then I said: 'you just have to do a good job, then you will be seen.' No, but it did help, let's say, I am very honest now that I think about it. Because ehm I had a very good relationship with her and that, say, helped me in order to get a good, high function. [...] Yes, yes, that is just the honest story."

R5: "I was a lot with director generals, directors etcetera. Look, at the moment that they do not like you or you do not do a good job in their points of view, then the director of personnel and labor, will also get that back. And ehm, when that would be negative, the opportunity for advancement is not that big, obviously. So in those terms, a network, if you consider it that way, is really of importance."
[…]
I: "And how did that work out for you?"
R5: "Yes, I, I know that they have been very positive about me in general."

I: "And could you briefly describe how you got into ECS?"
R7: "[...] And what also helped me was that the former head of department at which I was going to work was ehm very active in the Labour Party, she went to the parliament later, well she was the president of the Social and Economic Council. Ehm so she really liked that I was also working for the parliament, especially for her party. So she saw something in me. A very advantageous concurrence. Because those interviews did not go very well. I was thinking like: what a dull organization, it does not appeal to me at all. And then I was invited for a second conversation and I was like: what do we get? And it is related to that."

R7: "And ehm becoming 15 (pay scale), that was network. I mean, afterwards I did realized the expectations, but at that moments there was no reason to assume that I would have been a good manager, because yes, they could just not say that."

I: "And whom should you be visible for?"
R10: "The MT indeed. Those are the people who can make sure that you will get one step further."

I: "What should you do in ECS if you want to increase?"
R10: "Well, you should know the right people, be visible, you might, if you can also realize it, you might be a bit present, if you can indeed realize it. Ehm I think, I often see that the people who are positioned in the right group, that the increase the most quickly.

I: "And did you get any help of other people to get in here?"
R12: "Well, not really help, but the former director I already knew, because he originally also came from Defense, so then you easily already have contact. So you already know each other, you know you can rely on each other. So I called him like: 'I see that a vacancy is available, can we talk about that?' Well then we extensively talked and then he said: 'well, you should apply.' And then he also mentioned: 'I will not involve myself in this selection procedure.' […] But he said: 'in any case, I will not hinder.' So that he, that I knew: his advice will be possible. So then I got in contact with the head of the department. And previously I had also talked with a former colleague coordination business consultant. So I was prepared very well by talking to many people in advance. And when I had the first conversation, well I was meant to also have a second conversation, but that would be with the director. And I then said that we would not do that, because it would just be a bit silly if I would have a conversation with him."

R15: "… if you get into a higher function, you are really assessed based on how you operate in networks and your relationships with the elite, if you properly ehm serve de ministry."

I: "But how do you make sure that you get into a higher function? Ehm how do you become minister?"
R16: "Ehm […] if you want to become a minister then you have to know many people. You must be able to distort things, unfortunately. You must know the important people in the organization."

R16: "Ehm if you for example consider the director generals and the secretary general at the various ministries ehm they are chosen by certain ministers and not based on capacities. But really based on how they interact with the minister. And most director generals and secretary generals are brought in because the minister is then supported by those director generals and secretary generals and that means that you bring in people that will further support you. So it is actually a political game."

4.2.1 Ethno-migrant inequality in network's status

R11: "I think it is very common that in selection procedures you, you search for the known. And I am wondering whether people with a bi-cultural background are familiar for the powerful or influential people, if they are known area. You go for the reliable. And network, the higher you get, the more important network becomes. How many bi-culturals have the ones on that level in their network?"

I: "Do you think that with you, your, that a network has been of importance?"
R11: "Ehm no. Until now not. But if I want to make one step further, then it gets really important. That is what I do see. Because from 13 to 14 (pay scale) then, in one way or another, network activity gets more of importance. You then see less that you are selected purely based on qualities. You see that people are chosen based on recommendations, or at least that good press really helps. So that you should also use your network. That you must make sure that they give good press and that they know that they should do so bladiabladiabla. […] So that you, you must use your network. So you must make sure that they give good press and that they know they must do so. I do not do that good enough. […] I think my network is more broadly than I realize. So I think yes. I do think that I have a lot of timidity to use it."

R16: "But then I realized I did not want to work for such an organization anymore, because it was really politically. Everything was based on the contact with you supervisor, whether you knew people or not. How good you are with your supervisor or director. And that did not interest me. I just did my job, everyone was satisfied, but still I did not get my contract."

R16: "Ehm if you for example consider the director generals and the secretary general at the various ministries ehm they are chosen by certain ministers and not based on capacities. But really based on how they interact with the minister. And most director generals and secretary generals are brought in because the minister is then supported by those director generals and secretary generals and that means that you bring in people that will further support you. So it is actually a political game. And as an immigrant you do not understand that. You then think: well I do not know how this works. And it takes a lot of time to understand that in the government, to understand that and to really participate and then there is the opportunity that you do increase in your career."

4.3 Tie strength

4.3.1 Weak tie

R1: "And you know, one day in the Ridderzaal at the farewell of *name person of farewell*, and then there was someone ehm, say my former boss in this organization was there and he said: 'yes, we should talk because...' Well, here I was in ECS in October 2007."

R1: "And so ehm, I was walking in Marrakesh with a couple of people and at a specific moment ehm I was called by someone from ECS. That person said: 'we have a vacancy, but yes, you have to respond. But we have made a top three of people we would really like to see applying. And you are one of them. Would you like to reply?' [...] Well, next Tuesday I went to drink coffee with that specific person and she then said: 'a letter, not too heavy, not too big, just write something. And then we will invite you for an interview and then we will see.' Well, subsequently I entered the procedure. It took a while, but I got the job."
I: "And that colleague, was that..."
R1: "That was a person with power of decision. [...] It was just a nice connection who knew who I was, who ehm... [...] So how strong the connection or relationship was, I do not know. I do know that we did not work together that much, but that she knew who is was. And that she therefore thought: well ehm, he must be a good one."

I: "And ehm you mentioned, you got in through someone you knew at ECS? Was that a strong contact or?"

R2: "Yes, that was a strong contact. Yes, definitely. Well yes, it was just my principal. I did research at *former employer* in his assignment and he was my contact person, so I, yes. I was at his home once to deliver a report and to discuss something about it."

R5: "But the one who then, who then set up the project […] he asked me back. And he was always my person of contact."

R7: "And what also helped me was that the former head of department at which I was going to work was ehm very active in the Labour Party, she went to the parliament later, well she was the president of the Social and Economic Council. Ehm so she really liked that I was also working for the parliament, especially for her party. So she saw something in me. A very advantageous concurrence. Because those interviews did not go very well. I was thinking like: what a dull organization, it does not appeal to me at all. And then I was invited for a second conversation and I was like: what do we get? And it is related to that."

R9: "And then there was a junior personnel… That was just an application procedure. Though I was an intern candidate and it obviously is an advantage that people already know you."

R9: "Ehm but a bigger network, for example between departments… Yes I did participate in the HR professionalization. All departments participated, at least one or two people of each department. And with that group, with part of that group we agreed on having a sort of intervision every two months or so. And we will continue doing that. By that I maintain my network a little bit, like: how do you handle that and ehm, we hit upon this, how do you do that. So it is more based on my field of study."

R10: "Network is very important. We also have contact with the personnel advisors of other departments, so about how they operate. If we have to do something, new regulations of something that has to be used again or something that we have to develop and that already exists somewhere else; then it is useful to use your own or other one's networks and to be able to discuss with other people. So that you do not have to reinvent something on your own. But also at the expertise center, the ECOP, we have a lot of networks over there, because there are career advisors, mobility advisors, coaches are positioned over there, job searchers. So you have quite a big network over there."

R11: "Yes. And also tactically deal with, not so much my network, because I think my network already knows me pretty well, so that differs, I should use that. But especially the people who know me less well, use that more tactically, like: how do I enrich the view about me and…"

I: "And did you get any help of other people to get in here?"
R12: "Well, not really help, but the former director I already knew, because he originally also came from Defense, so then you easily already have contact. So you already know each other, you know you can rely on each other. So I called him like: 'I see that a vacancy is available, can we talk about that?' Well then we extensively talked and then he said: 'well, you should apply.' And then he also mentioned: 'I will not involve myself in this selection procedure.' […] But he said: 'in any case, I will not hinder.' So that he, that I knew: his advice will be possible. So then I got in contact with the head of the department. And previously I had also talked with a former colleague coordination business consultant. So I was prepared very well by talking to many people in advance. And when I had the first conversation, well I was

meant to also have a second conversation, but that would be with the director. And I then said that we would not do that, because it would just be a bit silly if I would have a conversation with him."

I: "Exactly. And the people ehm that network, are those people who you know very well, are those strong ties or more weak ties?"
R17: "Weak."

4.3.2 Strong tie

R9: "And then there was a friend of mine from the primary school, at least she was at VWO as well and she started a learn and work job, learning and working simultaneously. […]"
I: "And the person you already knew over here, did she help you in order to enter ECS?"
R9: "No, she, she was just doing a learn and work job. No, she did that and said: 'that might be something for you, since you do not know yet want you want to do.' […] So I knew about this place through her. And then I thought: it might be nice to do that at ECS as well. Then I already know some people and she said – she was working here for almost more than a year – and she said: 'it is really informal and a really warm place.' So I thought: well, you know, we will see. I am just going to try."

4.4 Impression management and visibility

I: "How, how do you make sure that you increase?"
R3: "Ehm I do think by being really visible. I think that that is super important. So by being visible for people in the higher positions. And ehm by making sure that they see what good things you do. And ehm I think, again, by having a wide network. That really helps. And ehm if you really want to increase in your career than you must also show what you are doing related to that function. So if you want to become head of the department or director, that you also show that."

