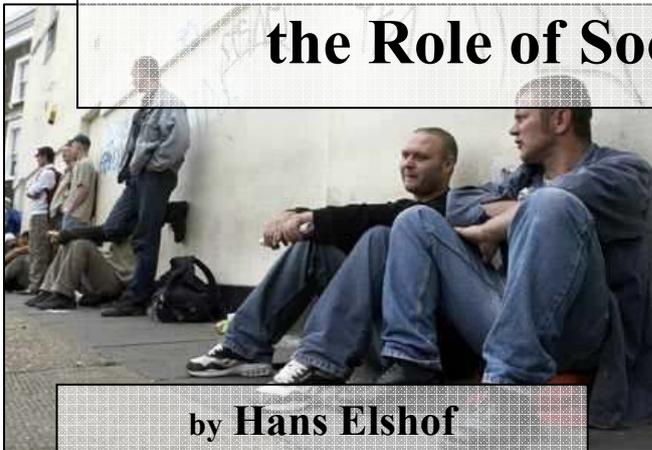




The Return Migration Intention of Polish Workers in The Netherlands: the Role of Social Networks



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Preface

This thesis is the final work of the Master in Population Studies, Faculty of Spatial Science, at the University of Groningen. It deals with the role of social networks of Polish workers in The Netherlands in their choice to stay in The Netherlands or return home. This topic has been chosen because of my interest in labour migration and all of its effects for the sending as well as the receiving country. Since humans are commonly referred to as being social animals it was decided to study the role of the relations with other people in the process of migration. To conduct this study data was collected by means of a survey from May to August 2009. The research that has been done should be interesting for anyone who has affection with migration studies, but also for those who see that this world is getting ‘smaller’ every day and national borders are disappearing rapidly, especially in Europe.

During the research I met the Polish workers that do many of the low-wage jobs in The Netherlands. Many of these people were at first slightly suspicious of a Dutch student that came to ask questions about their life. However, after the initial contacts were made most of the Polish workers turned out to be very hospitable. Sometimes visiting a residence felt like being in a working hostel in Bundaberg, Australia, while at other times the houses were just like regular Dutch homes. This observation of Polish workers in The Netherlands having many diverse characteristics will be a recurring theme in this thesis.

I would like to express my gratitude to all those people who have supported me throughout the conduct of this research. Special thanks go out to the companies that were willing to ask their employees to cooperate in this research, Natalia Bednarczyk who helped with translating the survey into the Polish language, and my parents and girlfriend who were always there when I needed them. Of course I should not forget Prof. Dr. Leo van Wissen who has supervised this study and showed me that the topic of migration can be approached in many different ways. One of these ways is the study that is now in front of you.

Table of contents

Table of contents	- 3 -
List of tables and figures:	- 4 -
1. Introduction	- 5 -
2. Background.....	- 9 -
2.1 Dutch migration history.....	- 9 -
2.2 The European Union and Free Movement of Workers	- 12 -
2.2.1 The countries of the EU-27	- 12 -
2.2.2 The Treaties of Europe	- 13 -
2.2.3 Free movement of workers in the European Union.....	- 15 -
2.3 Free movement of workers in The Netherlands	- 17 -
2.3.1 Quantifying labour migration in The Netherlands	- 17 -
2.3.2 Effect on the Dutch labour market	- 20 -
2.3.3 New labour migrants in Dutch society	- 22 -
2.4 Conclusion	- 23 -
3. Theoretical background	- 25 -
3.1 Theories on migration.....	- 25 -
3.2 Types of migration.....	- 26 -
3.3 Migration intentions and migration behaviour	- 27 -
3.4 Social Networks.....	- 28 -
3.5 Return migration.....	- 29 -
3.6 Integration.....	- 30 -
3.7 Polish labour migrants in London	- 31 -
3.8 Conceptual model.....	- 32 -
4. The Survey.....	- 36 -
4.1 From Theory to Implementation.....	- 36 -
4.2 Target Population	- 36 -
4.3 Research questions	- 37 -
4.4 Conceptualization	- 37 -
4.5 Operationalization	- 38 -
4.6 Fieldwork.....	- 39 -
4.7 Recruitment	- 40 -
4.8 Non-response	- 41 -
4.9 Representativity	- 43 -
5. Polish workers in The Netherlands.....	- 44 -
5.1 Personal characteristics.....	- 44 -
5.2 Country specific personal characteristics	- 46 -
5.3 Social Network	- 48 -
5.3.1 The Polish Social Network	- 48 -
5.3.2 The Dutch Social network	- 50 -
5.4 Other determinants	- 51 -
5.4.1 Remittances	- 52 -
5.4.2 Job opportunities.....	- 53 -
5.4.3 Job and residential satisfaction	- 54 -
5.5 Conclusion	- 56 -
6. Social Networks and the Migration Intention.....	- 58 -
6.1 Migration intention	- 58 -
6.1.1 Staying in The Netherlands	- 60 -
6.1.2 Circulatory migration	- 60 -

6.1.3 Return to Poland	- 61 -
6.2 Personal characteristics.....	- 63 -
6.3 Social network	- 66 -
6.3.1 The Netherlands.....	- 66 -
6.3.2 Poland	- 67 -
6.4 Other determinants	- 68 -
6.5 Final model of migration intention.....	- 69 -
7. Conclusion and Recommendations	- 72 -
7.1 Conclusions	- 72 -
7.2 Recommendations for further research.....	- 74 -
List of References	- 76 -
Appendix A: The Survey in English.....	- 80 -
Appendix B: The Survey in Polish.....	- 85 -
Appendix C: Frequency Tables	- 90 -

List of tables and figures:

- Figure 2.1: Labour migrants in the population register
 Figure 2.2: Temporary labour migrants in The Netherlands
 Figure 3.1: De Jong’s general model of migration decision making
 Figure 3.2: Conceptual model
 Table 4.1: Distribution of respondents over The Netherlands
 Figure 5.1: Age of respondents
 Figure 5.2: The Polish voivodeships
 Figure 5.3: Language skills
 Figure 5.4: Total family size
 Figure 5.5: Job satisfaction
 Figure 5.6: Job satisfaction categorized
 Table 5.1: Cross tabulation Dutch and Total friends NL
 Table 5.2: Cross tabulation Use of remittances and children
 Figure 6.1: Migration intention
 Table 6.1: Direct influence of the social network on staying in The Netherlands
 Table 6.2: Plans with money earned in The Netherlands
 Table 6.3: Reason of returning to Poland
 Table 6.4: When returning to Poland
 Table 6.5: Personal characteristics and migration intentions
 Table 6.6: The Dutch social network and migration intentions
 Table 6.7: The Polish social network and migration intentions
 Table 6.8: Other determinants and migration intentions
 Table 6.9: Final model of migration intention

1. Introduction

The Netherlands as a country has always been intertwined with aspects of migration. Over the centuries many people immigrated to and emigrated from the country. An early account of migration is that of the Batavians who came to what is now known as The Netherlands around the time that Jesus Christ was born. These people provided an identity for The Netherlands in the nationalist times of the 16th century. Another account is the influx of Jewish migrants during the Golden Age, who accommodated many trade networks which spurred the economy of The Netherlands in the 17th century. The Netherlands has always stayed hospitable to foreigners, while the population also spread out across the world. These people went to the colonies in Asia, Africa, and South America, but also to other places. In 2006 it was for instance estimated that 1.7% of the population of the United States was of Dutch descent (US Census Bureau, 2006). Up to the 1960s The Netherlands remained this country of net-emigration. Since that time the Netherlands saw different waves of new immigrants. The latest addition is the flow of workers from Eastern European countries where living standards are still lacking behind those of Western European countries. The differences in job opportunities and wage-level have proven to be a long-time determinant of migration flows (Hicks, 1932; Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1976). Therefore many workers from the newly accessed EU countries come to countries like the UK, Italy, Germany, and also the Netherlands to find employment.

Poland is the largest and most populous of the Eastern-European countries that have joined the EU in 2004. The 2007 census showed that slightly more than 38 million people live in the country. This population is slowly declining due to low birth rates and net-emigration. Since Poland has joined the European Union the country has been the number one provider of foreign workers in many of the old EU member states. Such is also the case in The Netherlands. Since 1996 the group of people from Polish descent that has required Dutch citizenship has more than doubled, from around 25,000 in 1996 to almost 60,000 in 2008 (CBS, 2009). The number of Polish workers that is actually in The Netherlands is even higher. In fact in 2008 it was estimated that at the peak about 90,000 labour migrants from Poland were present in the Netherlands (Corpeleijn, 2009).

The feelings about the increasing number of Polish workers in The Netherlands are mixed. Surely, employers who are in need of cheap labour welcome the Polish migrants with open arms. They have found a way to lower the costs and increase the profits. But what about the native workers who are searching for a job? They face new competition and might loose

their job. However, Polish labour migration into The Netherlands is not going to stop overnight. It is also the question whether this would be a positive development for The Netherlands or not. The European Union is practicing a policy which has been labelled the 'Four Freedoms', which can be characterised as the free movement of four basic components of economic activities: goods, capital, services, and persons. This policy has been in place since the Treaty of Maastricht of 1992, and will not be abandoned any time soon. Since the Dutch government has to live up to European law, its hands are tied. It is not even clear if the Dutch government would like to refuse Polish workers, because the influx has not been a bad development so far. The labour migrants fill jobs for instance that would otherwise remain vacated. However, in 2009 an economic recession is disturbing the movement of workers within Europe. Polish workers are losing their job in one place, and try to find a new job in another place. Facts about where they are going are not available yet. Therefore it is a good idea to see what the plans of the Polish labour migrants are, and what determines their decision to live and work in the place they do.

The debate on these topics of migration has been extensive over the last century. Many theories on migration have been introduced on many different levels. A division that has been made in migration theory is that between the determinist and the humanist approach. In the determinist vision the role of the individual is marginalized, as it assumes that the individual makes a rationalist choice in a situation that he or she cannot control. For instance emigrating from places with high unemployment and immigrating to place with low unemployment. The humanist approach stresses the importance of the individual. He or she is an active decision maker, and also makes choices that can be seen as not being rational.

A fairly recent development in migration research is the attention that is given to transnationalism. With open borders people are not as tied to places anymore as they used to be. Within the EU everybody can now live and work where he or she pleases. Many combinations between place of living, place of work, and time can be made. This leads to people who do not live and work in one country, but basically live between two or a number of countries (Vertovec, 2002). A matter that becomes important in transnationalism is the social network of the individual. If a prospect migrant knows people in other places it can affect the decision of where to live or work. A social network might also entice a person not to move at all, or, move back as soon as certain targets are achieved.

In a qualitative study Ryan *et al.* (2008) look into the way that social networks work and have worked for Polish migrants in London. They identified many factors that affect migration decisions and involve social networks. People might for instance find a job through

a friend, or stayed in London for a longer time because they knew so many people. Others returned to Poland because they missed their friends at home, or could not do without practical support from parents. Moreover, this study made clear that not all Polish migration to London was simply temporarily, many had intended to stay only for a while, but remained longer as conditions in Poland did not improve. Although this study highlights many functions of social networks for migrants in London, it is a shortcoming that it cannot be concluded which of these functions are truly important. Other fresh literature (MacLaughlin, 1991; Grimes, 1992; Esveldt et al., 1995; Dolfin and Genicot, 2006; Koser, 2007) also highlights the importance of social networks, but remains indecisive on how these social networks actually work, and if they are truly a significant determinant of migration behaviour.

In this research the knowledge gap on social networks will be combined with the debate on labour migration in Dutch society. This means that on the one hand the labour migration of Polish people to the Netherlands will be investigated with respect to migration intentions and its determinants. Since the labour migrant initial intention is to work abroad, one would expect that most of these people return home after they have made enough money. Return migration is thus an important factor in this research. On the other hand the focus will be on the determinants that have to do with social networks; an area of migration studies which is in dire need of further investigation (Collyer, 2005). These considerations have led to the following research question:

- In what way do social networks of Polish workers in The Netherlands influence their intention to return home?

A survey has been designed to answer this question. However, to comprehend the migration intentions of Polish labour migrants in The Netherlands a larger understanding of the situation is necessary. Therefore this thesis will first deal with the societal and theoretical background, before coming to the construction of the survey and the final results.

Chapter 2 is concerned with the societal background and is divided into three main parts. Firstly, the Dutch history with labour migrants will be a topic of discussion. Here it can be seen that the Polish workers are not the first foreign people, who come to The Netherlands to find employment. Moreover, it will be seen that not one group of labour migrants is actually the same, which is reflected in the policies of the Dutch government. Secondly, the free movement of workers within the European Union will be dealt with. It seems like a natural right for a person to work where ever he or she wants, but this has not been the case for that long within Europe. And even though the Amsterdam Treaty (EU, 1997) was supposed to make free movement of workers possible, transitional arrangements has been

instigated when new countries joined the European Union. The third and final topic is the effect of the free movement of workers within European on The Netherlands. It will be seen that many Polish workers come to The Netherlands nowadays, but that there are large differences between temporary and permanent migrants (Van den Berg *et al.*, 2008).

The theory that is concerned with the migration intentions of Polish workers is dealt with in chapter 3. It will be seen what types of migration exist and which ones are relevant for this research. Then it will be shown how migration intentions are thought to be a strong determinant of actual migration behaviour. An important part of this chapter is the theory on the social networks which is the core of this study. Furthermore, the specific topics of return migration and integration will be discussed. A qualitative study done in England on a comparable topic will lead up to the conceptual model which will form the basis of remainder of the research.

In chapter 4 the operationalization of the conceptual model into a survey, recruitment of the respondents, and quality issues will be covered. This means that next to the main research question, some sub-questions will be posed. Moreover, some concepts that have not yet been discussed thoroughly will be explained in more detail. This will be followed by the operationalization of the survey. The next part of this chapter is concerned with recruitment, which will show that it is not extremely easy to find Polish workers, despite their high prevalence in The Netherlands. Finally, the quality issues are dealt with. This means non-response—which proved to be high in some areas—and representativity of the survey—which was quite well.

The results of the survey will be presented in chapter 5 and chapter 6. A distinction has been made between the results that basically precede the migration intention, and the ones that are directly involved with it. Chapter 5 thus deals with variables that can be seen as personal characteristics, social networks, or other determinants of the migration intention. The variables will be looked upon separately—which already yields some interesting results—but also in combination with each other. In this chapter it can be seen that there are two different groups of Polish workers in The Netherlands. In chapter 6 the migration intentions and the follow up questions are treated first. Then the variables of chapter 5 will be used to see if they are influencing the migration intention. This will result in a final model, in which it can be seen first of all what role social networks play in the migration intention, but also how personal characteristics and other determinants play a part. Finally, in chapter 7 contains the conclusions and recommendations for further research.

2. Background

In this chapter the background of Polish labour migration to The Netherlands will be discussed. This will be done in three ways. First, an overview of labour migration to The Netherlands will be given. Here it can be seen which workers have come to The Netherlands in the past, how they adapted, and how the government responded. Secondly, the development of the European Union will be given attention. Which countries are members of the Union, and how do they cooperate, especially in terms of the free movement of workers. Thirdly, the impact of the free movement of workers on The Netherlands will be looked at. How many workers have immigrated over the last two decades, and what was their impact on the labour market and Dutch society?

2.1 Dutch migration history

Labour migration to and from the Netherlands has been around for centuries. In the 17th and 18th century the Republic of The Netherlands was a leading nation in the world and this was accompanied by labour immigration. People from other countries were needed to do seasonal work in the fields, but skilled migration was also present (Hoving *et al.*, 2005). Most of these immigrants came from surrounding countries, with the exception of a big group of Portuguese Jews that came in the beginning of 17th century. The economy stopped flourishing when the Republic was occupied by French army of Napoleon Bonaparte. Subsequently the immigration of foreign workers declined as well. It took until the beginning of the 20th century before the share of foreigners started growing again; from 1.6% in 1909 to 3.1% in 1930. Most of these newcomers were refugees who escaped the horrors of the Great War, which basically passed by The Netherlands. Although many of the refugees returned to their home countries, the influx did alarm the Dutch government, which started to exclude foreigners from certain types of labour. This Alien Act of 1918 was the first of its kind, and created a precedent for migration laws to come (Leenders, 1998).

Despite the new law, labour migration to The Netherlands did not come to a full stop. An important reason for this was the expansion of the mining industry in the South, which provided work for thousands of Germans, Poles, Italians, and Slovenians. Other migrants introduced new professions, like the selling of ice cream by Italians. The Great Depression of the 1930s did affect the migration of workers to The Netherlands. It resulted at first in an increase of again mainly German workers, because the depression hit The Netherlands with a delay of about two years. When the economy went into decline in The Netherlands as well, the number of labour migrants also declined (Hoving *et al.*, 2005). It is interesting to see that

some immigrant groups simply dissolved into the Dutch society during these times. An example of this is the group of German maids that filled in two-third of the available jobs in household care in 1930 (Hoving *et al.*, 2005). For a large part these women married Dutch men and lost their German names. A good example of what one would call total assimilation. Since the Second World War had ruined the Dutch economy more restrictive laws on immigration were passed. The policies were aimed at emigration, and many Dutch nationals left to work and live in for instance the United States after the war.

As the economy improved, the need for foreign workers increased as well. Not that immigration had stopped in the meantime, but this had another reason. The end of war coincided with the decolonisation of The Netherlands. As a result about 300,000 Indonesians had come to The Netherlands in the period 1946 to 1964 (Willems and Lucassen, 1994). Nonetheless, more workers were needed, and the Dutch government actively helped to find them in the Mediterranean countries. A recession in the early 1970s ended the recruitment of these people in 1973, but the influx has made a lasting mark on Dutch society. A reason for this was that the Dutch government thought that the workers—who were mainly of Turkish and Moroccan descent—would migrate back to their home country, as most labour migrants had done before the war. However, they did not. Moreover, many of these people brought their families over which resulted in an actual increase of immigration after 1973. Many of the new migrants and the people that followed have worked in low wage jobs and have had difficulties integrating in the Dutch society. These problems are not solved yet, and today, many people regard the presence of these people from different countries and cultures as a problem, especially since the politician Pim Fortuijn came forward in the early 2000s. Others embrace the multi-cultural society that the Netherlands has undeniably become.

The number of people who come from the Mediterranean countries has dropped in the 21st century. It now stands at the same level as immigration from countries as the UK and US; between 2,000 and 4,000 each year (CBS, 2009). Nonetheless, there is a new group of migrants that has come to work in The Netherlands. Since the Iron Curtain fell in 1989, people from Middle and Eastern European countries have successfully found employment in The Netherlands. Especially the economic boom of the last years has made The Netherlands an attractive country of destination. The effect can be seen in population statistics. In 2008 for example over 14,000 Polish people became Dutch citizens, but this is not the largest share (CBS, 2009). Since the Schengen-agreement people from all over the European Union are now free to work and live anywhere within the Schengen area, without the need of a working permit or citizenship. Therefore the actual number of Middle and Eastern European people is

hard to determine. The latest estimations show that about 120,000 people from these countries now work in The Netherlands, with the group of Polish people being the largest by far (CBS, 2009).

So far it could be seen that The Netherlands has been a country of migration for a very long time. As for actual labour migrants, who came with the intention of working in The Netherlands, we can establish three major groups since 1900. In the inter-war period people from Germany, and Middle and Eastern European countries came to work in especially the mining industry of the province of Limburg. Many of these people left the country or have blended into society over the years. In the 1960s the country saw the arrival of people from the Mediterranean countries. These people came mainly from Turkey and Morocco, but also from Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece. From the latter group many have returned to their home country as the situations over there improved. The Turkish and Moroccan people have largely stayed and brought over their families. They now make up a large share of the Dutch population, but the immigration from these countries has dropped seriously over the last decade.

The Middle and Eastern European people are the latest addition to the Dutch workforce. The impact of this group cannot be seen yet. Two questions are important in this respect. Firstly, are these people going to stay in The Netherlands, or are they going to move back home after a while? In the Dutch history of labour migration there are examples of both. It seems that much has to do with the economic situation in the sending country as well as the economic situation in The Netherlands. A major difference between the former groups of migrants and the workers from the Middle and Eastern European countries is that the latter group can leave The Netherlands without losing the right on employment (Heyma *et al.*, 2008). The second question is concerned with whether the new labour migrants that do stay will be able to integrate into the Dutch society or not. This is for one thing a matter of the economic situation of these people, for as we can see in the history of United States, upward social mobility does inspire acceptance on both sides. However, it is also a matter of culture. The Turkish and Moroccan people are having a hard time largely because of their religion which brings along certain values which are contrary to certain Dutch ones. In Middle and Eastern European countries there is also a Christian tradition, but the fact is that many of those societies are not as secularised as The Netherlands. Time will tell how these issues of settlement and integration will develop.

2.2 The European Union and Free Movement of Workers

Free movement of workers within the European Union is not something that happened overnight. Years of considerations, arrangements, and treaties went by before people from the 27 Member States could work and live where ever they wished. In the following paragraphs the development of the European Union will be given attention. First of all it will be discussed how the present members became a member of the union. Secondly, the treaties since the founding of the European Union in 1993 will be examined. Thirdly, it will be shown how the free movement of workers has been dealt with. This overview will show that European integration has not been a very smooth process so far. Moreover, the free movement of workers has also become a matter that has raised certain controversies, chiefly since the accession of the Middle and Eastern European countries in the 21st century.

2.2.1 The countries of the EU-27

In 1951 six European countries first started cooperating when they agreed in Paris on the European Coal and Steel Community. France, Italy, West-Germany, Luxemburg, Belgium and The Netherlands were joined by Ireland, the United Kingdom, and Denmark in 1973. In 1981 Greece followed, and five years later Spain and Portugal became part of the European collaboration which had moved far beyond coal and steel. The economy as a whole was now coordinated by the countries together and they also made arrangements on atomic energy. In 1993 the European Union was officially founded with the Treaty of Maastricht and Sweden, Austria, and Finland joined in 1995. In 2004 the largest accession of countries occurred, when Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Cyprus, and Malta joined. Finally, Romania and Bulgaria joined in 2007. Other noteworthy countries are Norway and Turkey. The former has started negotiations to join the Union three times already, but referenda in the country blocked the entrance. Nonetheless, the country has opted into many EU projects, such as the Schengen agreement, and is also part of the European Economic Area (EEA). Turkey has been negotiating entrance to the EU since 1987, but is still not a member. The reasons are various and it remains doubtful if Turkey will ever be a part of the European Union.

