

Life into a New Culture

Nature of Adjustment of Bangladeshi Immigrants in the Netherlands

Master of Science in Population Studies
M.Sc. Thesis

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Abstract

Adjustment into a new culture is of crucial importance for the immigrants to lead a meaningful life in that culture. The present study examines the adjustment experiences of Bangladeshi immigrants in the Netherlands. Nature of adjustment is examined in terms of three broad concepts such as socio-cultural, psychological, and economic adjustment followed by an assessment of factors contributing to the adjustment process. A qualitative research approach is adopted to get insights from the study participants. For collecting data, in-depth interviews are conducted among 14 participants selected through snowball, who are directly or indirectly related with restaurant business in Groningen. Data analysis is done with the use of MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software. Findings show that Bangladeshi immigrants maintain socio-cultural relationship with the people sufficient to lead normal daily lives as they do hardly face any problem. Though they are not completely happy with their busy lives in the Netherlands, they feel better here compared to Bangladesh. Despite some problems of cultural differences, psychologically they are happy with their well-being, as almost all of their expectations have been fulfilled. They are economically adjusted because of the fulfilment of their economic expectations. The immigrants identify Dutch language skill, citizenship, knowledge on Dutch custom, and ability to interact with people as the important factors of adjustment. However, their interaction with Dutch is limited. Therefore, it can be said that attention is needed to integrate immigrants with the mainstream of the Dutch society.

Key words: Adjustment, socio-cultural, psychological, economic, factors, interaction, well-being, restaurant business

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Dedication

To My Beloved Parents

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List of Acronyms

BMET	: Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training
CBS	: Central Bureau of Statistics
CD	: Compact Disc
Eid	: Muslim's Religious Festival
ESCAP	: Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
et al.	: Et alia (L) and others
i.e.	: Id est. (that is)
ILO	: International Labour Organization
IOM	: International Organization for Migration
MPMP	: Multicultural Personnel Management Programme
RIAE	: Regional Institution for Adult Education
ROM	: Read Only Memory
RTC	: Regional Training Centre
SES	: Socio-Economic Status
UK	: United Kingdom
USA	: United States of America

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

Migration, which is the movement of people from one place to another for purposes of permanent or temporary residence and /or employment, has occurred throughout history and began with the movements of the first human groups out of their origins in East Africa (Tigno, 2006). Today, we live in an era of unprecedented migration. International migration in general has become an increasingly diverse and widespread phenomenon, that is, extensive global phenomenon over the previous decades. Within the last decade of the 20th century at least, the number of people crossing borders has increased by around six million annually. This rate is even faster than the growth rate of the world's population (ILO, 2004). The total number of persons residing outside their home has reached to nearly 191 million by 2005, which is roughly equivalent to three percent of the world's total population. This figure was nearly 175 million in 2000, that is, there is a rise of 16 million migrants between the period of 2000 and 2005. At present, there are about 200 million migrants around the world (United Nations, 2009).

Bangladesh is not an exception of this process. Bangladesh has been a major source of migrants, both permanent and temporary, since it came into existence in 1971. Each year a large number of people of this country voluntarily migrate overseas for both long- and short-term employment. Since 1976 to 2010, about 7.1 million Bangladeshis migrated overseas for employment and the number of people migrated overseas in 2010 is about 0.38 million (BMET, 2011). Increase in oil price in 1970s opened up vast scope for Bangladeshi migrants in the Middle East which was later on expanded to the newly industrialized countries of South East Asia. This new opportunity for employment in the Middle East in the early 1970s marked the beginning of a new era of emigration dynamics for Bangladeshis. Moreover, the country became major source country of migrant workers during the 1980s. The rate of migration, however, to other countries except Asia is not negligible (Siddiqui, 2005). During the end of 20th century, Malaysia, Singapore, Korea, Taiwan, and Japan have also become attractive destinations for low- skilled and semi- skilled migrants from Bangladesh. However, migration from Bangladesh is predominantly to the Middle Eastern countries, consisting roughly three-fourths of total migrants of Bangladesh (Farid, et al., 2009).

Though migration to western countries except USA and UK is not widespread, the patterns of migration to industrialized western countries dates back to the colonial past of Bangladesh. Recently there is shift of migration flows from Bangladesh to European countries. Most of the young people, especially young educated men, go overseas to find work and settle in another country. The common refrain is 'there is no future' in this country and people see the only way to build up a promising career and future for themselves and their family as being emigrant elsewhere (Rozario and Gow, 2003). Bangladeshis continue to migrate to the West through various routes, for example, as a worker, as a student, as an asylum seeker, and through family reunification. The individuals who emigrate as students manage work visas later on. Among the developed countries, except UK and USA who are the two major destinations of Bangladeshi migrants, other include Canada, Australia, Greece, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, New Zealand, South Africa, and Japan. In Western countries, the majority of the migrants become long-term residents, after which, many opt to be citizens of the host country (Sikder, 2008). Estimates show that almost 1.2 million Bangladeshis live in industrialized countries as permanent settlers.

including both documented and undocumented migrants . Among them, UK and USA consist half a million of Bangladeshi migrants for each . Moreover, Italy, Greece, Japan, Canada, and Australia each host more than 10000 Bangladeshi migrants (Siddiqui, 2004).

Like other countries in Western Europe , the Netherlands is a traditional emigration country . They are somewhat reluctant about immigration. The economic crisis from 1920s to 1930s and the devastation caused by the World War II forced many Dutch people to seek a new life in Canada , Australia and New Zeland . Considering population growth as problematic, the Dutch government encouraged and subsidized emigration from the 1950s up to 1992. While the Netherlands was still an emigration country in 1950s, today it is an immigration country . From 1960s onwards countless numbers of people from the Mediterranean area came to the Netherlands to find work . The arrival of large groups of migrants was related to its colonial history, the cold war , and the demand in the Dutch labour market (Haas, 2005). In the early 21st century, one-fifth of the Netherlands' population was made up of residents born abroad or with at least one foreign-born parent. In the late 1990s, with most other doors to immigration closed by government policy and the possibility of entry for family reunification largely expanded, the numbers of applications for asylum were high. There was also an increase in the immigration of Dutch nationals from the Netherlands Antilles . Following legislation in 2001 that further tightened immigration restrictions, the annual number of asylum seekers fell, but the issue of immigration remained on the political forefront (Bodegom, et al. 2010). According to the Statistics Netherlands, as of January 1, 2011; the total number of foreign born citizens in the Netherlands was about 3.5 million among which 1449 are from Bangladesh (CBS, 2011).

There are far more international migrants in the world today than ever previously recorded , and their number increased rapidly in the last few decades. The number of immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds moving towards various countries including industrialized Western European countries has been growing dramatically in recent years (IOM, 2011). With the passage of time, international migration became part of the economic, social, cultural, demographic and political fabric of the countries of origin and of destination . Moreover, the persisting socio-demographic and economic changes all over the world suggest that international migration is likely to increase rather than decrease in future. Therefore, it is important to understand international migration properly, as such migration play significant role in shaping the social , cultural and demographic process of the host countries . Moreover, proper adjustment of the immigrants with the host society is a crucial part and the adjustment process of these immigrants pose major challenge to politicians , practitioners, and researchers. Immigration to a new country is a stressful life event that is associated with cultural shock and requires personal , economic, social and cultural changes . Adapting to these changes, along with the conditions of integration , is not an easy process and it depends on some factors. There is growing consensus on the need to promote immigrants' integration into the labour market and society. Integration of immigrants, however, involves a two-way process. First, it requires immigrants to adjust psychologically, socio-culturally and economically into the host society. Second, it requires the host society to address the barriers that can prevent full economic and social participation of the immigrants. Therefore, there is an increasing need to understand and identify the process of adjustment of immigrants and various factors associated with this process of adjustment . So, the present study addresses the first process, i.e., the issue of adjustment process . This study examines the nature of adjustment of Bangladeshi immigrants in the Netherlands.

1.2 Objective and research questions

The process of adjustment of the immigrants into a new setting is a crucial issue which needs to be studied properly. Owing to this necessity, the present study explores and describes the nature of adjustment of Bangladeshi immigrants in the Netherlands. The main research question of this study is as follows:

- i) What are the nature of adjustment processes of Bangladeshi immigrants in the Dutch society?

This research question is assessed based on the following four specific research questions:

- i) What is the nature of psychological adjustment?
- ii) What is the nature of socio-cultural adjustment?
- iii) What is the nature of economic adjustment?
- iv) What are the perceived factors responsible for adjustment?

1.3 Adjustment and integration policies and programmes in the Netherlands

In analyzing the process of economic integration of immigrants (refugees) in the Netherlands, Vroome and Tubergen (2010) discussed about the immigrants' adjustment and integration policies of the Netherlands. There was a sharp rise in the number of asylum seekers in the late 1980s and early 1990s. These asylum seekers came to the Netherlands due to war, poverty, and political conflicts. They have to spend a long time, sometimes several years in 'application centres', 'asylum seeker centres', and 'research and reception centres' before acquiring a formal refugee status. They are kept in relative isolation from the native Dutch population and have only a very limited right to work during that time. This isolation limits their opportunities to learn the language, to attend school, and to develop contacts with members of the majority group. There are also policies designed to help refugees to adjust to Dutch society, most notably integration courses. In the 1970s and 1980s, Dutch language courses were offered as part of integration programme that were initiated by volunteers. The courses were professionalized and offered by the Regional Institutions for Adult Education (RIAE) in the Netherlands during the second half of the 1980s and early 1990s. Societal and labour market orientation courses were also included in integration programmes along with the Dutch language courses during this period. Laws were formulated in 1998 to encourage and oblige 'newcomers' to participate in integration courses. This obligation has only partially been enforced. As a result, a number of recent immigrants and refugees have still avoided participation in integration courses. The structure of the integration courses has remained similar after 1998 as it was before. The integration courses mainly focused on language training along with some other important aspects such as, 'societal orientation', 'labour market orientation', and 'societal guidance'. The integration courses are completed with a test, accompanying a diploma, which concerns the language training and societal orientation parts of the courses. Integration courses are believed to have a beneficial effect on refugees' economic adjustment because these courses increase their proficiency in the Dutch language. These courses also provide a source of information on Dutch society and increase access to the Dutch labour market. Therefore, successful completion of integration courses will positively affect the economic adjustment of immigrants in the Netherlands (Vroome and Tubergen, 2010).

Duyvendak and Scholten's (2010) study aimed to analyze policy discourses regarding integration of immigrants produced by the researchers and policy makers. Their analysis is based on a rigorous review of policy documents and academic literatures on immigrant integration in the Netherlands. The authors mentioned that the Netherlands did not develop a policy aimed at immigrant integration until the early 1980s. An "Ethnic Minorities Policy" was developed during the 1980s. This policy targets at specific cultural or ethnic minorities in Dutch society, such as the foreign workers, the Surinamese, the Moluccans, and the Antilleans. The Dutch government gave emphasize on those migrant groups for whom the Dutch government felt a special historical responsibility. Since the late 1980s, the "Ethnic Minorities Policy" has been subject to fierce controversy. In 1989, the authoritative Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy denounced this policy model, because of its group-specific measures, which tended to make minorities too much dependent on state facilities. The "Ethnic Minorities Policy" was reframed into an Integration Policy in the early 1990s, which gave emphasize to social-economic participation of immigrants as citizens rather than emancipation of minorities. The primary goal of this policy was to promote immigrants' status as an active citizenship. It aimed to stimulate individual migrants so that they live up to their civic rights as well as their duties and to help immigrants to become economically independent participants in society. The term "common citizenship" was used in the new integration policy of the Netherlands in 2000. During that time, Dutch integration policy changed to the Integration Policy "New Style". This policy gave emphasize on common characteristics between the immigrants and the Dutch, such as the immigrants should learn and speak Dutch and they should abide to basic Dutch norms. That is, it emphasized on the unity of society by ensuring the commonality among the members of the society whether the Dutch or the immigrants. Persisting social-cultural differences are now considered a hindrance to immigrant integration (Duyvendak and Scholten, 2010).

The Dutch government initiated some other programmes to help the immigrants to integrate and adjust with the mainstream of the society. One of such programme was "In-house Integration Project" implemented through Multicultural Personnel Management Programme (MPMP) initiated in 2001 and has been implemented in collaboration with the government, several municipalities, and Regional Training Centres (RTCs). This project was initiated to provide language training to the immigrants at the workplace. It also aimed to inform immigrant employees about the norms and values of the workplace and to promote employment practices appropriate for a diverse workforce. Another such programme was the "Virtual Integration Office". It is a multimedia information product established in 2002, which provide information for the immigrants in three languages such as, Arabic, Turkish, and English. This programme includes information on immigration matters and finding employment. In order to deliver this service, touch screens have been installed in public places in the several cities such as, Amsterdam, Eindhoven, The Hague, and Deventer. The programme can also be delivered via Internet and CD ROM. It serves an intermediary between migrants and public authorities by simplifying transactions between them (European Union, 2004).

1.4 Relevance

International migration has multi-dimensional impacts on the areas of origin and of destination. These impacts have been the subject of much speculation. But research in the area of migration is uneven and in most cases is inconclusive. Most studies conducted on this issue have concentrated on the economic aspects, and have ignored the complex socio-cultural and demographic aspects (ESCAP, 2002). Moreover, international migration has

become an extensive global phenomenon over the last few decades , and it is becoming more prevalent in modern society recently . So, international migrants, more specifically immigrants and their adjustment is a crucial issue which needs to be addressed and studied properly. But the process of socio-cultural and psychological adjustment of the immigrants in the host society has been a neglected part in the contemporary migration research . Though many researchers have turned their attention to the adjustment process of immigrants in recent years , there is an increasing need to understand and identify the process of socio-cultural and psychological adjustment (Zlobina et al ., 2006). However, there is hardly any study regarding adjustment process of Bangladeshi immigrants in the Netherlands . The present study is , therefore, an attempt to explore and describe the nature of adjustment of Bangladeshi immigrants in the Netherlands. This study will provide valuable information to the researcher for the further study regarding immigrants' adjustment . It will be helpful to understand the nature of adjustment of immigrants which will generate valuable guidelines for the social workers and policy planners . It will also suggest some recommendations which will be helpful in formulating policies related to immigrants' adjustment . Moreover, the present research belongs to the broad field of Social Sciences as it will deal with the socio-cultural and psychological aspects of immigrants' adjustment . The present study will try to add valuable literature on adjustment process of immigrants in the host society.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is organized in five chapters. Chapter 1 constituting the Introduction outlines the background of the study, research objective and questions, adjustment and integration programmes and policies in the Netherlands, and relevance of the study. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the literature reviewed for this study, theoretical framework, and conceptual model and definitions of concepts used in this study. Chapter 3 deals with the research design containing mainly selection process of study participants with their background characteristics, methods of data collection, operationalization of different concepts, procedure of data analysis, ethical issues considered in the present study, and the limitations of data collection. Chapter 4 provides an overview of results and discussions of the thesis by answering the specific research questions. The results and discussions are outlined in this chapter in terms of four broad sections such as socio-cultural adjustment, psychological adjustment, economic adjustment and factors of adjustment followed by a case study about a participant and notes of an observation, which is conducted in a Bangladeshi restaurant. Chapter 5 provides inductive model, concludes the research with important recommendations and limitations of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Literature review

Studies on the adjustment of immigrants play an important role in the sociological, demographic, and psychological literature. Most of the societies face adjustment challenges with the proliferation of immigrants. This section provides a summary of the important studies which have focussed on the adjustment process of immigrants in the host society.