I: "And ehm you were talking about performance, but do you also think that network is of importance?"
R4: "Yes, ehm, image forming. So people know me. Yes network indeed. I am easy in interaction, so people enjoy working with me."

R4: "You have to express your ambition. Implicitly or explicitly, that that is really what you want. Otherwise you will not be seen. Visibility, yes visibility, I think that everyone… I do not belief that a staff member is good or not good, it is all pretty in between, but visibility is especially related to showing that you want it, being ambitious."

R4: "And in the ministry, if you want to distinguish yourself, then you have to, in other organizations as well, then you have to present an image out of yourself. Like: 'I am doing a good job. That is not appreciated in the Dutch culture either, but it is more and more, sort of an American vibe which is their around the sixties. Ehm and migrants often think that that is very difficult. It is a sort of vulnerable thing."
I: "And do you think that that is difficult?"
R4: "Not anymore, but earlier I did. […] I overcame that timidity."

R10: "If you really want to increase, then there are possibilities. Though you have to get the opportunity in your department to get involved in those areas, then you get that opportunity.

But that is also partly related to profile yourself, so that they see you. I have thought for years: you know, I am an advisor personnel, then you must know what I do, because it is part of my job. Well, then you might do you work properly and your clients might be satisfied, but no one knows you except from your own department. And if you want to develop, then you must profile yourself a bit."

I: "And how do you make sure people see you? How do you do that?"

R10: "Well, I sometimes think that is difficult. I am not the kind of person that screams through the halls what I am doing. But for example, we have to walk in staff every Tuesday morning and then you can tell: 'I am doing this in my department.'"

I: "And whom should you be visible for?"

R10: "The MT indeed. Those are the people who can make sure that you will get one step further."

I: "What should you do in ECS if you want to increase?"

R10: "Well, you should know the right people, be visible, you might, if you can also realize it, you might be a bit present, if you can indeed realize it. Ehm I think, I often see that the people who are positioned in the right group, that they increase the most quickly."

R13: "Well, you say network, I think it is mainly image formation, image formation is really important."

I: "Hm hm. And how do you create a good image so to say?"

R13: "Well yes, that is an interesting question, because the answer to that question is visibility. But I see, I see and many people do not understand that, but is also see that often that visibility is wrongly applied. So I see some people being visible very excessively, like: visibility, image forming, positivity. While ehm and I think that in a certain period of time I also did so, so saying yes to everything, being in projects everywhere and ehm talking big, having a real strong opinion. […] And in the meanwhile visibility for me is, it is still visibility but more solidly."

I: "If someone would ask: how do you advance in your career, what would be your answer?"

R17: "Yes, then I would say: make use of the opportunities and make sure that you are visible."

5. Coding performance

5.1 Quality

R1: "Ehm yes look, it is, it is a combination of factors right and only network, you know, you are always exposed. I know plenty of colleagues whom through a network ended up pretty high in the, in the organization, though if you did not perform anything after three months and people still have not seen anything of you. [...] So it is a combination of. You have to have a network, but you also need to ehm demonstrate ehm show that you really, that you really have something in your power."

R1: "So then you get a sort of bonus if you have just worked decently. So it is secondary about your results, but the perception and that kind of stuff, has got everything to do with feelings."

I: "Ehm, yes, in ECS or especially in your own career, ehm how important is performance?"

R2: "Yes. I actually do not know. Ehm I do think, the step I described when I have been

research coordinator for a while to staff member, it then really helped. Well, I was really good. I thought so, but my environment thought so too ehm. Ehm I think that that really helped in order to, well you know, that I got that promotion. During that reorganization there were two people that really made progress and I was one of them. I think performance did play part in it."

I: "And how did you, how have you constantly made upward progress?"
R4: "Especially the content of performance I think. So, I have always worked with political sensitive subjects and I really like writing, I am also pretty good at it. And if you are writing in the ministry, who is writing stays they say, so then you are someone who is really in the picture."
Later on in the interview – R4: "Yes, o yes, you were talking about networking earlier right. And then I said: 'you just have to do a good job, then you will be seen.' No, but it did help, let's say, I am very honest now that I think about it. Because ehm I had a very good relationship with her and that, say, helped me in order to get a good, high function. [...] Yes, yes, that is just the honest story."

R7: "I have, when I was 12 (pay scale) I have had a bonus at the end of the year pretty often. And actually they give those, or we give those to people who actually perform above the level compared to what you would expect related to their pay scale. So then I was actually always just above. Well, at a certain point that was silvered into a scale 13. So that has really been performance."

I: "And if you consider performance. Has that helped you in order to increase on step?"
R11: "That is a good one. Obviously I have only increased one step. Ehm no. No, because that was about different fields. Ehm if it is really based… It, the step that I have increased was to something different, so from policy to management. And those are different fields. So saying that my performance, as good as I performed on policy has caused that I went to management, not that much. Though the horizontal steps were related to performance, that people were saying: 'hey we could imagine you doing that. I think you can do that.' But that was horizontal."

R17: "I think that that has been the most important. Yes. So showing performance and working really hard. So I have always, especially when I started working and made those steps, I have always worked very hard. Just, you know, just making the extra step."

5.2 Quantity

R1: "And, and that is also related to personality. If, if I have a good match, yes then people tend to say... I have always experienced it that way. And the other one says: 'yes...' While another one maybe... Really I know colleagues of mine that really worked extremely hard. [...] But I, I just work normal. Other ones, really, they are working Saturday and Sunday and in the evenings they are mailing and calling and recording voicemails. And then comes ehm, say, the moment ehm of assessment and then you see them crying…"

R7: "But there are people who are really smart and work very hard and ehm are smarter, who work harder than me, but not in their career. Indeed, there are also people who are less smart and work less hard and have a better career than me. So that happens."

I: "And in the increases that you have made, is the performance also of importance? Say, the work that you do and how hard you work?"
R13: "Yes, unfortunately I would say. I think that many people over here work very hard to be visible, that they really start early and go home lately and really work hard. But in the meantime I am convinced, and the performance does count off course, it is really important that you can manage things, but the way by which you do so, is almost as important and maybe even more important."

5.3 Minor importance – good/normal performance is the norm

R1: "You must have a network, though you should also show that you really, that you really have something in your power."

R1: "Yes, it is a combination of, in which ehm… Well, you know what I, I have always noticed that I think… The assessment is sec about performance."

R3 (about R1): "I think that with little performance and a really good network, you will achieve more compared to a small network and very good performance. Because than you will get, you know, than it is more about how visible you are. And well yes, and if you have little, just little, if you are not that good in networking, then I do not think you will come much further."

R9: "Well I think it is very quickly visible when you are not performing well. Because if you advice, so if I advise wrongly and that has consequences, then it is like: 'yes but I did not anticipated on that.' But that is what you really see. And when you do something good, then it is less visible. Yes, or it is the culture over here, that people notice that less, because it is normal that you do well."

R14: "Well, the work… I think that if I do something, they know it is good. […] But there is no real appreciation."
[…]
I: "What are you then assessed on eventually?"
R14: "Ehm yes that is a good question. Whether no real disasters have happened I think."

6. Coding labor control outcomes

6.1 Socio ideological standards

R1: "And maybe it is more. Because it is network, it is, it is ehm it is ehm, the results that you... But also ehm yes, the colleague that you are. That is also really important over here. Especially here, since it is a pretty large organization. People also search for just, yes ehm, they want bonding you know. They just want, yes ehm it also has to be fun."

R1: "And personality is super important."

R1: "And, and that is also related to personality. If, if I have a good match, yes then people tend to say... I have always experienced it that way. And the other one says: 'yes...' While another one maybe... Really I know colleagues of mine that really worked extremely hard. [...] But I, I just work normal. Other ones, really, they are working Saturday and Sunday and in the evenings they are mailing and calling and recording voicemails. And then comes ehm, say, the moment ehm of assessment and then you see them crying…"

R1: "The most determining is just ehm personality combined with... Yes personality also contains knowledge and ability, combined with network."

I: "What is the most determining factor in his [R1] career development?"
R3 (about R1): "Yes I think that, well, yes, firstly his personality, his, what I just mentioned, his commitment, his ehm right, that he is very good in relationships. Ehm that is, I think, the way by which he reached his goals, mainly through the relationship."
I: "And if you compare that with other ehm employees, is personality then always the most important or is that different for each person?"
R3: "I think that for the work here, that personality is really important, especially for the people in the project pool, because you ehm operate at many different positions. Sometimes you are placed somewhere for a very short time and then you quickly have to… So you must also have analytic capacities right, you must have a certain IQ. So you must be able to orient quickly and read in, but yes, that what many people experience over here. Ehm but you must also be able to quickly find your way in a department."

R2: "Yes. Yes. Look, I mean you have seen R1, R1 is incredibly charming and gets in everywhere. But I think that that is the case because he is from Limburg. And ehm he also jokes about his Moroccan roots, but it is mainly someone from Limburg. [...] Ehm R13, yes she has really, that is just a very powerful, incredibly nice, positive woman. With a head full of beautiful black curly hear and you know, that is just a very strong present woman. Ehm so she, talks herself into everything. Everyone like her and ehm, yes, everyone like R1 as well. But why do they manage and other ones do not? Yes, I think that is also just has to do with the supply. And I have, this might be a nice example. You know the phenomenon of the state trainees right?"
I: "Yes."
R2: "Well, at one time I participated in the selection and there was, based on the files, a selection, was a letter of a boy or a man with a Turkish background and then he had written poorly Dutch. And then I thought: what should we do with this? That man, I mean, if you are working here you must be able to just write the language. And ehm, but for some reason, he was invited. That man, he was fantastic. He was so nice and he was so, he could, he was very driven and and and also charming and ehm he just blew us away. And I said: 'well you know, his Dutch is not that good, he just has to learn that, but we have to hire such a person.' I belief that he, well, I do not actually know if he is hired. […] But maybe, with a, yes, how, well I just call it an immigrant, you sooner must have real contact with him and be in conversation in order to get through a selection compared to a selection based on letters."