2.2.2 The Treaties of Europe

To see how the freedom of movement of people between European Member states has come to be, it is important to take a look at how the European Union has developed over time. In this way it can be that freedom of movement has not been a self-evident feature of the European Union from the start. In fact, many elements of today's Europe have taken a long time to be implemented.

The first treaties that eventually led to the foundation of the European Union are the Treaties of Rome (1958). The European Economic Community and European Atomic Energy Community were established here. The European Union was officially founded in 1993 by the Treaty of Maastricht, it is therefore also known as the Treaty of the European Union. The treaty laid out the basic laws through which the European Union was going to work. The idea was to work according to a pillar structure. The first pillar was the European Community (EC), which was based on the former European Economic Community. In this pillar it was also established that the Union was going to have a common currency. What later became the Euro was first called the European Currency Unit (ECU), and was back then only an accounting unit, not yet a legitimate paying method in the stores. The second pillar was called Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). In the foreign policy part human rights, democracy, and foreign aid were the main points. The security policy part was to be concerned with keeping Europe safe, and working together in foreign military missions. The third and last pillar was called Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters (PJCC). This pillar focused on combating crime and racism within the Union. It has to be said that the pillar system was a compromise, because many countries did not want to give up too much power in supra-national institutions. Many safeguards for national sovereignty were therefore established in the treaty.

The Treaty of Amsterdam of 1997 amended the Treaty of Maastricht. The pressing matters were increased power of the European Parliament, a Community area of freedom, security, and justice, the beginnings of a common foreign and security policy, and the reform of institutions to be ready for enlargement. These topics were for a large part dealt with in the treaty, but there was also criticism. Some people saw the institutions in the Union as outdated; working well in the EU-15, but definitely unfit for a future enlargement. Although some of the institutions were remodelled, others were left untouched. Furthermore, there was another objection in the democratic sphere. The treaty had been an arrangement between states and the Union, but the people were never asked about what they thought. Both these criticisms

came into play with the Treaty of Nice of 2003. First of all, the treaty was designed to try and reform the institutions for Eastward expansion. Again some things happened on this matter: the relative voting weights were changed, the seats in the European Parliament were increased, and lower courts were established. Strikingly, it was also agreed that the measures taken were insufficient, and therefore a European convention was established which had to lead to a Constitution of Europe. The ratification of the Treaty of Nice was delayed, because the Irish government had asked the people what they thought about the new treaty in a referendum. This was the democratic idea that had been missing in the former treaties, and it showed its power for the first time when the Irish people voted against the Treaty. Although the Irish accepted in a second referendum, it was not the last time that a referendum showed its power.

The second time was when Europe was supposed to adopt a European Constitution. In short the European Constitution was designed to simplify the workings of the European Union, and to be able to speak as one body. Many more provisions were made, but the Constitution had to end the pillar structure. To ratify the Constitution more countries held referenda. In Spain the people voted in favour of the Constitution by a large majority, and also the people of Luxembourg agreed on it. However, the French and Dutch voted against the Constitution, which resulted in the cancellation of other referenda and consequently of the Constitution of Europe. Nonetheless, the reform of institutions remained an urgent matter and the European Union did not hesitate to design the Treaty of Lisbon in 2007. This treaty can be seen as a cut-down version of the Constitution, but it is still under ratification. The French and Dutch did not ask the people anymore, but passed it through congress with the speed of light. Basically this happened in all of the Member States except for one: Ireland. And again, the Irish people said no in June 2008. It is stunning that almost every referendum held so far has upset processes of ratification. This might be caused by the fact that people in Europe believe that the integration of Europe is going too fast. Nonetheless, now that we know which countries are members of the European Union and which treaties have been ratified, it is time to look at how the free movement of workers has been integrated in the arrangements.

2.2.3 Free movement of workers in the European Union

The key instrument of the European Union to pursue greater prosperity in all of its member states is freedom. Usually people refer to a common term called ‘the Four Freedoms’. This term is not a direct law but can be distilled from different treaties, laws, and other legislation (European Union, 2009). It includes the free movement of four basic components of economic activities: Goods, capital, services, and persons. A first reference to ‘the Four Freedoms’ is made in Article B of Title 1 of the Treaty of Maastricht:

The Union shall set itself the following objectives: to promote economic and social progress which is balanced and sustainable, in particular through the creation of an area without internal frontiers, through the strengthening of economic and social cohesion and through the establishment of economic and monetary union, ultimately including a single currency in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty (European Union, 1992).

It can be seen here that internal frontiers are supposed to be dissolved and an economic union has to be formed. This statement is elaborated upon in Article 3 of Title 2:

For the purposes set out in Article 2, the activities of the Community shall include, as provided in this Treaty and in accordance with the timetable set out therein: an internal market characterized by the abolition, as between Member States, of obstacles to the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital (European Union, 1992).

From this article it is very clear what the purpose of the European Union is. However, the Union did not have the power to enforce legislation on its Member States considering ‘the Four Freedoms’. Because all of the European treaties are very extensive and deal with ‘the Four Freedoms’ in different fashions, the focus from this point on will be on the free movement of workers. We can distinguish three important additions to the Maastricht Treaty as far as this topic is concerned.

Firstly, the Amsterdam Treaty amended the Maastricht Treaty on the matter of free movement of workers. The treaty is very clear about the position of workers within the Union in article 39 of Title 3: “Freedom of movement for workers shall be secured within the Community” (European Union, 1997). This article further clarifies which rights workers have in each of the Member States. Nonetheless, this is basically what was already in the Maastricht Treaty, but defined more clearly for workers, in stead of just persons. The main gain of the Amsterdam Treaty was therefore article 40 which is designed to: “Issue directives

or make regulations setting out the measures required to bring about freedom of movement for workers, as defined in Article 39” (European Union, 1997). This means that Member States cannot refuse any workers from other Member States, and if they would do so, the European Union has the power to impose laws that make the free movement of workers possible. These amendments basically settled the matter, was it not for the accession of Middle and Eastern European countries.

Since there were large differences between the old Member States, from now on called EU-15, and the new Middle and Eastern European Member States, the A-8, politicians throughout Europe were afraid that workers would move from East to West in droves. This led to a new arrangement in which the EU-15 could restrict the entrance of workers in a couple of ways. The main provisions made in ‘The transitional arrangements for the free movement of workers from the new member states following enlargement of the European Union on 1 May 2004’ were:

- old Member States will apply national measures for 2 years following accession; old Member States may decide to liberalise access to their labour markets following accession
- first review by the Council on the basis of a Commission report before the expiration of the 2 year period following accession
- old Member States must then notify Commission whether they will lift the transitional arrangements and apply Community law, or whether they will continue with the transitional arrangements for a further 3 years one further review if requested by the new Member State
- in principle old Member States should fully apply Community law after 5 years following accession
- however, if there are serious disturbances (or a threat thereof) of the labour markets, they may prolong national measures for a further two years after notifying the Commission (European Commission, 2004)

That these arrangements were very welcome became clear when the countries made the choice to use them or not. Of the EU-15 only three countries opened their borders completely: Ireland, the UK, and Sweden. All the other countries used measures to deny or cap the entrance of people from the A-8. In 2009 most of the countries had lifted the barriers for workers. Only Germany and Austria have extended the period until 2011. In 2007 the same transitional arrangement was used for the newly acceded countries Bulgaria and Romania. The people from these countries were only warmly welcomed by the countries of the A-8, Sweden, and Finland. All the other countries used a restricted movement of workers. Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Denmark also opened their borders in 2009, but the majority of the EU-

15 plans to use restrictions for workers from Bulgaria and Romania until 2012. They do so to protect the national labour market. However, is this really necessary? Is the influx of Eastern Europeans really a threat for Dutch workers and the economy of The Netherlands?

2.3 Free movement of workers in The Netherlands

As could be seen in the last paragraphs, the free movement of workers from within the European Union has been an ongoing event since 1994. In 2009 one can say that there are two groups that can be distinguished. Firstly, there is group of workers from the EU-15, who have been coming since 1994. Secondly, The Netherlands has seen the arrival of many workers from the A-8 since 2004. The emphasis in this section will be on the latter group. It will be investigated how many workers have actually come to The Netherlands over the years. Furthermore, the impact of these labour migrants on the labour market will be looked into. Finally, the impact on Dutch society will be discussed in terms of integration of the newcomers.

2.3.1 Quantifying labour migration in The Netherlands

Labour migration to The Netherlands has fluctuated over the years in many different ways. People have come from different countries, in different numbers, and with different intentions. The first distinction that will be made here is in the origin of the labour migrants. Before 2004 the people that settled for reasons of labour in The Netherlands mainly descended from countries of the EU-15. The number of migrants from these countries entering the Netherlands has hovered between 6,000 and 12,000 per year from 1994 to 2009 (CBS, 2009). These numbers are not alarming, and most of these people work in the higher segments of the labour market. The public debate on labour migration therefore did not start until the A-8 joined the European Union in 2004. Politicians were afraid that The Netherlands was going to be flooded by workers from the new Member States, who could take jobs from the Dutch population (Krebbbers, 2004). In 2009 something can be said about the extent to which these fears were justified. First we will take a look at how many Middle- and Eastern European workers actually have come to The Netherlands.

The largest estimated count of Middle and Eastern European labour migrants in The Netherlands was 158,000 in 2008 (Heyma *et al.*, 2008). This is the total number which actually has to be separated into two groups: 107,000 temporary, and 51,000 permanent workers. This distinction can be made on the basis of the Dutch population register. In The Netherlands people are only obliged to enter the register when they expect to stay for more than 4 months, and only when they enter they become settlers in The Netherlands. The

work in The Netherlands, their numbers increased significantly, topping at 65,000 in 2007, and at 95,000 in 2008 (Corpeleijn, 2009). The figure also shows the effect of seasonal work very well. In the summer months when crops are harvested more workers are needed, and consequently more workers come in. This statement is supported by the fact that about two-thirds of the temporary Polish workers work in the agricultural sector (De Boom *et al.*, 2008; Heyma *et al.*, 2008).

Besides the size of the groups there are two other interesting differences between temporary and permanent workers. Firstly, there is a difference of the countries of origin between the groups. While Polish people comprise almost the entire group of temporary workers, they only make up about half of the group of permanent labour migrants. Polish migration is thus mostly of a temporary nature (Van den Berg *et al.*, 2008). Secondly, there is dissimilarity between the share of men and women in both groups. The group of temporary workers consists mainly of men (62%), and group of permanent workers mainly of women (64%) (Heyma *et al.*, 2008). The reason for this can be found in the fact that on the one hand the majority of Polish men come to The Netherlands to work. On the other hand Polish women come to The Netherlands for work and to find a husband (Gunst, 2007). Since the women therefore expect to stay in The Netherlands longer than four months they are more likely to enter the population register.

It is hard to predict the future numbers of labour migration of Middle and Eastern Europeans. Two developments are going on at the moment. Firstly, a lower marginal growth is observed in the numbers of workers that come to The Netherlands (Corpeleijn and Heerschop, 2009). Secondly, the world is in the middle of an economic crisis. If we have reached the depth of this crisis is not yet known. A deeper economic crisis would mean that fewer jobs will be available in The Netherlands. Consequently, less labour migrants are necessary. However, for the time being the Polish labour migrant seems not as sensitive for the economic crisis as the Dutch worker. First facts are known from the job centres, which saw an average decrease of 23% in working hours for all of its workers combined, while the demand for Polish workers only declined 10% (Stoker, 2009). The development of the crisis in The Netherlands is nonetheless a determinant of labour migration to the country. However, the development of the crisis in the sending country should not be forgotten. Chances on the labour market over there are also important for the labour migrant as the situation in The Netherlands.

2.3.2 Effect on the Dutch labour market

When European policymakers decided in 1994 that the European Union should be without borders for workers, they intended to create a more dynamic and therefore stronger internal market. However, Dutch policymakers partly closed the border for Middle and Eastern European workers in 2004 because they feared a disturbance of the labour market. Nonetheless, the door to the labour market was set wide open in 2007. In 2009 an evaluation of the influences of Middle and Eastern European labour immigration to The Netherlands can be made.

The greatest fear in every country in the world that faces labour immigration is that native workers get pushed aside. Migrant workers usually accept lower wages which makes them unequal competitors on the labour market. Literature already suggests that this is rarely the case, because migrant labourers work in areas where they do not compete with the native workforce (Koser, 2007). Two studies that have been done in The Netherlands indeed come to the same conclusion (Van den Berg *et al.*, 2008; Heyma *et al.*, 2008). However, there is some noticeable repression of the Dutch worker in some sectors of the economy. According to Van den Berg *et al.* (2008) the competition of the Middle and Eastern European labour migrant is most noticeable in the constructional sector. The study furthermore observes a double repression in agriculture, where small family based companies—who have been working with a steady team of Dutch workers—cannot compete anymore with the big growers who readily employ large numbers of cheaper labour migrants.

Another concern is the pressure that is put on the Dutch wage-level. Since labour migrants work for lower wages, the wage level for Dutch workers is expected to drop as well. Moreover, simple economic theory states that a higher supply of workers leads to lower prices when the demand remains stable. As with the repression of workers, the pressure on wage-levels in The Netherlands can on the whole be called insignificant. Again, the workers in the low-wage sector compete, but due to agreements between employers and labour unions—which last for many years—there is barely an effect on the level of the wages. The latest estimation of wage levels of Dutch workers in the low-wage sector therefore sees a decline of only 0.3% (Heyma *et al.*, 2008).

When talking about negative consequences of large scale labour migration there is a final topic that comes to bear: labour migrants are supposed to be a drain on public finances. The idea is that many labour migrants do not pay taxes, and that a disproportionate share is unemployed. In the case of Middle and Eastern European labour migrants this idea can be dubbed untrue. In fact, this group of labour migrants actually contributes to the national

treasure, saying that they put more in it than they take out (Heyma *et al.*, 2008). The reason for this is that on one side they pay taxes on employment and consumption goods just as Dutch workers do. Moreover, they improve the profits of the companies who have to pay more tax on their turn. On the other side labour migrants—especially temporary ones—pay the unemployment tax, but never receive money from the funds because they do not work in The Netherlands long enough to be able to claim it. Furthermore, other taxes, like retirement tax, are not yet important for the group of temporary workers, which are mostly young people.

Labour migrants from the new EU Member States have positive effects on the Dutch economy in other ways as well. Their willingness to take low wage jobs is an important one. Some job vacancies would simply not be filled in if not for the labour migrants (Van den Berg *et al.*, 2008). In some cases the native Dutch workers are simply not willing to cut meat or pick tomatoes (Stoker, 2009). It has even come to the point that some companies get the feeling that they cannot do without the foreign workers. The influx of willing labour migrants thus results in an economy that can still compete, because otherwise some jobs would not be done. This has another effect as well, because work that is done in the low-wage sector creates work in the higher segments of the labour market (Van den Berg *et al.*, 2008). Furthermore, the labour migrants have become a market in itself, as can be seen from the job centres that specialize in Middle and Eastern European labour migrants that have sprung up throughout The Netherlands.

In conclusion it can be said that in some sectors of the economy Dutch workers are being pushed off the labour market and that in the low-wage sectors the level of the wages is slightly under pressure. However, in return the Dutch economy can remain competitive because jobs in the low-wage sector are filled which would otherwise be left vacated. So, while there might be some problems on the micro-level, the labour migration from Middle and Eastern Europe has had a positive effect on a macro-level. As a report from the European Union states: “labour migrants from Bulgaria, Romania, and the A-8 have significantly contributed to the persistent economic growth by filling in shortages on the labour market without demanding much from the public finances” (European Union, 2008).

2.3.3 New labour migrants in Dutch society

The effect of Middle and Eastern European labour migrants on the Dutch labour market is an important aspect of the free movement of labour in Europe. However, besides the fact that these people work in The Netherlands they are also part of the wider Dutch society. Larger groups of migrants who come in a short period of time have caused difficulties in the Netherlands today and in the past. Problems with language, unemployment, adaptation to Dutch cultural values, and crime are some of the main concerns in this respect. So, how does the new group of migrants adapt to the Dutch society? This question can be answered in a threefold manner. First, the facts will give an overview of how well the people are doing. However, integration is for a large part also a matter of perception. Therefore one has to look into how Dutch people feel about labour migration, and also what the labour migrants think of The Netherlands. The focus here will be on Polish labour migrants, because we have now established that this is by far the largest group of labour migrants that have entered The Netherlands from 2004 onwards.

In general it can be said that Polish people fit well in the Dutch society. The main reason for this is the cultural similarity between the two countries. Of course there are differences, but one cannot speak of a cultural gap. A shared religion (Christianity) and history can be seen as the most important determinants of the connection. One difference lies in the fact that Polish people practice their religion more actively. The Catholic Church therefore acts as a binding factor of Polish migrants in The Netherlands (Korf, 2009). However, some Polish migrants do not attend church here, and they experience this as liberating. This feeling of liberty is one of the reasons that in general Polish people like to be in The Netherlands. Furthermore, the majority sees Dutch people as friendly and appreciates the order and cleanliness (Korf, 2009). Although the cultures are not far apart, there are some problems with the integration of Polish people in Dutch society.

When talking about how well Polish people fit in the Dutch society, issues with language arrears, accommodation, and nuisance in combination with alcohol abuse most frequently come to the surface. Nonetheless, it has to be noted that there is again a distinction to be made between temporary and permanent migrants. On the whole it can be concluded that temporary migrants do not invest much time in the Dutch language and culture. They are here mostly for the simple reason of making money, and can get around with speaking German or English. Moreover, they work most of the time with fellow country men and women. The incentive to look beyond their Polish group is therefore usually non-existent. Permanent migrants however

integrate very fast. They learn the Dutch language, are interested in Dutch culture and try to blend into the social life (De Boom, 2008). Most Dutch people are also positive about Polish people. They especially praise the Polish work ethic. They are never sick, work hard, and do not complain too much. Moreover, the facts also show that there is relatively minimal criminal activity among Polish people (Korf, 2009).

Although the facts and perceptions turn out positive for the group of Polish workers in The Netherlands it has to be seen how the integration will develop in the future. A magistrate in the city of The Hague has recently alarmed the national government over concerns of ghettos being in the make (Zuidervaat, 2009). He sees language arrears and has a hard time fighting illegal accommodation. Moreover, he observes that the issue of Polish labour migrants is highly underestimated. However, whereas The Hague has a problem, Amsterdam does not. The reason for this is that in Amsterdam the people are spread out over the city, while in The Hague clusters are being formed in just a few neighbourhoods. Finally, in contrast to the idea of Dutch people being friendly, clean, and open-minded, The Netherlands is also known as a country where labour migrants are exploited on a large scale. Since Minister Donner of social matters and employment has stated that the Dutch economy will need labour migrants for at least the following ten years (Korteweg, 2009), this might be something to look into as well.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter it could be seen that The Netherlands has a long history of people who come to the country for work purposes. It was observed that the influx of these typical migrants is not just dependent upon the economic situation in The Netherlands, but also upon the economic situation in the sending country. The immigration of Polish workers has been a recent development, and it cannot be said yet whether these people are going to stay or not. Moreover, the integration of Polish workers is a matter of concern. So far, the permanent migrants show signs of quick adaptation to the Dutch society, whereas temporary workers seem more attached to Poland. Besides the more humanist aspects, the Polish seem to be a blessing for the Dutch economy on the macro-level so far. However, in certain sectors of the economy Dutch people experience difficulties because of the increased competition on the labour market.

This chapter also dealt with facts and figures of Polish workers. It could be seen that the temporary workers have especially come to The Netherlands since Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004. This free movement of workers has been made possible by

several treaties which sought to carry out the message of ‘the Four Freedoms’. Despite the wave of treaties that were ratified over the last few decades the European Union is far from a finished project. Tensions between the European Union itself and the Member States, but also between the Member States and the people living in them, have led to many compromises on issues that were in dire need of attention. It is clear that European Union needs much more time to evolve into an entity that is respected and cherished by the people of Europe.

3. Theoretical background

3.1 Theories on migration

The movement of people across the globe has been studied extensively over the last century. Ravenstein's 'laws of migration' of 1876 can be seen as the first migration theory. The presumptions deal with different topics of migration for instance, migration direction, migration size, typical groups that migrate, and reasons for migration. Although his 'laws' lacked theoretical grounding they have been very influential in the 20th century (Boyle *et al.*, 1998). Theorists that built on Ravenstein's work mostly had neoclassical insights. They reasoned that labour re-allocation was a response to market need (Ritchey, 1976). Important theories in this respect were developed by Hicks (1932) and Todaro (1976). Respectively wage differentials and employment probabilities were brought forward as the major explaining factors of migration. The next neo-classical theory which shaped thoughts about migration is the human capital theory (Sjaastad, 1962). In this theory costs of migration were weighed up against the returns. If a positive number would come out of the equation one would move, otherwise one would stay. This idea of an equation gradually developed in a structuralist approach in which push and pull factors in place of origin and destination became the determinants of migration.

These determinist theories have definitely proven their worth and are valid to a certain extent. Nevertheless, the main critique on these approaches is that they loose connection with the individual. Migration is carried out by individuals who can move for an extremely large array of reasons. The humanist approach has therefore tried to capture migration at the individual level, by describing individual migration histories and adding more cultural variables. However, the drawback of this approach was that the bigger picture got obscured. There have therefore been calls of integrating the two points of view on migration. An example of this is the theory of migration networks, in which origin and destination are linked through history, common economic interests, or social networks.

The role of social networks has been a recent development in migration theory, but seems to become more important in a world that is 'smaller' than it used to be. Transportation methods and new ways of communication have brought the people in the world closer together. When a person from The Netherlands moves to New Zealand he or she probably knows more about what is going on in the home town, than a person who moved to the next province 50 years ago. This has much to do with how we keep in touch with the social network and how easy it is to make visits. In the remainder of this chapter the case of Polish

labour migrants and the role of their social networks will be theorized. This will be done by looking at different theories on types of migration, migration intentions, social networks, integration and return migration. Finally, a case study on Polish labour migrants in London will lead up to the conceptual model that is specifically designed for this research.