Finch and Wickham (2009) explored the experiences of Sudanese refugees resettled in Tasmania and identified the factors affecting their adjustment process. This study discusses the positive and negative experiences of the participants towards their adjustment within three categories, for example, life in Sudan, life en route, and life in Tasmania. Analysis showed that experiences in Sudan and en route were overwhelmingly characterized by suffering and adversity, including proximity to open warfare, torture, the loss of loved ones, and racial violence. The majority of participants described themselves as happy with their current lives in Tasmania, and reported being involved in social and study activities. Regarding their experiences since arriving in Australia, all participants identified both 'hindrances' and 'helps' to their adaptation. Hindrances to positive adaptation to life in Tasmania included 'Homesickness and separation from family in Africa', 'acculturation difficulties' (such as problems with the English language), and 'obstacles to participation in Australian society' (such as racism and employment difficulties). Helps toward adaptation included: 'Australian society', 'financial and settlement assistance', 'social support' (including friendship and acculturation assistance), and 'personal resources' (such as hope and goals. In particular, the majority identified difficulties with language and communication as a major problem for adjustment in the host culture. In comparison to life in Sudan, participants saw Australia as a peaceful and safe place to live with a fair and just system of government. In the present study, all participants reported that social support had aided them in the task of adaptation. On the basis of the analysis, the authors recommended the need for some programmes like organized social events to facilitate the broadening of social networks, special-interest clubs designed to improve members' English skills outside of a classroom environment, special assistance for students, special consideration for refugees seeking accommodation, and the creation of jobs especially for refugees, that actively promote refugees' adjustment in the new setting.

Socio-cultural adjustment along with psychological adjustment has been conceptualized as a major dimension of intercultural adjustment which was examined in the study of Zlobina et al. (2005). Socio-cultural adaptation was conceptualized in terms of the problem of intercultural communication such as cultural knowledge or coping with the language, and of successful resolving of practical problems that imply interaction with host. Findings showed that social difficulty of the immigrants decreased over time. Age and sex of the participants were not related to sociocultural adjustment, whereas, education has significant relationship. Additionally, having a attained legal immigration status was one of the most important predictors of socio-cultural adjustment. Better socio-cultural adjustment correlated significantly with having longer length of residence, being female, having residence permits, evaluating the actual situation as better than expected, planning to live permanently in Spain, having more contact with hosts, having fewer relationships with co-nationals, and perceiving smaller cultural distance and less discrimination.

Phalet and Hagendoorn (1996) identified factors affecting personal adjustment in two dimensions, such as internal adjustment or well-being and external adjustment or effectiveness to acculturation transition. Adjustment was explained by collectivism and achievement values among acculturating persons, and by social inequality and cultural distance between acculturating and dominant cultural groups. Full causal models were used to test individual-level and group-level explanations of acculturative adjustment based on three hypotheses:

- (i) acculturating persons with a collectivistic orientation will experience less external and internal adjustment problems than will persons with an individualistic orientation. This hypothesis gives an individual-level explanation for personal adjustment during acculturation,
- (ii) when social inequality or cultural distances are large, the acculturating group will experience more adjustment problems than when social inequality or cultural distance are small. It offers a group level explanation for personal adjustment, and
- (iii) when social inequality or cultural distance are large, the acculturating group will have a more collectivistic orientation. It relates intergroup relations to individualistic vs. collectivistic value orientations.

All three hypotheses are more or less supported by the analysis. First, it is found that Turkish youngsters with a collectivistic value orientation have fewer adjustment problems. Second, social inequality increases internal adjustment problems of low-SES youth in Turkey, and cultural distance adds to external adjustment problems of Turkish immigrant youth in Belgium. Third, social inequality reinforces collectivism of low-SES youth in Turkey, whereas in Belgium, collectivism is reinforced by cultural distance. Simultaneously, cultural distance in Belgium lowers achievement values of Turkish immigrant youth. The authors concluded that systematic comparisons between countries with different immigration traditions and policies have to be made in order to investigate the role of cultural openness in the host society.

Moghaddas et al. (2006) studied the process of adjustment /acculturation of first and second generation nomad Qashqaei Turks immigrants in the Shiraz province of Iran. They explored the correlation between the socio-cultural and demographic factors and the adjustment process, explained the adjustment process in terms of the influencing factors, and compared the adjustment of first and second generation immigrants. The result of the study showed that cultural adjustment or acculturation is related with various factors such as language, tolerance of host society, perceived level of satisfaction of the immigrants, different occupational opportunities, social support, length of residence and degree of orientation towards origin. For the first generation immigrants, there is a significant relationship between ethnic identity, Shirazi accent, social satisfaction, familiarity with Shiraz before migration, use of local mass media and place of origin, and cultural adjustment of the immigrants. For the second-generation immigrants on the contrary, cultural adjustment is significantly associated with ethnic identity, social capital, length of residence, use of local mass media and tolerance of the host society. The authors mentioned that a longer stay in the host community increase interaction with the host people as a result of which immigrants learn more, feel better, make more friends, accept local lifestyle so as to adjust properly.

Saikia (2002) studies about the adjustment process of Bangladeshi immigrants in India in the midst of ethnic conflict. He examined the qualitative and quantitative measures of

immigrants' adjustment through adopting a multidimensional model. In his study, adjustment was measured from social, socio-economic and psychological as well as from individual, community and societal point of view. He also measured the extent of adjustment: whether individuals are not adjusted, partially or completely adjusted. Findings showed that almost half of the immigrants are not adjusted at individual level or psychologically and more than one-third are not adjusted each at community or societal level. Most of the illegal immigrants are weakly adjusted or not adjusted at individual, communal or societal level. Again, immigrants who are strongly adjusted at community or societal level are not necessarily strongly adjusted at individual level because of the fear of being foreigner and of fear of communal riots in their mind. However, most of the immigrants' adjustment process is in transition type and it is close to non-adjusted type. Experience of ethnic conflict and status of immigration, at individual level; knowledge of local language and age, at community level; and level of education, at societal level are the major determining factors for adjustment. Therefore, adjustment in general depends on the experience of ethnic conflicts, local language skill, status of immigration and level of education.

In explaining the adjustment process of immigrants and factors affecting adjustment, the above articles reviewed some positive and negative aspects of adjustment process, and sorted out important predictors of immigrants' adjustment. Financial and settlement assistance, social support, personal resources, social security, having attained residence permit and legal immigration status, having more contacts with host and less contact with native work as positive factors of adjustment. On the other hand, homesickness, separation from family, language difficulty, new culture of host society, and lack of social contacts are the obstacles of proper adjustment. In some instances, immigrants described themselves as happy with their current lives in the host society due to fair government. However, a lack of special assistance for refugees in terms of access to education, employment, and other services hinders their adjustment with the host society. The above studies revealed that immigrants with a collectivistic value orientation have fewer adjustment problems, social inequality increases internal adjustment problems, and cultural distance adds to external adjustment problems of immigrants. The studies emphasized the need for some programmes, like organized social events to facilitate the broadening of social networks, a one-on-one mentoring system, and special-interest clubs designed to improve members' English skills outside of a classroom environment, special assistance for students, special consideration for refugees seeking accommodation, and the creation of jobs especially for refugees, in order to actively promote immigrants' adjustment in the new setting. We all know that international migration plays mixed role in social, economic and demographic aspects of host societies. Though there are some studies on immigrants' adjustment, most of them are quantitative studies and there is no such qualitative study regarding the adjustment process of Bangladeshi immigrants in the Netherlands. Therefore, the present study will try to fill up this gap by studying adjustment process qualitatively.

2.2 Theoretical framework

Several theoretical models have been proposed to explain the nature and process of adjustment of the immigrants in their destination country. Due to the complex nature of migration process so as to immigrants' adjustment process, it is not possible to explain process of adjustment of immigrants based on a single theory. Therefore, this study tries to integrate the key aspects of the different theories instead of focusing on a particular one.

2.2.1 Individualistic and collectivistic values of adjustment

Phalet and Hagendoorns (1996) introduced individualistic and collectivistic values in analyzing personal adjustment process of the immigrants, which is reproduced in Fig. 2.1. In their study, they identified key variables that facilitate and exacerbate personal adjustment of immigrants to a new cultural environment. According to them, personal adjustment depends on individual-level orientations as well as on group-level conditions. Individualism and collectivism values appeared to explain attitudes towards acculturation and adjustment among individual-level conditions. On the other hand, two important factors viz., cultural distance and social inequality, characterize intergroup relations among group level conditions. The authors conceptualized relations among inter-group relations, individualistic or collectivistic orientations, and personal adjustment in order to integrate individual-level and group-level explanations of personal adjustment.

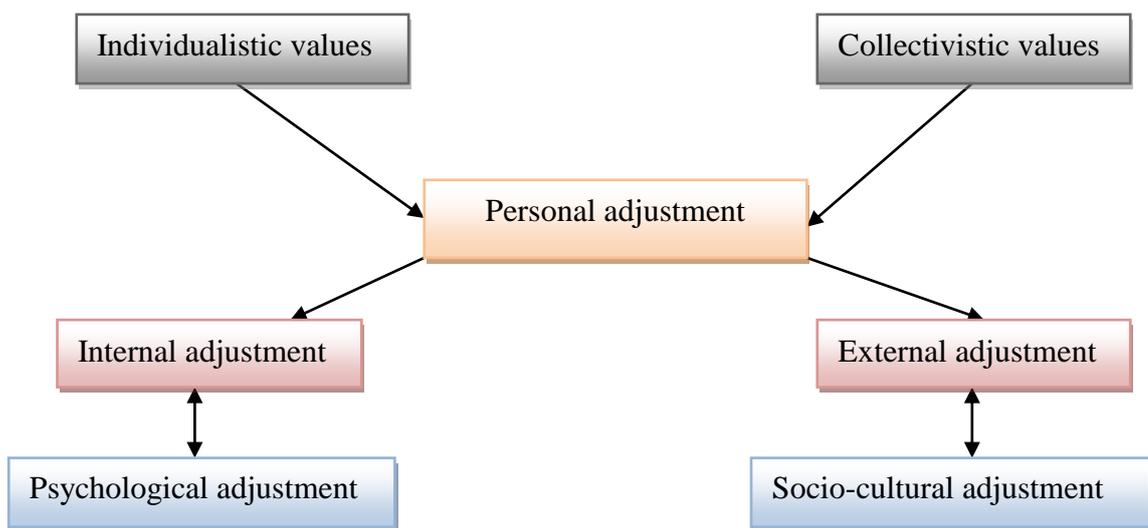


Fig.2.1: ‘Individualistic and collectivistic value’ model of adjustment

Furthermore, they examined personal adjustment in two dimensions: internal adjustment or well-being and external adjustment or effectiveness to acculturative transitions. Internal adjustment, which is termed as psychological adjustment comprises general well-being, satisfaction, and health, and it has been investigated from a predominantly ‘stress- and-coping perspective’. On the other hand, external adjustment, which is known as socio-cultural adjustment, is conceptualized as the acquisition of social and instrumental skills required to perform daily tasks and roles. Specifically, the authors conceptualized internal adjustment as general well-being and external adjustment as task effectiveness vs. helplessness.

2.2.2 Multidimensional model of adjustment

Saikia (2002) developed a ‘multidimensional model’ of adjustment in order to analyze the qualitative and quantitative aspects of immigrants’ adjustment process, which is shown in Fig.2.2. This multidimensional model includes four components such as –

- i) Dimension of adjustment : This component includes social, socio-economic and psychological adjustment. Social adjustment is measured by the nature of the frequency of the immigrants’ social relationship in terms of friendship relationship and mutual visits. Socio-economic adjustment is measured by the immigrants’ level of educational attainment. In addition, psychological adjustment is measured in terms of immigrants’ feeling.
- ii) Range of adjustment : Range of adjustment is categorized into none, partial and full. Each dimension of adjustment depicts any of these range.

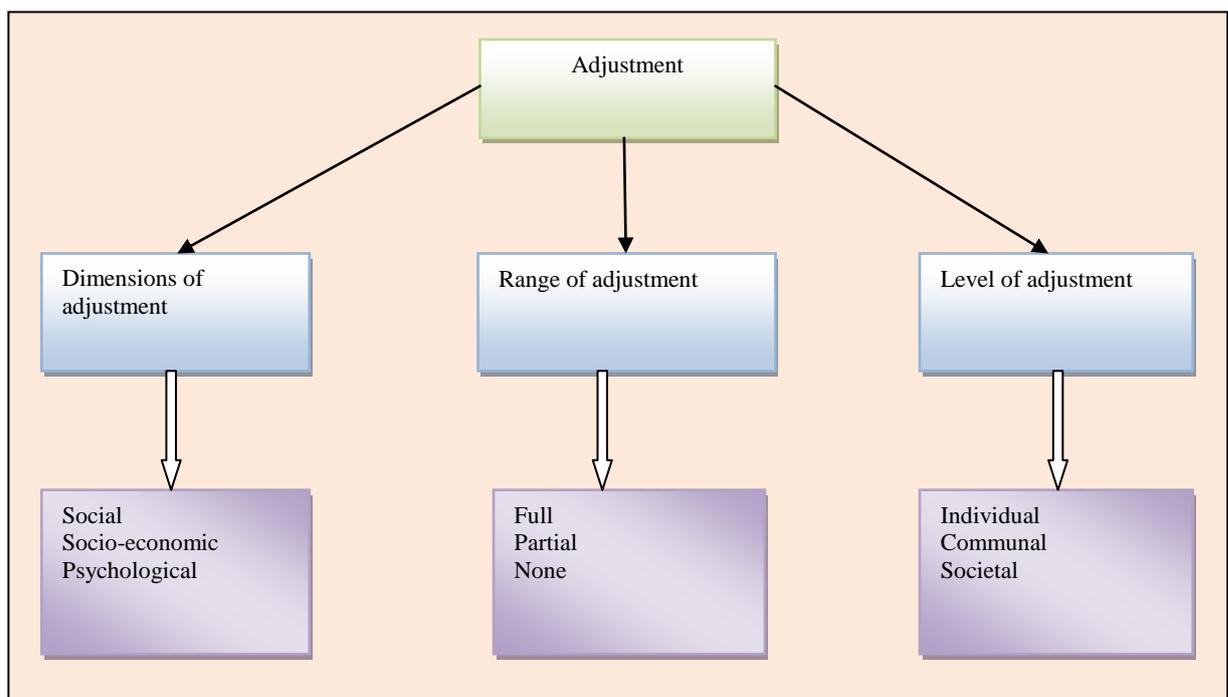


Fig.2.2: Multi-dimensional model of adjustment

- iii) Level of adjustment: The immigrants’ adjustment is measured at three levels such as individual, communal and societal level. Individual level adjustment is measured in terms of psychological feeling of immigrants about their status i.e. frequency of feeling of being foreigner, frequency of feeling of fear and tension about communal riots, religious violence etc. Community level adjustment is measured in terms of mutual visits and friendship relationship with local Muslim people, getting invitation from local Muslim people and participation in non-

religious functions. Societal level adjustment is measured in terms of mutual visits and friendship relationship with local non-Muslim people, as well as participation in local festivals etc.

- iv) Typology of aggregate adjustment : This component includes three categories including non-adjusted, partially adjusted and fully adjusted at various levels of adjustment.

2.3 Conceptual model

Researchers have conceptualized immigrants' adjustment from multi-dimensional, multi-level, and multi-ranged context. They measured adjustment in terms of various dimensions like psychological, social, and socio-economic; in terms of various levels like individual, communal, and societal; and in terms of various categories of range such as none, partial, and full. Adjustment has also been conceptualized from internal and external point of view. Whereas internal adjustment is completely related with the inner-state of the individual, external adjustment is related with his/her external environment like society, culture, and economy (Phalet and Hagendoorn, 1996 and Saikia, 2002).

By integrating the main ideas of the models mentioned here, a two-dimensional and two-level interrelated model (shown in Fig .2.3) will be adopted for the present study in order to conceptualize the process of adjustment of Bangladeshi immigrants in the Netherlands. Adjustment will be measured in the context of two-dimension: internal and external, and two-level: individual and social. This model is called 'interrelated model' because of mutual relationship of various dimensions and of various levels of adjustment. For example, internal adjustment is the inner capacity of an individual to adjust from his/her psychological point of view. So, it is associated with individual level adjustment. On the other hand, external adjustment is individual's capacity to adjust from socio-cultural and economic point of view. Therefore, it is related with societal level adjustment. Finally, three types of adjustment will be measured in this study. These are psychological, socio-cultural, and economic.