I: "And ehm his personality, how does that influence his career? And compared to performance, is it of more importance or…?"
R3 (about R2): "Ehm I do think that is really influences his career. Yes."
I: "And how?"
R3: "Yes, I also think that that is logical, you know. If it would not be the case, then sometimes is not right in my opinion."

I: "And ehm how important, what is the importance of personality?"
R4: "Ehm it is very important. What do you mean, in general?"
I: "Well yes, especially related to career."
R4: "Yes, well yes, that is really important. Well yes, that you dissipate ambitions, that you as

a person go for it, yes, so a personality in which you are really fragile, shy and not assertive, not outgoing, that is not, then you will not make it in here. That I know, I am convinced about it. [...] If your personality is to modest/shy, then, well then you will not survive. Then you will be blown away. Even though, even though you are the smartest one."

R6: "At the same time here it is, too much unfortunately, about verbal clarities of expression, the debate. Obviously that is what is really is about over here. And do you sit around the table and have you got something to say, who talks big. […] So personality, I do think that some personality characteristics in this, that they are valued more. So someone who is very introvert, modest, I think that that, especially here in a management position, it will be very difficult."

R7: "But if I consider that 15 (pay scale) position, that was mainly because people liked me. And concerning content. So that combination."

I: "And ehm in your assessment, but also in your career, what is the importance of personality?"
R7: "I think that I wanted to say: I think it is really determining, not to say: the most determining. But ehm it has also do to with being lucky, the match with your manager. But that match is there because of that personality, because of ehm… Yes your personality obviously manifests itself in your work. Ehm I do not belief that someone is a really nice person and delivers worthless works. Or a terrible person, then most of the times you are not a really nice person. But there are people who are really smart and work very hard and ehm are smarter, who work harder than me, but not in their career. Indeed, there are also people who are less smart and work less hard and have a better career than me. So that happens. Ehm anyway, what I wanted to say: yes it is indeed related to your personality, with how you shape yourself in the organization and the accessibility towards other people, the way you know how to connect with other people, the way how you can make people follow you, how you can get things through. That is very important."

R11: "When do they speak positively… If people like you, then they speak positively about you. So if you are a pleasant, friendly personality. And if they get what they want. So if things, if they are not hindered by the thing you can help with. And the reason why I say so, because you are going to asked more about it. The reason that I say so, is because I do not think that you also deliver good work if there is a positive judgement about you. Sometimes you just have to be critical. Ehm and I do think that we, I think that it is also important, next to a nice and pleasant personality, we are all human beings, that you just do your work well."
I: "So do I then correctly conclude that personality is also important, of importance?"
R11: "Yes. And especially the connection you have with the one with whom you have to cooperate, related to personality."

I: "And in the increases that you have made, is the performance also of importance? Say, the work that you do and how hard you work?"
R13: "Yes, unfortunately I would say. I think that many people over here work very hard to be visible, that they really start early and go home lately and really work hard. But in the meantime I am convinced, and the performance does count off course, it is really important that you can manage things, but the way by which you do so, is almost as important and maybe even more important."

6.1.1 Characteristics

I: "And if you consider personality characteristics, purely characteristics, what do you need in order to advance or to have that match?"
R7: "Ehm for that kind of answers we tend to, me as well, to describe an all-rounder. You have to do this and that, you need to have all those incompatible qualities. But is has also to do with a certain multifacetedness. It is, you must have a certain feeling, passion, for the content of this job. It is useful, when working here, that you feel attached to education, that you really like it, think it is interesting, policy related to education. But there are many people who would also do something else. And especially managers are selected based on a certain distance, but is must be limited. You must know what it is about and you must want to know. Ehm and an open personality, so the inside types and the very red types, the compelling types ehm that is not very popular latterly. You must know how to make contact. And you need a certain courage."

I: "And ehm in ECS, what are, related to career, important personality characteristics?"
R11: "Ehm well, especially being liked. Because ehm because everyone is pretty avoiding confrontations, as I say, while in the meantime we all say that we should be more confronting. But ehm we should do that more. But we all think that that is difficult, in ECS. Yes. I am asking: how do I say it? Yes, indeed, just a very sympathetic person, personality, usually works. Non, non-threatening."

I: "And do you think that your personality has also been of importance related to the step that you increased"
R11: "Yes. Ehm during the selection interview they thought I was enthusiastic, energetic, adventurous. They thought: well, she can do this."

6.1.1.2 Expressiveness, assertiveness, extravert

R3: "For example, if you want to become head of a department, you must make sure that people see you, that you are already doing good things in the right direction. And also just say it. Make sure people know that you want it."

I: "If you enter ECS and you really want, you feel like: I want to advance in this organization? How do you do that?"
R5: "[…] And if you feel that you are at the right position, then you must go for it and show that it is your position. And ehm further just nicely interact with people and when you are at the right position and you work just normally or hard, also express where you interests are. Because I think that is you want, you want to become this, than you should also say it."

R6: "See, in my personality, what the advantage is of my personality is that I am pretty expressive, pretty. Maybe it is an understatement is what you think. No, but I can, I can pretty well present myself. I can pretty well express myself and just: 'hey, here I am.'"

R7: "The most important development opportunity is your work I think, the projects you get, the type of work you do. Because that is the most important, since concerning content you can, you can broaden your horizon and with that you also create contacts outside the organization as well as inside. And you, with that you contribute to your visibility. So that is the most important. It is never just a case of casualness, you should also do it yourself. You must have a certain eagerness and a certain self-confidence. You must dare to explain to your

manager: I want do this and that and this is what I like. So that is the most important. And I think that it is good to invest in your contacts in any case, the contact with your manager. You just need him for it."

I: "And what did you specifically do in order to, well indirectly, increase?"
R9: "Ehm well I think presenting yourself if there is… Back then a function got available […] and I thought: well I am just going to do that, for the entire department. And they also imagined me doing that. And for the rest, nobody offered him/herself. So yes, also mentioning: I like this, so let me do this. […] I see now, related to that time and space independent working and a new culture it is more businesslike, you are less visible. In the past it was, you were always in contact with your manager and he knew exactly how you were working, he considered your strengths and weaknesses. So it was a bit easier I think. Well, we were just talking about it, nowadays you have to make sure you are always there at the right time. And now I do not have that tendency anymore. But I have… Present yourself: 'yes, I want to do that.'

I: And you mentioned that in the first steps you have made, you were asked. Have you got any idea based on what you were asked?"
R9: "Ehm they always thought that I was, how should I call it, assertive, proactive, contributing, and analyzing, like I see this happening, but… Courage I think, that I also dared to speak about things. And that way through which I, at least that is what they told me, the way I handled things, a very big sense of responsibility. Those are the things that always…"

R10: "Well, I sometimes think that is difficult. I am not the kind of person that screams through the halls what I am doing. But for example, we have to walk in staff every Tuesday morning and then you can tell: 'I am doing this in my department.'

R10: "The one will be taken to the minister more quickly than the other; sometimes justly, sometimes unjustly. Sometimes the people of whom I think: they can do it, do not get the opportunity because they are quieter behind their desks. So, yes, the more extravert people increase more."

R11: "Because from 13 to 14 (pay scale) then, in one way or another, network activity gets more of importance. You then see less that you are selected purely based on qualities. You see that people are chosen based on recommendations, or at least that good press really helps. So that you should also use your network. That you must make sure that they give good press and that they know that they should do so bladiabladiabla."
I: "And how do you realize that?"
R11: "I am not doing that enough. But how do you realize that? Ehm anticipating and… For me, the first step would be to indicate that I am interested in certain things and that I would appreciate it if I was allowed to do those things. And then consider if people can help you. And if you know something specific, also consider who know that function and could they maybe help me to get there."

R13: "And I, I noticed with the other trainees that if they were thinking: hey, I have little to do right now – that they were much more assertive […]. And that it was I learned in the meantime, though in the beginning I just did not have that and I was way too reserved and well I thought: I just do not know. And I got a little passive. But at a certain point in time you get the feeling and you think: this is how the game works. So if I am looking back with you, it

is also related to the experiencing and learning and at a certain point understanding and that is how it works. I can now much easier specify: oh so you should actually… Well, I was not. And then you can go on. But is takes some extra time. So whereas some trainees – and that depends on the person – were actually already more assertive in the second place, I was not doing that at all."

"I think that the game of being assertive, just because I was not like that in the beginning, that I know really control it. And I also now think that it is really important."

I: "And ehm how, is personality also of importance to a great extent, so the person who you are, does that help in the increases you have made?"
R13: "Ehm that is a difficult one. Ehm I think that for me, and then I can only speak for myself, I think it did help that I am pretty extravert, pretty outspoken and present. That does help, because I think that if you are very introvert, that you should work on your visibility in a very different way. Ehm it is a little more difficult for me to judge about that, how you should do that. But in general, it does help over here if you are just easy, smart, have a strict analysis and that is more easily done if you are extravert."