3.2 Types of migration

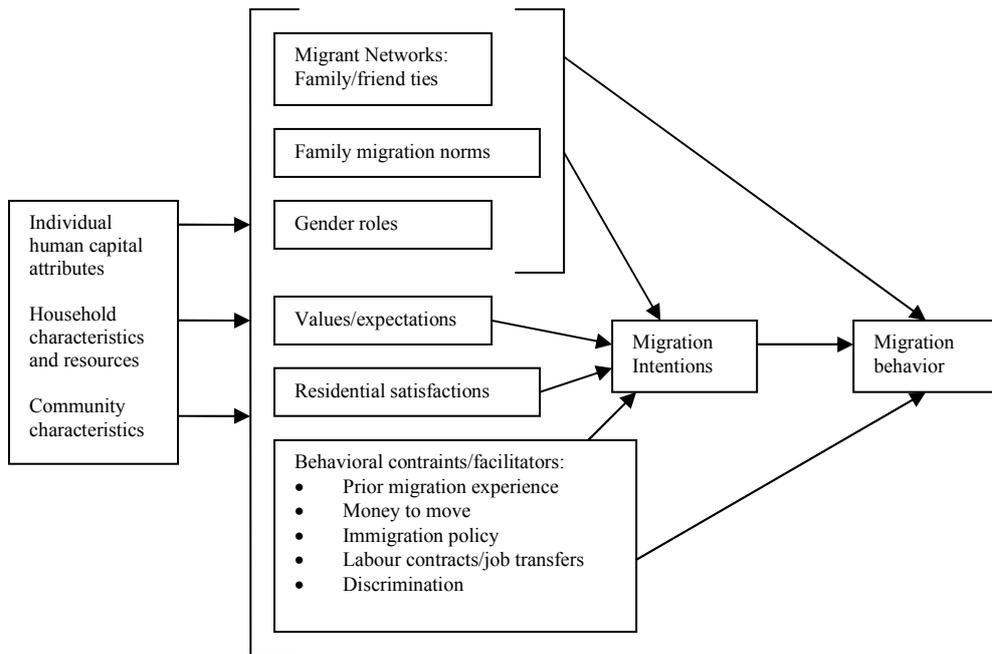
A study by Bovenkerk (1974) gives a good overview of the types of migration that people can perform. He identifies six different ways in which people move from one country to another: emigration, return migration, transient migration, re-emigration, second time migration, and circulatory migration. In emigration a person moves from place A to place B for the first time, without having left the home country ever before. Return migration means that a person has spend a significant period abroad and then returns to the home country. Transient migration is dealt with when a person has moved from the home country to a certain destination, and then moves on to a third country. If a person has come back to the home country after having spent quite some time in a destination, and then moves back to the same destination, it is termed re-emigration. However, when the return migrant moves to a different destination then he was before it is called second time migration. Finally, Bovenkerk speaks of circulatory migration when movements between the home country and a certain place of destination become repetitious. An example of this is when people come to the place of destination for the harvesting season and then move back to the home country, only to come back for the next harvesting season. (Bovenkerk, 1974)

In principle the Polish workers in The Netherlands have two options: stay permanently or leave at some point in time. The intention to leave can be subdivided into the three categories: return migration, transient migration, and circulatory migration. This is because the people have already migrated from Poland to The Netherlands. Emigration is therefore not important because the migrants have already performed this behaviour. Moreover, since they have not moved back to Poland for a significant period yet, we can also leave the investigation of re-emigration and second time migration out of the picture. Transient migration will play a marginal role in this research, because it is expected that the majority of Polish labour migrants will perform either return or circulatory migration. In this research intended migration behaviour is dealt with, in contrast to finished migration behaviour. These concepts differ, because when a person has the intention to perform certain behaviour it does not mean that this behaviour is indeed performed. Therefore it first has to be established how migration intentions influence migration behaviour.

3.3 Migration intentions and migration behaviour

The one model concerning behaviour and behavioural intentions that has been widely adopted is the Theory of Planned Behaviour by Ajzen. The theory sees behavioural intentions as being the largest determinant of actual behaviour. However, these intentions are a product of social norms, expectations of the behaviour, and constraints and facilitators. The theory originates in social psychology, but has been used in many other areas of study that involve human behaviour. A researcher that has applied the Theory of Planned Behaviour to migration is Gordon De Jong (2002). In his study on rural-urban migration in Thailand he tested a general model of migration decision-making which was inspired by the theory of Ajzen. De Jong distinguishes seven concepts as uniquely relevant for the study of migration decision making: expectations and values, perceived family migration norms, gender roles, residential satisfactions, migrant networks, and behavioural constraints and facilitators. A graphical display of the model is given below.

Figure 3.1: De Jong's general model of migration decision-making



The link with the Theory of Planned Behaviour is clear; migration behaviour is determined by migration intentions. These concepts form the core of the general model of migration decision-making.

The results of De Jong's study show that intentions to migrate are significantly determined by income expectancy, work satisfaction, prior migration experience, and marital status. Of these determinants only prior migration experience has a positive effect on intending to migrate. Other determining factors on the migration intention are: what potential

migrants earn in the current situation as compared to what they will earn in Poland; if potential migrants are satisfied with their current job in relation to work, income, and skills; and if the migrant is married.

This research will be focused on the social network of a migrant and its influence on the migration intention. From the general model of De Jong this would be an undisturbed one way link. It seems like social networks have been added to the model without much consideration. This becomes clear when the way social networks are implemented in this research is investigated. Only one question about social networks is asked in the survey that was conducted; whether the respondent had any relatives or friends in the place of destination. However, the role of social networks in the process of migration is much more complicated. Other studies have investigated this relation between social networks and intended migration behaviour more thoroughly.

3.4 Social Networks

The majority of studies regarding migration typify three roles for social networks: information about the new country, financial aid, and practical help (MacLaughlin, 1991; Grimes, 1992; Esveldt et al., 1995; Dolfin and Genicot, 2006; Koser, 2007). With information a potential migrant is helped with finding his or her way around in the new country. This can be information on the living conditions, where a job can be found, educational possibilities, and access to social security. In the case of possible return migration a person is being updated on the general situation back home by family and friends. This concerns the state of the economy, job opportunities, and social situations in the private and public sphere. Financial aid can be acquired in two ways. A potential migrant can receive money from family and friends in the place of origin, but also from people who are already at the place of destination. The money is mainly used to finance the trip and to get around in the destination country until a job is found. Practical help mostly occurs in the fashion of actively finding a job and accommodation for the new migrant.

Another role of the social network lies in the emotional sphere. Since the act of migrating is often a radical change in a person's life, he or she needs somebody to talk to. It is therefore stressed in several studies that the social network is important for psychological support (Meyer, 2001; Vertovec, 2002; Koser, 2007). At this point it has to be stressed that the social network consists of intimate and weak ties. Intimate ties are the ones to which people have strong connections, usually family and close friends. Weak ties can be seen as acquaintances, these are the people that are known but not very thoroughly. It is known that

weak ties are important in finding a job, especially in high-skilled migration (Bagchi, 2001). However, the exact ways in which weak and strong ties work in migration are less known. It can nonetheless be imagined that strong ties play an important part in return migration, which will be the next topic covered.

3.5 Return migration

Extensive literature has been published on return migration. One study that has been adopted widely is that of Cerase (1970) which deals with the motivations of Italians in America who return to Italy. His main thesis is that return behaviour largely depends on the acculturation of the migrants. He recognizes four types of return: return of failure, return of conservatism, return of innovation, and return of retirement. People who have failed to adapt to the host society or could not find the means to achieve certain goals fall in the category of return of failure. Some migrants remain focused to the home country. They come for instance to The Netherlands to make enough money so that they can achieve upward mobility in Poland, by buying a house or land, or start a business. When these people have achieved their goals and return, this is called return of conservatism. Other migrants do try to settle in The Netherlands. However, when they start to notice that they cannot adjust, or that they are not accepted, they feel the need to return to Poland. Cerase (1970) calls this return of innovation. The last type of return migration that is distinguished is return of retirement. These people have achieved their goals, but out of nostalgia they want to spend their old age in the home country.

This typology by Cerase (1970) is a structuralist approach to return migration and an improvement over earlier neo-classical models which saw return migration as either a success or failure story. In the success story the migrant returned home when the goals were achieved, in the failure story the migrant could not make a living abroad. These theories were basically focused on the country of destination. The structuralist approach adds a dynamic between the sending and destination country. However, a shortcoming of the structuralist approach is that the host and sending country are seen as two distinct worlds. Other theories (King, 1986; Lewis and Williams, 1986) focus on adaptation of the migrant when he or she moves back to the home country. In these times of new communication and transportation methods, this clear distinction seems inappropriate. A migrant leaving the home country might be all but ignorant about that place. Social networks play a major part in this process, as is acknowledged by more recent research.

A development that has to be mentioned here is that of transnationalism. Transnational activities involve activities that are not limited to one country or another, but cross borders. They are implemented by regular and sustained social contacts over time and across national borders (Portes, 1999). In the view of transnationalism return migration is not the end of a migration cycle but part of the complete picture. An important feature of the transnationalist perspective is that migrants prepare their reintegration at home by returning quite frequently and paying remittances. Moreover, in so far as transnationalists focus on the double or hybrid identities of migrants and on their cross-border mobility, the transnational approach to return migration seems to encapsulate their initiatives and projects at home in a fundamental set of mutual obligations, opportunities and expectations stemming from common ethnicity and kinship (Cassarino, 2004). Although the transnationalist approach is again an improvement over the structuralist approach, in the sense that migrants are able to have lives in two countries, a part of the theory is limiting the research. Common ethnicity and kinship as the basis of acquiring resources to facilitate the move back home are a rather backward idea of how migrants get along in both societies. These two concepts are without a doubt important, but the potential of migrants is much larger. In this light the latest development in return migration theory has been the implementation of social network theory, which does not limit the potential pool of resources to ethnicity or kinship. In social network theory commonality of interests is the basis on which migrants develop a potential of gathering resources to facilitate their move back home.

This idea of social network theory has been further developed by Cassarino (2004). His theory is designed around two major concepts: resource mobilization and preparedness. Resource mobilization pertains to tangible and intangible resources, as well as social capital. Tangible resources can for instance be found in the financial sphere, while intangible resources are contacts, relationships, and skills. Resources that are brought to the destination country by the migrants are the social capital. Preparedness deals with two ideas, the readiness and the willingness of the migrant to go home. The concepts of resource mobilization and preparedness interact with each other and are influenced by the situation in the home as well as the host country.

3.6 Integration

Integration is an aspect that accompanies migration which has not been mentioned in this overview of theories yet. In chapter 2 it could already be observed that the permanent migrants are the ones that adapt fast to the Dutch society, while the supposedly temporary

migrants do not care much about The Netherlands and its ways. Integration of migrants into a new society happens on many different levels, for instance speaking the language, getting to know people from the host country, or taking part in local festivities. It is not hard to imagine that a person who integrates more into a host society slowly starts to become less attached to the country of origin. It is unlikely that the relation with the country of origin will never be lost completely, especially not in the first few generations of migrants. However, at some point a person is more attached to the host country than to the country of origin, which would mean that these people do not want to return to where they are originally. For some people this might go very fast, because they have a partner from the host country for example. Others might take a long time, and take small steps. First speak some words, meet some people next, and finally celebrating carnival in Southern-Limburg dressed up as a Polish farmhand. In the conceptual model the matter of integration will be taken into account by adding certain aspects that can be a sign of integration. First we will take a look at a place where the prevalence of Polish workers has been very high over the last decade.

3.7 Polish labour migrants in London

The British government was among the first to completely open the border for Middle and Eastern European labour migrants. It is therefore not a surprise that the largest share of Polish workers can be found in England, and specifically in London. Consequently, much research has been done on Polish migrants in the UK (Eade *et al.*, 2006; Burrell, 2009; and others). One of these studies is particularly relevant in the setting of social networks and return migration. The qualitative research by Ryan *et al.* (2008) gives an insight of how Polish migrants act in relation to their social networks in the country of destination and what they find important in their intended migration behaviour. This latter understanding is relevant for this research too. For although the focus of this research will be on social networks, other factors that influence a migration decision should not be excluded.

What is first concluded in the research is that the simplistic assumption that all recent Polish migrants view their stay as purely temporarily should be dismissed. Many might have had this intention when they left Poland, but stayed longer. The research highlights the importance of conditions in Poland in this respect. Moreover, occupation and qualifications did not appear to be a major influence on future migration intentions. Age, life stage, and family situation did occur to be significant. The study identified several ways in which social networks played a role in the lives of the migrants. These ways largely corresponded with the researches that have been dealt with previously. What is new in this research is the attention

that is paid to care taking. The effect of care taking works in two ways; people from the sending country might come over and help in care taking matters (like babysitting), but also, migrants might return home to take care (of a sick parent for instance). Since this qualitative study deals specifically with Polish migrants and the role of the social network, it can function as a solid basis for the development of a conceptual model for this quantitative study. Some aspects of the British case might be different from the Dutch one, but in general there will be many similarities. This is because the objectives of the Polish people in both countries deal mainly with employment.

3.8 Conceptual model

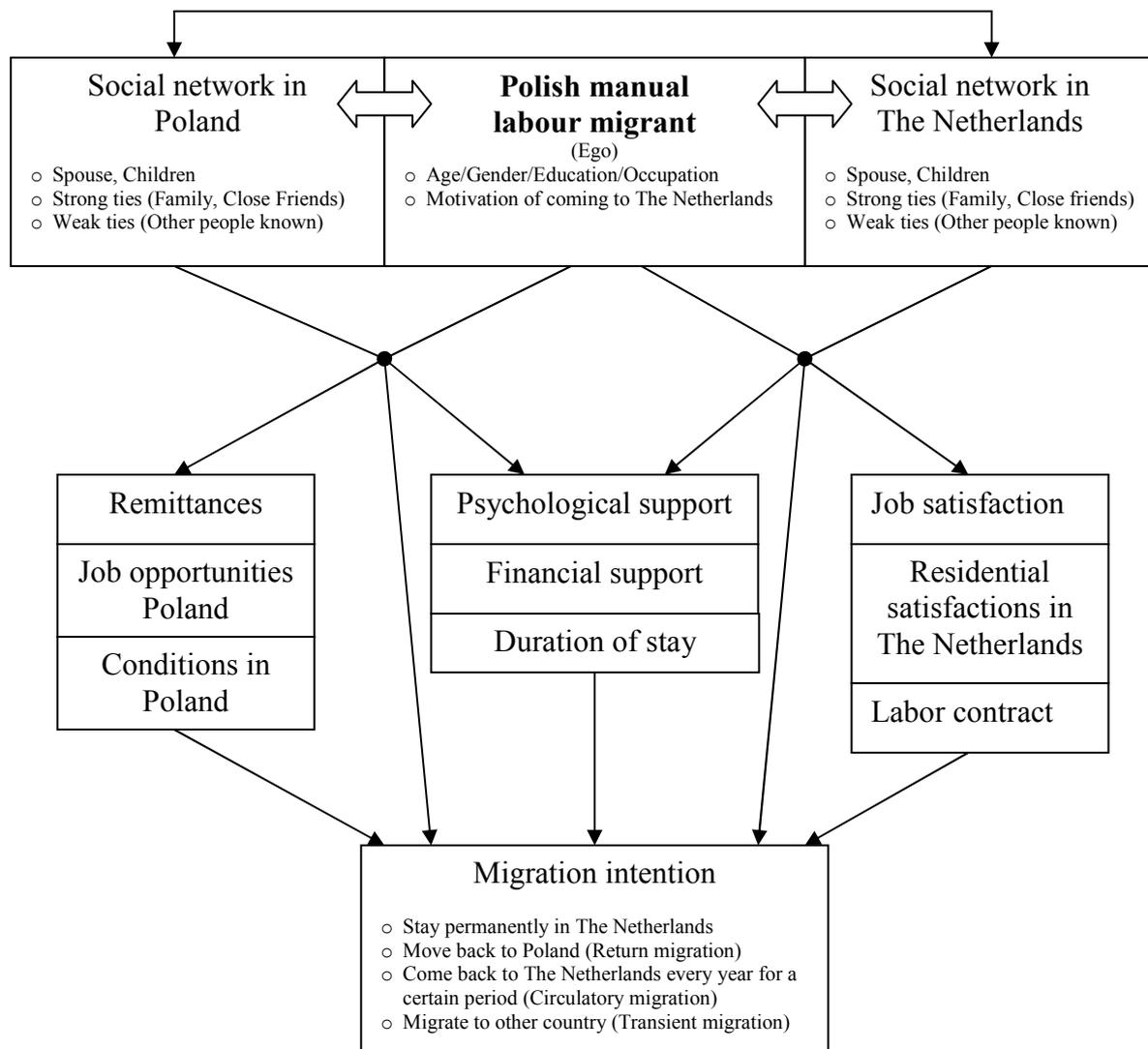
In the previous paragraphs studies on migration decision making, types of migration, the role of social networks in migration, and return migration were discussed. In the conceptual model these studies will be blend together to form a coherent whole that fits this specific research. The direct object in this research is the Polish manual labour migrant; a person from Poland who has come to The Netherlands to work in the low-wage sector of the economy. The fact that manual labour migrants have been chosen as the object of study in stead of skilled migrants—or even all migrants—has to do with the societal relevance of this group. They compete directly with the low-wage workers in The Netherlands, while the skilled workers usually fill specific vacancies. Although a conceptual model for skilled migration might look quite similar to what will be seen next, some differences are imaginable. Skilled migrants are for instance often wealthier, and therefore more mobile than the group that is investigated here. Moreover, they might come to The Netherlands to acquire more skills, in stead of money. Moreover, since they are skilled, job opportunities can be anywhere which can significantly lower the importance of this feature. Once more, the following conceptual model has been designed to study the role of social networks in the migration intention of Polish manual labour migrants in The Netherlands.

First of all the Polish labour migrant will be dubbed ego. This is an important choice, because theories have shown that a migration decision intention might very well be group related. Nonetheless, it is concluded that it is always ego that decides what he or she intends to do. The intention can be very much group related, in fact, the influence of the group on ego is the purpose of this research. However, taking the group as a direct object would be undesirable for two main reasons. Firstly, the group as the main influence on the migration decision is a highly questioned thesis. Testing this thesis would be a new study in itself, which would require a more longitudinal approach rather than the cross-sectional analysis used here.

The longitudinal approach is a second, more practical, drawback of using the group as a starting point. A longitudinal study is simply beyond the timeframe of this research. Ego is thus chosen as being the direct object in this research.

In figure 3.2 it can be seen that ego first of all has certain personal characteristics that can influence migration intentions. From the studies in the theoretical framework it could be observed that age, gender, and marital status are significant determinants of a migration decision. Education and occupation, were mentioned as insignificant in some studies, but will be tested again in this research. This has to do with the fact that in this research manual labour migrants are studied in stead of all migrants. The possibility is therefore that ego is in a job that is far beyond his or her skills, which might influence the migration decision.

Figure 3.2: Conceptual model



Motivation of coming to The Netherlands is considered to be another personal characteristic. The main purpose is to see whether the focus of ego was initially on The

Netherlands or Poland. This variable is derived from the distinction made by Cerase (1974) who saw four distinct types of return migration, two of which were focused on the host country, and two on the home country.

What can further be seen in the conceptual model is that ego is connected to two social networks, one in Poland and one in The Netherlands. The fact that ego interacts with his or her social network is visualized by putting the block arrows in the model. It is important to know what the social networks in both countries consist of, because there is a possibility that different ties have different influences. Therefore three different types of ties are distinguished: spouses/children, strong ties, and weak ties. Spouses and children have been chosen to be distinct from strong ties, because they might function different from other family and close friends. The line that connects the two social networks indicates that the social networks can have relation, meaning that for instance people with many friends in Poland also have many friends in The Netherlands.

The social networks in the two countries both influence several variables. Some variables are only concerned with Poland, some variables just with The Netherlands, while other variables are affected by the social networks in both countries. The variables that have been chosen are a mixture of general migration theories, return migration theories, and theories focused on explaining the role of the social network. All the variables are influenced by at least on of the social networks, but they also keep there own dimension. First, it has to be mentioned that social networks also directly affect the migration intention; for instance a call of the mother to ego to come home, or a spouse with homesickness. For purposes of graphical display the lines of the social network and personal characteristics are combined before they reach the other determinants and the migration intention. Nonetheless, this means that personal characteristics also expected to have an influence in this matter.

The variables that are influenced solely by the social network in Poland are remittances, job opportunities in Poland, and conditions in Poland. These variables on their turn influence the migration intention. This works as follows, ego might send remittances to Poland, but then it is the question whether this is a reason to stay in The Netherlands. Or, the social network can provide ego with a job in Poland, but does the fact that ego can get a job in Poland make him or her want to return. This is again similar for the conditions in Poland, the social network provides information about the situation in Poland, but the question whether these conditions are desirable enough to move back remains.

In the same way we have variables that are influenced by the Dutch social network. Ego might be satisfied at the job, because the social networks are important, but does

satisfaction at work influence the migration decision. The social network can affect ego's residential satisfaction. However, the relation of liking where one lives and migration intention is another one. The labour contract is a special variable because it works three ways. First, we have the influence of the social network that can find a new labour contract for ego. Secondly, it is important whether the current labour contract is expiring or not. Thirdly, the question remains if the status of the labour contract determines the migration intention.

Finally, there are variables that can be influenced by both networks. Psychological and financial support can be provided by both networks. The time spent in The Netherlands can also be influenced by ties in Poland as well as the Netherlands. This last variable will also be an indicator of whether the stay in The Netherlands is a group decision or not. If the duration of stay in The Netherlands was influenced by any of the social networks, this might indicate that ego works in The Netherlands in line with some kind of family or household strategy. The three variables that are possibly shaped by both networks are—like with other variables—affecting the migration intention after being influenced by the social networks.

The variable to be explained in this research is the migration intention of ego. Four different types of migration intentions are distinguished: Permanent stay in The Netherlands, return migration, circulatory migration, and transient migration. These possibilities are distilled from the definitions by King (1986). The objective is then to see which variables are significantly explaining which type of intention. In that sense this research kills two birds with one stone. Firstly, it studies how social networks influence determinants of migration intentions of Polish manual labour migrants. Secondly, it looks into what the intentions of the Polish manual labour migrants are.