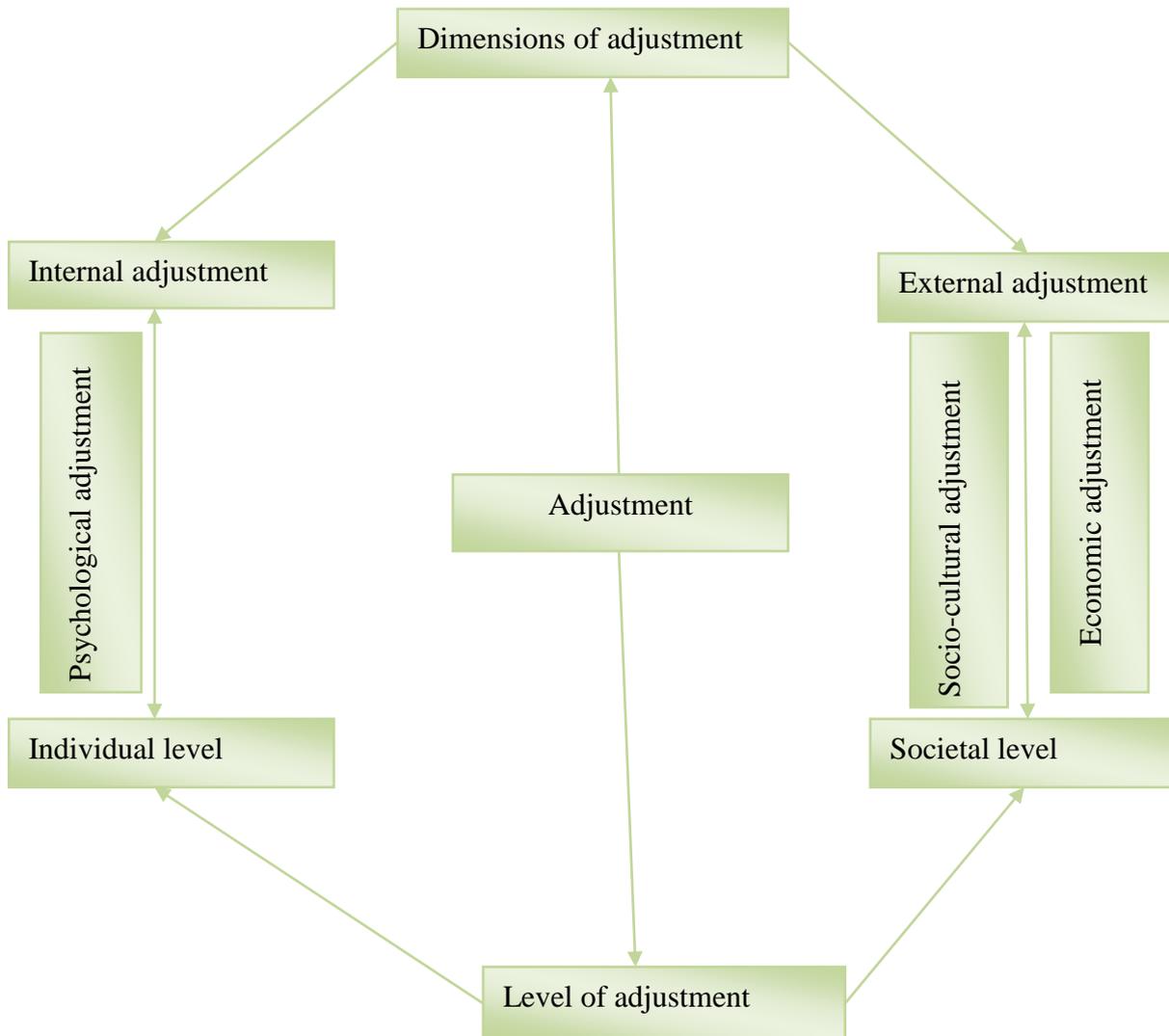


Fig.2.3: 2-dimension and 2-level interrelated model of adjustment

2.4 Definition of concepts

This section provides the definition of the main concepts used in this study. The concepts defined in this section are immigration, immigrant, adjustment, psychological adjustment, socio-cultural adjustment, and economic adjustment.

2.4.1 Immigration and immigrant

When one or more or group of people come to one country for living then it is called immigration from the viewpoint of receiving country. Immigrant is defined as the person who migrates to another country from his own country, usually for permanent residence. So, immigration is the process through which individuals move to another country with the intention to live there permanently (Blunt, A., 2007).

2.4.2 Adjustment

The term adjustment is related to changes that individuals or groups make as response to demands in the environment. It refers to the process whereby an individual of a social unit enters into a healthy relationship with his environment, physical or social. Thus, it is used as desirable state by which the problem arising out of the interaction between immigrants and the receiving society are often solved. It can be divided into internal psychological and external socio-cultural and economic domains, which are thought to be interrelated to each other's (Berry, 1997).

2.4.3 Psychological adjustment

Psychological adjustment refers to an individual's, here an immigrant, personal sense of well-being. It is related to the affective well-being and mental health of an immigrant. It is measured in terms of immigrant's feeling about their condition. In other words, psychological adjustment can be measured through the measures of psychological well-being such as satisfaction, self-esteem, and satisfactory functioning (Ward et al., 2001).

2.4.4 Socio-cultural adjustment

Socio-cultural adjustment refers to the behavioural and cognitive components of cultural learning for performing effectively in a new milieu. It may also refer to how well an individual is able to function in his/her daily lives. Therefore, it is measured through adaptive functioning such as ability to perform everyday activities at home and outside (Ward et al., 2001). It includes problems of intercultural communication such as cultural knowledge or coping with the language as well as successful resolving of practical problems that imply interaction with host. It is measured in terms of degree of difficulty in dealing with practical, social, and interpersonal communication problems (Zlobina et al., 2006).

2.4.5 Economic adjustment

Economic adjustment refers to the labour market success of immigrants. It is measured in terms of human capital (for example, level of education, local language skill, work experience, etc.), social capital (like social contact) and health problems (Vroome and Tubergen, 2010).

Chapter 3: Data and Methodology

3.1 Types of research

The principal types of socio-demographic research include explorative, descriptive and explanatory (Babbie, 2010). The proposed study is a combination of both explorative and descriptive research as it explores the phenomena related to immigrants' adjustment and describes the nature of adjustment of the immigrants. It is again a micro research, as it studies people from a micro context. A qualitative research design is adopted in this study in order to explore and describe the nature of adjustment of immigrants.

3.2 Study area and study population

The study is carried out in Groningen, one of the 12 provinces of the Netherlands. It is the northernmost province of the Netherlands. The total number of population of the province is about 577 thousands in 2010. The number of immigrants is 5849 and the number of emigrants with administrative correction is 3841. However, the number of net migrants is 1993 in the same period. Moreover, the total number of population, immigrants, emigrants with administrative corrections, and net migrants in the Groningen city are 187 thousands, 3807, 2623, and 2131, respectively. The population density of the province and the city are 247 and 2184 person per square kilometre, respectively. The total number of immigrants of Bangladesh-origin is 1170 from the year 1995 to 2010 (CBS, 2011). Although the city itself has a lower population, it is one of the ten largest cities in the Netherlands. It is also primarily a college town or student city with nearly 50 thousands students, of whom over 30 thousands live in the city. The population composition of Groningen by age differs from all other municipalities in the Netherlands by the extreme overrepresentation of those aged 20-25 years, consisting about 16 per cent of the total population while the average for the Netherlands is only 6 per cent (Wikipedia, 2011). However, population of the present study consists of the immigrants of Bangladesh-origin who are currently living in Groningen, have been in the Netherlands for at least five years, and are directly or indirectly related to the restaurant business.

3.3 Study participants

Primarily immigrant communities were identified through personal communication. A snowball sampling technique was adopted to select the participant for the current study. A snowball sampling method involves selecting a participant by asking a study participant or a key informant whether they know anyone else in the community of the same characteristics. After collecting data from the referred participant, the procedure continues and the number of participants increases successively like a growing snowball, so as to the name of this technique (Hennink, et al., 2011). Firstly, contact was made with the potential participants. A list of participants who wished to participate in the study was made then. Twenty immigrants were identified through snowball. Among them, 18 immigrants either own or work in the restaurant. Among the 18 Bangladeshi immigrants, two refused to participate in the study. Among the rest 16 participants, data are collected from 14 immigrants. Therefore, participants are 14 Bangladeshi immigrants who have immigration status and have been living in the Netherlands for at least five years. Among the 14 participants, eight are the owner of the restaurant and the rest 6 work in the restaurant. There are two immigrants aged less than 30 years, six are between 30-45 years, five are 46-60 years category and the rest one

is more than 60 years. The youngest participant is 29 years old and the age of oldest participant is 62 years. The participants migrated to the Netherlands at young age. 11 participants migrated from 20 to 30 years of age, two participants are less than 20 years and another one is higher than 30, with a lowest of 19 and highest of 37. The highest 6 of the participants completed more than 14 years of schooling followed by four from 10 to 12 years and two each for lower than 1 years and from 13-14 years of schooling, respectively. Moreover, the lowest and highest years of schooling completed by the study participants are 6 and 17 years. These figures are shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Age (present and at migration) and educational status of the immigrants

Particulars	Categories	Number	Lowest	Highest
Current Age (in years)	Lower than 30	2		
	30 – 45	6	29	62
	46 – 60	5		
	More than 60	1		
Age at migration (in years)	Lower than 20	2		
	20 – 30	11	18	37
	More than 30	1		
Year of schooling	Lower than 10	2		
	10 – 12	4		
	13 – 14	2	6	17
	More than 14	6		

Source: In-depth interview, 2011

Among the 14 participants, 11 are married and the rest have official Dutch girl friend. One participant's wife is Dutch citizen and another one is Philippines. Almost all of them have one or two children except the participants those have girl friend.

3.4 Data collection

In-depth interview method was applied to collect the necessary data for this study. In-depth interviews were conducted to have a thorough idea about the nature of adjustment of the immigrants from the point of view of individual's own perceptions, feelings, and beliefs. This method is helpful to get data about personal experiences and about sensitive issues. It is also helpful to understand the contexts in which the participants live, i.e., their socio-cultural and economic context can be discovered through in-depth interviews. In order to fulfil the objectives of the study, an in-depth interview guide was carefully prepared for the interview with the instruction of the supervisor to collect the required primary data. Primarily, a draft interview guide was developed which was pre-tested in the study area. Final interview guide was then prepared after necessary corrections, modifications and adjustments. For collecting data, interviews was conducted with the participants who gave consent to participate in the study at their convenient. During the interview, the name of the participants was not asked in order to ensure anonymity. Participants were formally interviewed in a single sitting that lasted between 40 and 60 minutes depending on the situation of the respective interview. Interviews was conducted in Bengali, the mother tongue of Bangladeshi, and tape-recorded with the prior consent of the participants. Most of the interviews were conducted at the restaurant outside work period, usually in the morning, as the participants start to get busy from afternoon to till late night. Two interviews were conducted at the residences of the participants. The number of participants for interview was determined based on information saturation. When the researcher feels that data is saturated,

that is, same information is coming repeatedly, and then the interview will be terminated. Positionality, the power relations between interviewer and the interviewee, is an important aspect, which need careful attention during data collection. Because, positionality influences the magnitude of data and it affects the quality of the data as well (Hennink et al., 2011). The participants of the present study are male and the researcher himself is a male as well. So, it was bit easy to collect data as both the parties are from same sex. During data collection, the researcher introduced himself as a student to the participants. Being a Bangladeshi, it was also easy for the researcher to get easy access to the Bangladesh communities. The participants accepted the researcher cordially. In most of the cases, the researcher made several contacts with the participants before the actual data collection. So, it helped the researcher to establish rapport more quickly during data collection.

3.5 Operationalization of different concepts

3.5.1 Immigration and immigrant

Immigration is the process through which individuals from Bangladesh have migrated to the Netherlands in the purpose of having permanent residence and /or employment . So, in this research, receiving country is the Netherlands and sending country is Bangladesh . On the other hand, immigrants are the individuals who born in Bangladesh , spent a considerable part of their life there, and subsequently migrated to the Netherlands and have been living here for at least five years.

3.5.2 Adjustment

Adjustment refers to the process, by which immigrants adapt themselves to conditions in the area of destination, that is, the area in which the migrants moved, that is, in the Netherlands. Adjustment will be measured here in terms of psychological , socio-cultural, and economic point of view.

3.5.3 Psychological adjustment

Psychological adjustment is assessed in terms of immigrants' feeling about their present condition, expectation, personal sense of well-being; feeling that he is foreigner; feeling of fear, frustration, hopeless, and helpless ; perceived sense of inequality or discrimination ; perceived cultural distance in regard to family life , gender, relationship; and whether they are satisfied with their current situation in regard to family life , social life, economic life . The following questions were asked to the participants in order to examine the nature of psychological adjustment:

Ques.: Can you please say something about your present condition?

Probe: feeling of well-being, of being foreigner, discrimination

Ques.: Can you tell me something about your expectation?

Probe: good law and order, descent life, expectation fulfilled?

Ques.: Can you say about your level of satisfaction with your present condition?

Probe: family life, social life

Ques.: Can you tell me about the differences between Bangladesh and the Netherlands?

Probe: family life, gender, relationship, its too much, no problem for you

Ques.: How have you say that your feelings of being Bangladeshi changed during your stay here?

Probe: regard Bangladesh/ the Netherlands as your home, Why?

3.5.4 Socio-cultural adjustment

Socio-cultural adjustment is measured in terms of immigrants' perceptions on how they perceive their lives in the Netherlands, their ability to do their daily activities (like arranging an appointment with doctor or health care service); nature and extent of social contact, for example, with whom they keep contact/communication/interaction (with native, host or other immigrants from other countries), who are their friends, what types of relation they maintain with friends and with others; mutual visit (getting invitation or giving invitation, in house or outside house); participation in various programmes (whether national or religious, whether occasion of host country or origin country). The following specific questions were used to assess the nature of socio-cultural adjustment:

Ques.: Can you tell me something about your family and friends in the Netherlands?

Probe: who live with you, friend-circle

Ques.: Can you tell me about your normal daily activities?

Probe: What do you do, workdays, offdays?

Ques.: How would you describe your life in the Netherlands?

Probe: Your relations, your activities, are you better off

Ques.: To whom do you interact mostly here?

Probe: Other Bangladeshi, other migrants, Dutch, why, what types, how,

Ques.: Whom from your acquaintances do you contact the most?

Probe: Who, Other Bangladeshi, other migrants, Dutch, why, what types

Ques.: How do you keep contact with your acquaintances in the Netherlands?

Probe: Visit, calls, meeting at public places, trips

Ques.: What types of interaction you maintain with Dutch?

Probe: Co-worker, friends, social relations, sports, Swimming pool

Ques.: Was it easy to find and establish new relations in Dutch society?

Probe: In what way, why, what about now, you fit well? how?

Ques.: What types of occasions you usually celebrate?

Probe: Bangladeshi or Dutch, national or religious, why, any difficulties

Ques.: How do you consider it is important to have Dutch acquaintances or friends?

3.5.5 Economic adjustment

Economic adjustment is measured in terms of economic position of the immigrant, which depends on their level of education, knowledge of local language, having work permit sufficient to afford family, having permanent or temporary job, having residence permit (temporary or permanent), having citizenship, immigration status. It is measured by asking whether they are satisfied with their present economic position, whether their expectation fulfilled, and whether they are economically independent. Role of the restaurant business or role of working in the restaurant is also examined in order to assess the nature of economic adjustment of the participants. Economic adjustment was assessed in terms of following questions:

Ques.: Can you please tell me about the history of running your business?

Probe: When, how, who help you,

Ques.: Would you please tell me why are you in restaurant business/why do you work in restaurant?

Probe: tradition, easy to start,

Ques.: How this particular business/work enabled your adjustment process?

Probe: contact with lot of people, chance of making friendship

Ques.: How would you say that you are satisfied with your present economic position?

Probe: Economic expectation fulfilled

Ques.: How would you say that you are economically independent or not?