I: "And if you then consider network, performance and personality, what is then the most important aspect?"
R13: "Yes, I understand. I think that is difficult. I think that they are both equally important. […] I think it works very well, also for people who are less visible, but who showed some really good things towards specific managers, then suddenly networks becomes really important, that managers put in a good word for you to other people. And at the same time, with personality, I note that I now relate personality to being extravert, but that is because for me it is like that – that also helps to be seen. Because if you never say a word in a big group, then you just do not stand out."

R13: "Yes, well, that is indeed – I am not that far yet, but from 11 to 12 (pay scale) I really stipulated that. […] I really had to be tough for that, also towards the management. And that was not easy. Because firstly they said: 'well, no you should wait for a vacancy, because then it is more transparent towards others.' And eventually that was not the case and then for the first time in my career I got angry: 'it was promised to me and I just want it.' […] So at a certain moment they gave it to me. And I learned a lot from it: you really have to stand for yourself, so if you do not ask, you will not get it. And you should not ask it nicely. You can ask it nicely once, twice, but the third time not anymore. So I did. But I did think it was difficult, I also cried a bit about it, about that battle."

R14: "Well I think that that is very important. But you should also take the initiative yourself. You will not get support. If you want something different you should talk to people who are favorable towards you or who just are able to connect very well."

R14: "I think that the one who screams the loudest, gets the furthest."

R17: "I think that if you are enthusiastic and extravert, that is does help yes."

6.1.1.3 Vulnerable

I: "Because if you really want to develop your career in ECS, if you want to increase, what are important personality characteristics?"

R8: "Being yourself. Yes, being yourself. And showing that at specific point you can also be vulnerable."

R11: "You are talking to me while I am just rejected for my course, for starting manager. Just rejected."
I: "And if I may ask, what was the reason that you did not, or what do you think that the reason is?"
R11: "[…] I just heard that I am not vulnerable enough. And then I said: 'but what do you mean by vulnerable?' I do not face any problems with being vulnerable, but it is just no my instinctive reaction if, if shit hits the fan, my reaction will not be: oooh; my reaction will be: taking care of it. […] You will not very likely hear me complaining. But that is, that is completely different from… Is it going to be used against me that I do not complain? No, probably it is, I just have to think about how I make sure, although I do not have specific issues or pains, that there is a need to get hold on it. […] It makes you more pleasant if you are vulnerable, then you are more pleasant."

6.1.1.4 Political sensitivity

R2: "You know, you are just an assistant of the minister. Or the state secretary. And that is why you are here. To help the minister. And to to to help your director, in such a way that he can even better help the minister. And that does not match me at all."

R5: "So you must also have some competences who… In beautiful terms they call it sensitivity and political sensitivity which is actually about: do you have the feeling with the people with whom you are around the table. Well, I think one of the biggest talents over here is dealing with them or convincing them."

R7: "You must take some risk, though the risk must never be in such a way that the minister could fail in the parliament. Referring to that, you must be absolutely avoid any risk."

I: "And if you look back to your career, what has been the most important related to the fact that you have increased?"
R7: "Ehm what has been very determining I think is my sensitivity, my political sensitivity. Ehm I think that that has been very important. So knowing what people feel, what people need and and what the appropriate timing is for things. Because that is the way in which you make sure that members of the government unharmed succeed in the parliament, as well as the way in which you accomplish more with the managers. Ehm and by which you can network, I think that that has been the most important. I already said that I see people who are smarter and work for more hours who do not have that, who less easily…"

R10: "And in society, everything. Now there are really focused on mobility for example. And a few years ago that did not play a role. It existed, but they did not focus on it that much. And now they want you to keep moving. So also the developments in ECS and society. And what the parliament wants. Next year there will be a new parliament, they might focus on other things. And yes, then the departments also need to focus on those other things. And there will be a new secretary general, who might also think other things are of importance that might affect the work of a personnel advisor. So in that way a lot changes. And you have to be a bit flexible related to that."
I: "Yes, because the political sensitivity, what do you exactly mean by that?"
R10: "Well, you have to understand that… Sometimes I come to a department and then I hear:

'the director has just been called by the minister.' Well, then I can say that I had planned a meeting with the director, but then I am just a subordinate. […] And you should be able to deal with that. At one time you go towards one direction and at the other time you go towards the other. And I think that political sensitivity is even more important for a staff member compared to a personnel advisor – though it is also important for us. But as a staff member you can be busy with a specific subject for months and then suddenly it is not at the table anymore. And you have to be able to cope with that. […] And the longer you are here, the easier that gets."

R15: "Yes political sensitivity. That is incredibly important. Everything here revolves about whether the minister and state secretary are happy and that their law drafts succeed in the parliament and that there is no bad publicity. Yes. And so can you do things technically, but you should always consider how it will turn out in the media. It could, really small things can arise and… So you must really develop political sensitivity."
I: "And does that mean that you sometimes must, say with political sensitivity, that you must sometimes do things that you do not support?"
R15: "Yes, definitely. Yes, we think, each civil servant has his own visions about how things should be done and that does not always correspond whit what the minister wants, the state secretary. Sometimes you must write a law draft which you do not at all… Of which you think: I do not at all agree. Yes, you must be able to do that."
I: "And do you face trouble operating like that?"
R15: "Ehm no, no."

R16: "Ehm if you for example consider the director generals and the secretary general at the various ministries ehm they are chosen by certain ministers and not based on capacities. But really based on how they interact with the minister. And most director generals and secretary generals are brought in because the minister is then supported by those director generals and secretary generals and that means that you bring in people that will further support you. So it is actually a political game. And as an immigrant you do not understand that. You then think: well I do not know how this works. And it takes a lot of time to understand that in the government, to understand that and to really participate and then there is the opportunity that you do increase in your career."

6.1.2 Ethno-migrant inequality related to personality – modesty (difficulties with expressiveness)

R4: "But not a network in terms of knowing where to be, in order to get a specific function. You know, I really think that is difficult. I do not like to do so. It is also, there are people who approach you and say: 'this project is amazing, it is the best I have ever done.' Then I always get some negative vibes, like: what do you exactly want? So to do that myself, I will not do that very quickly, I also think that that is difficult."

R4: I think that modesty is good, up to a certain point. But you do have to, well, express to the environment that you want to go for it. I think that is really important. And that is something right, for the bi-cultural. That is, it is not in their nature. […] Look, the the the, many Moroccans and Turkish, but many other ethnic groups as well, they come from communities in which you profile yourself in relation to… If you profile yourself in relation to the group, than you are not doing well. The group is the norm."
I: "Right."

R4: "Right so that is really part of that culture, the cultural code. And in the ministry, if you want to distinguish yourself, than you must – in other organizations as well – contrarily profile yourself from yourself. Such as: 'I am doing a good job.' That is not appreciated in Dutch culture either, but continually a bit more, an American vibe which existed around the sixties. Ehm and migrants often think that that is very difficult."

R8: "Well that final function, that is quite a switch from execution to advising, that is just a very different… It requires different skills and ehm, well that is pretty exciting. And in the first place I did not want to do it. My former manager then said: 'just apply for it. A function is available and you can do it. I am sure about that.' So then I did so. That is what I also mentioned in that speech, that he has given me a boost. Because you are, and I think that is a bit related to the Indonesian culture, that you are modest. […] Because you are always modest. You are, I am not someone who is always comes to the fore. I am someone who is actually reflexive and I consider things very carefully. You always have, in a group, people who immediately… Well, that is not me."

I: "And ehm if you consider personality, how is that of importance related to your career in ECS?"
R8: "Well, personality is also considering what your strengths and weaknesses are, to name so and how you could improve. I am someone who sometimes turns a bit in to myself, through which sometimes at a certain moment you get to busy and you are snowed under. Or you adapt a very willing attitude."

R11: "Yes and it could also be related to small differences, that the Dutch culture is pretty cheeky compared to other cultures, especially nonwestern cultures. Because ehm it is not necessarily wrong with that cheekiness. But you do recognize that. […] Those kind of things, politeness."

R13: "So some kind of non-action, like: I do not know what is expected of me, so yes I showed very little initiative. So it was not really something in my system, I learned step by step: you actually create your own work. So if you have got nothing to do and people are too busy and do not see you, then you just go to their room and sit on the desk and then you say: 'what are you doing, can I help you?'" Well, I did not know that back then. And I spend some lost hours behind my computer."

R16: "So coincidentally a teacher approached me during a break when I was studying and he said: 'good job R16, you must continue studying, then in the future, you can take my place.' So I was quite surprised about: how is it possible that I could ever be a teacher. I never thought about that and I did not think it was possible. And that was related to various factors, right. In our culture, if you are 20, 21 years old, then you cannot continue studying in Afghanistan. Then you must marry and bear children. That is a completely different live category. While, in the Netherlands, you can even start studying at the age of 60. Because culturally, out of norms and values, I learned that you cannot study if you are 20 years old, then you think it is too late."

6.1.2.1 Ethno-migrant inequality related to political sensitivity

R7: "Ehm yes and then you have that sensitivity I was talking about, that obviously has also to do with it, which is partly personality, but it is also partly social and cultural capital. So knowing how the codes work, what the customs are. And for example for people from

academic environments from the Randstad, it is already easier compared to people from the middle class and from Brabant. But still, then you are close. […] That is your social and cultural capital, so to say. And many nonwestern immigrants do not have that."

R16: "Yes, I do enjoy to make career, but for me that is not related to a promotion at a certain position. For me, advancing in your career is that you do your job, that you do that well and that you ehm do what is good for society. And not what is politically desirable. And not what the director wants. […] And that is for me just, yes, increasing in your career. And in order to realize that, I think that is really important. To, at some time, become director or head of department or maybe higher in order to do what is good for society. And not what is politically desirable."