4. The Survey

This chapter will deal with the research method that has been chosen to investigate the topic of Polish labour migration to The Netherlands and the role of social networks therein. The survey has been chosen as being the way to look into this topic because the purpose is to find significant connections between certain variables. In the following paragraphs it can be seen how the survey has been constructed by using the conceptual model as a backbone. Furthermore, the matters of recruitment and non-response are dealt with.

4.1 From Theory to Implementation

Having huge amounts of theory to explain certain patterns can be clarifying. However, moving from theory to actual implementation is something else. To test how social networks influence the migration intention of Polish labour migrants in The Netherlands many things have to be considered. Firstly, it is important to know which people are actually being researched, and what it is that one wants to know from these people. Secondly, one has to know what certain concepts stand for. It is only then that a good survey can be designed from the theory, which will be the final concern of this subchapter.

4.2 Target Population

The people who have been recruited to fill in the survey are *Polish labour migrants in the low wage sector*. This choice has been made because it became clear from the previous chapters that this is the group of people that has been coming to The Netherlands in the greatest numbers over the last years. Furthermore it is the group of people which has caused a political as well as a societal debate. Nowadays, this group of people could therefore be considered as being a hot topic.

4.3 Research questions

Main research question:

- In what way do social networks of Polish workers in The Netherlands influence their intention to return home?

Subquestions:

- Which personal characteristics influence the intention to return home?
- What are other determinants of intended migration behaviour of Polish manual labour migrants?
- How are the social networks of Polish manual labour migrants constructed?
- Does the social network directly influence the intention to return home?
- In what way do social networks in Poland influence other determinants of intended migration behaviour?

4.4 Conceptualization

Migrant: Any person who changes his or her country of usual residence. The country in which a person lives, that is to say, the country in which he or she has a place to live where he or she normally spends the daily period of rest. Temporary travel abroad for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious practice does not change a person's country of usual residence (UN, 1998). It has to be said that most the subjects of this study are real migrants according to this definition, but not according to the Dutch definition of a migrant. That definition uses a period of being away from the home country of at least four months. Many of the Polish workers pay regular visits to Poland.

Manual labour: Physical work done with the hands, especially in an unskilled job such as fruit and vegetable picking, road building, or any other field where the work may be considered physically arduous, and which has as a profitable objective, usually the production of goods.

Social network: Each individual (called ego) has a social network, defined as a set of actors or alters who have relationships or ties with the ego, and who may or may not have ties with each other. (Carrasco and Miller, 2006)

Strong ties: A tie or relationship with family or a close friend (Granovetter, 1983).

Weak ties: A tie or relationship with an acquaintance (Granovetter, 1983).

Migration intention: Intention is an indication of a person's readiness to perform a given behaviour (Ajzen, 2006); so, in the case of migration the indication of readiness of a person to migrate or not. The act of migration is not yet performed, but the plan is there.

Remittances: All current transfers in cash or in kind made, or received, by resident households to or from other non-resident households (Alfieri and Havinga, 2005).

4.5 Operationalization

Designing a survey is a delicate matter. Firstly, the questions have to provide answers to the research questions, as described before. This has been safeguarded in this research by using the conceptual model as a basis for the survey. Secondly, the questions have to be understandable to the respondent. To make sure that this was the case it was therefore decided to translate the survey into the Polish language. However, many other things can fall flat in the design of a survey. A question might be vague or too difficult, but also be pointing towards a certain answer. Moreover, since the survey has been designed with pre-described answers, discrepancies could also occur on that level. To tackle the last problems the survey was thus thoroughly tested before recruiting the respondents. During the test phase some new insights were gained and the survey was remodelled accordingly. Below it can be seen how the theoretical conceptual model has been operationalized to answer the research questions. The complete surveys—in English as well as in Polish—can be found respectively in Appendix A and B.

The core of this research was the migration intention of Polish labour migrants. This was the variable that had to be explained, in other words, this was the dependent variable. The respondents were therefore given four possible options in the survey: intention to stay in The Netherlands, intention to come back to The Netherlands every year for a certain period, intention to move back to Poland, and intention to move to another country. The question about the dependent variable was preceded by 35 questions which could explain the choice of the migration intention. It was followed by several questions which belonged to each answer. This final choice was made because every choice of migration intention raises new questions.

The questions that preceded the core questions had various topics. First up were some personal characteristics: sex, age, education, province of birth, and usual residence in Poland. The education question was accompanied by a question on how well the respondent's educational level fit the job they were doing. The next topic covered questions concerning the

social network. The marital status was dealt with, but also where the possible partner or spouse was born and lived at the moment. This same method was used for children. Then there were questions about the weak ties and strong ties. This involved questions on the number of family members, close friends, and acquaintances, and where these people lived. With these questions the groundwork on social networks was covered. The analysis on how the social network influences other determinants of the migration intention was interwoven in the questions that pertained to these other determinants: remittances, job opportunities in Poland, job contract and opportunities in The Netherlands, and job satisfaction. Furthermore, there were questions on housing, the kind of job of the respondent, duration of stay, Dutch language skills, residential satisfaction, and main reason of coming to The Netherlands.

After the core question about the migration intention several questions were asked that related specifically to the choice made. This distinction between the follow-up questions was made for two reasons. Firstly, to find out if the social network directly influenced the intention to stay, circulate, migrate back, or migrate to another country. For each of these choices one could think of different parts of the social network that were relevant. Secondly, each choice had other consequences for the future plans. Circular migrants could for instance have a job in Poland, and have a certain purpose with migrating back and forth. Return migrants could have a plan on the time span in which the move back to Poland could occur. Moreover, they also might have reasons to leave The Netherlands, and have plans back in Poland. The same goes for the people who intended to migrate to a third country. For the people who planned on staying in The Netherlands no further questions were asked.

4.6 Fieldwork

The next step in the research was to find respondents. Although there are more than 100,000 Polish labour migrants in The Netherlands it was still an arduous task to find them. Even more, once found they also had to be willing to fill in the survey. In the following paragraphs it will be described how the respondents were recruited, and which difficulties were encountered along the way.

4.7 Recruitment

In total 124 respondents were recruited for the survey. The respondents were found in several ways. Initially, the plan of recruitment involved four strategies: professional organizations, gatekeepers, gathering points, and snowball recruitment. Of these strategies only the first one proved to be worthwhile. The other strategies basically failed because of a variety of reasons.

Gatekeepers—key persons within the Polish community in The Netherlands with many contacts—have been approached. These were priests of the Polish church, board members of Polish organisations, and an organiser of Polish markets in Rotterdam. To contact these people letters and emails were sent, and phone calls were made. However, from the priests came no response, the Polish organisations were unable to provide links to the labour migrants, and the organiser of Polish markets in Rotterdam did not have anything set up until later this year. Gathering points of Polish people were hard to find. Two campsites where Polish people resided were visited. From one campsite two people were willing to fill in the survey. Snowball sampling—where one respondent provides another person that is a possible respondent—was also not used. Some people pointed out a few new recruits, but these were most of the time located in a completely different part of The Netherlands. Because it usually concerned only one or two possible respondents, it was simply inefficient to follow up on these inquiries.

The recruitment through professional organisations did prove to be a successful way to find respondents. Of the professional organisations used, two types can be distinguished: job centres, and companies with Polish employees. The job centres that were contacted were selected from the website of the Association of International Employment Officers in The Netherlands (VIA). The job centres that are a member of this organisation are tested on whether they treat their international worker in a proper manner. From the member list 40 job centres were approached, by sending letters, emails, and making phone calls. Of this initial group, only five job centres were willing to help out. The others did not respond, or did not have time. Another objection that was frequently raised was that distributing a survey among the employees would create commotion within the workforce. Apparently Polish people are cautious with sharing personal information with any kind of authority. This problem also occurred with the companies that did cooperate. Respondents were at first wary to fill in the survey, and it had to be made absolutely sure that the information they were sharing was anonymous and confidential.

The ways in which the contact with the Polish labour migrants was established varied per company that did cooperate. At Loppersum Arbeidsbemiddeling the respondents were met at the day they were collecting their pay checks. Legalines B.V. provided the addresses of some houses where their workers lived. Kennemerland Uitzendbureau gave the address of a so-called ‘Polen-hotel’. Over there a person of the organisation took care of the logistics. From APN Uitzendbureau the region manager of North-Netherlands was present while the residences were visited. AB Fryslan distributed the surveys among their employees on their own. This was also the case with one of the companies with Polish workers that cooperated: Bouw met Polen. The other company, Amazing Oriental, was paid a visit during working hours. The respondents over there were allowed to take a short break. Finally, there were a few respondents that were approached directly. In table 4.1 one can see how the respondents were distributed over The Netherlands.

Table 4.1: Distribution of respondents over The Netherlands

Place	Province	Company	Count	Percent
Heeswijk-Dinther	Noord-Brabant	Loppersum Arbeidsbemiddeling	35	28.2%
Groningen	Groningen	Bouw met Polen	24	19.4%
Zandvoort	Noord-Holland	Kennemerland Uitzendbureau	22	17.7%
Hoogezand	Groningen	APN	16	12.9%
St. Oedenrode	Noord-Brabant	Legalines B.V.	9	7.3%
Berlikum	Friesland	AB Fryslan	9	7.3%
Hoofddorp	Noord-Holland	Amazing Oriental	5	4.0%
Groningen	Groningen	<i>Direct Approach</i>	2	1.6%
Schiermonnikoog	Friesland	<i>Direct Approach</i>	2	1.6%
Total			124	100%

4.8 Non-response

This research deals with a sample of the Polish labour migrants in the low-wage sector in The Netherlands. To say something about the quality of the sample one has to look at non-response. This has to be done on three different levels. Firstly, there is the non-response of the organisations and gatekeepers. Secondly, there is non-response among the people who were targeted to fill in the survey through the organisations. And thirdly, there is non-response within the survey.

The non-response among the intermediating people and organisations was very high. Of the 60 organisations and gatekeepers just nine were willing to cooperate. This is a non-response of almost 82%. This seems high, but nine organisations and places to find Polish people proved to be quite sufficient, because 124 respondents were found in the end. Nonetheless, this number could have been higher because the potential pool within some of the places was larger. At Loppersum arbeidsbemiddeling about 60 people came in to collect their pay checks. As could be seen in table 4.1 there were 35 respondents. This is a non-

response of 42%. The reason that was given by the company employees who were helping out was that some of the people were too insecure to fill out forms. They thought they were going to make mistakes. Therefore the invitation to fill in the survey was communicated in a different way, focussing on the fact that they could not make any mistakes, which resulted in a lower non-response. At the Polish residence in Zandvoort of Kennemerland Uitzendbureau 40 surveys were distributed of which 22 were returned; a non-response of 45%. The final distribution place of surveys that resulted in non-response was AB Fryslan. 20 surveys were handed out and nine were returned: non-response 55%. At the other places no non-response occurred. At Bouw met Polen this can be attributed to the head of the company who was very willing to cooperate and interested in the research. In St. Oedenrode and Hoogezand the people were visited in their houses right after dinner. Their lack of other activities at that time probably resulted in all people present in the residences responding.

Non-response within the survey can be investigated in a more exact way. In appendix B the frequency tables contain missing values with their reasons. Not answering a question was the main reason of non-response. Most questions were nevertheless answered by more than 95% of the respondents. Three questions had more remarkable non-response levels. The question about the educational level was hard to understand for some people since there was a non-response of 11.3%. This misunderstanding lay in the question design. The question on the duration time of the contract resulted in a non response of 9.7%. Here the reason can be found in the possible answers. Some people did have a contract, but worked on a zero-hour basis. This means that the job centre provided work, but if there was no work the people had bad luck. This zero-hour basis contract was not one of the possible answers, which probably confused some people. Finally the question on when the people planned to return to Poland had a non-response level of 12.7%. A reason for this could be that these people simply did not know when they were going back to Poland.

Some other missing values in the survey can be contributed to faults in the survey design. The question on whether people had lived most of their lives in the city or on the countryside was lost in the first translation, but not discovered until many surveys were already distributed. It was corrected later, but still resulted in a non-response of 69%. Another question on the direct influence of the social network on return migration intentions was forgotten in the first draft and therefore also not translated. This question entered at the same time as the question on usual Polish residence. The mistake resulted in a non-response of 71% on this question. Finally, there was one person who did not answer the question on migration intentions. This resulted in non-response on the follow-up questions of migration intentions.

4.9 Representativity

The sample of Polish labour migrants in The Netherlands contains 124 respondents. This is a small number compared to the more than 100,000 Polish labour migrants that work in The Netherlands. However, this does not mean that the sample is not representative, but merely that the confidence intervals become larger. The sample indeed contains some similarities with the total population of Polish workers in The Netherlands on some personal characteristics. In the sample 41% of the respondents are in their twenties and 23% is in their thirties. This largely corresponds with research that is done by Corpeleijn (2009), which states that half of Polish labour migrants is aged between 20 and 30 and a quarter between 30 and 40. The same research states that the average age is 32, in the sample this is 33. On the matter of sex Corpeleijn (2008) reports 64% men and 36% women. In the sample the proportion is 73% to 27%. This is slightly of, but the majority of respondents are indeed men. Furthermore, something can be said about the regional dispersal of the workers over The Netherlands. Studies (Van den Berg, 2008; Heyma, 2008) show that most Polish workers are employed in the West and the South of The Netherlands. In the sample 57% of the respondents were interviewed in these provinces. The other respondents were found in the North of The Netherlands, this was because of practical reasons.

5. Polish workers in The Netherlands

Now that background, theory and the construction of the survey have been discussed extensively, it is time to take a look at the results. In the following two chapters of this study the research questions will be answered. This chapter will deal with who the Polish workers are and how they are positioned in The Netherlands with respect to personal characteristics, social networks, and other possible determinants of the migration intention. The focus will be on describing the sample and finding relations between these different groups of variables. What will not yet be done is to look for connections with the migration intention, although some information about this topic might already arise.

Firstly, the personal characteristics and the social networks in Poland and The Netherlands will be examined on a more general level. The relations between these groups of variables will be lightly touched upon. Secondly, the other determinants of the migration intention will be discussed in more detail. There will also be a general overview of these variables, but the possible relations with the personal characteristics and the social network will be a matter of great concern. The reason for this is that it is expected that especially the social networks play a large role in the outcome of the other determinants.

5.1 Personal characteristics

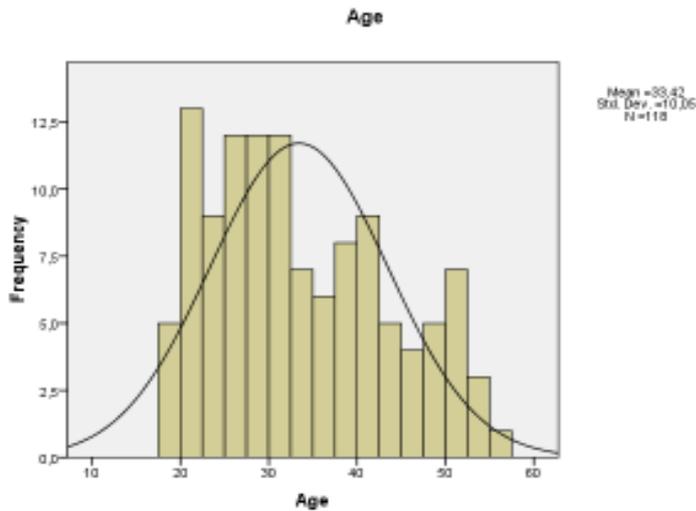
The personal characteristics in this study have been acknowledged to be of different natures. Firstly, there are personal characteristics that are very general: age, sex, education, and voivodeship (province) of birth. Secondly, there were questions in the survey on other personal characteristics that are already more directed towards investigating the situations in The Netherlands and Poland. They are called personal characteristics because they are at the base of the conceptual model and not expected to be highly influenced by the social networks. They are nonetheless expected to play a different role in framing the migration intention than the general personal characteristics, because they relate more to Poland (dwelling in Poland) or The Netherlands (Dutch language skills, duration time, job contract, job qualification, and reason for coming). Moreover, the general personal characteristics can hardly be changed in the future, whilst there is a possibility that the country specific characteristics will be different in the future.

In this study personal characteristics are understood to be independent factors that stand at the base of a person's identity, with the addition that it does not involve other people. Therefore marital status and having children have been added to the social network of a

person in this research, and not to personal characteristics. Once more, Appendix C shows again all the frequency tables of the variables that have been used for this research.

Good examples of personal characteristics are sex, age, education, and voivodeship of birth. Of the people who filled in a survey for this research 73% were men, while the remaining 27% were women. As stated in the previous chapter, this approaches the division

Figure 5.1: Age of respondents



of sex of Polish people in The Netherlands that has been noted by other studies. The age of people in the study had a wide variety. The minimum age was 18 and the maximum age was 55. The mean age of the sample was 33.42 years. In figure 5.1 it can be seen that the histogram is skewed slightly to the left. This means that there are more people who are below the mean

age than above. This can also be observed when one takes a look at the median age (the middle value of all observed ages), which is below the mean age. The mean ages for men (33.6 years) and women (32.8 years) are almost equal.

In the Polish educational system a division can be made between people who have completed up to 12 years of education and the ones who have completed more than 12 years of education. The former group has finished primary school and *gymnasium*, which is normally translated as being the lower secondary level. The latter group continues the education in a more theoretical *lyceum* or a more practical *technikum*, the upper secondary level. Hereafter it is possible to follow many different forms of upper education. Of the people in the sample 53% had finished an education of the lower secondary level and the remaining 47% completed an upper secondary study. Of the respondents who had finished an upper secondary level education, 61% was 30 years of age or younger.

Poland is administratively divided into voivodeships, which can be seen as provinces. The voivodeships have been rearranged in 1999 according to historic regions within Poland. With 35,000 square kilometres and over five million inhabitants the Masovian voivodeship is the largest. The capital city Warsaw is also located in this state. However, in the sample most people (29%) came from the Opole voivodeship. This is remarkable because it is actually one

Figure 5.2: The Polish voivodeships



of the smallest voivodeships of Poland. One could imagine that a job centre in The Netherlands has a recruitment agency in Opole and that this is the reason for the large share. This was not the case as almost all the job centres had recruited a fair share of people from Opole. What can be observed is that Opole lies in Western-Poland. Because of the connection of this region with Germany there is still a large share of people in this

region that holds a German passport. Therefore these people were basically a part of the European Union before 2004, and the restrictions on the free movement of workers were not applicable to them. It is therefore not surprising that the majority of people in the sample are from the Western provinces. In this study the following voivodeships are considered to be part of Western-Poland: Pomerian, West-Pomerian, Lubusz, Lower Silesian and Opole.

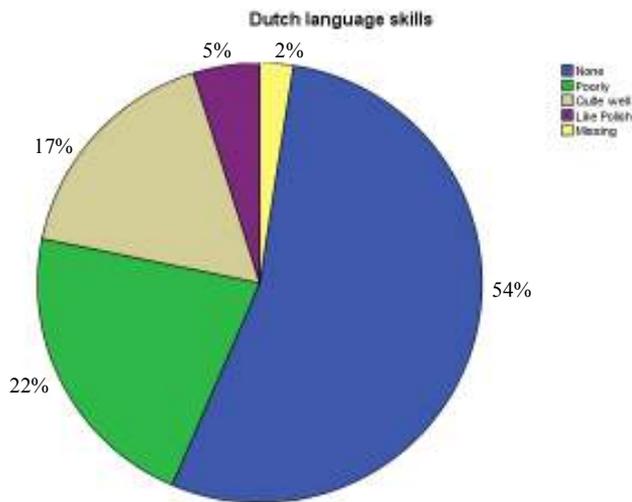
5.2 Country specific personal characteristics

The only personal characteristic that relates to Poland is the residential status in Poland. The reason for this is that people who own a house could be more attached to their place of origin and therefore be more likely to return to Poland. Of the respondents almost 60% own a house or an apartment in Poland. These are primarily married people. Most of the remaining respondents still live with their parents when they are back in Poland. These are the mostly young and single people. The other personal characteristics stimulate people to stay in The Netherlands or keep on coming to the country. For instance if people speak Dutch to a certain

degree they are thought to invest more in their Dutch lives. If they do not speak any Dutch they are expected to be indifferent about staying or keep on coming to The Netherlands. In figure 5.3 it can be seen how well the people in the sample spoke Dutch.

It can be observed that the majority (55%) of the respondents does not speak any Dutch. 22% knows a little bit of Dutch and 17% states that they master the Dutch language

Figure 5.3: Language skills



quite well. Six respondents claimed to speak Dutch like they speak Polish. The level of education holds a significant relation to the Dutch language skills. The people who have completed an education of the upper secondary level are more likely to speak at least some Dutch, as compared to people who have completed a lower

secondary education or less. Another variable that is expected to have an influence on Dutch language skills is the time that the respondent has spent in The Netherlands. 31% has been in The Netherlands less than one year, 38% has been here between one and three years, and the remaining 37% is already here for more than three years. It is only in the last group that the duration time becomes important in relation to language. These people have a higher probability of speaking Dutch quite well or like Polish in comparison to speaking it poorly or not at all.

The job that is done in The Netherlands is also a characteristic that is of concern when talking about the incentives to stay in the host country or come back a certain period every year. Only 10% of the respondents reported that they did not have a contract. This might have some something to do with the confusion with zero-hour contracts. Nevertheless, of the people who claimed to have a contract, 35% had a contract that was going to expire within six months, 28% of the contracts would expire between six months and a year, and 7% had a contract which would last more than one year, and the remaining 30% had a permanent contract. Because the focus in this research is on people in the low wage sector, it was also asked what the relation between their job and their education was. It turned out that 22% was doing the job they were educated for. Surprisingly 40% of the respondents reported that their

low wage job was better than what they were educated for. 38% of the sample was doing a job which was beyond their skills.

A final question that was asked concerning personal characteristics was on the reason of coming to The Netherlands in the first place. As expected most people (67%) had come to work, and of that group 71% initially intended to work in The Netherlands for a certain period of time. Two female respondents stated they had come to The Netherlands to reunite the family, and 10 male respondents had come for adventure. The other respondents had come for other reasons than the ones just mentioned.