Probe: enough money for subsistence, for recreation

3.5.6 Factors of adjustment

Factors of adjustment will be identified on the basis of the perceptions of the participants . In order to do so the participants will be asked , ‘which factors help them to adjust ?’, ‘which factors hinder their adjustment process ?’ and ‘what are the general factors (socio-demographic and economic) of adjustment?’ The potential factors are age, education, gender, work experience, language skill, income, immigration status, residence permit, and length of residence. The following questions were used to assess the factors of adjustment:

Ques.: What are the factors according to you that are important for proper adjustment with the Dutch society?

Probe: Language, education, Dutch citizenship, interaction,

Ques.: What are the positive factors of adjustment?

Probe: which help you

Ques.: What are the negative factors of adjustment?

Probe: which hinders your adjustment

3.6 Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis involves a process of immersion in data through which the experience of study participants can be identified and interpreted. The process of qualitative data analysis starts with the data preparation, which involves three main tasks, such as, producing verbatim transcript of the interview, translating the transcripts if necessary, and anonymizing data by removing identifiers from the data (Hennink et al., 2011). All recorded interviews were turned into verbatim transcripts. The process of verbatim transcription was started just after the completion of first interview. The transcription was produced in Bengali and then translated into English by the researcher himself. All identifiers from the transcripts were then removed in order to preserve the anonymity of the participants.

After data preparation, codes were developed. A code refers to an issue, topic, idea, etc., that is evident in the data (Hennink et al., 2011). In this study, a set of deductive codes (based on interview guide and literature review), inductive codes (based on the issues raised by the participants themselves) and in-vivo codes (specific phrases and metaphors used by participants) was produced. Then coding was done, which involves labelling all the data using all listed codes. For coding, data were read carefully, and then the sections of data were identified relevant to each code. A thick description of each code was developed then. It was developed based on the careful reading of texts of each code. A cross-case comparison of

codes was made in order to identify patterns and associations in the data and to clarify issues that make each issue or code distinct from others. A cross-case comparison involves “comparing a single code across interviews in data set. Can be used to identify the variety of perspectives or experiences of a single issue” (Hennink et al., 2011). Then codes with similar characteristics were identified and grouped into meaningful categories. Concepts were then made based on the relationships between the categories. These concepts were developed taking into consideration of specific research questions. Data were analyzed with the use of MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software. Moreover, a case study about a single participant was also presented in order to assess the nature of adjustment of an individual participant. A participant observation was also conducted by the researcher in a Bangladeshi restaurant for examining the socio-cultural relationship maintain by a participant.

Table 3.2: Concepts, categories, and codes

Concepts	Categories	Code name	Type	Description		
1. Socio-cultural adjustment	1. Perceived life in the Netherlands	Work	Deductive	The work participants do		
		Busy life	Inductive	Use for mention		
	2. Ability to do normal daily activities	Working life	Working life	Inductive	Participants refer their life nothing but work	
			Restaurant work	Deductive	The activities participants do in the restaurant	
		<i>kaj-khaoya- ghum-kaj</i>	Restaurant work	In vivo	Participants refer life as work-eating-sleep-work	
			Work day activities	Deductive	Activities participants do during work day	
		Off day activities	Off day activities	Deductive	Activities participants do during off day	
			Official activities	Inductive	Formal activities of participants outside work and family	
		Family activities	Family activities	Deductive	Activities done within the family by the participants	
			Difficult	Deductive	How the participants find it difficult to establish relations	
		3. Establishment of relationship	Easy	Easy	Deductive	How the participants find it easy to establish relations
				Early period	Deductive	What was the nature of relationship during the early part of participants' life in the Netherlands
	Present condition		Present condition	Deductive	What is the nature of relationship at present	
			Attitude change	Inductive	Referring change in attitude of Dutch people and Dutch government towards immigrants	
	4. Interaction	With whom	With whom	Deductive	With whom the participants generally interact	
			Types	Deductive	Types of interaction participants maintain	
		With neighbours	With neighbours	Deductive	Participants' nature of interaction with neighbour	
			With Dutch	Deductive	Participants' nature of interaction with Dutch	
		Limited interaction	Inductive	Reasons of participants' limited interaction with Dutch		
		Importance	Deductive	Importance of interacting and friendship with Dutch		
5. Celebration of occasions		Celebration of occasions	Bangladeshi occasions	Deductive	Types of Bangladeshi occasions participants celebrate	
	Dutch occasions		Deductive	Types of Dutch occasions participants celebrate		
	National programmes		Deductive	Bangladeshi and Dutch national programmes		
	Religious programmes		Deductive	Bangladeshi and Dutch religious programmes		
	Difficulties		Deductive	Any difficulties participants face in celebrating Bangladeshi programmes in the Netherlands		

2. Psychological adjustment	1. Feelings of well-being	Better off	Deductive	How participants feel that they are better now	
		<i>Sukh sacchondo</i>	Deductive	Refers to participants' well-being at present life	
		<i>Allahar rohomote</i>	In vivo	Term to express gratitude to God (by the grace of God)	
		Happy/unhappy	Deductive	How they feel that they are mentally happy or unhappy with their present family and social life	
		2. Feeling of being foreigner	Earlier	Deductive	What was participants' feeling during the beginning part of their migration that they are foreigner
			Present	Deductive	Participants' present feeling that they are foreigner
	<i>Bideshi</i>		In vivo	Refers that the participants are foreigner	
	Racism		Inductive	Participants' feeling of fear of racial discrimination	
	<i>Dui noukay pa</i>		In vivo	Two legs in two different boats refers that the participants cannot follow Bangladeshi or Dutch culture completely	
	<i>Fitna</i>		Inductive	How it increases feeling of fear of racial discrimination	
	3. Perceived discrimination	Discriminated Discriminations Germany and France	Discriminated	Deductive	How participants feel that they are being discriminated
			Discriminations	Deductive	Describes the ways and places of discriminations
			Germany and France	Inductive	Describe the relative extent of discrimination
	4. Perceived cultural distance	Cultural differences Problems of difference Problem for children	Cultural differences	Deductive	Nature of cultural differences between Bangladesh and the Netherlands
			Problems of difference	Deductive	Types of problems created by cultural differences
			Problem for children	Inductive	How cultural differences create problems for children
	5. Expectation and satisfaction	Expectations Fulfilment Satisfaction	Expectations	Deductive	Types of expectations for being immigrated
			Fulfilment	Deductive	How participants feel that their expectations fulfilled
			Satisfaction	Deductive	How participants feel that they are satisfied with their present family and social life
	6. Sense of belongingness	Allahar shokor Bangladesh Netherlands Dual Reasons Desh is desh Plan of settlement	Allahar shokor	Inductive	Thanks to God as a positive indication of satisfaction
			Bangladesh	Deductive	Feeling that participants were Bangladeshi and still so
			Netherlands	Deductive	Felling that participants become Dutch
			Dual	Deductive	Feeling that they are Bangladeshi and Dutch as well
			Reasons	Deductive	Reasons of feeling belongingness to either country
Desh is desh			In vivo	Referring the impossibility of forgetting home country	
Plan of settlement	Deductive	Where to live in future, after retirement			

3. Economic adjustment	1. Restaurant business	Why restaurant	Deductive	Reason to set up restaurant or work in the restaurant
		Easy to start	Inductive	Describe the suitability of restaurant business
		Role of restaurant <i>Horeca</i>	Deductive In vivo	Describe the roles of restaurant for economic adjustment Refers either restaurant business or Diploma related to hospitality management
	2. Feeling about economic position	Owner	Inductive	Explains participants mental satisfaction as a owner
		Fulfilment expectations	Deductive	Describe participants' feeling about the fulfilment of their economic expectations
		Economic satisfaction Independent	Deductive Deductive	How participants are economically satisfied How participants feel that they are economically independent
4. Factors of adjustment	1. General factors	Dutch language	Deductive	Role of Dutch language skills
		Education	Deductive	Role of educational background of the participants
		Citizenship	Deductive	Role of Dutch citizenship
		Job	Deductive	Role of having work
		Interaction	Deductive	Role of the nature of interaction
		Open mind	Inductive	Describe the ability of the participants to judge culture from relative point of view
	2. Positive factors	Dutch people	Deductive	Individualistic nature of Dutch people
		Dutch system	Deductive	Well-organized and social security system of Dutch government
		Social supports	Deductive	Supports received from the fellow immigrants
	3. Negative factors	Different culture	Deductive	Differences in gender relation, religion, food habit, etc.
		Attitude of Dutch	Deductive	Negative change in attitude of Dutch people and Dutch government towards immigration
		Discrimination	Deductive	Social discrimination especially at work

Source: In-depth interviews (developed from the interview transcripts)

3.7 Ethical consideration

Social and demographic research represents an intrusion into people's lives, which often require revealness of personal information of individuals (Babbie, 2010). Likely, the present study deals with different personal matters of the study populations. Therefore, ethical issues are very much important, which are considered carefully in this study. Social researchers use a number of key phrases that describe the system of ethical protection to protect the rights of the research participants. The participation in the research process is voluntary, i.e., the participants are not being insisted to participate in research. In maintaining so, the participants are firstly asked whether they are willing to participate in the interview. After taking their consent, they are used as participant of the present study and if they are not willing to participate, they are excluded from the sample list. The process of data collection is done based on informed consent of the respondents. They are fully informed about the objectives and the procedure involved in the present research. Assurance is also given to the participants that the individual information will not be presented in the paper. Data are collected in such a manner so that the participants are not mentally or psychologically injured during interview. Probing during interview is used in such way that will not injure respondents' self-esteem. The privacy of the participants is be ensured properly. They are assured that identifying information will not be made available to anyone and their information will remain confidential throughout the whole period of study and identifying characteristics will be eliminated after data entry.

3.8 Problems faced during data collection

The researcher faced following problems during data collection process, i.e., during conducting in-depth interviews:

- i) Primarily some participants were not interested to participate in the study before knowing the objectives of the study. Nevertheless, when the researcher made the purpose of the study clear to the participants, they took part in the study.
- ii) In some cases, they were hesitated to answer the questions since the researcher was unknown to them primarily. However, they started to feel comfort with the interview as it progresses. Yet, they were somehow suspicious about the use of their information.
- iii) In few cases, participants did not give answer of some questions mentioning that these will unveil their privacy.
- iv) The participants were usually remained busy most of the time with their work and personal activities. In some cases, it was difficult to conduct interview. That is why; sometimes more than two visits were needed to get them ready for interview.
- v) Some participants do not have idea about research work. For this reason, it seemed bit difficult to explain the purpose of the study to encourage them to participate in the study.

- vi) A few of the immigrants rejected to participate in the study.
- vii) The time fixed for data collection seemed bit short, as it was not possible to conduct interview with a single appointment.

Moreover, there were some advantages and disadvantages to do research among Bangladeshi participants being a Bangladeshi researcher. The most advantage was the similarity of culture and of language in particular. The interview was interactive as it was conducted in Bengali, the mother tongue of both the researcher and the participants. In some cases, the participants were happy to talk with a fellow Bangladeshi, which helps the researcher to establish rapport more easily and quickly. The disadvantage was that they were reluctant in answering the questions in some cases. Sometimes they were hesitated to uncover their personal experiences to a fellow Bangladeshi.

Chapter 4: Results and Discussions

Nature of adjustment of Bangladeshi immigrants is presented in this chapter based on the results of in-depth interviews. Nature of adjustment is explained here in terms of three broad categories: socio-cultural adjustment, psychological adjustment, and economic adjustment. Finally, participant's perception about the factors of adjustment and a case study about the nature of adjustment of a participant are presented.

4.1 Socio-cultural adjustment

Socio-cultural adjustment of the immigrants is predominantly related with the behavioural and cognitive elements of cultural learning in order to perform in a new culture properly. It depends on how positively immigrants perceive their lives in the new society, their ability to do normal daily activities, nature of relationship and interaction they maintain with others, and nature of participation in various social programmes, etc.

4.1.1 Perceived life in the Netherlands

Participants were asked in this section to describe their lives in the Netherlands in order to get idea on how they perceive their lives in this society. In almost all cases, participants mention their lives as a busy life. This is mostly true for the owners of the restaurant. They start their day with the work from the morning and continue until 10.00 pm. They have to buy necessary things for the restaurant at morning and they work in the restaurant from afternoon. However, they do not have any fixed time of work but they remain busy all the daylong. Their life is a routine life and they are not happy with this routine life.

“Now it is a boring life. I am very busy. I have to follow the schedule. Actually, I am free for all day and I am working all day. Because I do not have bound responsibility. However, I am passing my life from morning until night based on diary. I have family, work, business, and problem. So now, I say it as a routine life. I cannot do many things whatever I want” (Owner of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

However, in some cases they feel good. They are able to do some sorts of job like chef at the restaurant here, which is not possible to do in Bangladesh. According to them, working in the restaurant as a chef is not respectable job in Bangladesh. Because, people of Bangladesh culturally undermine the job of a cook. But it is not a problem to work in the restaurant in the Netherlands. Here, every job is respectable.

“It is possible to lead your life as your wish . I like this . I feel good here . The difference is that we can do many things here, which is not possible in Bangladesh. For this reason, you can work here without any hesitation and with comfort” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

In some cases, those who work in the restaurant do not feel good. They are in a dilemma. They are not mentally happy. Sometimes they feel that they are fine with their job when they think about their secured life from social and economic point of view. However, in some cases they feel guilty when they think they are working in the restaurant, which is not respectable in their home country though they are highly qualified as they have higher educational background earned from Bangladesh.

“Sometimes I think that I made mistake. Hmm, it would be good if I could do something better in Bangladesh. Sometimes I ask myself what I am doing. Then I do not feel good. Again, I also think that it is good. I am working happily. My co-workers are Dutch, we working together” (Worker in the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

Here, this participant is happy because his co-workers are Dutch. He feels good thinking that some Dutch are also doing the job what he is doing. Therefore, it gives him strength that he is not doing an unrespectable job.

For some Bangladeshi immigrants life is not nothing but to work. They do have very little social life. Their life is only to work in the restaurant, earn living, return to house after work, sleep there, wake up next day, and start work again. In their words, “*kaj-khaoya- ghum-kaj*” (work, eat, sleep and work). This is mostly true for the old-aged participants (aged more than 60 years). They hardly do anything except working and spending time in the house.

“I am getting old. I do work in the restaurant and return to home, sleep there, and hmm, the next day I do the same thing. Life is nothing but to do these activities” (Worker in the restaurant, aged more than 60).

4.1.2 Ability to do normal daily activities

There are two broad categories of the participants of this study: the owner of the restaurant and the worker who work in the restaurant. Therefore, their daily activities vary. For example, the owners have to manage all types of activities related to the restaurant business along with their personal and household activities. On the other hand, the workers do not have any managerial activities related to the restaurant. They have fixed work scheduled in the restaurant, for example, 2pm to 11pm or 3pm to 11pm. Except this they do personal and family related activities. The results of the in-depth interviews show that the owners of the restaurant are doing well in their business and in their personal life.

“I am the owner of the restaurant. Therefore, I have to manage all the matters. I need to manage all the management related activities from the starting to the end of the restaurant. For example, in the morning, I do administrative job, make phone call, and pay bills, hmm, do shopping for the business. In the afternoon, I come to restaurant. Ah, I have to give direction to the workers. I have to make plan, have to forecast how many customers we need to handle in a specific day. After 4 pm, we involve physically to the work. Then closing by 11pm” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

On the other hand, the participants who work in the restaurant have to do activities related to their personal family life. They buy daily necessities, take care of their children, taking children to school, do official job, and meet with doctors, if necessary.