6.1.2.2 Overcompensating

R9: "Besides, later on that was also used against me, the assertive and those kind of things."
I: "And do you think that that has hindered you in your career?"
R9: […] Sometimes I do have that feeling, related to image forming. So I am not sure, I do not have any facts or something. But relying on my feelings I would say that that would be possible."
I: "And how?"
R9: "[…] that they would not listen, that they were thinking: there is miss critical again, the nag and we should do something with it but we do not feel like it; instead of that there were thinking like: we could do something with it. […] So a bit too critical. And that they would rather not do anything with it, consciously, then listening. That is how I experienced it. And that causes that you will obviously will not be asked very quickly for something."

R13: "Well, you say network, I think it is mainly image formation, image formation is really important."
I: "Hm hm. And how do you create a good image so to say?"
R13: "Well yes, that is an interesting question, because the answer to that question is visibility. But I see, I see and many people do not understand that, but is also see that often that visibility is wrongly applied. So I see some people being visible very excessively, like: visibility, image forming, positivity. While ehm and I think that in a certain period of time I also did so, so saying yes to everything, being in projects everywhere and ehm talking big, having a real strong opinion. […] And in the meanwhile visibility for me is, it is still visibility but more solidly."

6.2 Interpretation

R1: "The performance review is secondary about performance. That is what it is about. But, if you hate me and you are my boss and you are having a performance review with me, well, then something is not right. Because you hate me. Well then: 'you have completed nine out of ten, but you did not finish that single one.' If you secretly really like me or the other way around... [...] But if you really like me and you know I have completed six out of ten: 'well yeah, really good job. Yes you know, those four, next year.' [...] So then you get a sort of bonus if you have just worked decently. So it is secondary about your results, but the perception and that kind of stuff, has got everything to do with feelings."

R1: "But I, I just work normal. Other ones, really, they are working Saturday and Sunday and in the evenings they are mailing and calling and recording voicemails. And then comes ehm, say, the moment ehm of assessment and then you see them crying..."

R6: "Performance. Yes, you can also modify that a bit, namely: I do believe that I just deliver good work. Well, you get that back. Ehm at the same time, what I consider as being good, others might not. And sometimes it happens that way."

R9: "And sometimes it is difficult. Sometimes I hear how other people operate and they then say: 'I did it by this and that,' and then I am thinking: I think that is a little bit limited. But apparently the client think it is okay. […] And when is the client satisfied? Because there are managers in here who think: well, all that nagging about your advice and I have to do all those difficult things, which I do not feel like. If I would say, and now I exaggerate, but if I would make copies for the entire department and if I would arrange all the documentation […] I do all the executive tasks and then they think: that is nice, I do not have to do it myself. And then they are really satisfied. 'Yes, R9, she is great.' But am I operating well then? No, then you are not operating well at all at a pay scale eleven, because it is not what you should do. And we were talking about it earlier, about how do we make sure it is more clear and transparent, that is very difficult."

6.3 Offered development opportunities

R2: "And ehm, well in those first ten years when I was research coordinator and when I was staff member, then I had, you know I could ehm every education that I wanted, I could have."

R4: "I am following an MD track right now. A development track in order to get into a function as head of department."
"I am in a pool now of ehm inter departmental, so between ministries, in which the educate people to become ehm manager. And I am in that. You nominated from the management, eventually by the highest civil servant, secretary general. [...] And then you have to follow an application procedure..."
I: "And ehm if you are nominated, ehm, yes how do you make sure that you are in the picture, that you are nominated?"
R4: "Ehm by doing a good job. And just right, so performance, ehm following up your agreements and ehm dissipating enthusiasm and ambition."

I: "And what is ehm what is especially the focus in that?"
R4: "Ehm on whether you have reached your targets of the start conversation, so ehm the policy ambitions, or you, how you, the personal development in terms of education. Ehm and ehm well-being, how you are doing."

R5: "You can, you can do a lot. You know, there is a learning and development square, you can do this, you can do that."

I: "Ehm are you offered a lot of development opportunities in ECS?"
R6: "Ehm yes. This really is a ministry in which… No, concerning trainings education and so, that is really, yes, definitely."
I: "And are these offered to you? Or does that differ for each person?"
R6: "Ehm you, well, that is discussed in a conversation between the manager and… At least,

that is what I do with my people. […] People can suggest things themselves and […] things are sometimes offered."

I: "And are offered a lot of opportunities related to development?"
R8: "Yes, many."

R11: "It is offered. So it is possible, you can do it. […] I was definitely allowed to make use of it."

I: "Are you offered a lot of development opportunities in ECS?
R17: "Yes. Courses, courses related to content and trainings. But also personal development. Especially when you get a little further and you are managers, then it mostly is the latter."

6.3.1 Ethno-migrant inequality in offered development opportunity

R11: "You are talking to me while I am just rejected for my course, for starting manager. Just rejected."

R13: "I did apply for it (MD-course) earlier, three years ago when I was thinking: I want to become a manager. And then it did not work."

7. Coding power motivation

7.1 Motivation to increase

I: "And from the beginning, and still now, did you have the motivation to increase?"
R11: "Yes. "You are talking to me while I am just rejected for my course, for starting manager. Just rejected."

I: "And from the moment that you entered ECS, have you always got the motivation and the drive to increase?"
R13: "Ehm yes I do think so. Simply because – and I relate that to the traineeship, because that is the path."

R14: "I do want to increase one or two steps. […] In terms of difficulty and influencing. […] And whether it is as a head of department or specialist, I do not care, I just want to do it myself."

R16: "Yes, I do enjoy to make career, but for me that is not related to a promotion at a certain position. For me, advancing in your career is that you do your job, that you do that well and that you ehm do what is good for society. And not what is politically desirable. And not what the director wants. […] And that is for me just, yes, increasing in your career. And in order to realize that, I think that is really important. To, at some time, become director or head of department or maybe higher in order to do what is good for society. And not what is politically desirable."

7.1.1 Being challenged

R1: "You know what I believe in? Ehm if you are talking about motivation and wanting to advance in the organization. I believe that you, that you always must have some sort of bottom limit, right. That you say: 'well, I really want to enjoy.' Then you must work at a specific level. I would never have wanted to stay at that employment agency, because then,

you know, then I would have got stuck, because I was not mentally challenged. So there is a bottom limit, but at the same time you must also determine an upper limit."

R9: "You notice that very quickly, that when you are doing something and you think: well I can do this easily right now. Well, they say that as well, so it was a good match right. But I was also thinking myself: I can do this. So later on that ambition arose. But not like: I need to increase in pay scale, though more like: if I can do more, they I want to do more, because it challenges me more."

R10: "Now that I have made that step, I want to continue. But I do not have to hurry. And during the vacation is especially difficult. But I hope that in the autumn, I have a good position. And that might also be a transfer, I do not mind. But eleven years at the same department is enough for me. […] So that. But because I have always done various departments, it was also fun and a lot of challenges and developments, which made me enjoy it. And I do still enjoy it, I have nice colleagues. But I want to continue. And that does not have to be a higher function, no just horizontal, various opportunities.

7.1.2 Extra motivation

R16: "So it does not matter from which country you are, which culture and the basic principle is that we are all just humans and there are no differences. Whether you are black or white, it does not matter. And that was really important for me to show: I indeed am a refugee, but I am as valuable as a Dutch person or a German person or a Belgian one or a Hindustani, it does not matter."

7.1.3 Unattractiveness of the function of a manager

R1: "For example, I do not think that I have a function of which I think: well, one more step, but not much more. If I would do more, then I would ask so much more of myself, so much more pressure and that would be at the expense of other things, at the expense of my freedom, my family, my friends, my own rest you know, which I attach a lot of value to."

R5: "I have never explicitly had the desire to become a manager. I have already done that my entire life and it was a really informative, nice experience, but I realized that it actually is a shitty job. […] You are constantly in a split between, and even more when you are a little sensitive, between let's say what is of essence businesslike and what do I feel as a person. […] And then a lot of times you get the hassle from the bottom and the top."

I: "And ehm have you always wanted to increase in ECS?"
R8: "No. I just want… Now I am doing this and I really like it and I want to continue doing this until I leave here. […] I just like what I do. Look, in the case of – they are talking about professionalizing the function and if that means that you can act at a higher level and you are guided and you can do it, than I will not refuse, you get it? But I, I am not that eager that I am thinking: well, I want to become a CO advisor at 13 (pay scale), because… No, no."

R9: "I always say, up to pay scale 12 is fine. Above, the type of function becomes different. Then you are very much between the upper- and lower layers and then you are really, less independent, I do not like that. Something changes in your status or so."

R10: "And that strategic, that you are more at the side of the organization. At that does not appeal to me that much. I am rather one step ahead and that is I why I prefer developing

myself more horizontally at the moment. Because if I increase on step, then I will end up in the strategic. And right now, at this moment, I do not like doing that.

7.2 Participate in trainings

R1: "So the only thing you should do is enjoy your work, ehm just go, ehm continue to develop yourself. And developing can be done formally or informally. So you could follow an educational program, but you could also just listen very carefully to what others are doing."

R2: "Well, especially since I am at the pool. And ehm, well in those first ten years when I was research coordinator and when I was staff member, then I had, you know I could ehm every education that I wanted, I could have."