5.3 Social Network

As with the personal characteristics a division can be made in the social network between a Dutch and a Polish side. Although the distinction seems clear, it is not that easy to split up the social network between countries. This is because there are many possible interactions between the kinds of relations, the country in which the relations were initially formed and the country in which the relation is continued. A family member might for instance also be a close friend. Is he or she a family member or a friend, or both? A person might also have a Polish partner who has recently moved to The Netherlands. Is he or she part of the Polish or the Dutch social network? One could say Dutch, but what if the partner desperately wants to move back to Poland? Because of these difficulties and the limited scope of this study, hard choices have been made. In the following paragraphs it can be seen how the division between the Dutch and Polish network has been established. There will also be interesting statistics on the different social networks and its relations to other variables.

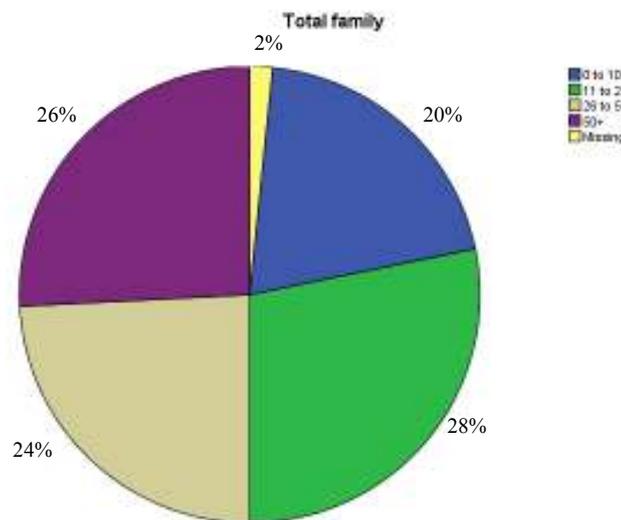
5.3.1 The Polish Social Network

The marital status of the respondent and having children or not was the first hard nut to crack, because of its classification. These variables are usually seen as personal characteristics, but since this research focuses on social networks it has been decided that these variables are definitely part of the social network. Of the people in the sample 21% was single, 35% had a partner but was not married, 35% had a partner and was married, and the remaining 9% was either divorced or widowed. 97% of the partners were born in Poland, and 80% of them also lived in Poland. Since the number of partners who were not born in Poland was extremely small, it was decided that the cases of people who had partners from another country than Poland were going to be omitted in situations where the descent of a partner mattered. The number of partners that did live in The Netherlands also proved to be too small to relate to any other variable. And since these partners were all born in Poland it was decided that all the

partners were part of the Polish social network despite the fact that some of them lived in The Netherlands. In the sample 53% of the respondents had children, of which 90% also lived in Poland. 11% wanted their children to grow up in The Netherlands, and 6% in another country. It is interesting to see that there is a small number who want to see their children to grow up in another country than Poland—it shows that these people are not satisfied with the living circumstances in the home country—nonetheless the numbers were again not large enough to use in any further calculations. Therefore the children are also added to the Polish social network. Moreover, since the respondents are obviously closely related to the partner and children, they are seen as strong ties in the Polish social network. As could be expected, marital status, having children or not, and age are heavily intertwined. The older a respondent gets the more likely it is that he or she has a partner, is married, or has children. Being single (not divorced or widowed) significantly decreases the chance on having children.

Family size was chosen to be part of the Polish social network as well. Despite the fact that some family members lived in other countries the total number of family members still gave a good idea about the size of the family that was in Poland. As can be seen in figure 5.4 the sizes of the families of the respondents were quite evenly divided among the different groups. There are almost as many

Figure 5.4: Total family size



people with a very small (0 to 10 members) family as there are people with very large (50+ members) families. The family member has also been chosen to be a strong tie. Another group of people who are considered to be strong ties are the close friends in Poland. Most respondents (47%) stated that they had between six and ten close friends

in Poland, 8% had five close friends or less, 11% between 11 and 20, and 34% had more than 20 close friends in Poland. Being married had a significant negative effect on having more than ten close friends in Poland as compared to being single. This was also expected because married people tend to spend less time with their friends as they increase the time spend with the spouse. No weak ties (acquaintances) were determined in the Polish social network, because it was hard for people to tell how many people they actually knew in Poland. The meaning of a variable like this would have been lost.

5.3.2 The Dutch Social network

Three main groups can be distinguished in the Dutch social network: Family in The Netherlands, friends, and acquaintances. In the latter two groups a division can be made between people who from Dutch descent or from somewhere else, most likely Poland. The strong ties of family and close friends will be touched upon.

Two thirds of the people in the sample had no family in The Netherlands. Of the other third of respondents who did have family in The Netherlands 90% stated that this was less than one quarter of the total family. Four respondents stated that the share of family in The Netherlands was between 25% and 50%. Having family in The Netherlands is related to the reason for coming to The Netherlands, saying that people who have family in The Netherlands are more likely to have come here for the reason of working permanently. This might already be a hint to the intended migration, but conclusions on this level will not yet be drawn. This will happen in the next chapter.

The majority of respondents did have close friends in The Netherlands, but there was still a quarter who stated they had no friends here. Of the people who did have close friends 51% had between one and five friends, 20% had six to ten friends, and 29% had more than ten close friends in The Netherlands. The number of close friends in The Netherlands relates to the marital status and having children or not, but also to the time spent in The Netherlands. The longer one is in The Netherlands the larger the group of close friends in The Netherlands is, but the more family-minded a person is the smaller this group is. Furthermore, age comes forward as being a significant determinant of the number of close friends in The Netherlands, in which the younger people have more close friends than the older people. This might have three causes. Firstly, young people are in general more outgoing, which makes it easier for them to make friends. Secondly, older people are often more hesitant to consider somebody to be a close friend. Finally, respondents who have a fair share of close friends in The Netherlands also have a fair share of close friends in Poland. So, we can distinguish a group of people for whom it is hard to make friends and a group who has no problems with this, left alone the country in which the friends are located.

Within the variable of close friends in The Netherlands a separation was made between Dutch friends and the others. Knowing Dutch people could well be a sign of further integration in The Netherlands and therefore a higher chance of not returning to Poland. Of the respondents 75% did not have any Dutch close friends; this includes the people who had no friends in The Netherlands in the first place. 50% of the people who did state to have close friends in The Netherlands had friends who were actually Dutch. The large majority of these

people had a share of less than 25% Dutch people within their group of close friends, only eight people claimed to have more. In table 5.1 it can be seen that people with more close friends also had Dutch friends more often. This relation was significant at the 1%-level, and

Table 5.1: Cross tabulation Dutch and total friends NL	Dutch friends in The Netherlands		
	Yes	No	Total
Friends in The Netherlands			
0-5	13	61	74
5+	18	28	46
Total	31	89	120

again a sign that we are dealing with a more extravert and a more introvert group here. The time spent in The Netherlands was important in having Dutch friends or not. Interestingly there

was also significant difference between higher educated people, who had more Dutch friends, and lower educated people who had less. Having Dutch language skills also increased the number Dutch friends, as compared to not speaking the language at all. It is however impossible to tell from the collected data if these people had more Dutch friends because they spoke Dutch, or if they spoke Dutch because they had Dutch friends.

The other people that are known by the respondents besides family and close friends are considered to be the weak ties, in this study referred to as acquaintances. Most people in the sample had more than 20 acquaintances, 57%. This is logical, because people work with colleagues and live at places where most of the time many others live as well. Nonetheless there were also respondents who knew much less people; 15% had between 0 and 5 acquaintances, 11 percent between 6 and 10, and the remaining 17% had 11 to 20 people they knew in The Netherlands besides their families and close friends. Again younger people had more acquaintances, as did higher educated people. Just over half (55%) of the respondents also had acquaintances of Dutch descent. Interestingly, having a longer ranging contract was significantly related to having Dutch acquaintances. This probably has to do with the idea that people who work in jobs with shorter contracts, are most likely surrounded by people with short contracts as well, who most likely will not be Dutch. This cannot be made sure however from the data acquired for this research. Time spent in The Netherlands also has an influence on having Dutch acquaintances or not.

5.4 Other determinants

The other possible determinants of the migration intention will now be dealt with in more detail. In itself the topics of remittances, job opportunities in Poland and The Netherlands, job satisfaction and residential are already interesting to look at. Moreover, they are expected to play an important role in influencing the migration intention, and are influenced by the personal characteristics and the social networks, as could be seen in the conceptual model.

They basically form the link in which social networks can influence the migration intention indirectly.

5.4.1 Remittances

Remittances have been tested in this study as being money that was sent back to people in Poland. Of the respondents in the sample 21% remitted to the partner, 47% to family or close friends, one person to an acquaintance, and 32% did not send any money back to Poland. The majority (56%) of the receivers of remittances used the money for basic needs, 18% for savings, 14% for investments in

business and housing, and 12% had another destination. From these numbers it can be seen that for a large share of the people the money

Having children or not	Use of remittances		
	Basic needs	Other	Total
Yes	35	18	53
No	9	17	26
Total	44	35	79

that is sent from The Netherlands is really needed, especially for people with children as can be observed in table 5.2. The relation between these two variables is significant on the 1% percent level. In fact, the relative risk of a person sending remittances for basic needs is ten times higher for people with children than for people without children.

Most people remit to family and close friends in Poland, and although there is no relation of remittances with the size of the family, there is a significant relation with the number of close friends in Poland. If a person has more than ten close friends in Poland this means that the relative risk of remitting is higher as compared to when the person has less than ten close friends in Poland. However, when the person has less than ten friends in Poland, but also less than five friends in The Netherlands he or she becomes more likely to send money home. This observation could point to people who are married, since it was shown before that married people indeed have fewer friends in both countries. However, with the interaction between close friends in Poland and The Netherlands in the equation the effect of marital status becomes insignificant. Knowing how many friends a person has in both countries is therefore a more reliable predictor of remittances than the marital status.

In conclusion it can be said a fair share of the respondents do remit to the partner, but when it comes to the reason of remitting other forces seem to be at play. Persons who have children and many friends in Poland are the most likely to send remittances. The people who have children do so in order to provide for basic needs. People with many close friends in Poland try to support their social network of strong ties in the home country.

5.4.2 Job opportunities

Two questions on job opportunities were included in the survey. One was on job opportunities in Poland and one contract opportunities in The Netherlands. The question for job opportunities in Poland asked if people thought they could find a job in Poland, and if so, if they knew somebody who could help them. In the sample 55% of the respondents thought it would be possible for them to find a job on their own. 18% thought family or close friends could help them, and 12% knew other people that were able to find a job in Poland for the respondent. Only 15% of the sample did not think it would be possible to find a job in Poland.

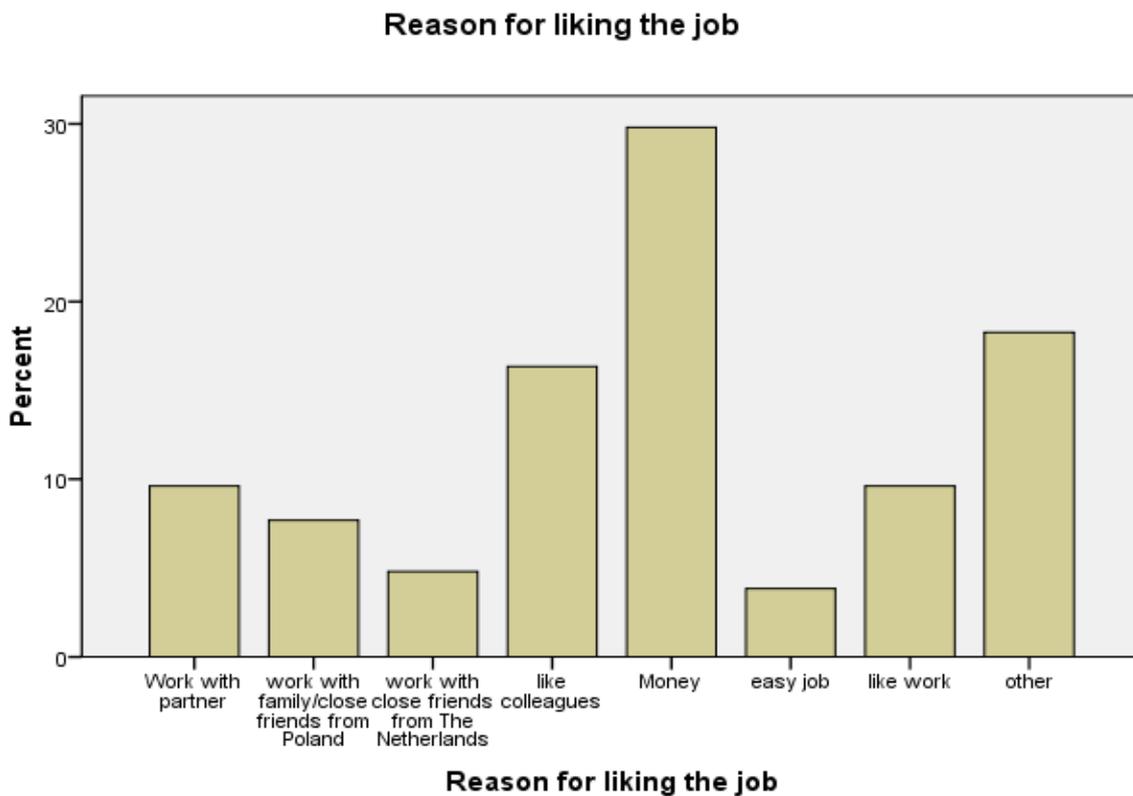
For contract opportunities in the Netherlands it was asked if people believed to be able to find a new contract in The Netherlands, in case their current one would expire. 15% of the respondents thought they could get a new contract through strong Polish ties, 19% by calling on their strong Dutch ties. The majority of the respondents (29%) believed their new contract could be arranged by other Polish people they knew. An explanation for this is that many people find a job in The Netherlands through intermediating offices in Poland. People subscribe to these offices in Poland which then set up contacts with a job centre in The Netherlands. It is highly likely that people think they can find their next job in The Netherlands the same way, and therefore they pick the box 'other Polish people'. Finally, there was 8% of the people who could get help with finding a contract from other Dutch people they know, and 28% did not believe that they would be able to find a new contract. This seems like a very high number for people who already have found a job in The Netherlands before, but this might have something to do with the economic crisis.

A role for personal characteristics and social networks in job opportunities is very much present. Firstly, the sex of people is an important determinant of finding a job or contract in both countries. Men appear to be more confident that they can find a job or contract than women. As a matter of fact, men had relative risk of believing they could find a job in Poland which was six times higher than that of women. Secondly, younger people also had more confidence in finding a job in Poland. The social network also proved to be important for job opportunities in both countries, although the workings were different for both countries. The people who had more than ten friends (strong ties) in Poland had a higher probability of believing that they could find a job in Poland than people with less than ten friends. In the Netherlands the weak ties proved to be significant; people with more than ten acquaintances in The Netherlands were likely to believe that they could get a new contract in The Netherlands.

5.4.3 Job and residential satisfaction

So far the other determinants have been somewhat materially directed, meaning that the money that is send home and jobs are things that can be counted. One can say: “I have money”, or, “I have a job and a contract”. Job and residential satisfaction are more in the state of mind; it can be either good or bad. One does not say: “I have a job satisfaction”, but rather, “I like my job”, or, “I don’t like my shabby apartment that is infested by rats”. Despite the

Figure 5.5: Job satisfaction



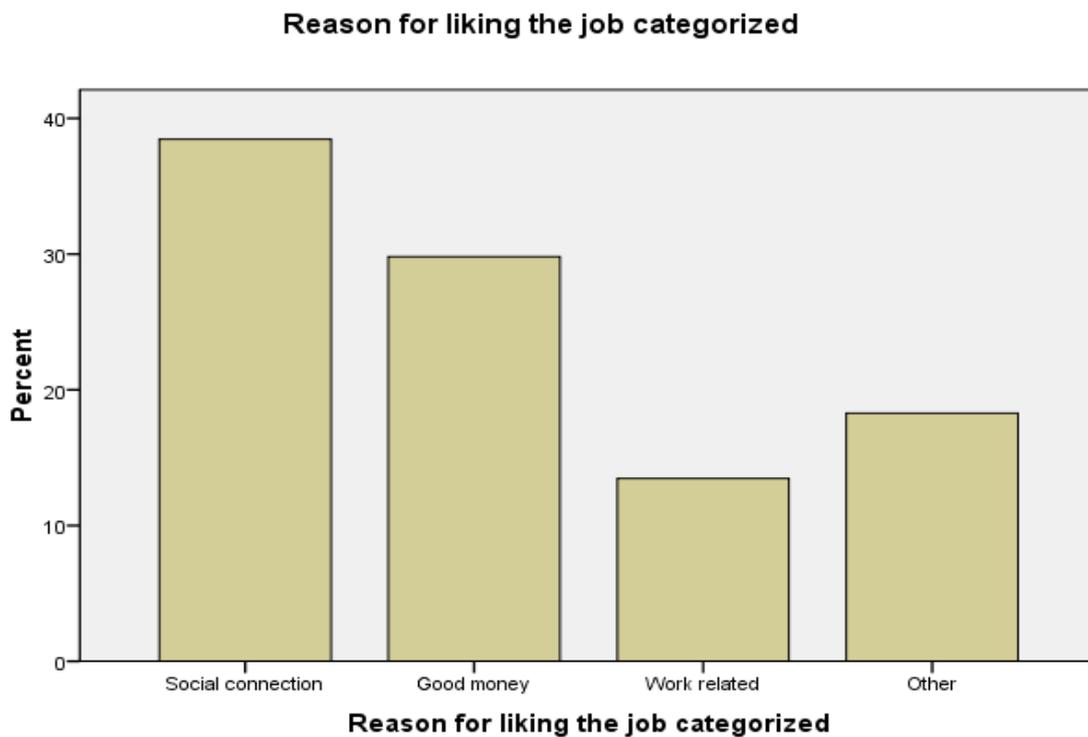
fact that these concepts are somewhat harder to grasp they have been tested in this study, because they can be influenced by some personal characteristics, but foremost by the social network. Furthermore, job and residential satisfaction could influence the migration intention. Now the results of the variable job satisfaction will be discussed.

To begin with, people were asked if they liked their job or not. Then there was a follow up question for each of the answers on the reason why they liked the job or not. Interestingly, only 10% of the respondents were not satisfied with the job they were doing. They had various reasons for this, but because their numbers are so small there is nothing useful to find here. The group who did like their job (90%) is more interesting. These people also had a large variety of reasons, which can be observed in figure 5.5.

It can be seen that for almost 30% of the respondents, money is the most important reason for liking their job. Because of the wage differences in The Netherlands and Poland this is an outcome that was in a way expected. However, on the left side of the money-bar there are four categories which are related to other people, because of this common social base these categories can be summed up. To the right of the money-bar two categories can be combined because they both relate to the activity done at the job.

If the bar chart is redone, we see a completely different picture. Now people see their social connection at work as being the paramount reason for being satisfied with their job. It can be seen that people who like their work because of the social connection differ from those who are more interested in the money that they make. On the one hand people with more than ten friends in The Netherlands have a relative risk to like the job because of the social connections which is more than two

Figure 5.6: Job satisfaction categorized



times as high as compared to people with less than ten friends in The Netherlands. On the other hand, people with children have a relative risk of liking the job which is four times higher than that of people without children. Moreover, people who remit for basic needs also have a higher relative risk of liking the job because of the money as compared to people who remit for different reasons. However, it could be seen that remitting for basic needs was related to having children as well, and the significance of remitting for basic needs in relation

to the reason of being satisfied with the job indeed disappears when having children or not is taken into account.

Most people also like where they stay in The Netherlands. In the sample 82% liked where they lived and 18% did not. No questions were asked on the reasons for liking or disliking the residence, but statements can be made about the different compositions of the two groups. People who have more than five close friends in The Netherlands have a higher relative risk of liking where they live than people with less than five friends. So, besides the importance of friends at work there is also the importance of friends at the place of residence. What also comes forward again in relation to residential satisfaction is the relevance of having children. People with children are more likely to be satisfied with where they live than people without children. When this is added to what has been found before on the influences of having children a certain pattern can be distinguished. People with children send money home more often, and for basic needs. They like their job because of the money. In line with these observations it can be said that their higher relative risk of being satisfied with the residence can be explained by stating that people with children are here to provide money for their offspring. Therefore it is possible that they do not care so much about their residence, as long as they can earn some money for their children.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter it could be seen how the sample was constructed with respect to personal characteristics, social networks and other determinants. What can be concluded is that the Polish workers can be divided into a group of people with many friends and a group of people with fewer friends. It was established that some personal characteristics determine the number of friends in both countries, but also that the size of the group of friends is influencing the other supposed determinants of the migration intention.

The group of people with fewer friends basically consists of older people who are married and have children. They seem to be more directed towards the family, which lowers the size of the groups of close friends in Poland as well as The Netherlands. Therefore the married people who are older and have children appear to be working in The Netherlands with a clear goal in mind. They remit more often because the money they send is used to use it for basic needs. Moreover, this clear goal makes them more satisfied with the situation in The Netherlands. They are generally happier on the job, because they make good money, and where they live is of less concern, as long as they can provide for the family.

Another group of people has more friends. These are mostly young and single people without children. This means that they are not attached to family life yet, and more free to do what they want. This results mostly in an outgoing spirit which leads to having more friends in The Netherlands and in Poland. And having more friends is an advantage over having fewer friends in the case of job opportunities in Poland, although most people state that they can find a job on their own in Poland. As for job opportunities the sex of a person proves to be important as well. Men are more confident that they can find a job in Poland and a new contract in The Netherlands. Furthermore, it is important to have a large share of acquaintances in The Netherlands in the case of finding a job here.

Another interesting fact that was found is that higher educated people have more Dutch friends than lower educated people. This is probably related to a more confident stance in life, in which the step to go out and meet Dutch people becomes lower. Higher educated people also have a better understanding of the Dutch language, but it is uncertain if this is due to having Dutch friends, or that they have more Dutch friends because they speak some Dutch. Furthermore, this chapter showed that most people in the sample come from the Western part of Poland and that having family in the Netherlands increases the probability of having come to The Netherlands to work permanently.