“I take care of the children in the morning, like, sending them to the school and taking them from the school to the house. Ah ...I pay the bills and if there is any appointment with doctor, I do that. Generally, hmm..I buy daily necessities during off day. Sometimes I need to respond to some documents, official documents from various authorities. Hmm, I am not feeling any difficulty in doing all these

activities. I think, hmm, I have no barrier in doing my daily activities” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

4.1.3 Establishment of relationship

Establishing relationship with the surrounding environment is prerequisite for proper adjustment in a new culture. Attempts are taken to find out whether it was difficult or easy by the immigrants to establish relationship in the host society. Two general patterns are identified here: one, immigrants perceived that it was easy to find and establish relationship with the host people before two decades as the Dutch people were supportive to the immigrants during that time than that of the present. Second, it was very much difficult for the participants to establish new relationship with Dutch due to the differences in culture, in language, and in food habit as well. Bangladeshi people observed that before 20 years, the people of the Netherlands showed positive attitudes toward the immigrants, they liked foreigner, they were very much helpful, and they did show interest to the immigrants. This is due to the smaller number of immigrants during that period. As a result, immigrants easily got job, they could easily mixed with the host society, and it was somewhat easy to establish relationship with the people of the host society.

“It was easy to find and establish new relations here in the Netherlands during the time of my arrival here. Dutch liked the foreigners, they interact with us intimately. Because during that time number of people were low. Now there are many people in the Netherlands. So, to me they don’t like foreigners like before” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

All participants mentioned that they faced difficulty in establishing relationship mainly because of their lack of knowledge of Dutch language. None of the participants knew Dutch language when they arrived in this country. Therefore, it was difficult for them to communicate in most of the cases. Another difficulty was the cultural differences such as, different life style, gender relations etc. Different religion also posed hindrance in establishing relationship.

“It was very difficult. For example, it was very much difficult to accept the cultural differences. You have to learn language, accommodate with food, and cultural activities. If you do not accommodate with these you will have to face mental problem. It is difficult to integrate culturally” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

During the first part of 1990s, immigrants’ adaptation was hindered by the limited knowledge of Dutch people in English. The immigrants did not know the way of talking, way of making friendship, expectation of Dutch in making friendship. For this reason, it was difficult for the immigrants to establish new relationship. However, some sorts of changes such as attitudes towards immigrants have been occurring in Dutch society, in terms of politics. Dutch people were supportive and liberal to the immigrants earlier. Immigrants found this society better for living some 20 years ago. It was somewhat easy to meet with people, to create friend circle as people showed interest to the immigrants. Recently attitudes toward immigrants are changing negatively. Now a day, Dutch consider immigrants as problem. Participants in the study said that they think that the Dutch do not like immigrants anymore, which are creating mental pressure to the immigrants. As a result, it is somewhat difficult for them to maintain

relationship with the host society despite their language skill, their knowledge about Dutch customs, etc.

“Ah, it was easy. To meet with people, to create friend circle everything was easy. Ah, during that time this society was something better, something different. Many changes have occurred in this society since last 20 years. Now more, more, ah, not liberal. Changes are occurring rapidly. Attitudes towards foreigners have changed during last 20 years and what I can say this change is negative. Actually, I am talking from the political point of view. I do not know about individual – individual relationship because I interact with very few people. Political attitude towards immigration is changing. Now it is difficult for newcomer to adjust here. However, obviously, I am well fitted here as I passed a large part of my life here. For me there is really no trouble” (owner of the restaurant aged between 45-60).

4.1.4 Nature of interaction

The participants mainly interact with other Bangladeshi immigrants. They have in general little contact with other fellow immigrants from other countries, with Muslim from other countries such as, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Morocco, and Surinam. Their interaction with Dutch is limited. Nevertheless, almost all of them have one or two good Dutch friend who is like their family friends. It is interesting that though the male members of the family (here immigrant themselves) has limited interaction with Dutch, their wives and children have more interaction with Dutch than that of the participants themselves. Most of the cases they have some Dutch family friends. This relationship is established based on the friendship of the children in the school. Some immigrants, in turn, mentioned that they interact with all types of people, whether fellow Bangladeshi immigrants or other immigrants from other countries or Dutch. A few also mentioned that their interaction is limited with Bangladeshi immigrants. They like to interact with Dutch friends more than that of Bangladeshi people. Bangladeshi immigrants also interact with the people, who are related with their work, i.e., with whom they work.

“Basically, I interact with all types of people. Basically my interaction with foreigners like Arabian, Afghanistan, Indian and other European countries. However, I interact with all more or less. Netherlands is a different country. There are some countries where people communicate through small communities. Netherlands is not like that” (Owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

“I mostly interact with the Bangladeshi and my wife and children mainly interact with the Dutch. Because most of the friends of my daughters are Dutch. So, they interact with their Dutch friends and their parents” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

“I am not saying that I do not keep contact with Bangladeshi people. However, I prefer to go with Dutch because they are straightforward. Their expectation is minimum, they are more practical, they do not tell lie. When we interact with Bangladeshi, we generally discuss about problems. I feel more comfort with Dutch” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

The last participant mentioned that he interacts with Bangladeshi people just for the sake of interaction. Because he thinks that Bangladeshi people mainly discuss about problems, more

especially with economic problems when they meet with each other.

In almost all cases, the neighbours of the Bangladeshi immigrants are Dutch. In very few cases their neighbour are fellow immigrants from other countries and they do not have Bangladeshi neighbour. As a result, they have to keep communication with Dutch. However, the relationship with the neighbours is not similar to that in Bangladesh, where everybody knows all about his neighbour.

“Interaction with Dutch is in most cases not more than ‘hi, hello’. Friendship is not like what we know as in Bangladesh. They are very much individualistic. They are very good, gentle and simple. They will do no harm to you. However, their interaction is least with us. May be due to the differences in language, culture. You have to remember Bangladesh is Bangladesh, and Netherlands is Netherlands. We can’t expect same thing here” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

“My neighbours, hmm, basically, Dutch. There are few people from other European countries. Relationship, just normal. Not so much communication. Because it is not reserved country, a fast country. People do not have time for extra intimacy. When we meet one another, we say hi-hello. Phone call is not so common” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

It is apparent that the participants’ neighbours are Dutch in almost all cases. Their contact with Dutch is limited, most of the cases not more than ‘hi-hellos’. They greet each other when they meet on the street, or when they work in the garden during off time. They do have very limited home visit and phone call. They visit each other’s house in case of any programme arranged such as during birthday party. However, this is not also so common. Interaction with the neighbour or with Dutch is least because of the specific nature of the business of the immigrants. Their business keeps them busy all time which hinder their interaction with neighbours. Therefore, it is difficult for them to keep continuous contact with the acquaintances.

“I could interact with Dutch more if I do not have this business. For this business, I meet most of the people who are foreigners. Therefore, my interaction is most with foreigners. If I do another job then most of my colleagues would be Dutch so as my interaction. Therefore, I interact mostly with foreigners. Those who are normal public, most of them have a contact point. But I do not have, because I am busy.” (Owner of the restaurant aged between 45-60).

Nevertheless, most of the Bangladeshi immigrants have good relationship with at least one Dutch or a Dutch family. They have continuous communication with each other. They invite them, visit each other’s house, greet in various occasions, for example, birthday, anniversary, New Year etc. They help each other in case of necessity.

“I have very good relationship with a Dutch family. There are two old aged people; I address them as father and mother. I visit their house frequently. I take flowers for them during my visit to their house. They helped me a lot. They made everything easy for me. When I did not have house they let me live in their house” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

“Most of my acquaintances are Dutch. I have good communication with the person

who reside besides my house. I do not have much more contact with another family. Just we say 'hi-hello', 'how are you' when we meet. I have also good relationship with the person who lives in front of my house. I go his house; he also comes in my house. They gave the duplicate key of their house to me. When they go outside for long time, I look after their cat. They invite me during birthday party and other parties. I have another neighbour who is a music director and his girl friend is a singer. Sometimes they invite me also” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

“Most of the acquaintances are Dutch and some other migrants of other countries. Not more contact with Dutch. I have good relation with my language teacher. Sometimes I go to his home. I have also Dutch friends” (worker of the restaurant, aged less than 30).

Participants were also asked to explain the necessity of having Dutch friends. Most of them agreed that they must have Dutch friends. Because they think if they have Dutch friends then it is easy for them to know Dutch culture, rules and regulations. Sometimes they do not understand some official documents. In that case, they seek help of their Dutch friends. This is a specific type of strategy to face the adverse situation. Some other again mentioned that it is not must that they need Dutch friend. However, all of the immigrants agreed that it is good if they have Dutch friends as they think they can learn many things from them.

“Off course, it is important to have a Dutch friend without any doubt. I think in order to adjust properly you must learns the culture. For this reason, you have to interact with the people of host society” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

“If you have, it is good. However, it is not must that you have to have Dutch friend. If you have, it will be helpful for you. If you do not understand anything then they can help you. They can fill up your form” (worker of the restaurant. Aged between 45-60).

“Not so important but if you have it is good. If you have, you can easily know their attitude, desire. If you do not interact with them, you will not be able to learn these things” (owner of the restaurant, aged less than 30).

4.1.5 Celebration of occasions

Socio-cultural relationship of an individual with other individuals of the society depends on the extent of celebration of various types of occasions. This socio-cultural relationship is an important determinant of nature of socio-cultural adjustment of an individual with the society. Bangladeshi immigrants do not usually celebrate and participate in many programmes. Sometimes they celebrate some religious programmes personally and invite some of their friends. The two most common religious occasions they celebrate are *Eid-ul-Fitre* (after one month fasting) and *Eid-ul-Azha* (sacrifice of animals in the name of Allah). They do not celebrate many occasions because they are very busy with their work. They also try to enjoy the New Year celebration, Christmas, Queen's birthday, etc.

“I usually celebrate religious festivals like Eid-ul-Fitre and Eid-ul-Azha. Last year I arranged a big programme during Eid-ul-azha. About 120 people from various

cities of the Netherlands participated in the programme. The participants were mostly Bangladeshi, some other migrants and a few Dutch. I observe these programmes in order to keep communication and good relationship with others. I do not observe Dutch programme, but I enjoy their programmes like celebration of Christmas, New Year etc. My children take part in various Dutch occasions in the school” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

The Bangladeshi immigrants do not usually celebrate any national programmes of Bangladesh such as, *Pohela Boishak* (first day of Bengali New Year in 14 April), International Mother Language Day (21 February), Independence Day (26 March), Victory Day (16 December) in Groningen. National programmes are arranged by the embassy in The Hague. Though they get invitation, they are not able to attend due to time constraints. They do not even celebrate their own in the Groningen. Because there are very few Bangladeshi here in Groningen. Some try to celebrate *Pohela Boishakh* personally at their house.

“We do not celebrate any national programme here. The embassy of Bangladesh invites us during various national programmes. However, you know life is very busy here. Most of the times we do not able to attend though we wish to attend. We observe 1st day of Bengali year (14 April) in our house. I wear ‘panjabi’ and my wife wear ‘sharee’ (Panjabi and share are Bengali traditional dresses). I say Eid prayer in Mosque with other Bangladeshi. Sometimes we participate Eid party arranged by other Bangladeshi” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

In general, it is somewhat difficult to celebrate various occasions. Because it costs a lot of money, it costs time also. Again, each participant has different schedule of work. Therefore, it is quite difficult to get all of them together. Some participants mentioned that the communication among Bangladeshis is not good enough that prevent the celebration of occasion jointly. There is a hidden competition among the owners of the restaurant, which is business purpose. This is responsible for limited communication among the participants, which in turn responsible for not arranging programmes regularly. Moreover, the Bangladeshi immigrants find it difficult to celebrate Bangladeshi occasions for not having any official vacation during those days.

“We do not celebrate many programmes here. It requires huge investment. However, there is a lack of communication among Bangladeshi community. Moreover, there is lack of time; we do not have vacation during Bangladeshi occasions. It costs a lot of money. Generally, we do not celebrate Dutch programmes but if there is any programme in school then we try to participate” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

“There is a lack of communication among the Bangladeshi communities here in Groningen. They do not do common programme together generally. If you go to England then you find them celebrating the programmes jointly. They have various societies, associations; they celebrate programmes formally. Here everyone is busy with his own work. Moreover, we cannot do many things, as we are busy” (worker of the restaurant, aged less than 30).

Though Bangladeshi immigrants, in general, do not actively celebrate Dutch religious and national occasions, they try to enjoy the occasions such as Queen’s Birthday, Christmas, and New Year. Nevertheless, few of them actively participate in Dutch programmes. In most

case, female members of the family and children actively take part in Dutch occasions and their participation is more than that of male immigrants. Therefore, it can be said that female members and children are more integrated than that of the male immigrant in case of celebrating occasions. The mostly celebrated Dutch programmes are Christmas, Queen's birthday, Easter day, and Santa Claus.

"I do not actively celebrate Dutch programmes, but I try to enjoy. However, my wife and daughters do celebrate various programmes, like Queen's birthday, Easter Sunday, Santa Claus day etc. The Dutch rarely have religious programmes" (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

The above-mentioned discussions portrayed that the Bangladeshi immigrants do not have wide ranged socio-cultural relationships with the community and the society. However, they maintain socio-cultural relationship, which is sufficient for leading a meaningful socio-cultural life as they do hardly face any problem at present. Though they are not happy with their present busy lives in the Netherlands in some cases, they feel better here compared to Bangladesh. Now they have the ability to do their normal daily activities. Primarily it was somewhat difficult for them to establish new relations with other people of Dutch society. Nevertheless, they have overcome these difficulties in the course of time. They have gained skills such as, language skill, cultural skill; sufficient to establish relationship. The Bangladeshi immigrants generally interact with all types of people such as, fellow Bangladeshi immigrants, other immigrants from other countries, and the Dutch people. However, their interaction with Dutch is not wide spread. However, they do not consider it as problematic as Dutch are culturally individualistic in nature.

4.2 Psychological adjustment

Nature of psychological adjustment of the immigrants is explained in this section in terms of immigrants' feeling about well-being, of being foreigner, perceived sense of discrimination, perceived cultural distance, sense of belongingness, and expectation and satisfaction.

4.2.1 Feelings about well-being

Personal sense of well-being is an important attribute of psychological adjustment of an individual. The term well-being is used here as synonymous of Bengali word '*sukh-sacchondo*' (happiness or well-being). It is measured in terms of the participants' feeling about whether they are better off now or not regarding their personal, family, social and economic life. It is important whether an individual think his life is good or not. The more he positively thinks about his well-being the more he is supposed to be psychologically adjusted in the society. His internal happiness is important here. When the participants were asked about their views of their well-being, they compared their present life in the Netherlands with the life they led in Bangladesh. They also compared their life with another individual of their age living in Bangladesh. Moreover, they thought about the opportunities and constraints in the Netherlands and in Bangladesh as well. In comparing their present life in the Netherlands with the previous life in Bangladesh, the participants feel that they are better now.

"If I think about my previous condition, then I am far better now. I think I am very happy here in compare to Bangladesh. Every individual has his goal point. I am nearer to my goal point. Allahar Rohomote (By the grace of Almighty Allah), I am very well now. I expect according to my capacity. I can help people now, can help

my brother, mother. Therefore, I am mentally satisfied now” (worker in the restaurant aged between 45-60).

Participants also feel better in comparison to another individual of his age in Bangladesh. Here the participant talked about his target of achievement in life, according to his word ‘goal point’. He is near to his target. That is, his expectations have almost been fulfilled. This complacency is important for psychological adjustment of the individuals.

“If I compare the life of an individual of my age living in Bangladesh, then I feel better. My activity, my movement is very much different from that of him. My life is so fast, so developed. I am leading a better life here in compare to Bangladesh” (worker in the restaurant aged between 45-60).

After considering the opportunities and constraints of both the host and origin countries, almost all participants feel that despite some shortcomings such as, missing motherland and relative, life in the Netherlands is far better than that of Bangladesh. To them, there is lack of security, social or economic, in Bangladesh. However, in the Netherlands, an individual does not need to think about these.

“I think I am very fine with all by the grace of Allah. Human beings have to face some problems wherever they live. For example, if I were in Bangladesh, maybe I was very happy but there are some problems there. However, there are some problems also in the Netherlands despite many opportunities. For example, missing of motherland. Because, we left all of our parents, brother, sister, relatives there. I feel them very much. This is the shortcoming of being here in the Netherlands. But again, hmm, Bangladesh is not a suitable place to live” (Owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

In some instances, participants also compare themselves with the position of the Dutch people and with the position of fellow immigrants. When they find that they are better in position compared to some Dutch and some other fellow immigrants, they feel better. Their expression is very much visible during that time.