R4: "I am following an MD track right now. A development track in order to get into a function as head of department."
"I am in a pool now of ehm inter departmental, so between ministries, in which the educate people to become ehm manager. And I am in that. You nominated from the management, eventually by the highest civil servant, secretary general. [..] And then you have to follow an application procedure..."
I: "And ehm if you are nominated, ehm, yes how do you make sure that you are in the picture, that you are nominated?"
R4: "Ehm by doing a good job. And just right, so performance, ehm following up your agreements and ehm dissipating enthusiasm and ambition."

I: "Yes, because how does it influence your career, either making use of it or not (of development opportunities)?"
R5: "Well, it absolutely is a theme in all pieces: learning and development, lifelong learning, those are all terms that are being used. Sustainable employability obviously, like: how do you make sure of it yourself that not only now, but also in ten years you are still employable. [..] So what you now see, what you see is a phase in which […] you consider more: what is your own contribution? […] Ehm so yes, look, I think that the more you work on your development, the more employable you are and the more opportunities arise. […] Look, what you see is that people who are eager and who want to continue to develop themselves, mainly go together with certain behaviors and competences. Those are people who are often more innovative, who stick their neck out, who more easily apply things. And I, I do generalize, but that will never be unnoticed. Look, in contract there are people: well, you know, I will stay until the end and I will to the necessary and if I have to do compulsory training, because it is part of my function, I will do it. C'est ca. Well, in between there is a very large area. And the group that does not show any initiative, they will not experience much development, not in their careers."

I: "So how does either participating or not participating in development opportunities influence your career?"
R6: "Yes, I really believe so. I really do. Because a training as well, it does not only teach you knowledge and skills, it is good for your skills and employability."

R9: "No, it is of importance that you keep up, which means… Well I did sustainable employability, the legal status you must keep up… […] So more keeping up with your profession."

R9: "I participated in the HR professionalization."

R10: "I participated in many trainings."

I: "Because did you do many trainings and courses? In ECS, so the development opportunities?"
R11: "Not as much as I could do and want to do."

R12: "The traineeship is really full of development opportunities. Ehm I did a lot of trainings related to content. But also a lot of personal effectivity trainings."

R13: "If you do not show that you are willing to invest in yourself and do not put yourself to work, you know, then you do not dissipate that you want to develop and advance, so absolutely."
I: "Yes, because did you do a lot related to development yourself?"
R13: "Ehm yes I do think so, at least, and for sure always doing something. […] And I also think that if you start as a trainee, then it is more in your blood to be busy with development, because in the first two years you also do various trainings pretty intensively. Then you do not feel that afterwards suddenly it should be quiet and stop. For me it has always been pretty obvious to be busy with it and to ask for it. So when I thought: hey, nothing is happening for a while, then I went after it."

R13: "MD-course, yes exactly. And so there is one very specific course that starts every year for future managers. Well, I always tell my colleagues that if you end up in that basket – I really see it that way – if you end up in that basket, than you can advance. And if you are not in that basket, then you can apply, but it becomes more difficult. Ehm and this year I ended up in that basket. In the spring I was in the selection and well I got selected and in January I will start."

I: "And if you now think about, you say: I do want to increase one, two steps, what can you do about that in specific, what is of importance?"
R14: "Well, maybe another training. Last year I did the training: de Staat van Nederland. […] I really do enjoy trainings."

7.3 Talk to leaders and coaches

R1: "... I think coaching is nonsense. Say, such a coaching relationship. But what I have done a lot is, I have always consulted people. A lot of colleagues and supervisors and then I asked questions like: 'well, how do you consider this?'"

R2: "… when I became staff member, then I have had a coach. Because I thought: I am going to do something completely different now. And ehm I think I need, well, some help with it. And she has, well she has helped me in order to figure out that the function I was at, as staff member, that that did not fit me at all. […] Then I have had a coach for a while who was really focused on finding another place. So that was career coaching."

R12: "So it can be simple training, but also, we had a mentor-mentee ship. So I had a mentor in that period, who was the former director of the department."

R13: "… I thought it was very difficult to ask for help, I did not do that. I had the image of: I have a serious job now at the Ministry so I have to… I am selected out of hundreds, so I have to show that I can do it, while little had been arranged for me. And I should have asked much

more of the department I was at, like: just help me and offer me some more guidance related to what you ask."

R17: "And now I have a coach again."

8. Career success in ECS

8.1 Network

R1: "... when something happens, you must, yes, you must accidentally be at the right position or you must know the right people. That is how simple it is. […] Something else is not possible. [...] You know, it is really crazy. Look, some people here are really engaged with completing their educational passport. Every quarter of the year they have done something, a whole portfolio. But they apply for certain functions and then they are not hired. [...] ... it is a network. It really is a network."

R1: "Well the most determining is is is yes you know, I would really like to just mention one thing, but that is not possible. The most determining is just ehm personality combined with... Yes personality also contains knowledge and ability, combined with network. Yes, you know, really, believe me, make sure that you know the right people."

8.1.1 Visibility

I: "How, how do you make sure that you increase?"
R3 (in general): "Ehm I do think by being really visible. I think that that is super important. So by being visible for people in the higher positions."

R4: "You have to express your ambition. Implicitly or explicitly, that that is really what you want. Otherwise you will not be seen. Visibility, yes visibility, I think that everyone… I do not belief that a staff member is good or not good, it is all pretty in between, but visibility is especially related to showing that you want it, being ambitious."

R10: "If you really want to increase, then there are possibilities. Though you have to get the opportunity in your department to get involved in those areas, then you get that opportunity. But that is also partly related to profile yourself, so that they see you. I have thought for years: you know, I am an advisor personnel, than you must know what I do, because it is part of my job. Well, then you might do you work properly and your clients might be satisfied, but no one knows you, except from your own department. And if you want to develop, then you must profile yourself a bit."
I: "And how do you make sure people see you? How do you do that?"
R10: "Well, I sometimes think that is difficult. I am not the kind of person that screams through the halls what I am doing. But for example, we have to walk in staff every Tuesday morning and then you can tell: 'I am doing this in my department.'

I: "And whom should you be visible for?"
R10: "The MT indeed. Those are the people who can make sure that you will get one step further."

I: "What should you do in ECS if you want to increase?"
R10: "Well, you should know the right people, be visible, you might, if you can also realize it, you might be a bit present, if you can indeed realize it. Ehm I think, I often see that the people who are positioned in the right group, that the increase the most quickly.

I: "What should you do in ECS if you want to increase?"
R10: "Well, you should know the right people, be visible, you might, if you can also realize it, you might be a bit present, if you can indeed realize it. Ehm I think, I often see that the people who are positioned in the right group, that they increase the most quickly. […] If I scream through the halls that I am very busy and I often talk to *colleague in high function* and I present a lot at the MT, then I can also quickly get there. But that is not who I am. […] And the staff members can profile themselves by writing obviously and related to how they are. The one will be taken to the minister more quickly than the other; sometimes justly, sometimes unjustly. Sometimes the people of whom I think: they can do it, do not get the opportunity because they are quieter behind their desks. So, yes, the more extravert people increase more."

8.2 Expressiveness

R3: "For example, if you want to become head of a department, you must make sure that people see you, that you are already doing good things in the right direction. And also just say it. Make sure people know that you want it."

I: "If you enter ECS and you really want, you feel like: I want to advance in this organization? How do you do that?"
R5: "[…] And if you feel that you are at the right position, then you must go for it and show that it is your position. And ehm further just nicely interact with people and when you are at the right position and you work just normally or hard, also express what you interests are. Because I think that is you want, you want to become this, than you should also say it."

R7: "The most important development opportunity is your work I think, the projects you get, the type of work you do. Because that is the most important, since concerning content you can, you can broaden your horizon and with that you also create contacts outside the organization as well as inside. And you, with that you contribute to your visibility. So that is the most important. It is never just a case of casualness, you should also do it yourself. You must have a certain eagerness and a certain self-confidence. You must dare to explain to your manager: I want do this and that and this is what I like. So that is the most important. And I think that it is good to invest in your contacts in any case, the contact with your manager. You just need him for it."

I: "And what did you specifically do in order to, well indirectly, increase?"
R9: "Ehm well I think presenting yourself if there is… Back then a function got available […] and I thought: well I am just going to do that, for the entire department. And they also imagined me doing that. And for the rest, nobody offered him/herself. So yes, also mentioning: I like this, so let me do this. […] I see now, related to that time and space independent working and a new culture, it is more businesslike, you are less visible. In the past it was, you were always in contact with your manager and he knew exactly how you were working, he considered your strengths and weaknesses. So it was a bit easier I think. Well, we were just talking about it, nowadays you have to make sure you are always there at the right time. And now I do not have that tendency anymore. But I have… Present yourself: 'yes, I want to do that.'"

8.3 Development

I: "What has been the most determining related to the fact that you advanced in your career?"
R6: "*Former employer*. […] Yes, yes, because it is all about development. Yes."

I: "And if you consider development opportunities, you get them offered a lot in ECS right? As far as I know."
R7: "Yes."
I: "And how did you either make use of it or not?"
R7: "The most important development opportunity is your work I think, the projects you get, the type of work you do. Because that is the most important, since concerning content you can, you can broaden your horizon and with that you also create contacts outside the organization as well as inside. And you, with that you contribute to your visibility. So that is the most important. It is never just a case of casualness, you should also do it yourself. You must have a certain eagerness and a certain self-confidence. You must dare to explain to your manager: I want do this and that and this is what I like. So that is the most important. And I think that it is good to invest in your contacts in any case, the contact with your manager. You just need him for it. […] And yes there are courses and studies that you can do. And not all of them are appropriate. I have not done any study for years, but at the right moments I did. And especially when it is offered, you should not say no. But yes, there are a few really good studies, especially for people from 13 (pay scale) and higher. There are very interesting things. Both concerning content and focused on the development of your personality."