6. Social Networks and the Migration Intention

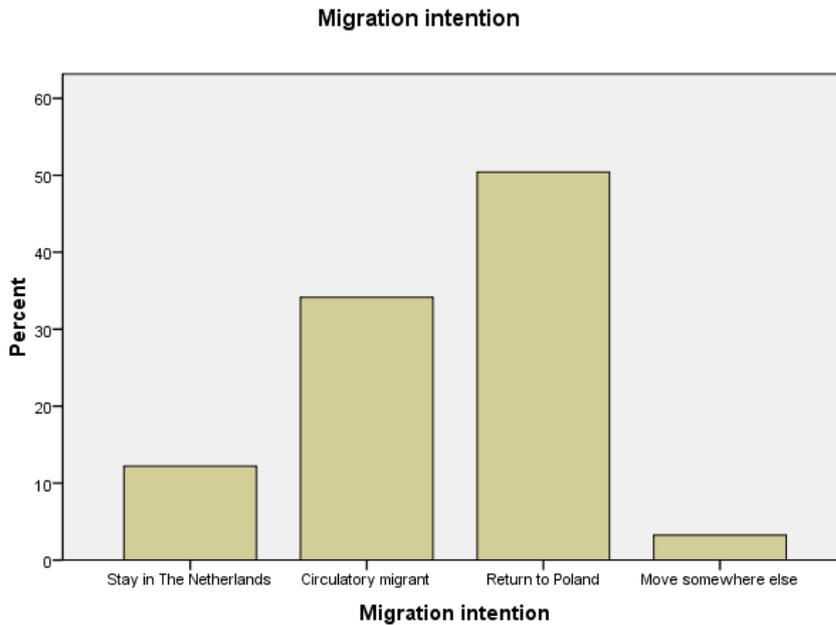
This final analytical chapter is concerned with everything that has to do with the migration intention of Polish workers in The Netherlands. In the previous chapter all the variables that could influence the migration intention were studied extensively. Now it will be seen how these variables actually affect the migration intention of Polish workers, and what the actual role of social networks is in this matter. In other words, the main research question of this study will be answered. In order to do this, the migration intentions as expressed by the respondents in the survey will be examined first. Since every possible intention was equipped with some follow-up questions these will be treated too. After it is known what the migration intentions are, the expected influences of the migration intention are up. The different groups of variables that were seen in the conceptual model form the basis for the analysis. This means that all the other framed sub-questions will be clarified as well. At the end of the chapter, all the groups will be taken together to come to a closing model including the influences that play a significant part in the migration intention of Polish workers.

6.1 Migration intention

In the survey the question on the migration intention contained four possible answers. These answers were constructed by using the theory of Bovenkerk (1974). The first possibility was ‘staying in The Netherlands’. The people who picked this option had no plans of ever going back to Poland, but wished to live and work the rest of their lives in The Netherlands. The second choice was ‘coming back to The Netherlands for a certain period every year’. This is the way in which the concept of circulatory migration was operationalized. These people basically live in both countries. They find living and working in The Netherlands to be satisfying, but they do not want to cut the ties with Poland. The third option ‘returning to Poland’ speaks for itself. Nevertheless it has to be noted that moving back to Poland does not have to happen immediately. The returnees might have good reasons to stay in The Netherlands for a few more years, for instance to achieve some goals they have set for themselves. To complete the picture a fourth possible answer was added to survey: ‘moving to another country’. These transient migrants were neither satisfied in The Netherlands, nor in Poland. This may sound as if these people are unsettled, but they might have good reasons for an intention like this. Some people for example just want to see as much of the world as possible. Figure 6.1 gives an overview of how often the different options were picked by the respondents.

It can be seen that slightly more than half (50.4%) of the respondents wants to return to Poland. The second most popular option was circulatory migration (34.1%). Then there were

Figure 6.1: Migration intention



the people who wanted to stay in The Netherlands (12.2%), and finally the transient migrants who wanted to move to another country (3.3%). This is already an interesting result, because there are actually just a few people who want to stay in The Netherlands. However,

the small numbers of this group (fifteen respondents), and also that of the transient migrants (four respondents), create a problem in the analysis. Uncertainties in the calculations can become very big and the analysis consequently useless. Therefore two choices have been made.

Firstly, the transient migrants will be completely omitted from the remainder of this research. The lack of people who wanted to move to another country is of course the main reason, but there was also no other group of migrants to which these people could reasonably be added. Secondly, the group of respondents who want to stay in The Netherlands will be added to the group of circulatory migrants. This has been done because in both cases these Polish workers keeps a connection to The Netherlands.

6.1.1 Staying in The Netherlands

Only one extra question accompanied the intention to stay in The Netherlands. This question was constructed to test if people in the social network influenced their migration intention directly. In table 6.1 it can be seen how often this was the case, and which part of the social network was the direct influence.

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes, my partner	8	57.1%
Yes, family or close friends in The Netherlands	1	7.1%
No	5	35.7%
Not answered	1	7.1%
Total	15	100%

Although only fifteen people had to answer this question there are still some interesting things to see. Most people saw their partner as having directly influencing their intention to stay. The question is where these partners live. Are the spouses urging the respondent to stay because they live here as well, or could there be intentions of the partner to come over to The Netherlands in the future? It turns out that most of the partners still live in Poland, and since they directly influence the migration intention it might well be that these partners are preparing a move to The Netherlands as well.

6.1.2 Circulatory migration

Three follow-up questions were constructed for circulatory migrants. There was again a question on the direct influence of the social network, and also questions on having a job in Poland and the plans with the money that was earned in The Netherlands. While the majority was directly influenced by the partner to stay in The Netherlands, the circulatory migrant acts mostly on his own. Half of the respondents said that no parts of the social network determined their migration intention. However, a quarter of the respondents were influenced by partners, another quarter by family and close friends. It seems that people who are married or have a partner are more influenced directly by the partner when they are between 31 and 40 as compared to being younger, but the numbers are too small to draw any solid conclusions.

Since the people who have picked this option are circulatory migrants it might as well be that they have a job in Poland. They would work one part of the year in The Netherlands, and another part of the year in Poland. The results of the survey showed however, that the large majority (88%) of the circulatory migrants does not have job in Poland. Four people were the bosses of their own business, and one person worked for somebody else in Poland. It appears therefore as if most of the circulatory migrants rely on the money that is earned in

The Netherlands. This can also be suggested when the next question on the plans with the money earned in The Netherlands is taken into account. The results of this question can be seen in table 6.2.

Quite some people have plans to build or buy a house or an apartment with the money they earn in The Netherlands. A few people want to start a business, follow education, or travel. The largest group is the people who want to do something else with the money. Of course there are many other nice things that can be done with money, but it could also be that the money is

	Frequency	Percentage
Build a house	5	12.2
Buy a house/apartment	6	14.6
Start a business	3	7.3
Education	3	7.3
Travel	1	2.4
Other	23	56.1
Total	41	100

badly needed, and nothing is left for anything else than basic needs. The discussion on the use of remittances showed that many people send money home for this reason. A link between these two variables could thus explain the large number of people that had other plans with the money they earn in The Netherlands. However, no significant relation between the two variables could be found. We also saw that children are a strong determinant of sending money home covering basic needs, but this does not explain the group of people who use the money earned in The Netherlands for other reasons either.

6.1.3 Return to Poland

For people who return to Poland some other questions were constructed, besides the question on direct influence. One of the other questions was on the reason of returning. The results of this question can be found in table 6.3.

Reason	Frequency	Percentage
Dislike the Netherlands	6	11.3
End of labor contract	2	3.8
Miss partner, family, or friends	19	35.8
Other	26	49.1
Total	53	100

Of course the reasons of returning can be very diverse, and it is impossible to capture them all in the survey. The group of people who had other reasons of wanting to return to Poland is therefore very large. Nonetheless, it can be seen that missing partner, family, or friends is often picked by the returnees as well. So, this is indeed a sign that the social network plays a part in the migration intention of Polish workers.

Sadly, the question on direct influence of the social network fell out of the survey during the translation without being discovered. Despite this error there are still some things that can be learned from this question. For one thing, all of the eighteen respondents that filled in the questions were influenced by some part of the social network. Most people by family and close friends in Poland (44%), but many also by family and friends in The Netherlands (39%), the rest was influenced by the partner (17%). The large percentage of people who were directly influenced by family and friends in The Netherlands are noteworthy, especially because most of these people had no family, or only a few friends in the Netherlands. However, it might be that it is not the family and friends that are actually present in the Netherlands that influence their intention to return, but the family and friends that are not present that play a role here. This idea is supported when the question on the reason of returning is taken into account as well. Namely, the majority of people who were directly influenced by family and close friends in The Netherlands were returning because they missed their family and friends.

The next question concerned the matter of time in returning to Poland. This question was in the survey the entire time, which resulted in a more workable set of data. In table 6.4 it can be seen what the answers were. Most of the people who want to return to Poland, intend

	Frequency	Percentage
Within 1 year	23	41.8
Within 3 years	18	32.7
Within 5 years	4	7.3
After 5 years	5	9.1
At retirement	5	9.1
Total	55	100

to do so within one year or within three years.

Only a quarter wants to stay longer than three years before moving back.

A significant difference can be found between the group of people who want to return within one

year and the group that wants to return after one year. One of these differences has to do with the duration that people are in the Netherlands. The people who have been in the Netherlands less than one year are also the ones that are most likely to return within one year. This could mean that if people feel that their move to The Netherlands has not been the right one, they find this out within one year and make plans to return. People who have been in The Netherlands for a longer time know what the situation in The Netherlands has to offer, and therefore they intend to stay longer as well. Their long-term plans are going to be executed before they return to Poland.

What these plans are can be seen from another variable that proves to be significant in relation the time of returning: children. People who have children have a relative risk of returning after one year which is five times higher than that of people who do not have children. This means that of the people who want to return, the ones with children generally

stay in The Netherlands for a longer time. The influence of having children has returned in this study several times already. Having children brings along many responsibilities, especially on the financial level. The plan of these fathers and mothers is thus to remit, and stay in The Netherlands for a longer time to provide for a secure future of their children in Poland.

6.2 Personal characteristics

Personal characteristics form the basis of every respondent. In chapter 5 a dissection of the variables that are seen as being personal characteristics in this study took place already. It could be seen what the personal characteristics actually were, and how they related to other variables that are believed to influence the migration intention. Here it will be seen if the people who have different migration intentions also have a different set of personal characteristics. An overview of the analysis based on binary logistic regression can be found in table 6.5. The table consists of several columns which all have their own meaning. This same setup of the tables will also be used in the other paragraphs of this chapter.

In the first two columns the variable name and its categories are listed. The Pearson chi-square column shows if the variable relates to migration intention on its own. For the variable sex the value 0.335 can for instance be observed. This is a value above 0.1, which means that there are no different shares of men and women within the groups of people who intend to stay or circulate and the group of people who intend to return. So, men are just as likely to return to Poland as to keep a connection to The Netherlands as women. Only when the number in Pearson chi-square column comes close to or below 0.1 there might be a significant difference between the categories of the variable.

It is nice to know that there is a relation between a certain variable and the migration intention, but it is not sufficient. It is crucial to find out which category influences the migration intention in what way. Moreover, certain variables are likely to influence each other, like age and marital status for instance. This is where the binary logistic regression comes into play, of which the results can be found in the final four columns. In the binary logistic regression the variables are entered into the equation at the same time. Would age indeed influence the influence of marital status, or the other way around, this would come forward. In the first of the remaining columns it can be seen if the category with the number is different from the reference (REF) category. Again, values close to or below 0.1 are signs that there is indeed something going on. The second column labelled relative risk shows the direction of the variable. Values below one point towards a category in which the people are

more likely to keep a connection to The Netherlands as compared to the other variable. For example, if the relative risk of the male category would contain a figure which is below one, men would be more likely to have the intention to stay in The Netherlands as compared to women. If the relative risk would be higher than one, it works the other way around; men would then be

Table 6.5: Personal characteristics and migration intentions						
Variable	Category	Pearson chi-square	Migration Intention	Relative Risk of 'returning' over 'staying or circulating' Exp (b)	Backward elimination	Relative Risk
Sex		0.335			E	
	Male Female		0.183 REF	N/S		
Age		0.396			E	
	18-30 30+		0.757 REF	N/S		
Education		0.980			E	
	Up to 12 years Over 12 years		0.160 REF	N/S		
Job qualification		0.802			E	
	Education > Job Education = Job Education < Job		0.256 0.367 REF	N/S N/S		
Province		0.478			E	
<i>Unemployment level September 2008</i>	Below 10% Above 10%		0.662 REF	N/S		
Language		0.283			E	
	No Dutch Poor Dutch or better		REF 0.436	N/S		
Type of Job		0.341				
	Agriculture Construction Manufacturing		0.084* 0.078* REF	0.206 0.276	0.089* 0.064*	0.290 0.348
Dwelling		0.560			E	
<i>In Poland</i>	Bought Other		0.896 REF	N/S		
Motivation		0.028**				
	Work temporarily Work permanently Other		REF 0.031** 0.312	0.137 N/S	0.011** 0.250	0.140 N/S
Duration		0.717			E	
<i>In The Netherlands</i>	Up to 1 year 1 year and over		0.474 REF	N/S		
Contract Status		0.383			E	
	No contract Up to 6 months 6 to 12 months 1 year or permanent		REF 0.591 0.831 0.711	N/S N/S N/S		
<i>Goodness of Fit</i>	Nagelkerke R Square		0.201		0.079	

more likely to return to Poland as compared to women. The last two columns also show binary logistic regression. However, the technique of backward conditional elimination is used. Here all the variables are first compared together, but every step one variable which proves not be significant is removed from the equation. In the end only the variables that are

significant remain. This column is added because removing variables can change the significance of other variables.

Now that it is known how the tables work, we can take a look at the results. As for personal characteristics that influence the migration intention only two are significant: motivation and type of job. People who came to The Netherlands with the reason of working permanently are less likely to have the intention to return to Poland as compared to people who came to The Netherlands to work temporarily. This result does not seem very surprising, but it shows that intentions that Polish workers had when they came to The Netherlands remain valid. It has also been tested if the duration that people have been in The Netherlands is of any influence in this matter, in order to see if initial intentions change over time, but this is not the case.

The type of job also proved to be a significant variable in determining the migration intention. People who work in agriculture and construction have a lower relative risk of intending to return to Poland than people who work in manufacturing. It could be that agriculture and construction are jobs that people really choose to do, instead of factory work which is usually a last resort. Therefore it could be that the people in agriculture and construction are more satisfied in their jobs, and consequently happier in The Netherlands. When the relation between these two variables is investigated, we can indeed see a pattern. Only one person that is dissatisfied at the job works in the categories agriculture or construction. The remaining eleven respondents that dislike the job work in the manufacturing sector. This could mean that job satisfaction is the dominant variable here, but not enough data was available to draw conclusions. The topic of job satisfaction will be further covered at a later stage.

Besides the variables that prove to be significant, there are also variables that were at first expected to be significant but turned out not to be. The provinces divided in regions of unemployment levels is one of these. It was expected that people would return sooner to places where the unemployment level was below 10%, because they would have more chances on the labour market. However, no significant relation was found. The status of the contract was also a variable that was believed to influence the migration intention. People without a contract should have more incentives to return to Poland than people with a permanent contract, who can be expected to have more incentives to stay in The Netherlands. Again, no relation was found. This means that the status of the labour contract in The Netherlands is of no concern to the Polish workers. This is puzzling, because the motivation of most people to come to The Netherlands was to work. It seems however, that having a job

is maybe the reason to come to The Netherlands, but not having a job is not necessarily a reason to leave.

6.3 Social network

Social networks could be one of these reasons to leave. Having just a few friends in The Netherlands might make a person feel lonely here, while having many friends could entice a person to stay. Especially when Dutch people are known the ties to the Dutch society become stronger which could make it harder to move back to Poland. This is how the Dutch social network could work, but there is also a Polish social network that could play a role. A person that misses his or her partner is an example of this. It will now be seen which parts of the social networks are important in the migration intention of Polish workers.

6.3.1 The Netherlands

It can be observed in table 6.6 if there is indeed a push or pull-function of family, friends and acquaintances in The Netherlands. When the variables are considered by separately two of them show a significant Pearson chi-square statistic. The people who have family in The Netherlands differ from those who do not have family in The Netherlands. And people who have Dutch acquaintances differ from people who do not have Dutch acquaintances.

Table 6.6: The Dutch social network and migration intentions

Variable	Category	Pearson chi-square	Migration Intention	Relative Risk	Backward elimination	Relative Risk
Family NL		0.016**				
	Yes No		0.079* REF	0.456	0.045**	0.434
Friends in NL		0.296			E	
	5 or less More than 5		0.855 REF	N/S		
Dutch friends in NL		0.482			E	
	Yes No		0.657 REF	N/S		
Acquaintances in NL		0.273			E	
	20 or less More than 20		0.343 REF	N/S		
Dutch Acquaintances		0.097*			E	
	Yes No		0.271 REF	N/S		
<i>Goodness of fit</i>	Nagelkerke R Square		0.093		0.049	

When the variables are considered together the significance of having Dutch acquaintances disappears. So, migration intentions for people with Dutch acquaintances and people without do not differ. Having family in The Netherlands does turn out to be a significant value. This also comes forward in the backward elimination, where the significance level of having family in The Netherlands drops below 5%, and thus becomes more significant. It turns out

that people who have family in the Netherlands have a lower relative risk of returning to Poland as compared to people who do not have family in The Netherlands. This is in line with what was found in the previous chapter on the relation between the motivation of a person and the presence of family in The Netherlands.

Family thus seems to be important part of the social network for many Polish people in relation to the migration intention, while having friends in The Netherlands is less significant. People who have many friends in The Netherlands, or have Dutch friends, do not have significantly different migration intentions than people who have just a few friends or no Dutch friends at all. Acquaintances are also not a reason to keep a connection with The Netherlands by staying in the country or coming back for a certain period every year.

6.3.2 Poland

People can also be enticed to return to Poland by their social network over there. In table 6.7 an overview of the variables that are included in the Polish social network and the relation to the migration intention can be seen. Only people who have a different marital status have a different migration intention. The distinction here is made between people who do not have a partner (single, divorced, and widowed) and people who do have a partner (married or not). It turns out that people who do not have a partner have a lower relative risk of returning to Poland than people who do have a partner. In other words, single people are more likely to keep a connection to The Netherlands.

Variable	Category	Pearson chi-square	Migration Intention	Relative Risk	Backward elimination	Relative Risk
Total family		0.117			E	
	25 or less More than 25		0.259 REF	N/S		
Marital Status		0.035**				
	Single/Divorced/ Widowed Partner/Married		0.013** REF	0.309	0.010**	0.317
Children		0.837			E	
	Yes No		0.917 REF	N/S		
Friends in Poland		0.897			E	
	10 or less More than 10		0.977 REF	N/S		
<i>Goodness of fit</i>	Nagelkerke R Square		0.100		0.081	

Although children proved to important determinants for the use of remittances, residential satisfaction, and the time of returning, there is no influence on the actual migration intention. The size of the total family is also not a dividing factor. People with smaller families do not differ from those with large families. Furthermore, the number of friends in Poland is an

insignificant variable. People with less than ten friends in Poland are just as likely to stay in The Netherlands or return to Poland as people with more than ten friends in Poland. This can be explained by what was found before: people with more friends in Poland, also have more friends in The Netherlands. So, if there would be a pull factor of having many friends in Poland, there would also be an equal pull factor of having many friends in The Netherlands, which would neutralize the possible effect.

6.4 Other determinants

The other determinants were expected to influence the migration intention directly. Especially the job and contract opportunities in both countries were thought to be important. In table 6.8 the results of the analysis on how the other determinants influence the migration intention are listed. When the variables are projected upon the migration intention on their own, none of the variables turn out to be significant. There is no difference between people who are divided by means of remittances, job opportunities in Poland, contract opportunities in The Netherlands, or residential satisfaction when they are considered separately. Also job satisfaction is not a reason to stay or return. This undermines the idea of job satisfaction being a more dominant variable than type of job.

When the variables are taken together in a binary logistic regression, job satisfaction does turn out to be influencing the migration intention. When the variables are eliminated backwards two categories of people are more likely to keep a connection with The

Table 6.8: Other determinants and migration intentions

Variable	Category	Pearson chi-square	Migration Intention	Relative Risk	Backward elimination	Relative Risk
Remittances		0.691			E	
	Yes, basic needs		0.390	N/S		
	Yes, other reasons		0.908	N/S		
	Does not remit		REF			
Job Opportunity		0.989			E	
<i>In Poland</i>	Yes		0.951	N/S		
	No		REF			
Contract Opportunity		0.440			E	
<i>In The Netherlands</i>	Yes		0.695	N/S		
	No		REF			
Job satisfaction		0.758				
	Yes, social reason		0.091*	0.132	0.066*	0.126
	Yes, good money		0.181	N/S	0.168	N/S
	Yes, work or otherwise related		0.126	N/S	0.097*	0.153
	Does not like job		REF			
Residential satisfaction		0.282			E	
	Yes		0.178	N/S		
	No		REF			
<i>Goodness of fit</i>	Nagelkerke R Square		0.107		0.069	

Netherlands than people who are not satisfied at the job. People who are satisfied at the job because they work with their partners, family, or friends have a relative risk of intending to return to Poland which is over eight times lower than people who do not like their job. The relative risk of people who simply like their job because of what they do have to do at work, or have another reason to be satisfied at the job, have a relative risk of intending to return Poland which is almost seven times lower than that of people who do not like their job. No relation can be established between people who like their job because of the money and the migration intention, but the significance level approaches the 10%-level.

The other variables did not have a relation with the migration intention. This seems like disappointing result, but it is not. It is interesting to see that the variables that were thought be significant determinants of the migration intention prove to be insignificant. For each of these variables explanations of their insignificance can be brought to bear. People who did not send remittances were expected to have a weaker relation with Poland, so there chances on intending to return to Poland would also be smaller. However, people can also decide to stay in The Netherlands in order to prolong their ability to send money home. In this case the effect on migration gets lost.