“Sukh-sacchondo (happiness or well-being) I am doing my business, within my circle. I am in a very good position with my friend-circle. There are some others Bangladeshi who came earlier to me in this country but they are not as developed as I am. I am leading a very good life here. Hmm, I am leading my life here just behind the first class group that is in second class. In the first class, there are executive, directors, etc. There are 2/3 classes after my class (2nd class) here in the Netherlands. That is why I think I am in a very good position. There are a lot of Dutch who dream my life” (Owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

However, some participants again are in somewhat depressed mentally. In some aspects, they think positively and in some other aspects, they think that they are not happy, especially in case of their children. They think their children are not getting proper nourishment to learn parent culture. They are in dilemma in deciding what culture their children should learn. However, when they think that their children are secured in Dutch society they feel good.

“When I think that I could not able to teach Bangladeshi culture to my children or they did not see that culture, it seems to me that life is boring. However, when I

think that they are doing well, they are secured, have no problem here then I think it is ok. We face problem like what culture our children adopt or what language they learn. If they depend on Bengali then they face problem in school” (Owner of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

4.2.2 Feelings of being foreigner

Psychological adjustment is associated with the degree of integration of the immigrants with the host society. The lesser the feeling of being foreigner, the higher the extent of their psychological adjustment and vice versa. If there is feeling of fear, being a foreigner work in the mind of immigrants, they will face adjustment problem from psychological point view. Almost all the immigrants had some sorts of feeling that they are foreigner during the early part of their stay in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, though the immigrants are being able to overcome this problem by the course of time, this type of feeling exist until now in some cases.

“Feelings of being foreigner, yeah, I had it earlier. Here racism is not so prevalent. There is class system here. It is normal to have this somewhat. Citizen of every country have feelings to their country, which is nationalism. It is normal. Nevertheless, people of this country are very good” (owner of restaurant, aged between 30-45).

“I do not have any such feeling like foreigner. I can do everything. However, it is true that we are bideshi (foreigner). However, no barrier officially. Primarily I have such types of feeling. I thought people consider me differently” (worker in the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

There are some sorts of fear in the mind of immigrants for being a foreigner such as, fear of possibility of formulation of anti-immigration law and anti-Islam law. Sometimes they also feel guilty that they are staying in another country. For having feeling of being foreigner, the immigrants from various countries try to establish good relationship among them.

“I am a foreigner; I think so, sometimes I feel bad when I feel so. I mainly communicate with other migrants. There is a Suriname besides my house. They are very helpful, they help me very much. To me, all foreigners feel that they are foreigners. That is why there is a good relationship among foreigners. We are closer with other migrants than that with the Dutch. But that does not necessarily mean that we have bad relationship with Dutch. We also have good relationship with them” (worker in the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

Here, this participant has fellow feeling. It is obvious. When an individual migrate to a different country, everything is unknown to him. He learns and takes supports from other migrants of his own culture. Because, it is difficult for him to communicate with host people primarily. Then he interacts with other migrants from other countries because of the homogeneity that they are all migrants.

“I think they do not accept us. They think of us as outsiders, we cannot mix with them, cannot spend whole night outside at bar. We are in a dilemma. Amra dui noukay pa diye achi (our two feet in two separate boats). We cannot accept this

culture and cannot maintain our culture. Sometimes I undermine myself, as I am an immigrant” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

It is clear from the above quotation that cultural differences become adjustment problem for the above participant. As Dutch culture is very much different from the Bangladeshi culture, it is difficult for him to adopt this culture. Again, it is also difficult to follow the Bangladeshi culture here.

4.2.3 Feelings about perceived sense of discrimination

Immigrants face problems in adjusting psychologically when they have the sense of discrimination. If they feel that they are being discriminated as an immigrant then they face adjustment problems. Though most of the participants mentioned that they do not feel any kind of discrimination, a few of them mentioned that they are being discriminated. However, the positive thing is that the participants do not consider this discrimination as harmful. They consider it as obvious.

“There are some sorts of discrimination between original Dutch and us. I think so. It is obvious I think. It is their own country not mines. When you go to search job you will not get job easily. They do not reject directly but indirectly they do this sometimes” (worker in the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

“Here all are equal. There is no discrimination between various groups. I get all the facilities a typical Dutch get. The problem is I am Bangladeshi. It means legally I am getting all the opportunities. However, some people do not like immigrants. But this is not creating problem in getting my rights” (Owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

“But, yeah there is difference in terms of getting opportunity and it persists everywhere. There are discriminations also in almost every sector. However, not that everyone discriminate. I can do everything a Dutch can in normal case, but there are many limitations, from government, from society, from culture. But most of the limitations are not visible” (Owner of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

The participants talked here about the attitudes of Dutch towards them. They observed that some Dutch do not like them, which may create adjustment problems from psychological points of view. Because, when an individual finds that someone looks him as strange then it will create problem for him. The life seems to be tough for him. In explaining the nature and extent of discrimination, the participants used the example of France and Germany. They discover the Netherlands as a safe place for living as most of the Dutch are cooperative and helpful.

“Discrimination is lesser compared to Germany and France. They neglect you, but the people of the Netherlands are very gentle and helpful. If you seek their help, they will try to help you. In the Netherlands, Dutch people speak in English with foreigner if they do not know Dutch but German and French are very much reluctant in using English with a person who does not know German or French” (worker in the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

4.2.4 Feelings about perceived cultural distance

The Bangladeshi immigrants are leading a very different life in a very different culture. There are differences in language, religion, weather, food habits, social life, family life, economic system, gender relations, etc. Most of the Bangladeshis are Muslim, who were habituated with family-oriented life where free mixing of boy and girls are strongly prohibited. Family bondage and social ties are strong in Bangladesh. Apart from other differences, religious and cultural differences played significant role in facing adjustment problem. Therefore, Bangladeshi immigrants faced some sorts of problems in adjusting in this new culture where people are religiously very much liberal. Though religious neutrality or difference in religion does pose very little problem for the participants themselves, it becomes a problem when they themselves and their family members especially children have to attend any Dutch ceremony. However, the participants think cultural differences become problems if anybody led very much detached life from the host society.

“Differences do not create problem for me. Hmm, it will depend on the way of life you lead. There are some Bangladeshis who spent here more than 20 years, but they cannot speak Dutch fluently. Therefore, he must have to face problem. Yeah, we have to go ahead overcoming the barrier of differences for proper adjustment. Here you can lead your life in your own way. Nobody will disturb you. People respect each other; they are straightforward and very much civilized” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

Cultural differences act as a real problem in case of children of the immigrants. The immigrants know their origin culture; they know what they have to do and what not. Nevertheless, most of the cases their children do not have any concrete idea about their parents' culture. The immigrants expect their children will follow their parents' culture.

“Differences sometimes create problem for us. Here, everyone is free after the age of 16. They can do everything they wish whether boy or girl. However, we cannot accept this. For example, we cannot let our daughter to spend night outside house” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

In the above case, the participant mainly points on gender relationship and on the habit of drinking alcohol. He raises points more specifically on extra marital and pre-marital sexual relationship. Culturally people of Bangladesh do not accept this. Therefore, he is afraid of his offspring on how to keep away them from this culture. They are anxious about their children. They are suspicious what culture their children should learn and adopt. If their children do not adopt Dutch culture, they might face problems in the school. It becomes difficult for them to establish relationship with their peer.

“Cultural difference creates some problems for my children. It was not before. For example, in case of any programme in school, my sons cannot eat what they cook. We have to inform about this. It is a bothering for us and for school. My elder son knows about this but younger son does not. We need to inform the teacher about the religious reason” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

“Sometimes it is difficult to accept some cultural things in case of children. There is a dilemma active in my heart. My children cannot speak Bengali fluently, cannot mix with the society properly” (Owner of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

Apart from the problems in case of children, the participants in general do not consider cultural differences as problem. They know that it is not wise to compare the culture of Bangladesh and of the Netherlands and they do not try to do that. They also do not expect that they will be able to do everything they did in Bangladesh. Some Bangladeshi immigrants are religiously neutral. However, sometimes they feel fear when print and electronic media broadcast anti-Islam programmes. During the informal discussions after in-depth interview session, the participants mentioned that Dutch media spread hatred against Islam sometimes, for example, Geert Wilders' short film *Fitna*.

“These differences do not create any problem for me because I am leading my own life. I do not compare my culture with Dutch culture. It will not be wise to do that. I do not practice any religion. However, I feel fear seeing many Dutch do not like Islam. Electronic media broadcast anti-Islam programmes sometimes” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

The participants also understand the fact that it is not possible for them to follow Bangladeshi culture here in the Netherlands. They also accept that they have to compensate about this, as they have to live in this country. But by tradition, they expect their children will follow the tradition of Bangladesh. This thing is causing problem in their psychological adjustment.

“It is not possible for me to follow my culture here. However, here after 16 years, children are able to live independently. I do not think it is bad. However, as I am not accustomed with this system. I hope my children will live with me. It is our tradition. As I am settled here, so I have to follow their culture, they are also not saying that our culture is bad. They also respect our culture, they appreciate. I do not think about the differences too much” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

4.2.5 Feelings about expectation and satisfaction

Decision to migrate from Bangladesh to the Netherlands is largely governed by the economic cause. The participants migrated mainly for establishing economically, for having good, secured and economically developed life. It is important to know whether their expectation have been fulfilled or not, and whether they are satisfied with their present life or not. Because, satisfaction with present life along with the fulfilment of expectation is very much important for the psychological adjustment of the participants. Almost all of the participants reported that their expectations have fulfilled and they are satisfied with their present life. Very few participants reported that they are very near to their expectation fulfilment and they are more or less satisfied with their present life here in Groningen.

“We migrate to abroad mainly to establish ourselves; you can say to be economically independent. We want to have an economically solvent and socially secured life. Here, life is very much secured, which is not possible in Bangladesh. Here, everybody has his doctor. If you fall in any problem, you will get legal advisor to solve this. These are absent in Bangladesh. In Bangladesh you have no security of life but here you have this” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

“I think my expectation have fulfilled. Allahar Shokor (God gives me a lot or thanks to God). I have my own house, business, car, money in bank. I have no problem. I do not have a lot of expectation. Now I can help my family members greatly” (owner of the restaurant, aged less than 30).

The participants are very much satisfied with social security measures of the Dutch government. They do not have any worry, as they know that the government will take care of them if they fall in any difficulty. They are happy about their personal and family life. They are satisfied with the Dutch system, which are responsible for taking care of its citizens. In comparing with the life of Bangladesh, they feel that are leading better life in the Netherlands.

“My expectations have fulfilled. I am happy as I have the capacity to take care of my family, to help poor people. I do not need to think about my children because Dutch system will grow them. I did not have the capacity to help needy man earlier. Now I have. We are secured here. I am very happy. I am happy with my family life. I am far better now” (worker of the restaurant. Aged between 45-60).

“I am very much satisfied with my family life, social life, and with all. I can keep contact with my friends and I am not facing any problem. I have no problem officially. Then I can do whatever I wish. System here is very much organized. Many people know me; they appreciate me and say hi-hello with me” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

Mental satisfaction is an important determinant of psychological adjustment of the individuals. In the above two cases, the participants are mentally satisfied. They are now not only able to take care of himself and his family but also are able to support other needy people back to their home country. They have mental strength so that they have no problem now.

“With present life, ah, family life – happy, social life – ah, could be better. Actually, here is nothing like social life. In Bangladesh, we mean social life as extended family, extended friend circle, and extended community, what is absent here. Moreover, it is not possible to create it here. For this reason, I never feel bad for this. Here they mean social life as friend – a small group; family is not so important, neighbours also not important” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

The above participant is happy with his family life but not completely happy with his social life. At the same time, he feels that it is not possible to get social life similar to Bangladesh. Culturally people of Bangladesh are very much integrated with their surrounding people, that is, with extended family members, relatives, and with friends. However, as a fast and individualistic society it is not possible to create the environment similar to Bangladesh here in the Netherlands.

4.2.6 Sense of belongingness

Moving or staying far away from the home country is a good way to discover the feelings toward home country. On the other hand, feel belonging to the host country is something expected from the migrants after migration, which is necessary for the adjustment in the host

society. Usually immigrants tend to feel multiple senses of belongingness. Along with the sense of belongingness to their home country, they feel sense of belongingness to the host country. Attempts were taken in this part of in-depth interview to determine the types of changes occurred regarding the feeling of being Bangladeshi among the participants, whether they feel belongingness to the host society or not, and whether they consider Bangladesh or Netherlands as their home.

In the present case, almost all participants feel dual sense of belongingness in their mind. It is impossible for them not to feel belongingness to their home country. They do not find any reason behind the change in the sense of belongingness toward their home country as it is their motherland. They spent a considerable part of their life in that country. They left many 'kith and kin' there. Therefore, they feel deep love to their home country.

"I am a Bangladeshi. It is not possible to change this identity. I like the Netherlands and I like many things of the Netherlands. May be I will not go to Bangladesh permanently but my dead body will go in Bangladesh. It is wrong to ask whether I am Dutch or Bangladeshi. I have Dutch citizenship, but I am a Bangladeshi, Bangladesh is my homeland. But now I am completely a Dutch" (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

"After all I am Bangladeshi whatever. People of the Netherlands also consider you as foreigner not as Dutch. I am Dutch by paper or by officially. But I am Bangladeshi in my mind and soul. I born in Bangladesh, it is my root. Desh is desh (country is country), nothing is comparable with this. It is not possible to forget this. However, those who have children born here consider themselves as Dutch. The kids do not think them as Bangladeshi. Bangladesh is my birthplace and I grown up there. Therefore, I must have feeling for Bangladesh. But it is also true that I love the Netherlands" (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

Sense of belongingness to the home country could increase after moving to a new country. The participants start missing their motherland, they miss beautiful moments (spending time with family members, friends, and relatives) there, imagine themselves as in Bangladesh hence increasing their sense of belongingness to their beloved homeland. This is apparent in case of following participant.

"It is impossible to forget the country. Everybody have a different feeling about the country where he born. No change in my feeling of being Bangladeshi. I think it is increasing. When you go away from your home country, your feeling might increase" (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

In some cases participants who have been staying in this country for many years, feel strong sense of belongingness to the host society. They even think and dream in Dutch (it is the view of participant). This is for the reason that they have been living in this country for long time and they use Dutch in their day-to-day conversation. This country gave them opportunity to establish themselves. They follow the rules and regulation of this country. They become habituated with this culture. So, some sorts if changes have occurred in their mind. They like to think themselves as Dutch. Still they feel Bangladesh is in their heart.

"Dutch or Bangladeshi? It is difficult to say. What can I say? I was just thinking about this tomorrow. My girlfriend asking me, 'when you think, in which language

you think, Dutch or Bengali?’ I replied that I think in Dutch. Because I have been staying in this country for a long time. I spent more time here than that of Bangladesh. For this reason, it is normal for me. Therefore, I think I am Dutch. However, my origin is Bangladeshi. I did not forget this. Feel proud that I am a Bangladeshi” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

One interesting case is that one of the participants does not feel any sense of belongingness to any country. This is because his feeling to home country is weakened for staying out of touch of it for long time. Again, he cannot feel him as Dutch as it is not his homeland.

“Actually, I do not think myself either a Dutch or a Bangladeshi. Actually, I do not know who I am. Hmm, yeah, I do not think myself as Bangladeshi. Ah, it has been created for spending long time here. I am forgetting what I liked in Bangladesh with the time. I am not a Dutch also. I liked many things of Dutch culture. Nevertheless, I do not like those things anymore because of living here for long time. I was born in Bangladesh, so...When I stay in Holland, I think Holland as my home, when I go to Philippine, it becomes my home. However, I do not consider any specific country as my home” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

Plan of settlement could be an indicator of judging sense of belongingness of the participants towards a specific country. Most of the participants do not have any concrete plan of settlement. Some of them mentioned that they are already settled in this country and they want to stay here. They do not want to face insecurity going back to Bangladesh. Economic security is an important reason in this case. Whereas, some other immigrants think they will go back to Bangladesh in their old age. Decision of future settlement also depends on the career of children. The participants feel that their children are secured here; they have good prospects in this country. Therefore, they do not want to return to Bangladesh for the sake of their children.