8.4 Doing the extra

I: "If you had to describe how you make career in ECS, how you can best increase in the organization?"
R8: "Ehm you know, I am always, how I have experienced it and how I am myself, is doing just a bit extra, you know. Not thinking like: all right, this is what I do, but considering: all right, these are my activities, do I they interfere with other disciplines and how do I make sure that they connect. So that mainly is what I have learned from the beginning as an administrative officer: all right, this is what I do, but what does it involve and how does it translate itself in the organization.

8.5 Working hard

I: "How did you increase in the organization?"
R8: […] By working hard. Yes I think it really is about working hard. By showing yourself, by doing something extra. You know, give 200 per cent. […] Yes I have, right, as employee personnel management you work for various departments and if you perform well, then you will have a positive name, that is just the case."

8.6 Seeking challenge

I: "What has had the most influence related to the fact that you increased in the organization?"
R8: "Ehm I think it is something in myself. You know, at a certain point in time you are not challenged anymore. And at a certain time you are going to work automatically. And then you think: I want something else."

9. Ethno-migrancy and career development

9.1 Bi-cultural background

R1: "You know, my bi-cultural background and all of that nonsense, those do not play a role. And that really is, in my opinion, in your story, and you determine that yourself, but in my opinion it should prominently be emphasized in your story that in the Netherlands there are so many opportunities for everyone, really."

I: "Have you got the feeling that that ehm you migration background that that ehm has influenced your career?"
R4: "No, I do not think so. No. no. No it has no... I do not belief that that has had an influence. I do believe (*laughing*), someone has made the joke: 'you are doing a good job because you are an immigrant.' But I do not belief that I, that that has played a role. Maybe it did when I got hired by the way, then *name head of department* said, my head of department who then hired me, said that it is also of importance at the department of primary education, right one out of seven children is immigrant in primary education, ehm to, and not one staff member out of the 100 is immigrant. So they had to hire someone who could do something. They have had many times a conversation with people with different backgrounds, but still it was not as it should be. Ehm so in the beginning it had helped me, but afterwards you have to do it on your own."

I: "Ehm have you got the feeling that you background has influenced your career, either supported or interrupted?"
R6: "Ehm I am not sure. I obviously just did that trainee… Yes background interrupted or supported… What I can imagine, because I hear so, is that at many places they search for bi-cultural talent. Or at least, they say so. […] Well, then I could say: I meet those criteria. Even only based on my name people will think, so then I just go along… And then it might just be that it helped me."

I: "Ehm have you ever got the feeling that your background influenced your career in a way?"
R9: "Never. But, maybe it is weird to say, but I do not feel at all, I was not raised like that. I was born and raised over here and I speak the language of The Hague, if necessary. Ehm but I, at one way or another, I have never had the idea that someone saw me that way. I am just R9, that is it."

I: "But do you have the feeling that your background, that that has influence on your career? Either positive or negative?"
R11: "Yes, I do think so. Ehm both positive as well as negative. Both. I think it is part of my identity, so I take it with me. And I think it definitely matters. I do not have, I do not necessarily have a negative… I just am what I am, I think. But I did experience it. During my study time, in the first place, in the first place they did not notice me. Only when I showed that I could do something they thought: well, but you do have something to say or that they thought: you are just a young, you are probably a young girl, you probably have nothing to say and this and this. But I do not have the feeling that if I, I do not think that I would not pass. Although I have been crafty. […] And somewhere it is sad that that is needed, but then I think: if I only reach my goal. And I do not yet know how I should use those skills."

R13: "Well yes, we were talking about that traineeship and the selection of it, I mean everyone jokes about it, but in the back of my mind I do think: it was the policy back then.

And I am happy about it, so in that way I think: you know, if it delivers that and I was able to start over here, then I am happy with it. So maybe back then it did, although I cannot entirely prove it, it is my feeling."

9.1.1. Not being familiar with the (organizational) culture

R6: "People that enter here are strangers in a new environment and new customs, a new culture, new… Some people are more used to these customs from home and for some people the distance with their home is, their home culture just bigger. So that is really… And I really believe that that has added value."

R13: "Ehm and I think that, comparable to high school and university, I had to learn a lot over here. And with that I go a little slower, compared to when I would have grown up in an environment in which I would have older brothers who have studied and if my father did so and uncles and aunts and everybody more or less knows how it should g. […] I mean that you got a little guidance. And if you did not get that, then you should all figure it out yourself, which is not bad, it counts for many people, not only diversity. […] And the assertiveness I really had to learn it or being outspoken, I really had to learn."

R16: "That is number one, that we as immigrants still do not have the capacity to, to occupy those high positions. Ehm we know very little about how to use your network. We know very little ehm about how the Dutch culture operates. What is previously mentioned, how does feedback to your supervisor work. A good relationship makes sure you get all of the positions. I recently understood that. Many people still do not understand that. They are like: I just do my job and then I will see. But if you understand those small things about how Dutch people increase, that it is actually a political game and that you just have to participate with everything. Than you can be dark-colored or just colored and that you do enter into a high positions. However, that is a skill which you must possess and you must understand how the Dutch culture operates."

9.2 Ethno-migrant inequality

R2: "Yes. Yes. Look, I mean you have seen R1, R1 is incredibly charming and gets in everywhere. But I think that that is the case because he is from Limburg. And ehm he also jokes about his Moroccan roots, but it is mainly someone from Limburg. [..] Ehm R13, yes she has really, that is just a very powerful, incredibly nice, positive woman. With a head full of beautiful black curly hear and you know, that is just a very strong present woman. Ehm so she talks herself into everything. Everyone likes her and ehm, yes, everyone likes R1 as well. But why do they manage and other ones do not? Yes, I think that is also just has to do with the supply. And I have, this might be a nice example. You know the phenomenon of the state trainees right?"
I: "Yes."
R2: "Well, at one time I participated in the selection and there was, based on the files, a selection, was a letter of a boy or a man with a Turkish background and then he had written poorly Dutch. And then I thought: wat should we do with this? That man, I mean, if you are working here you must be able to just write the language. And ehm, but for some reason, he was invited. That man, he was fantastic. He was so nice and he was so, he could, he was very driven and and and also charming and ehm he just blew us away. And I said: 'well you know, his Dutch is not that good, he just has to learn that, but we have to hire such a person.' I belief

that he, well, I do not actually know if he is hired. [..] But maybe, with a yes, how, well I just call it an immigrant, you sooner must have real contact with him and be in conversation in order to get through a selection compared to a selection based on letters."

R2: "... you really have to network and then you write such a nice and beautiful letter, then you really have to take advantage of personal contact. And I think that people with a bi-cultural background as well, you have to get in touch with them."

R4: "Look, the the the, many Moroccans and Turkish, but many other ethnic groups as well, they come from communities in which you profile yourself in relation to… If you profile yourself in relation to the group, than you are not doing well. The group is the norm."
I: "Right."
R4: "Right so that is really part of that culture, the cultural code. And in the ministry, if you want to distinguish yourself, than you must – in other organizations as well – contrarily profile yourself from yourself. Such as: 'I am doing a good job.' That is not appreciated in Dutch culture either, but continually a bit more, an American vibe which existed around the sixties. Ehm and migrants often think that that is very difficult."

I: "Ehm finally I wanted to ask whether you have a male colleague with a bi-cultural background in the same pay scale?"
R7: "Ehm that says a lot that I cannot even thing about one. A male colleague with a… No. I am thinking, we do not have male managers at this moment with a bi-cultural background. Nee. We do have R1, but he is 13 (pay scale). Ehm, especially as head of department."

I: "Ehm, if I may ask, you are positioned, in which pay scale?"
R15: "Ehm scale 16."
I: "16? Right. And do you happen to have a, a male colleague with comparable job responsibilities and a bi-cultural background?"
R15: "Ehm no."
I: "No?"
R15: "No. You still see the heads of department ehm… I could not even consider someone with a cultural background, a head of department."

9.2.1. Labor supply

R2: "Yes and besides, I mean, we just do not have that many."

R3: "Ehm I am not sure. I think that, there are fewer (employees with a bi-cultural background). Ehm I think that, yes, I think that the amount is increasing but I think that there are, I think that there are less well educated bi cultural persons compared to… How do actually call that? With a…"
I: "Employees with and without a cultural background."

R9: "If I consider the applications for the higher occupations; not many bi-cultural or immigrant people do apply for those occupations. And why that is, I do not know. […] But I see few, if you are talking about functions above an eleven pay scale so to say. Below it does works, but I need to say that you then many times see Hindustani Surinamese, you do see them. But you do not see many Moroccan, Turkish, etcetera. I do not see them applying a lot."

R10: "If I have vacancies at the department of policy, then there are not many bi-culturals in between. And at the state trainees there is a policy in order to properly, but… If you consider the thousands of participants, then the proportion is also out of alignment. The group of bi-culturals is also smaller."

R14: "I think that the supply is little."

9.2.2 The ideas about ECS

R5: "People, which also has been revealed from research, that, let's say the government is not the most popular employer for people with a bi-cultural background. So that works, I also think that the invisible ceiling that you see here as well. And that if people entered with certain opportunities, that they have left. […] And I think it is also related to status: how does it appear when you are working here. Is it not sexier when you work for example Shell or Coca Cola."

R6: "Let's see, it sounds reasonable that that layer (high in the organization) is even whiter. Whiter not in terms of white, white, just less bi-cultural, more homogeneous. That is an assumption. But it could be, and I think it is, that subsequently the distance, that there is an even more closed culture with customs, how you do some things. It could be, as they say so, that in the government, that the ambitious, talented, bi-cultural people […] that they do not want to be a manager in the government, but at Shell or start something for themselves or something international."