Job and contract opportunities require some further investigation. Just as with friends in both countries there is some sort of competition. People work either in The Netherlands or in Poland. So, if a person has a job in The Netherlands there is no need for a job in Poland, although he or she might have a positive feeling about getting one there. Likewise, if a person is not confident in getting a job in The Netherlands, there might be no reason to return to Poland, because he or she might think that there is no chance on a job there either. There is however no interaction between these two variables except for the fact that people who are confident to find a job in The Netherlands are also confident to find one in Poland. So, it has to be concluded that these variables simply do not affect the migration intention. People who do not believe to find a new contract in The Netherlands are probably hoping their current contract will be there for the moment. People who can find a contract in Poland most likely choose the better wages in The Netherlands as being more important. The fact that people do not like their residence also did not prove to be a significant determinant of the migration intention.

6.5 Final model of migration intention

To come to a conclusive model on the migration intention of Polish workers in The Netherlands many, but not all, variables have been used in the equation. The variables that

were put in the equation were picked on the basis that they were observed to be close to or below a significance level of 10 percent. Moreover, it was made certain that some variables from each of the groups were in. In table 6.9 it can be observed which variables were in the equation and if they were influencing the migration intention.

The motivation of a person when coming to The Netherlands turns out to be a significant determinant of the migration intention when all these variables are taken into account. However, it is only when a person comes to The Netherlands with the intention to work permanently that there is a significant relation with the migration intention. In technical terms

Variable	Category	Migration Intention	Relative Risk	Backward elimination	Relative Risk
Sex				E	
	Male	0.563	N/S		
	Female	REF			
Education				E	
	Up to 12 years	0.895	N/S		
	Over 12 years	REF			
Type of job					
	Agriculture	0.372	N/S	0.116	N/S
	Construction	0.248	N/S	0.068*	0.371
	Manufacturing	REF			
Motivation				E	
	Work Temporarily	REF			
	Work Permanently	0.029**	0.115	0.016**	0.121
	Other	0.418	N/S	0.479	N/S
Family in The Netherlands				E	
	Yes	0.186	N/S		
	No	REF			
Dutch acquaintances				E	
	Yes	0.606	N/S		
	No	REF			
Total Family				E	
	0-25	0.283	N/S		
	25+	REF			
Marital Status					
	Single/Divorced/Widowed	0.057*	0.353	0.038**	0.341
	Partner/Married	REF			
Job Satisfaction				E	
	Yes, social connection	0.120	N/S		
	Yes, good money	0.482	N/S		
	Yes, work or otherwise related	0.330	N/S		
	Does not like job	REF			
Residential Satisfaction				E	
	Yes	0.209	N/S		
	No	REF			
<i>Goodness of fit</i>	Nagelkerke R Square	0.303		0.221	

the relative risk of returning to Poland is almost 90% lower for a person that came to The Netherlands to work permanently as compared to someone who came to work temporarily. People who have another reason to come to The Netherlands do not differ in their intended migration behaviour from those who came to work temporarily. This result is not extremely

surprising, but as stated before it does show that people who come to The Netherlands with a certain plan are likely to stick to this plan, proving again the models of planned behaviour (De Jong, 2000; Ajzen, 2006).

Another significant difference between people who intend to keep a connection to The Netherlands and people who want to return to Poland can be found in the marital status. People without a partner are more likely to either stay in The Netherlands or come to The Netherlands for a certain period every year than people who do have a partner. This can be explained by the fact that almost all partners still live in Poland. We have seen that some of them are expected to come to The Netherlands at some time in the future, but most partners probably never want to leave Poland. This fact is reflected in the migration intentions of the respondent. Their partner is in Poland, so at some time, they will want to go back.

Finally there is a significance of the type of job at the 10%-level. People who work in construction are more likely to stay in The Netherlands than those who work in manufacturing. This was already related to the fact that working in construction or agriculture is a more specific choice than working in the manufacturing sector. Furthermore, job satisfaction because of the social connections comes close to being a significant determinant of the migration intention. The other variables lose their significance when they are considered together in the way it has been done in table 6.9, but does this mean we can simply discard them? Of course not, because most of the variables in table 6.9 have shown to be significant determinants of the migration intention when combined with different sets of variables. Moreover, the fact that the migration had to be recoded into just two categories is a limitation of this research. The distinction between people with the intention to stay in The Netherlands and the ones that want to work in The Netherlands for a certain period is therefore lost. This means that the variables that lose their significance in the final model of table 6.9 could well become significant again when this distinction is made. Unfortunately the data of this research did not provide for such a distinction.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

The main goal of this research was to investigate the role of social networks in the migration intentions of Polish manual labour migrants in The Netherlands. In the conceptual model it could be seen that social networks cannot be considered by themselves. They stand between an individual and its migration intention. Therefore a large variety of variables was initially thought to be playing a significant role in the migration intention, but many of these variables proved to be insignificant in the end. However, a relation that is not found is also a result.

7.1 Conclusions

The first concern of this research was to determine the size, shape, and direction of the social networks of Polish workers in The Netherlands. It was observed that there were a few personal characteristics that determine what the social networks looked like. Young people who were single and did not have children yet, had a fair share of friends in The Netherlands—also of Dutch descent—and in Poland. Older people who had a partner and children had smaller social networks. These people appeared to have a more specific reason of coming to work in The Netherlands. They liked their job mainly because of the money they made, and remitted this money to people who used it for basic needs. Therefore they seemed to be more directed towards their nuclear family.

Furthermore it was observed that people who had family in The Netherlands had a higher probability of having come to The Netherlands with the idea to work here permanently. The good experiences of family members might thus have instigated their act of migration. People with larger social networks were also seen to be more confident in believing to find employment in both countries. However, close friends were important for jobs in Poland, while acquaintances influenced job opportunities in The Netherlands.

The migration intention of the Polish workers in The Netherlands was the next object of study. It was seen that only a tenth of the people in the sample wanted to stay in The Netherlands. All the other respondents wanted to return to Poland, or come to The Netherlands only for a certain period every year. The people who planned to return to Poland had different time frames attached to this intention, and the time that a person had spent in The Netherlands proved to create a significant difference between those who wanted to return within one year and those who wanted to return after one year. Moreover, a large share of the people who wanted to return within one year gave up the reason of missing family and friends. This could not be related to the size or shape of the social network in Poland, but it was shown that people feel unhappy in The Netherlands because of the lack of a social

network in The Netherlands. Furthermore, the people that did stay often had children, which relates again to the fact that Polish parents come to The Netherlands to provide their children with a decent future.

The intention to return to Poland or to keep a connection to The Netherlands in one way or another was significantly determined by the motivation of coming. People who had come here to work permanently were more likely to keep a connection to The Netherlands than the ones that had come to work temporarily. This is in line with the Theory of Planned Behaviour which states that intentions are a predictor of behaviour. This also supports this research which focuses on intentions, but is of course interested in what the actual migration behaviour is going to be. Marital status was also shown to be an explaining factor of the migration intention. People with a partner were more likely to return to Poland permanently as compared to single people. Having a partner is thus a strong social tie, which can indeed be seen as a 'pulling' factor from Poland.

In an earlier stage of the analysis job satisfaction was also seen to have a significant relation with the migration intention. This seems like it has nothing to do with social networks. However, the people who liked their job because of the social connections at work were shown to be less likely to return to Poland than people who did not like their job. This significant difference could not be proven for people who liked their job because of the money and people who did not like their job. So, it could well be that making good money at a job in The Netherlands is not a reason for Polish people to continue working here. It is the social network that makes the job as a whole an important factor in the choice of migration intention.

It was expected that the migration intention would be a consideration between the situations and opportunities in both the Netherlands and Poland. Such a consideration does not always turn in out in one option being better than another, which became clear from the results. It was for instance shown that people who have many close friends in The Netherlands also have many close friends in Poland. In that case a person would not base his or her choice of migration intention on friends, because there are plenty of them in both countries. The same goes for employment opportunities in both countries. A person who is confident to find a job in one country is also confident to find one in the other.

In conclusion it can be said that the social networks of Polish workers in The Netherlands are important in all kinds of respects. Larger social networks help people feel at ease in The Netherlands and at work. Moreover, it increases the belief in finding a job here. Stronger social ties in The Netherlands even decrease the likeliness to return to Poland. Of the

Polish social network the spouse and children make people more determined in their task in The Netherlands. Therefore they stay in The Netherlands for a longer time than single and childless people, but they eventually return to be with the family in Poland.

7.2 Recommendations for further research

This research has shown that the role of social networks in the migration intention of Polish workers in The Netherlands is extensive. Many significant relations between variables were found, and conclusions were drawn. However, despite the significant relations that were found, there is a limitation to the type of research that has been done. People who are married, have children, and send money home for basic needs are expected to have a certain family strategy. Nonetheless, if this is really the case remains rather questionably, because they have not said this themselves. Therefore this study can function as a starting point of a few qualitative studies, in which the workings of certain parts of the social networks are investigated. Below some of these topics are written down.

- In relation to the family strategy the following research question can be posed:
 - How do Polish workers in The Netherlands who have a wife and children in Poland deal with this situation?
- People with family in the Netherlands are more likely to keep a future connection to this country, but:
 - What is the exact function of having family in The Netherlands?
- A significant share of people who has been here for a short time wants to return on a short notice as well, because they miss family and friends:
 - Why do they want to leave so soon?
 - What is missed about the family and friends in Poland?
- Finally, this research used a cross-sectional approach. It shows situations, but not processes. It is therefore recommended that a longitudinal study will be set up which is more focussed on the integration of a Polish worker in The Netherlands in which the focus is still on the social network. It can then be seen if the development of a social network also changes the migration intention.

Recommendations for the development of policies are harder to make, for the basics of the free movement of workers are solidly fixed in European treaties. Once again, Polish workers are free to come to The Netherlands to work any time they wish to do so. The question is thus

to what extent the Dutch government wants to make use of the Polish labour potential. If the idea is to leave the Polish workers in the low-wage jobs doing essential manual labour, it can be recommended to let the labour market deal with Polish labour migration itself. In that way the influx of Polish people will be largely determined by the supply and demand of employees in both countries. However, if the Dutch government would really like to develop the Polish labour potential it should construct policies that are concerned with the integration and social mobility of these people. Two aspects that deal with integration and social mobility were shown to have an influence on the migration intention.

First of all it could be seen that people often liked their job because of the social connections at the job. These social connections can be developed by improving the Dutch language skills of Polish workers. Secondly, the type of job was an important determinant of the job satisfaction, but also a direct influence on the migration intention. People with more specific jobs were more likely to keep a connection to The Netherlands. In this respect language can also play an important part, because the Polish potential could be utilized more properly if the workers would be more qualified to perform higher wage jobs. The recommendation to the Dutch government is therefore to start a Dutch language program for Polish workers in The Netherlands. This does not have to be an obligatory course, for it could be seen that many Polish workers do not have the intention to stay in The Netherlands. An optional Dutch language course, which is affordable to Polish workers, is therefore what is desired.

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Appendix A: The Survey in English

Dear respondent,

First of all I would like to thank you for participating in this survey. The purpose of this survey is to find out what the role of family and friends is in your future decision of where you will live. I ask you kindly to fill in the questions posed below. Please read the questions and the answers carefully before you give an answer. If more answers apply to you, please fill in the one that is most important to you. It should be pointed out that this survey is completely anonymous and confidential. However, if you wish to know more about the results of this research you can leave your email address at the end of the survey. Your email address will only be used for the purpose of sending you the results.

1. Are you a male or a female?
 Male Female
2. What is your age?
3. How many years of education did you complete?
 0 to 6 years 10 to 12 years
 7 to 9 years More than 12 years
4. Where you educated for the job you are working on at the moment?
 Yes No, I am working a worse job than I was educated for
 No, I am working a better job than I was educated for
5. What is your voivodeship of birth?
 Greater Poland Opole
 Kuyavian-Pomeranian Podlaskie
 Lesser Poland Pomerian
 Lodz Silesian
 Lower Silesian Subcarpathian
 Lublin Swietokrzyskie
 Lubusz Warmian-Masurian
 Masovian West Pomeranian
6. Where did you live most of your life in Poland?
 In the city On the countryside
7. What is your marital status?
 I am single (*Go to question 9*) I am divorced/widowed (*Go to question 10*)
 I have a partner (not married)
 I am married
8. Where is your partner from?
 Poland Another country
 The Netherlands

9. Where does your partner live?
- In the Netherlands
 - In Poland
 - Another country
10. Do you have children?
- Yes
 - No (*Go to question 13*)
11. Where do your children live?
- In The Netherlands
 - In Poland
 - Another country
12. Where do you want your children to grow up?
- In The Netherlands
 - In Poland
 - Another country
13. Do you have a house/apartment in Poland?
- Yes, I have bought one
 - Yes, I rent one
 - No
 - In Poland I live with my parents
14. What kind of job do you do?
- Agriculture
 - Construction
 - Cleaning
 - Other
15. How long have you been in The Netherlands since the last time you came?
- Less than 3 months
 - 3 months to 1 year
 - More than 1 year
 - More than 3 years
16. What was your main reason to come to The Netherlands?
- To work here for a certain period
 - To work and live here permanently
 - To reunite with my partner/children
 - Adventure
 - Other
17. How is your Dutch?
- I do not speak it at all
 - I speak it poorly
 - I speak it quite well
 - I speak it like Polish
18. How many family members (parents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins) do you approximately have?
- 0 to 10
 - 11 to 25
 - 26 to 50
 - More than 50
19. Approximately how many family members live in The Netherlands?
- None
 - 1 to 25%
 - 26 to 50%
 - More than 50%
20. Approximately how many family members live somewhere else than The Netherlands or Poland?
- None
 - 1 to 25%
 - 26 to 50%
 - More than 50%

21. How many close friends outside your family do you have in The Netherlands?
- None
 - Up to 5 close friends
 - Up to 10 close friends
 - More than 10 close friends
22. Approximately how many of your close friends in The Netherlands are Dutch?
- None
 - 1 to 25%
 - 26 to 50%
 - More than 50%
23. How many close friends outside your family do you have in Poland?
- None
 - Up to 10 close friends
 - Up to 20 close friends
 - More than 20 close friends
24. How many people outside your family and circle of close friends do you know approximately in The Netherlands?
- 0 to 5
 - 6 to 10
 - 11 to 20
 - More than 20
25. Approximately how many of these people are Dutch?
- None
 - 1 to 25%
 - 26 to 50%
 - More than 50 %
26. Do you send money back to people that you know in Poland?
- Yes, to my partner
 - Yes, to family or close friends
 - Yes, to other people that I know
 - No (*skip question 27*)
27. What is the money that you send back mainly used for?
- Savings
 - Investments in housing or business
 - Basic needs
 - Other
28. Do you think you could find a job in Poland, and if so are that people that can help you to find the job?
- Yes, but I will find it on my own
 - Yes, my partner can help me
 - Yes, family can help me
 - Yes, close friends can help me
 - Yes, other people can help me
 - No
29. Do you have a labor contract in The Netherlands?
- Yes
 - No (*Skip question 30*)
30. What is the status of your labor contract?
- It will expire within 3 months
 - It will expire within 6 months
 - It will expire within 1 year
 - It will expire in more than 1 year
 - It is a permanent contract
31. If you would be out of a labor contract, are there people in The Netherlands that could help you to get a new labor contract here?
- Yes, my partner
 - Yes, close friends/family
 - Yes, close Dutch friends
 - Yes, other Polish people that I know
 - Yes, other Dutch people that I know
 - No
32. Do you like your job in The Netherlands?
- Yes (*skip question 34*)
 - No (*skip question 33*)

33. Why do you like your job?

- I work together with my partner
- I work together with close friends/family from Poland
- I work together with close friends from The Netherlands
- I like my colleagues
- I get paid well
- It is an easy job
- I like what I have to do at my job
- Other

34. Why don't you like your job?

- I don't know anyone at work
- I don't get paid enough
- It is hard work
- I don't like my boss
- Other

35. Do you like where you live in The Netherlands?

- Yes
- No

36. What are your future migration plans?

- I intend to stay in The Netherlands permanently (*go to question 37*)
- I intend to come back to The Netherlands for a certain period every year (*go to question 38*)
- I intend to move back to Poland (*go to question 41*)
- I intend to move to another country (*go to question 45*)

37. Do people that you know affect your intention to stay in The Netherlands?

- Yes, my partner
- Yes, family/close friends in The Netherlands
- Yes, family/close friends in Poland
- No

You have come to the end of the survey. Please read the final instructions on the bottom of the next page

38. Do people that you know affect your intention to come to The Netherlands for a certain period every year?

- Yes, my partner
- Yes, family/close friends in Poland
- No

39. Do you have a job in Poland too?

- Yes, I work for a boss
- Yes, I have my own business
- No

40. What are your plans with the money you will earn in The Netherlands every year?

- Build a house
- Buy a house/apartment
- Start a business
- Education
- Traveling
- Other

You have come to the end of the survey. Please read the final instructions at the bottom of the next page

41. Do people that you know affect your intention to move back to Poland?

- Yes, my partner
- Yes, family/close friends in Poland
- No

42. When do you plan to return to Poland? If the period of moving coincides with the time that you will retire, please check the last box.

- Within 1 year
- Within 3 years
- Within 5 years
- After 5 years from now
- When I retire from work (skip question 41 and 42)

43. Why do you want to return to Poland?

- I don't like The Netherlands
- My labor contract ends
- I miss my partner/family/friends
- Other

44. What do you plan to do when you get back to Poland?

- Start own business
- Work for a boss
- Other

You have come to the end of the survey. Please read the final instructions at the bottom

45. Do people that you know affect your intention to move to another country?

- Yes, my partner
- Yes, family/close friends in Poland
- Yes, other people I know in Poland
- No

46. When do you plan to move to another country? If the period of moving coincides with the time that you will retire, please check the last box.

- Within 1 year
- Within 3 years
- Within 5 years
- After 5 years from now
- When I retire from work

47. What is the main reason to move to another country?

- I can get a job there
- I want to travel
- My partner is there
- Family/close friends are there
- Other

Final instructions:

This is the end of the survey. Thank you very much for filling it in! If you wish to stay posted on the results of this research please fill out your email address below (the address will be kept completely confidential).

Appendix B: The Survey in Polish

Szanowni Państwo,

Bardzo dziękuję za udział w mojej ankiecie. Jej celem jest zbadanie roli, jaką odgrywają dla Państwa rodzina i przyjaciele w kontekście przyszłej decyzji o miejscu zamieszkania. W związku z tym zwracam się do Państwa z uprzejmą prośbą o udzielenie odpowiedzi na poniższe pytania. Proszę uważnie przeczytać odpowiedzi. Jeżeli więcej niż jedna odpowiedź jest prawdziwa proszę o zaznaczenie najbardziej dla Państwa istotnej. Jednocześnie zapewniam Państwa, iż niniejsza ankieta ma anonimowy charakter, a wyniki zostaną wykorzystane jedynie dla prywatnych celów naukowych. Jeżeli życzą sobie Państwo otrzymać informacje na temat wyników proszę o podanie adresu E-mail na końcu formularza. Zostanie on wykorzystany jedynie do przekazania Państwu wspomnianych wyżej wyników.