“It is very hard to say where to settle in future. In old age, I may return to Bangladesh. However, it is my children’s decision where they will settle. They are well settled here now. They can settle here in future. However, after proper education, if they want to return to Bangladesh I will be happy. It will make me proud if my children return to Bangladesh” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

“I will stay here. What I will do returning to Bangladesh. However, sometimes I will go Bangladesh for recreation. It is a good place for recreation. People take care you very much” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

“I do not know. I am now just thinking about my children. Our first objective is to establish our children here. After completing their education, they will decide where they settle. I want to see that they get a good degree, they get a good job” (Owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

From the discussions, it can be said that the Bangladeshi immigrants show a mixed pattern in terms of their psychological adjustment in the Netherlands. In some perspectives, they are psychologically adjusted; but in some other aspects, they are not. For example, they feel that they are in a better position now and almost all of their expectations have been fulfilled. They are satisfied with their personal, family, social, and economic life. Their life is better in the

Netherlands compared to Bangladesh as social and economic security is better in the Netherlands than that of Bangladesh. In general, they do not feel that they are being discriminated. However, they also miss their motherlands. In some instances, cultural differences create problems not for themselves but for their children. This is obvious as culturally people of Bangladesh are family-oriented and they think of a better future for their children. Sometimes they sacrifice their happiness for the well-being of their children. Though there are very few instances of racial discrimination in the Netherlands, Bangladeshi immigrants have fear of being discriminated racially in some cases. What is important is that they think of religious matters from a relative point of view, and they respect other religious views. Being influenced by Dutch culture, some Bangladeshi immigrants are also religiously neutral.

4.3 Economic adjustment

The study of economic adjustment of immigrants is highly relevant as immigrants are often found to hold economically disadvantaged positions in host societies (Vroom and Tubergen, 2010). It is also relevant as the Bangladeshi immigrants mainly immigrated for the economic pursuit.

4.3.1 Restaurant business as a strategy of economic adjustment

Among the 14 participants of this study, eight are owners of the restaurant and the rest six work in the restaurant owned by Bangladeshi. The main reason for establishing a restaurant business or working in the restaurant is the Bangladeshi educational background of the participants, which is not enough to enter the Dutch job market except working in the restaurant. Lack of skill in Dutch language is another factor for not getting a job in other sectors. Because having knowledge in Dutch is a prerequisite for getting a chance in most of the jobs. For this, almost all of the participants first work in the restaurant, as working in the restaurant does not require language skill. After having experience in restaurant business they start their own business for quick economic gain. In the meantime, they learn the language and did a diploma in Hospitality or hotel management. Most of the owners of the restaurant reported that they did a diploma in *Horeca* (*Horeca* is a Dutch word meaning Catering).

“I worked in a restaurant before. I had no plan except this. I am used to with this work for working in restaurant for long days. What can we do except this? Those who studied here they may have other opportunities. However, for us there is no other work except this” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

“You have to learn a lot of things when you start a new business. As I studied in this line, so it helped me. I did diploma in Hospitality Management. I wanted financial gain more quickly that is possible if you start business. That is why I started this business. If you work in anywhere it is not possible for you to develop financially more quickly” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

“It was difficult to find job. Then I started this business. Reason, hmm, I knew it only. When I came here, there was Bangladeshi restaurant. I worked there; I acquired experiences in this line. Therefore, I did what I knew” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

Immigrants will have lower returns to foreign education because of difference in quality and

compatibility with host labour market. The education system of Bangladesh is different and generally less advanced than the Dutch system (according to the participants), with qualifications that may at times be only partially or not at all recognized by Dutch employers and institutions.

“Especially for us those who come from Bangladesh with low education background this occupation is the best. It is the easiest way to get job. It is difficult for us to get other job. Primarily we also did not know Dutch language. In addition, yes, you can say that we traditionally involve in this occupation, because we see almost all is involved with restaurant” (worker of the restaurant, aged less than 30).

However, the important matter is that by establishing restaurant business, Bangladeshi immigrants become entrepreneurs. They not only provide employment opportunity to themselves and some other fellow Bangladeshi immigrants, but also provide job to some Dutch and some other immigrants of other countries. Each restaurant provides employment opportunity for at least 4-5 Dutch on an average all the year round. Moreover, they manage their own livelihood not relying on government allowances. They do not like having government allowances rather they consider it as disgraceful. Moreover, the participants feel that becoming owner is a respectful position in Dutch society. This restaurant business gives them the honour in this society.

“Now I am an owner. It is important. They give value to an owner. There are some Dutch also work in my restaurant. I am fine because of this business. Without this, I need to depend on government allowances like social allowances. I have freedom because it is my own business. I feel better” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

4.3.2 Feeling about economic position

Becoming economically independent is the most important reason of immigration of Bangladeshi immigrants. Satisfaction about economic position is crucial for not only their economic adjustment but also psychological and socio-cultural adjustment as it is their main goal. Almost all of the participants feel that their economic expectations have fulfilled, and they are satisfied with their current economic position. They also feel that they are completely economically independent. They do not need to rely on another person in case of any necessity.

“I am satisfied with my economic position. I am near to my goal point. May be 80% of my economic expectation have fulfilled. I am 100% independent. I think my position comparatively, what I was before and what my position now is. In this respect, I am satisfied” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

“I am very much satisfied with my economic condition. I never feel that I have economic problem and I did not feel like that before starting business also. Now, of course not. I do not think about money; do not think that I have less money. Obviously I am economically independent” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

“I am economically independent. I have no problem to manage my meal, to

manage my sleeping place. If you do not have work, government will take care of you. You can get money if you work and even if do not have work. Is it possible for Bangladesh government to do so? I think it is enough what I have” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

It can be said that economic adjustment is more important for Bangladeshi immigrants than that of socio-cultural and psychological adjustments, as they have immigrated for economic pursuit. Being economically independent is an important criterion for proper economic adjustment. It is apparent that the immigrants are very much satisfied with their economic achievement. This is because; almost all of their economic expectations have been fulfilled. Some (the owners) have established their own business. The owners of the restaurant feel happy that they do not only create their own employment opportunities but also provide employment opportunities for others such as, other fellow Bangladeshi migrants, migrants from other countries and also Dutch people.

4.4 Factors of adjustment

Perceptions of the participants are analyzed here in order to identify the important factors necessary to adjust in Dutch society. This study identifies factors of adjustment in three categories, such as, general factors, positive attributes to adjustment, and hindrances to adjustment.

4.4.1 General factors

These factors are generally associated with the participants’ socio-demographic and economic characteristics. For proper adjustment one must have job, he must have some educational background, should know Dutch language, should have citizenship, and should have ability and desire to interact with others. Dutch language skill is one of the most important factors of adjustment. If no one knows the language then it is quite difficult for him to interact with others. Moreover, individuals should know rules, regulations, and customs of Dutch society. They should interact with others. If they interact with others, they will be able to learn many things, which help them to adapt.

“Main factor is language. If you know language then you can communicate with others, can talk with others. Everything will be easy for you. You can go close to the people. In addition, you must have work. If you do not have work then you will have to spend time in your house, and it will create problem. If you have work you can interact with more people, you get the opportunity to be introduced with many people. Then you have to have citizenship” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

It is important for the immigrants to cope with the cultural differences. Because there are vast differences between the culture of Bangladesh and the Netherlands. Hence, there must have chances of cultural shock. For this, the immigrants should have an open mind. They should not compare between the two cultures rather they should have ability to judge culture relatively. When they are able to understand the fact that every country has its own culture then it will be easier for them to adapt.

“Hmm, first, open mind. Those who are not open minded they face problem. If you are open minded then nothing will be problematic for you. You must know

language. Without knowing language, it is difficult to adjust. Language is very much helpful” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

4.4.2 Positive factors toward adjustment

Almost all participants identified several factors that have made their process of adjustment easier in Dutch culture. These factors are generally related with positive aspects of Dutch society, Dutch government and above all Dutch people. Most participants referred to positive aspects of Dutch society and they did so within the framework of a comparison to life in Bangladesh. This theme represents the gains realized by immigrants in coming to the Netherlands. They are happy with the Dutch people, social security, economic security, rules and regulations.

“Here environment, social or economic or physical, is very good. People are very nice and honest. They do never say lie. Law and order situation is also very good. No economic problem. Social security system is also very good” (owner of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

“You can think your own way. Nobody will interrupt you. Social security is very much good here. A girl even moves during mid-night alone here, which is not possible in Bangladesh. Their commitment, honesty actually attracts me. They are very systematic. You have to follow rules whether you are rich or poor” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 30-45).

Social supports from the fellow Bangladeshi immigrants were also important during the beginning part of the immigrants’ stay in the Netherlands. Developed communication system helped them to keep continuous communication. They did not feel that they are alone as they could communicate with their friends and families back to Bangladesh regularly. Many participants reported that they learned a lot and grown strong as a result of their experiences here, so that they are better able to face the challenges of adjusting to life in Netherlands in future.

4.4.3 Hindrances to adjustment

Most of the participants, except a few, identified some hindrances that made their life harder in Netherlands. These are also associated with Dutch culture, Dutch government, Dutch people, and homesickness as well. They face difficulties with language and communication, making social connection and gender roles. Primarily, they suffered from Dutch food habit. In some instances they also afraid of racial discrimination, especially after the release of Geert Wilders’ short film *Fitna*. They expressed this view during the informal discussion with the researcher. To them, everybody should have freedom to follow his own religion. The pre-existing cultural differences between Bangladesh society and Dutch society also hindered their adjustment process. Though the participants at present do not think cultural differences as problem for themselves, they are worried about their children. Regarding employment difficulties, few participants reported that there is a hidden discrimination. The Dutch employer or institutions avoid them ‘not directly, but indirectly or better to say, technically’.

“The importance of religion is very much less in Dutch culture. Everybody is very free here, relationship is very easy. After 16 years the children can take their own decision, can take even alcohol. It is the matter of contradiction with us. We

cannot allow our children to do that” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

“Some people do not like foreigners. They think their problems increases, criminal rate increase for the immigrants. Some people do not work, they rely on government support, thus causing financial burden of the government” (worker of the restaurant, aged between 45-60).

4.5 Case study

A case study develops a narrative about a single participant’s experience. It tells the broader story of the study participant by highlighting the key events (Hennink et al., 2011). A case study about a study participant was developed in this study by mentioning how he perceives his life in the Netherlands, what types of interaction he maintains with people of the society, what is his view about psychological adjustment, what his nature of economic adjustment and what are factors he perceives as responsible for adjustment.

Mr. ‘X’ is an owner of a Bangladeshi restaurant situated in the city of Groningen. He is 50 years old and a married person having one son and one daughter. His friend circle mostly Dutch. He has Bangladeshi friend in Amsterdam and a few in Groningen. However, for him friend circle means as usual. They are not his friend. He just maintains relationship with them for the sake of relationship. In this sense, all Bangladeshi are his friends. However, they are not so close. He meets with these friends in case of any programme arranged. Therefore, they are friends for maintaining social relationship. He has one Bangladeshi friend with whom he can share everything. He is very busy. He has to follow the schedule. He considers his present life as a routine life so as to boring life. He cannot do many things in the way he did these before, as he is very much busy with his family, work, and business. Despite all, he thanks to God that he is happier than that of others.



Fig. 4.1: Celebration of occasion

He gives importance to Dutch culture understanding the fact that he needs to learn this culture, as he has to stay here. However, he did not forget his own culture. When he thinks that he could not able to teach Bangladeshi culture to his children or they did not see that culture, it seems to him that life is boring. However, when he thinks that they are doing well, they are secured, have no problem here then he thinks it is good. He finds a vast difference in the pattern of friendship between Bangladesh and the Netherlands. According to him, "Bangladesh is Bangladesh. It is not possible to get the life of Bangladesh, to get the friends like Bangladesh here. Those of us live abroad we always think about those days. We cannot get those days. We always miss that in every single moment". However, as a Bangladeshi, sometimes it is difficult for him to accept some cultural things, especially in case of children. When he thinks about these things then life becomes boring to him. He is in dilemma, he is not happy as his children cannot speak Bengali fluently, cannot mix with the society properly.

Almost all of his neighbours are Dutch. Nevertheless, he has limited interaction with them as his neighbour and he himself is busy. He exchange greeting when he meets his neighbour in the street or while working in the garden. He thinks the relationship is not like Bangladesh and it as normal in this culture. He does not know the names of most of his neighbours. However, it is not normal for all cases. When he was in Amsterdam, he was not so busy. He arranged party regularly where he invited his friends, Bangladeshi and Dutch. Now he does not has time to do such type of things. During his earlier time in the Netherlands, it was very much difficult for him to establish news relationship. Because he did not know Dutch language and most of the Dutch also did not know English well. He was shocked culturally, with the food, customs, weather, relationship pattern, way of talking, etc. Now he thinks there is no problem for him. He can do everything he wants. He knows the language, customs, rules, regulations, how to make friendship.

He tries to celebrate *Eid* programmes (religious occasion of Bangladesh) and invites his Bangladeshi and Dutch friends. He does not generally celebrate any national programmes. He tired to celebrate New Year programme and enjoys some of the Dutch occasions like Queen's birthday. Cultural differences do not create so many problems for him except for the case of children. He cannot think to let her daughter spend night outside the house with her boyfriend. He feels deep sense of belongingness to his home country and at the same time, he loves the Netherlands. He considers the Netherlands as his second home.

Economic motive is the main reason behind the decision of his migration. To fulfil his desire he started his restaurant in 2000, as he wanted to be a businessperson and to be a rich man. He thinks his economic expectations have been fulfilled and he is satisfied with his current economic position along with his family and social life as he is economically independent. He considers language as the most important thing for proper adjustment in a new society as it allows an individual to interact with people more closely. He likes the commitment, honesty and friendly behaviour of Dutch, their rules and regulation, their system, which helps him to adjust in this culture. Food, weather, cultural differences, and language are the main things, which hinder his adjustment process during the beginning part of his stay in this country. Now he does not have any such problem, as he knows everything. However, he is worried about the recent changes in attitude of Dutch people and Dutch government towards immigrants. He thinks Dutch do not like immigrants as the way they liked two decades ago. He does not have any concrete plan about where to settle in future.

4.6 Observation

Observation enables researcher to systematically observe and record people's behaviour, actions, and interactions. It provides detailed description of social settings or events in order to situate people's behaviour within their own socio-cultural context. Observation may be participant and non-participant. In participant observation the researcher participate in the life of the study participant, behave according to their norms and values. On the other hand, in non-participant observation the researcher observe but do not participate in activities (Hennink et al., 2011). In the present study, an active participant observation was conducted in a Bangladeshi restaurant in order to observe the participants' socio-cultural life. This observation took place on 4 June 2011 between 7 pm and 10 pm in a Bangladeshi restaurant. In that day, the owner of the restaurant arranged a party in his restaurant. The objective of this observation was to observe the nature of socio-cultural relationship the participant maintains with other people in the society. The result of the observation is presented below:

4.6.1 The place/location

- i. It is a big room with three parts. In one part there is kitchen with stoves . There are a lot of utensils in the kitchen . In another part tables aand chairs are arranged for the customers to sit and take their meals though the restaurant basically deliver foods in the home . In other part of the room there is one bed may be for taking rest. There are fridges and refrigerators in that room.
- ii. There are some pictures of the various characters of Hindu mythology of Indian culture. This is because the Bangladeshi restaurant in the Gron ingen is basically known as Indian restaurant
- iii. There is a stack in the front side of the room with various drinks . It is also reception and cash-counter of the restaurant
- iv. There is one fax machine in the room. The sound of receiving fax is a usual matter with order . Because besides telephone , the customer usually give order through fax.
- v. Some waste bins properly used
- vi. In the furthest part of the room there are some sofas
- vii. The front side of the restaurant is glass-made
- viii. Smell of curries everywhere all the time

4.6.2 The actors and their activities

- i. The main chef, also the owner of the restaurant.
- ii. The second chef who mainly help the main chef.
- iii. Two employees who deliver foods in the home of the customers with motor-cycle
- iv. Wife of the owner and their 3 children, two boys 12 and 10 years old, and one 7 years old daughter.
- v. Four Bangladeshi students and also the observer himself.