R6: "Next to the other explanation, namely, it is an environment in which the reason, the cognitive, the debate, the talking, a certain way which, which does not appeal to everyone."

9.2.3 Language

R2: "And well, it is a fact, [...] that for many many ehm immigrants, also whom were born here, that the language is often a problem, because when they were little, they heard Arabic or Turkish at home. And that is a very crucial period for language development. So therewith they fall behind. Even though they went to college. That trainee as well, that Turkish boy, he had a fantastic story. He has had good education, but his language was not great."

R3: "And obviously, language is really important. But if you do not properly speak or write the language, you will definitely not…"
I: "Because the Dutch language is the official language in here?"
R3: "Yes. Well yes and obviously this is a ministry of education, so you know making writing errors, ehm spelling errors, that will not be accepted over here. So you must properly control the language."

9.2.4 Differences in norms and values

R8: "Well that final function, that is quite a switch from execution to advising, that is just a very different… It requires different skills and ehm, well that is pretty exciting. And in the first place I did not want to do it. My former manager then said: 'just apply for it. A function is available and you can do it. I am sure about that.' So then I did so. That is what I also mentioned in that speech, that he has given me a boost. Because you are, and I think that is a bit related to the Indonesian culture, that you are modest. […] Because you are always modest. You are, I am not someone who always comes to the fore. I am someone who is

actually reflexive and I consider things very carefully. You always have, in a group, people who immediately… Well, that is not me."

R11: "Yes and it could also be related to small differences, that the Dutch culture is pretty cheeky compared to other cultures, especially non-western cultures. Because ehm it is not necessarily wrong with that cheekiness. But you do recognize that. […] Those kind of things, politeness."

R16: "So coincidentally a teacher approached me during a break when I was studying and he said: 'good job R16, you must continue studying, then in the future, you can take my place.' So I was quite surprised about: how is it possible that I could ever be a teacher. I never thought about that and I did not think it was possible. And that was related to various factors, right. In our culture, if you are 20, 21 years old, then you cannot continue studying in Afghanistan. Then you must marry and bear children. That is a completely different live category. While, in the Netherlands, you can even start studying at the age of 60. Because culturally, out of norms and values, I learned that you cannot study if you are 20 years old, then you think it is too late."

9.2.5 Recruitment and selection procedure

R5: "Yes and maybe it has, one factor, because I do not think that is only one thing, but one factor causing that the current situation maintains could be that they consider something in a certain way. And the state trainee program, which I was talking about with someone yesterday, the current way of selecting trainees, then you get all of these politicians, the best girl or boy o the class, very kind, nice and friendly though this should not be. If you strive for more innovation and reflection and this and that, then you should let that go. Raffling so to speak. And people with another view and you should focus on that. Those are, right, a lot of those people end up high in the organization and they duplicate, you know, that is how it works."

R8: "I think that there should be selected way more carefully at the front. Because otherwise, it will not succeed. […] So at the front the selection show be improved, like: which kind of leadership do we need and also related to bi-cultural diversity, with a bi-cultural background. And it is difficult to then say: they have priority. But is has to be considered to a greater extent than before."
I: "Yes, and what do you mean with the front?"
R8: "Ehm if function at the higher levels become available, then that is the front and then it should be considered: what are we actually looking for? You know, and then considering who are available. So at the Algemene Bestuursdienst, that is the top, they have to make some changes."

Trainees
R10: "Or because of their cultural background they might response differently to the competence tests, by which they do not pass at Leeuwendaal. While, if they would change the questioning, they might interpret the questions differently, and they might pass. So I think it is also partly background, that the specific questioning is understood by us and not by them."

9.2.6 Homophily

R11: "I think it is very common that in selection procedures you, you search for the known. And I am wondering whether people with a bi-cultural background are familiar for the powerful or influential people, if they are known area. You go for the reliable. And network, the higher you get, the more important network becomes. How many bi-culturals have the ones on that level in their network?"

9.2.7 Education

I: "What do you think is the reason that the percentage of bi-cultural employees increases when looking at the higher scales of pay?"
R7: "Well, it starts with education. In order to work here you must have an academic study, an academic level of thinking and working. And at that point, it has been catched up to a great extent already, especially amongst women, compared to twenty years ago. But ehm it, it is still less compared to natives. Ehm non-western immigrants really have lower educational careers."

9.2.8 Bias

I: "And how do you think that, ehm it is a difficult question, but what the reason is that they (employees with a bi-cultural background) advance less?"
R3: "No I actually do not know. I must say, I was surprised like: oh am I like that. I ehm, that is related to where I live, but ehm in our street – I actually live in a quite white neighborhood with pretty houses and so, so actually it is not bi-cultural at all. But ehm a Moroccan family lives in the street, really nice people, we are also friends and their daughter is friends with my daughter and really, referring to that, you do not notice something at all. And that mother she ehm, a really pretty woman, really nice, open, pleasant, kind. And she has never, has never had a headscarf. But since half a year she is wearing a headscarf. And I was like: hm, why is that? I do not talk to her that much, but my husband asked her and she said that she immersed herself into Islam and that she thought it was better to wear a headscarf. And I noticed that I thought it was more difficult to actually get in contact, because for me that is a sign that someone then isolates. […] And at *name of a department […] well recently I was involved in a project over there in which two ehm both Moroccan ladies were presented. One of them, I think, does not practice the religion and the other is also wearing a headscarf. And then nevertheless you notice that somehow she appears more closed to me. So, yes, I can imagine, that also related to me off course, but I can imagine that, if you then have an application interview, that you must look passed that."

R7: "And yes, then you obviously have the bias of the people that have to choose you, the prejudices and well discrimination is an ugly term, but those prejudices and biases obviously exist."

10. Remaining category

10.1 Assessment interviews (performance of labor control)

R2: "Well, more about how am I and and and ehm how I feel and ehm well about the projects I am working on..."
I: "Are you then assessed in terms of whether the projects succeed or based on..."
R2: "Well, a little bit. But we always evaluate each project separately as well, so that is

already known. And I think, well it does not feel like an assessment interview. You know, I just call it, yes I just think it is a conversation. Just see where we are, how it goes and ehm coincidentally I am the main subject."

I: "And during assessment interview, on what do you focus?"
R3: "Ehm well we have, we always have a sort of start conversation at the beginning of the year and then we make, we establish what you want to learn, right, on what do you want to develop ehm and related to that we make appointments. And then at the end of the year we look back. And every assignment which we do in the pool, they always start with a description of the assignment presented by the client, and we always end with an evaluation and that is a conversation between the client, the pooler and I am always present as well."

I: "And what is ehm what is especially the focus in that?"
R4: "Ehm on whether you have reached your targets of the start conversation, so ehm the policy ambitions, or you, how you, the personal development in terms of education. Ehm and ehm well-being, how you are doing."

I: "And if you then have an assessment interview, what is it mainly about?"
R5: "Well, it is mainly looking back. And I think that is the way it should be in an assessment interview. And looking forward as well obviously. And I must say that I have a lot of space and that there is few, actually too few interaction in the past year. [...] For example this year, in the autumn when it happens again, it will be about the basics, since he does not have a clear view regarding… […] It is also a little bit about how you color it. […] So it is looking backward, looking forward and a normal thing is, and you will see that in the whole state, is development obviously. What do you want, how do you see that."

I: "What are you mainly assessed on?"
R7: "Ehm we have a function building ('Functiegebouw'), as you might now. And that it is defined for each function level, 12, 13 and so, what the expected competences are. Well, I think that they are very vague. I do not take advantage of them too much. But ehm for the managers in here, in the first place, the double function you have to fulfill is considered, which is double towards the official top and the members of the government and to your own people. So they both have to be good. And it could occur that the one is better than the other, that is all fine. But it could not be the case that the one is good and the other one is bad. It should both be at a specific level. Ehm well yes and the satisfaction of the official top and the minister, that is judged by my director, who is on top of that. He sees it, is constantly talking to people about me. So he is able to picture it well. Yes and the satisfaction of the employees, that appears from employee satisfaction surveys, which we have every two years.
[…] And what is also considered to a great extent is how innovative you are. And how focused your networkers are. Ehm here at ECS we call that: working from the outside to the inside. But it mainly comes down to: how focused you are towards to outside world."

I: "When having an assessment interview, what are you being assessed on?"
R10: "Well, the manager should get his information at my clients. Ehm and maybe at external people at the expertise center, with whom I often cooperate. […] But in between as well, it is not only once a year that the assessment takes place, but throughout the year: how do you think it is going, what goes well, what could be improved, what does not function at all? And all of those things together, are the resources for you assessment interview."

I: "And in such a conversation or assessment in general, what is mainly focused on?"

R11: "If people talk positively about you. Is that honest? Yes, a bit it is. Hm in the assessment form you consider various things: do you want to do certain trainings, ehm how are you, what do you need and that is considered. That is a conversation about how you are."

I: "And when do they speak positively about you?"

R11: "When do they speak positively… If people like you, then they speak positively about you. So if you are a pleasant, friendly personality. And if they get what they want. So if things, if they are not hindered by the thing you can help with. And the reason why I say so, because you are going to ask more about it. The reason that I say so, is because I do not think that you also deliver good work if there is a positive judgement about you. Sometimes you just have to be critical. Ehm and I do think that we, I think that it is also important, next to a nice and pleasant personality, we are all human beings, that you just do your work well."