Fig. 4.2 Typical Saturday party

4.6.3 The social situation

- i. In Saturday, the whole family of the restaurant owner usually spend whole evening in the restaurant. This is a typical family union in this day . Because the kids don't get their father in the evening and at night for the rest of the days of the week . In this day they usually invite some of their friends in their restaurant for dinner . The idea of the restaurant owner behind this is to spend time with friends and also with his kids
- ii. They usually invite thier friends and neighbours . Their friends and neighbours consist of Dutch as well as other immigrants not only from Bangladesh but also from other countries.
- iii. In that day they invite 4 Bangladeshi students who come in the Netherlands for higher study.
- iv. In Saturday, the wife of the restaurant owner sits in the front desk , receives order, and have deal with the customers.
- v. Usually the customers give order by phone and by fax . In that day two customers come to give order in-person.
- vi. The kids play football in the furthest corner of the restaurant . They watch television there . There is a television . The kids spent a lot of time watching television as their father was busy for making foods for the customers and also for themselves.

- vii. By 8 pm, the invited Bangladeshi students come one after another . After arrival each of them greet with the owner, his wife and with the kids.
- viii. They talked about various issues though the wife and the owner are busy with their works, receiving order and preparing foods.
- ix. The kids also had fun with the invited guest.
- x. They started dinner at 8.30pm. Three kids, owner, his wife, invited guest, and the observer altogether start ed dinner though the owner did not take part completely for all time . He was also busy with taking order and preparing foods during dinner. All the invited guest participated in the arrangement before dinner , like, taking foods from the kitchen etc.

The social situations of the observation indicates the socio-cultural relationship this particular participants maintain with the fellow Bangladeshi immigrants and temporary migrants, his friends of both Dutch and other countries.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter starts with the development of an inductive model, and then draws conclusions based on the results and discussion and finally suggest some recommendations followed by the limitations of the study.

5.1 Inductive model

Conceptual model i.e. deductive model was developed in section 2.3 of Chapter 2, depending on the theoretical framework, background of the research, and the literature review. The deductive model conceptualized adjustment in terms of socio-cultural, psychological and economic adjustments based on two dimensions – internal and external, and two levels – individual and societal. These dimensions and levels of adjustment, however, are interrelated. In order to assess the nature of adjustment, the transcripts of the in-depth interviews were examined with the use of MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software through which codes were developed according to categories and concepts. There were 71 codes developed based on the transcripts. These codes were classified into 16 categories with similar characteristics. On the basis of these categories, four concepts were developed finally. These four concepts were socio-cultural adjustment, psychological adjustment, economic adjustment, and factors of adjustment. The concepts socio-cultural adjustment consists of five categories constituting 25 codes. These categories are as follows:

- i) Perceived life in the Netherlands
- ii) Ability to do daily activities
- iii) Establishment of relationship
- iv) Interaction
- v) Celebration of occasions

The concept psychological adjustment consists of six categories constituting 26 codes. These categories are as follows:

- i) Feelings of well-being
- ii) Feelings of being foreigner
- iii) Perceived discrimination
- iv) Perceived cultural distance
- v) Expectation and satisfaction
- vi) Sense of belongingness

Again, economic adjustment as a concept has two categories with eight codes. The categories are mentioned below:

- i) Restaurant business
- ii) Feelings about economic position

Moreover, the concept factors of adjustment has three categories constituting 12 codes. The categories are listed below:

- i) General factors
- ii) Positive factors
- iii) Negative factors

An inductive model is developed here by incorporating all the categories with the four concepts, which are shown in Fig. 5.1.

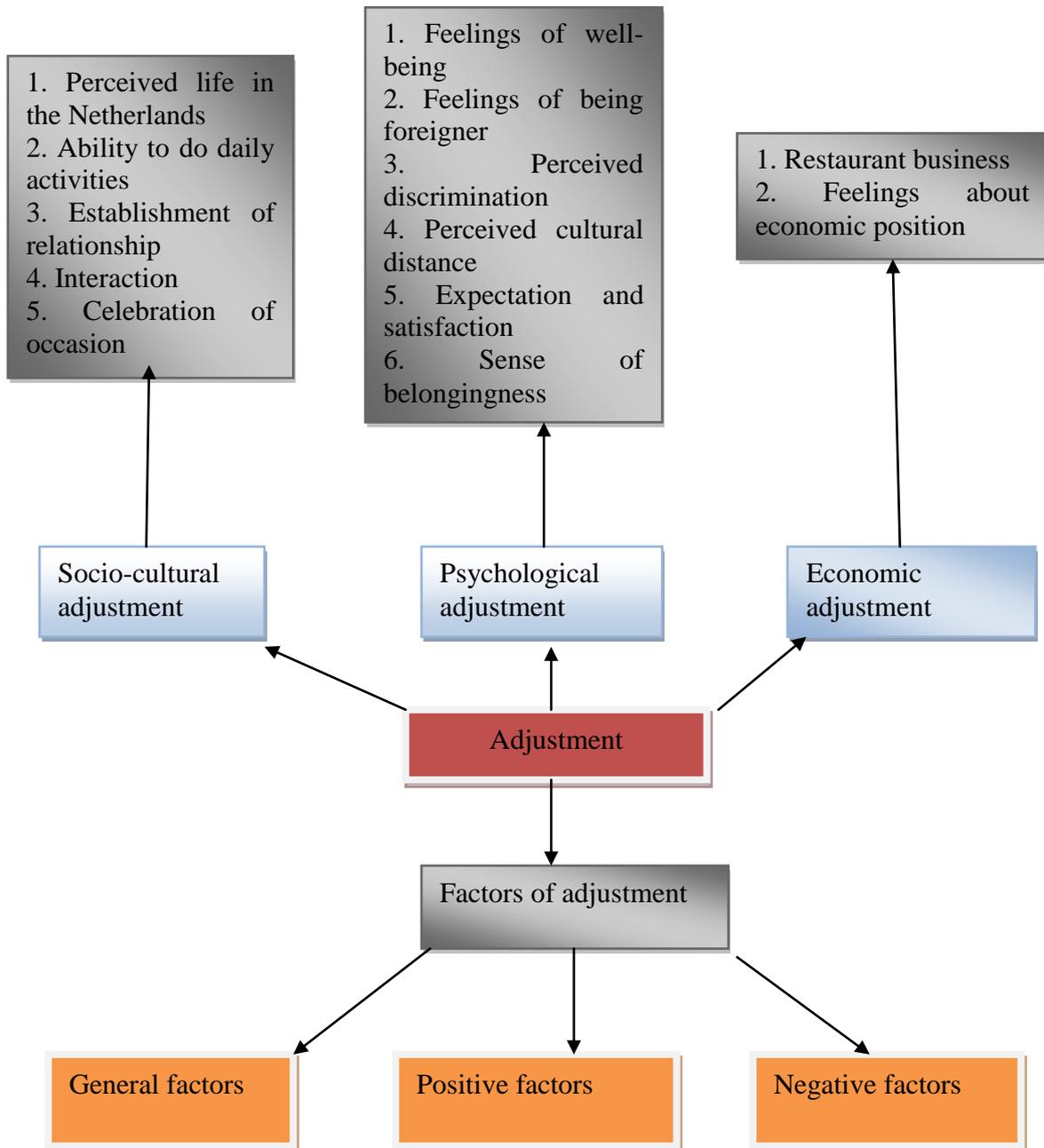


Fig.5.1: Inductive model

From the inductive model, it is clear that various types of adjustment are interrelated with each other. For example, psychological adjustment is closely related with the economic adjustment and socio-cultural adjustment is somewhat difficult with proper economic adjustment. Each type of adjustment influences and is influenced by others.

5.2 Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to examine the nature of adjustment of Bangladeshi immigrants in the Netherlands. Nature of adjustment is examined here in terms of psychological, socio-cultural and economic adjustment. Perceptions of the participants regarding factors of adjustment are also assessed in this study. Therefore, there are four specific research questions of this study such as follows:

- i) What is the nature of psychological adjustment?
- ii) What is the nature of socio-cultural adjustment?
- iii) What is the nature of economic adjustment?
- iv) What are the perceived factors responsible for adjustment?

This study examines the nature of socio-cultural adjustment, psychological adjustment, and economic adjustment of the Bangladeshi immigrants who are living in Groningen city, Groningen province, the Netherlands. It also examines the factors responsible for the adjustment of the participants. It is an explorative and descriptive research, which studies people from a micro setting. The population of the present study are the Bangladeshi immigrant communities living in Groningen for at least five years who either own a restaurant or work in the restaurant. Participants are selected through snowball sampling and qualitative data are collected from the participants who gave consent to participate in the study. Among the 14 participants, eight are the owner of the restaurant and the rest six works in the restaurant. The participants are married except those who have Dutch girlfriend. In-depth interviews are conducted with the participants with pretested and semi-structured in – depth interview guide for collecting primary qualitative data. Collected data are prepared for analysis through verbatim transcription, translation, and anonymization. Then a set of codes, categories, and concepts are developed based on the conceptual model prepared for this study. Data analysis is done by MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software.

Socio-cultural adjustment was examined based on the perceptions of the immigrants on how they perceive their lives in the Netherlands, their ability to do normal daily activities, nature of relationship they established, nature of interaction they maintained, and the nature of celebration of occasions. It was found that though the participants were passing very busy life they are happy with the way they lead their lives in the Netherlands. They were in general not facing any problem in leading their lives. Primarily, it was difficult for them to establish relationship with the people in the society. However, they had overcome this problem by the course of time. Generally, they were maintaining good relationship with all types of people in the Dutch society, though their interaction was limited with Dutch in some cases. The result showed that the participants do not celebrate many occasions. Therefore, despite a few limitations, Bangladeshi immigrants are more or less adjusted from socio-cultural point of view.

Psychological adjustment was assessed based on participants' feeling about well-being, of being foreigner, about perceived sense of discrimination, cultural distance, about sense of belongingness, and expectation and satisfaction. The result portrayed that the participants have positive perceptions about their well-being, i.e., they feel they are in better off condition now compared to their lives in Bangladesh. Feeling of being foreigner was not so strong for the Bangladeshi immigrants. However, they feel that they are being discriminated in very few cases. Cultural distances become a problem for their children in some instances. What is important is that they feel that their expectations have been fulfilled in almost all cases and

they are very much satisfied with their present life. As expected, immigrants have dual sense of belongingness. They cannot forget that they are Bangladeshi, but at the same time, they feel a strong sense of belongingness for the Netherlands.

The results of this study showed that the immigrants of Bangladesh are adjusted economically more than that of socio-cultural and psychological adjustment. Eight of the participants had set up their own restaurant business and the rest six participants work in the restaurant. They earn sufficient amount of money for their subsistence and recreation. The owners also created employment opportunities for other people. They feel happy that they are owners, which also helps in their psychological adjustment. They mentioned that their economic expectations have been fulfilled in almost all cases. They are economically independent and they are very much satisfied with their economic position. This study examined the factors responsible for the adjustment of Bangladeshi immigrants in the Dutch society. The study revealed that the individuals, in general, should have some educational qualification, should know Dutch language, and they should have Dutch citizenship in order to adjust in Dutch society. They should have job, should know the general customs of the Dutch society, and they should interact with people. It is good if they have an open mind to judge culture relatively. They identified some positive factors, which help their adjustment process, and some negative factors, which hinder their adjustment process. These factors are mainly related with Dutch society, Dutch government, and Dutch people.

In conclusion it can be said that economic consideration is most important for Bangladeshi immigrants. The extent of maintaining social relationship is not so important for them. Their psychological well-being is mainly related with their economic well-being. It seems that they can compensate their socio-cultural life in the pursuit of economic well-being.

5.3 Recommendations

The present study explores and describes the nature of socio-cultural, psychological, and economic adjustment of immigrants along with identifying factors responsible for adjustment. This study identifies some problems immigrants face in adjustment process. It also identifies factors, which are important for the adjustment of the immigrants. Based on the discussion of the results the following recommendations can be generated:

- i) The interaction of Bangladeshi immigrants with the Dutch is limited. Initiatives can be taken to improve the community relationship of the immigrants.
- ii) It is discovered that the attitude of the Dutch towards immigrants has been changing negatively, which has been creating problems of psychological adjustment for the immigrants. In this respect the contributions of the immigrants can be broadcasted through mass media which may help Dutch people to think positively about immigrants.
- iii) Recognize the standing of immigrant groups and combat discrimination by ensuring equal rights and equal opportunities for everyone, irrespective of ethnic and racial origin, religion, sexual preference, age, etc.
- iv) Sometimes, immigrants do not get their desired job though they have required qualification. Employers perceive their origin as a negative point during hiring process. It can be minimized by ensuring equal rights for all.
- v) Skill in Dutch language is one of the most important factors of adjustment. Therefore, immigrants' participation in language course should be ensured by appropriate policy. However, immigrants' participation in language classes and

social orientation are encouraged by incentives, and if required with sanctions for failure to participate.

5.4 Limitations of the study

The present research tries to answer the research questions in the best possible way. However, there are always some limitations of any study. There are some limitations, which are associated with the data collection while some others are directly related with the study in general. The limitations of data collection was discussed in section 3.8 of Chapter 3. Some important general limitations of this study are mentioned below:

- i) This research was conducted among a small group of participants. It gives emphasize to a specific group of people, i.e., the people who are related to restaurant business who either own a restaurant or work in the restaurant. Therefore, it is not possible to generalize the result of this study. The results of this study may not be similar with other groups of immigrants.
- ii) The participants were selected through snowball sampling, which is a biased technique.
- iii) In case of mentioning quotes in the result section, only the occupational status (whether owner or worker) and age group are mentioned in order to maintain anonymity. No more information of the participants can be given as the number of participants are very small, only 14 participants.
- iv) A few of the participants did not want to participate in the study primarily. But when the researcher made the objectives of the study clear to them, they agreed to participate. This might be some sorts of insistence, which is somehow unethical.
- v) Further researcher can be done with the large number of participants of diverse groups. Quantitative research can also be done in order to assess the extent of adjustment.

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Psychological adjustment:

- Ques.: Can you please say something about your present condition?
Probe: feeling of well-being, of being foreigner, discrimination
- Ques.: Can you tell me something about your expectation?
Probe: good law and order, descent life, expectation fulfilled?
- Ques.: Can you say about your level of satisfaction with your present condition?
Probe: family life, social life
- Ques.: Can you tell me about the differences between Bangladesh and the Netherlands?
Probe: family life, gender, relationship, its too much, no problem for you
- Ques.: How have you say that your feelings of being Bangladeshi changed during your stay here?
Probe: regard Bangladesh/ the Netherlands as your home, Why?

Economic adjustment:

- Ques.: Can you please tell me about the history of running your business?
Probe: When, how, who help you,
- Ques.: Would you please tell me why are you in restaurant business /why do you work in restaurant?
Probe: tradition, easy to start,
- Ques.: How this particular business/work enabled your adjustment process?
Probe: contact with lot of people, chance of making friendship
- Ques.: How would you say that you are satisfied with your present economic position?
Probe: Economic expectation fulfilled
- Ques.: How would you say that you are economically independent or not?
Probe: enough money for subsistence, for recreation

Factors of adjustment:

- Ques.: What are the factors according to you that are important for proper adjustment with the Dutch society?
Probe: Language, education, Dutch citizenship, interaction,
- Ques: What are the positive factors of adjustment?
Probe: which help you
- Ques: What are the negative factors of adjustment?
Probe: which hinders your adjustment

Closing questions:

- Ques.: Would you please tell me about your expectation from the Dutch society?
- Ques.: Can you tell me about your plan of settlement in future?

I think we have discussed all the topics on my list, so I would like to end this interview.

Do you have any question?

Thanks again for participating in this research.