1. Jaka jest Pani/Pana płeć?

- Mężczyzna Kobieta

2. Jaki jest Pani/Pana wiek?

3. Ile lat edukacji ukończył/a Pani/Pan?

- Od 0 do 6 lat Od 10 do 12 lat
 Od 7 do 9 lat Powyżej 12 lat

4. Czy wykonuje Pani/Pan zawód zgodny z Pani/Pana wykształceniem?

- Tak Nie, wykonuję zawód na niższym poziomie niż moje wykształcenie
 Nie, wykonuję lepszy zawód

5. W jakim województwie urodził/a się Pani/Pan?

- Wielkopolskim Opolskim
 Kujawsko-Pomorskim Podlaskim
 Małopolskim Pomorskim
 Łódzkim Śląskim
 Dolnośląskim Podkarpackim
 Lubelskim Świętokrzyskim
 Lubuskim Warmińsko-Mazurskim
 Mazowieckim Zachodnio-Pomorskim

6. Gdzie spędził/a Pani/Pan większość swojego życia w Polsce?

- W mieście Na wsi

7. Jaki jest Pani/Pana stan cywilny?

- Samotny (*Proszę przejść do pytania 9*) Zameżna/Zonaty
 W związku Rozwiedziona/y, Wdowa/Wdowiec (*Proszę przejść do pytania 10*)

8. Skąd pochodzi Pani/Pana partner?

- Z Polski Z innego kraju
 Z Holandii

9. Gdzie mieszka Pani/Pana partner?

- W Holandii
- W Polsce
- W innym kraju

10. Czy ma Pani/Pan dzieci?

- Tak
- Nie (*Proszę przejść do pytania 13*)

11. Gdzie mieszkają Pani/Pana dzieci?

- W Holandii
- W Polsce
- W innym kraju

12. Gdzie chciałby/aby Pani/Pan żeby dorastały Pani/Pana dzieci?

- W Holandii
- W Polsce
- W innym kraju

13. Czy posiada Pani/Pan dom/mieszkanie w Polsce?

- Tak, posiadam dom/mieszkanie
- Tak, wynajmuję dom/mieszkanie
- Nie, nie posiadam domu/mieszkania
- Mieszkam z rodzicami

14. Jaki zawód Pani/Pan wykonuje?

- Pracuję w sektorze rolniczym
- Pracuję w sektorze budowlanym
- Sprzątanie
- Inny

15. Jak długo obecnie przebywa Pani/Pan w Holandii?

- Krócej niż 3 miesiące
- Od 3 miesięcy do roku
- Ponad rok
- Ponad 3 lata

16. Jaka była dla Pani/Pana główna przyczyna przyjazdu do Holandii?

- Podjęcie tymczasowej pracy
- Podjęcie stałej pracy i chęć zostania w Holandii
- Dołączenie do partnera/dzieci
- Przygoda
- Inna

17. W jakim stopniu jest Pani/Pan w stanie porozumieć się po holendersku?

- Nie mówię po holendersku
- Na poziomie podstawowym
- Na poziomie komunikatywnym
- Na poziomie zaawansowanym (porównywalnym z językiem Polskim)

18. Ilu członków rodziny posiada Pani/Pan (rodzice, bracia, siostry, wujowie, ciotki, kuzynostwo)?

- Od 0 do 10
- Od 11 do 25
- Od 26 do 50
- Ponad 50

19. Ilu przeciętnie członków Pani/Pana rodziny mieszka obecnie w Holandii?

- Żaden z członków mojej rodziny nie mieszka w Holandii
- Od 1 do 25%
- Od 26 do 50%
- Ponad 50%

20. Ilu przeciętnie członków Pani/Pana rodziny mieszka obecnie w kraju innym niż Polska lub Holandia?

- Żaden z członków mojej rodziny nie mieszka poza Polską lub Holandią
- Od 1 do 25%
- Od 26 do 50%
- Ponad 50%

21. Ilu bliskich przyjaciół spoza rodziny posiada Pani/Pan w Holandii?
- Nie mam przyjaciół w Holandii
 - Do 5
 - Do 10
 - Ponad 10
22. Jaki przeciętnie procent z tych osób jest pochodzenia holenderskiego?
- 0
 - 1-25%
 - 26-50%
 - Ponad 50%
23. Ilu bliskich przyjaciół spoza rodziny posiada Pani/Pan w Polsce?
- Nie mam przyjaciół w Polsce
 - Do 10
 - Do 20
 - Ponad 20
24. Ile osób spoza rodziny zna Pani/Pan w Holandii?
- Do 5
 - Do 10
 - Do 20
 - Ponad 20
25. Jaki przeciętnie procent z tych osób jest pochodzenia holenderskiego?
- 0
 - 1-25%
 - 26-50%
 - Ponad 50%
26. Czy wysyła Pani/Pan pieniądze do rodziny/znajomych w Polsce?
- Tak, do partnera
 - Tak, do rodziny i/lub bliskich przyjaciół
 - Tak, do pozostałych osób
 - Nie wysyłam (*proszę ominąć pytanie 27*)
27. Na jaki cel przeznaczone są te pieniądze?
- Oszczędności
 - Inwestycje w nieruchomości/biznes
 - Podstawowe potrzeby
 - Inne
28. Czy uważa Pani/Pan, że mogłaby/mógłby Pani/Pan znaleźć pracę w Polsce, a jeżeli tak to czy istnieją osoby, które mogłyby ewentualnie pomóc Pani/Panu w znalezieniu pracy?
- Tak, ale znalazłbym pracę samodzielnie
 - Tak, mój partner jest w stanie mi pomóc
 - Tak, rodzina jest w stanie mi pomóc
 - Tak, przyjaciele są w stanie mi pomóc
 - Tak, znajomi są w stanie mi pomóc
 - Nie
29. Czy posiada Pani/Pan umowę o pracę w Holandii?
- Tak
 - Nie (*proszę ominąć pytanie 30*)
30. Jaki jest obecnie status Państwa umowy?
- Wygasa w przeciągu 3 miesięcy
 - Wygasa w przeciągu 6 miesięcy
 - Wygasa w przeciągu roku
 - Wygasa po ponad roku
 - Posiadam umowę na czas nieokreślony
31. Czy zna Pani/Pan osoby, które mogłyby pomóc Pani/Panu w otrzymaniu nowej umowy o pracę po wygaśnięciu obecnego kontraktu?
- Tak, mój partner
 - Tak, rodzina lub przyjaciele
 - Tak, przyjaciele pochodzenia holenderskiego
 - Tak, pozostałe osoby pochodzenia polskiego
 - Tak, pozostałe osoby pochodzenia holenderskiego
 - Nie znam takich osób

32. Czy jest Pani/Pan zadowolona/y ze swojej pracy w Holandii?
- Tak (*proszę ominąć pytanie 34*)
 - Nie (*proszę ominąć pytanie 33*)
33. Dlaczego jest Pani/Pan zadowolona/y ze swojej pracy w Holandii?
- Pracuję ze swoim partnerem
 - Pracuję z rodziną/przyjaciółmi z Polski
 - Pracuję z przyjaciółmi z Holandii
 - Lubię moich kolegów z pracy
 - Otrzymuję dobre wynagrodzenie
 - Wykonuję łatwą pracę
 - Jestem zadowolona/y z zakresu swoich obowiązków
 - Z innych powodów
34. Dlaczego nie jest Pani/Pan zadowolona/y ze swojej pracy w Holandii?
- Nie znam moich kolegów z pracy
 - Otrzymuję zbyt niskie wynagrodzenie
 - Wykonuję ciężki zawód
 - Nie lubię swojego przełożonego
 - Z innych powodów
35. Czy jest Pani/Pan zadowolona/y z miejsca zamieszkania w Holandii?
- Tak
 - Nie
36. Jakie są Pani/Pana przyszłe plany dotyczące miejsca zamieszkania?
- Zamierzam na stałe zostać w Holandii (*proszę przejść do pytania 37*)
 - Zamierzam regularnie wracać do Holandii na określony okres w roku, w celach nieobejmujących turystyki (*proszę przejść do pytania 38*)
 - Zamierzam wrócić do Polski (*proszę przejść do pytania 41*)
 - Zamierzam przeprowadzić się do innego kraju (*proszę przejść do pytania 45*)
37. Czy znajome Pani/Panu osoby mają wpływ na Państwa decyzję o pozostaniu w Holandii?
- Tak, mój partner
 - Tak, rodzina/przyjaciele w Holandii
 - Tak, rodzina/przyjaciele w Polsce
 - Nie
- * **Dotarli Państwo do końca ankiety. Proszę o zapoznanie się z dalszymi instrukcjami na dole następnej strony**
38. Czy znajome Pani/Panu osoby mają wpływ na Państwa decyzję o regularnych wizytach w Holandii w celach nieobejmujących turystyki?
- Tak, mój partner
 - Tak, rodzina/przyjaciele w Polsce
 - Nie
39. Czy posiada Pani/Pan pracę w Polsce?
- Tak, pracuję dla swojego przełożonego
 - Tak, posiadam swój własny biznes
 - Nie posiadam pracy w Polsce
40. W jakim celu zamierza Pani/Pan wykorzystać zarobione w Holandii pieniądze?
- Budowa domu
 - Zakup domu/mieszkania
 - Rozpoczęcie własnej działalności gospodarczej
 - W celach edukacyjnych
 - Podróże
 - W innych celach
- * **Dotarli Państwo do końca ankiety. Proszę o zapoznanie się z dalszymi instrukcjami na dole następnej strony**
-

41. Czy znajome Pani/Panu osoby mają wpływ na Państwa decyzję o powrocie do Polski?
- Tak, mój partner
 - Tak, rodzina/przyjaciele w Polsce
 - Nie
42. Kiedy planuje Pani/Pan wrócić do Polski? Jeżeli moment powrotu pokrywa się z momentem przejścia na emeryturę proszę zaznaczyć ostatnią odpowiedź.
- W przeciągu roku
 - W przeciągu 3 lat
 - W przeciągu 5 lat
 - Po pięciu latach
 - W momencie przejścia na emeryturę (proszę ominąć pytanie 41 i 42)
43. Dlaczego chce Pani/Pan wrócić do Polski?
- Nie podoba mi się w Holandii
 - Wygasa moja umowa o pracę
 - Tęsknię za rodziną/przyjaciółmi
 - Z innych powodów
44. Jakie są Pani/Pana plany po powrocie do Polski?
- Rozpoczęcie własnej działalności gospodarczej
 - Rozpoczęcie pracy
 - Mam inne plany
- * **Dotarli Państwo do końca ankiety. Proszę o zapoznanie się z dalszymi instrukcjami na końcu strony**
45. Czy znajome Pani/Panu osoby mają wpływ na Państwa decyzję o przeprowadzce do innego kraju?
- Tak, mój partner
 - Tak, rodzina/przyjaciele w Polsce
 - Tak, pozostałe osoby w Polsce
 - Nie
46. Kiedy planuje Pani/Pan przeprowadzić się do innego kraju? Jeżeli moment powrotu pokrywa się z momentem przejścia na emeryturę proszę zaznaczyć ostatnią odpowiedź?
- W przeciągu roku
 - W przeciągu 3 lat
 - W przeciągu 5 lat
 - Po pięciu latach
 - W momencie przejścia na emeryturę
47. Jaki jest powód podjęcia decyzji o przeprowadzce do innego kraju?
- Mam możliwość podjęcia pracy
 - Podróże
 - Mój partner mieszka w kraju, do którego chcę się przeprowadzić
 - Moja rodzina/przyjaciele mieszkają w kraju, do którego chcę się przeprowadzić
 - Z innych powodów

Instrukcje końcowe:

Dotarli Państwo do końca ankiety. Bardzo dziękuję za udzielone odpowiedzi. Jeżeli życzą sobie Państwo otrzymać wyniki niniejszego badania proszę o podanie adresu E-Mail w polu poniżej (informacja o adresie pozostanie poufna).

Appendix C: Frequency Tables

Place of Survey

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Groningen direct	2	1,6	1,6	1,6
	Loppersum Heeswijk-Dinther	35	28,2	28,2	29,8
	Oriental Hoofddorp	5	4,0	4,0	33,9
	Kennemerland Zandvoort	22	17,7	17,7	51,6
	Legalines St. Oedenrode	9	7,3	7,3	58,9
	Schiermonnikoog direct	2	1,6	1,6	60,5
	Bouw met Polen Groningen	24	19,4	19,4	79,8
	AB Fryslan Berlikum	9	7,3	7,3	87,1
	APN Hoogezand/Scheemda	16	12,9	12,9	100,0
	Total	124	100,0	100,0	

Sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	91	73,4	73,4	73,4
	Female	33	26,6	26,6	100,0
	Total	124	100,0	100,0	

		Age			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18	2	1,6	1,7	1,7
	19	3	2,4	2,5	4,2
	20	2	1,6	1,7	5,9
	21	7	5,6	5,9	11,9
	22	4	3,2	3,4	15,3
	23	3	2,4	2,5	17,8
	24	6	4,8	5,1	22,9
	25	3	2,4	2,5	25,4
	26	5	4,0	4,2	29,7
	27	4	3,2	3,4	33,1
	28	6	4,8	5,1	38,1
	29	6	4,8	5,1	43,2
	30	7	5,6	5,9	49,2
	31	3	2,4	2,5	51,7
	32	2	1,6	1,7	53,4
	33	5	4,0	4,2	57,6
	34	2	1,6	1,7	59,3
	35	3	2,4	2,5	61,9
	36	2	1,6	1,7	63,6
	37	1,8	,8		64,4
	38	2	1,6	1,7	66,1
	39	6	4,8	5,1	71,2
	40	3	2,4	2,5	73,7
	41	4	3,2	3,4	77,1
	42	2	1,6	1,7	78,8
	43	2	1,6	1,7	80,5
	44	3	2,4	2,5	83,1
	45	2	1,6	1,7	84,7
	46	1,8	,8		85,6

47		1,8	,8		86,4
48		3	2,4	2,5	89,0
49		2	1,6	1,7	90,7
50		2	1,6	1,7	92,4
51		3	2,4	2,5	94,9
52		2	1,6	1,7	96,6
53		2	1,6	1,7	98,3
54		1,8	,8		99,2
55		1,8	,8		100,0
Total		118	95,2	100,0	
Missing	No answer	6	4,8		
Total		124	100,0		

Age in 5 year groups

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18 to 20	7	5,6	5,9	5,9
	21 to 25	23	18,5	19,5	25,4
	26 to 30	28	22,6	23,7	49,2
	31 to 35	15	12,1	12,7	61,9
	36 to 40	14	11,3	11,9	73,7
	41 to 45	13	10,5	11,0	84,7
	46 to 50	9	7,3	7,6	92,4
	51 to 55	9	7,3	7,6	100,0
Total		118	95,2	100,0	
Missing	No answer	6	4,8		
Total		124	100,0		

Years of education completed

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 to 9 years	11	8,9	9,1	9,1
	10 to 12 years	55	44,4	45,5	54,5
	12+ years	55	44,4	45,5	100,0
	Total	121	97,6	100,0	
Missing	No answer	3	2,4		
Total		124	100,0		

Education in line with job

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	25	20,2	22,7	22,7
	Job better than education	45	36,3	40,9	63,6
	Education better than job	40	32,3	36,4	100,0
	Total	110	88,7	100,0	
Missing	No answer	14	11,3		
Total		124	100,0		

Voievoiship of birth

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Greater Poland	5	4,0	4,1	4,1
	Kuyavian-Pomeranian	7	5,6	5,7	9,8
	Lesser-Poland	4	3,2	3,3	13,1
	Lodz	4	3,2	3,3	16,4
	Lower Silesian	17	13,7	13,9	30,3
	Lublin	6	4,8	4,9	35,2
	Lubusz	12	9,7	9,8	45,1
	Masovian	2	1,6	1,6	46,7
	Opole	35	28,2	28,7	75,4
	Podlaskie	1,8	,8		76,2
	Pomerian	2	1,6	1,6	77,9
	Silesian	14	11,3	11,5	89,3
	Subcarpathian	4	3,2	3,3	92,6
	Swietokrzyskie	1,8	,8		93,4
	West-Pomerian	8	6,5	6,6	100,0
		Total	122	98,4	100,0
Missing	No answer	2	1,6		
	Total	124	100,0		

Urban or Rural

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Urban	22	17,7	57,9	57,9
	Rural	16	12,9	42,1	100,0
	Total	38	30,6	100,0	
Missing	Survey design fault	86	69,4		
	Total	124	100,0		

Marital Status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Single	26	21,0	21,0	21,0
	Partner	43	34,7	34,7	55,6
	Married	44	35,5	35,5	91,1
	Divorced/Widowed	11	8,9	8,9	100,0
	Total	124	100,0	100,0	

Country of birth partner

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Poland	82	66,1	96,5	96,5
	The Netherlands	2	1,6	2,4	98,8
	Another country	1,8		1,2	100,0
	Total	85	68,5	100,0	
Missing	No partner	37	29,8		
	Not answered	2	1,6		
	Total	39	31,5		
Total		124	100,0		

Country of residence partner

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	The Netherlands	17	13,7	19,8	19,8
	Poland	68	54,8	79,1	98,8
	Another country	1,8		1,2	100,0
	Total	86	69,4	100,0	
Missing	No partner	37	29,8		
	No Answer	1,8			
	Total	38	30,6		
Total		124	100,0		

Children

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	64	51,6	52,9	52,9
	No	57	46,0	47,1	100,0
	Total	121	97,6	100,0	
Missing	No answer	3	2,4		
Total		124	100,0		

Residence of children

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	The Netherlands	3	2,4	4,7	4,7
	Poland	57	46,0	89,1	93,8
	Another country	4	3,2	6,2	100,0
	Total	64	51,6	100,0	
Missing	No children	57	46,0		
	No answer	3	2,4		
	Total	60	48,4		
Total		124	100,0		

Where does respondent want to children to grow up

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	The Netherlands	7	5,6	11,1	11,1
	Poland	52	41,9	82,5	93,7
	Another country	4	3,2	6,3	100,0
	Total	63	50,8	100,0	
Missing	No children	57	46,0		
	No answer	4	3,2		
	Total	61	49,2		
Total		124	100,0		

House/apartment in Poland

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Buy	71	57,3	57,3	57,3
	Rent	6	4,8	4,8	62,1
	No	11	8,9	8,9	71,0
	With parents	36	29,0	29,0	100,0
	Total	124	100,0	100,0	

Type of job

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agriculture	11	8,9	9,2	9,2
	Construction	29	23,4	24,4	33,6
	Cleaning	1,8	,8		34,5
	Other	78	62,9	65,5	100,0
	Total	119	96,0	100,0	
Missing	No answer	5	4,0		
Total		124	100,0		

Time spent in The Netherlands since first time here

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	less than 3 months	21	16,9	17,2	17,2
	3 months to a year	17	13,7	13,9	31,1
	more than 1 year	46	37,1	37,7	68,9
	more than 3 years	38	30,6	31,1	100,0
	Total	122	98,4	100,0	
Missing	No answer	2	1,6		
Total		124	100,0		

Reason for coming to The Netherlands

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	work certain period	63	50,8	52,5	52,5
	work permanently	18	14,5	15,0	67,5
	reunite family	2	1,6	1,7	69,2
	adventure	10	8,1	8,3	77,5
	other	27	21,8	22,5	100,0
	Total	120	96,8	100,0	
Missing	No answer	4	3,2		
Total		124	100,0		

Dutch language skills

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Do not speak	67	54,0	55,4	55,4
	Poorly	27	21,8	22,3	77,7
	quite well	21	16,9	17,4	95,0
	like Dutch	6	4,8	5,0	100,0
	Total	121	97,6	100,0	
Missing	No answer	3	2,4		
Total		124	100,0		

Total number of family members

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 to 10	25	20,2	20,5	20,5
	11 to 25	35	28,2	28,7	49,2
	26 to 50	30	24,2	24,6	73,8
	50+	32	25,8	26,2	100,0
	Total	122	98,4	100,0	
Missing	No answer	2	1,6		
Total		124	100,0		

Percentage of family members in NL

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	80	64,5	66,1	66,1
	1 to 25%	37	29,8	30,6	96,7
	26 to 50%	4	3,2	3,3	100,0
	Total	121	97,6	100,0	
Missing	No answer	3	2,4		
Total		124	100,0		

Percentage of family members in other country

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	36	29,0	29,5	29,5
	1 to 25%	73	58,9	59,8	89,3
	26 to 50%	11	8,9	9,0	98,4
	more than 50%	2	1,6	1,6	100,0
	Total	122	98,4	100,0	
Missing	No answer	2	1,6		
Total		124	100,0		

Total number of close friends in NL

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	29	23,4	23,6	23,6
	1-5	48	38,7	39,0	62,6
	6 to 10	19	15,3	15,4	78,0
	10+	27	21,8	22,0	100,0
	Total	123	99,2	100,0	
Missing	No answer	1,8			
Total		124	100,0		

Percentage of Dutch close friends in NL

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	89	71,8	74,2	74,2
	1-25%	23	18,5	19,2	93,3
	26%-50%	2	1,6	1,7	95,0
	More than 50%	6	4,8	5,0	100,0
	Total	120	96,8	100,0	
Missing	No answer	4	3,2		
Total		124	100,0		

Total number of close friends in PL

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 to 5	10	8,1	8,3	8,3
	6 to 10	57	46,0	47,1	55,4
	11 to 20	13	10,5	10,7	66,1
	20+	41	33,1	33,9	100,0
	Total	121	97,6	100,0	
Missing	No answer	3	2,4		
Total		124	100,0		

Number of acquaintances in NL

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0-5	18	14,5	15,0	15,0
	6-10	14	11,3	11,7	26,7
	11-20	20	16,1	16,7	43,3
	20+	68	54,8	56,7	100,0
	Total	120	96,8	100,0	
Missing	No answer	4	3,2		
Total		124	100,0		

Percentage of acquaintances NL that are Dutch

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	54	43,5	45,8	45,8
	1-25%	38	30,6	32,2	78,0
	26-50%	13	10,5	11,0	89,0
	More than 50%	13	10,5	11,0	100,0
	Total	118	95,2	100,0	
Missing	No answer	6	4,8		
Total		124	100,0		

Remittances and where to

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, to partner	25	20,2	20,8	20,8
	Yes, family and close friends	56	45,2	46,7	67,5
	Yes, other people	1,8	,8	,8	68,3
	No	38	30,6	31,7	100,0
	Total	120	96,8	100,0	
Missing	No answer	4	3,2		
Total		124	100,0		

Chance on job in Poland

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, self	65	52,4	55,1	55,1
	Yes, partner	6	4,8	5,1	60,2
	Yes, Family	9	7,3	7,6	67,8
	Yes, close friends	6	4,8	5,1	72,9
	Yes, other	14	11,3	11,9	84,7
	No	18	14,5	15,3	100,0
	Total	118	95,2	100,0	
Missing	No answer	6	4,8		

Chance on job in Poland

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, self	65	52,4	55,1	55,1
	Yes, partner	6	4,8	5,1	60,2
	Yes, Family	9	7,3	7,6	67,8
	Yes, close friends	6	4,8	5,1	72,9
	Yes, other	14	11,3	11,9	84,7
	No	18	14,5	15,3	100,0
	Total	118	95,2	100,0	
Missing	No answer	6	4,8		
Total		124	100,0		

Use of remittances

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Savings	15	12,1	18,5	18,5
	Investments housing/business	11	8,9	13,6	32,1
	Basic Needs	45	36,3	55,6	87,7
	other	10	8,1	12,3	100,0
	Total	81	65,3	100,0	
Missing	Does not remit	38	30,6		
	No answer	5	4,0		
	Total	43	34,7		
Total		124	100,0		

Having contract or not

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	113	91,1	91,9	91,9
	No	10	8,1	8,1	100,0
	Total	123	99,2	100,0	
Missing	No answer	1	,8		

		Having contract or not			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	113	91,1	91,9	91,9
	No	10	8,1	8,1	100,0
	Total	123	99,2	100,0	
Missing	No answer	1	,8		
Total		124	100,0		

Expiring of contract

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<3 months	12	9,7	11,8	11,8
	4-6 months	24	19,4	23,5	35,3
	7 to 12 months	29	23,4	28,4	63,7
	>1 year	7	5,6	6,9	70,6
	Permanent	30	24,2	29,4	100,0
	Total	102	82,3	100,0	
Missing	No contract	10	8,1		
	No answer	12	9,7		
	Total	22	17,7		
Total		124	100,0		

Help with finding new contract in The Netherlands

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, partner	6	4,8	5,3	5,3
	Yes, close friends/family	12	9,7	10,5	15,8
	Yes, close Dutch friends	22	17,7	19,3	35,1
	Yes, other Polish people	33	26,6	28,9	64,0
	Yes, other Dutch people	9	7,3	7,9	71,9
	No	32	25,8	28,1	100,0
	Total	114	91,9	100,0	
Missing	No answer	10	8,1		
Total		124	100,0		

Job Satisfaction

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	108	87,1	89,3	89,3
	No	13	10,5	10,7	100,0
	Total	121	97,6	100,0	
Missing	No answer	3	2,4		
Total		124	100,0		

Why like the job

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Work with partner	10	8,1	9,6	9,6
	work with family/close friends from Poland	8	6,5	7,7	17,3
	work with close friends from The Netherlands	5	4,0	4,8	22,1
	like colleagues	17	13,7	16,3	38,5
	Money	31	25,0	29,8	68,3
	easy job	4	3,2	3,8	72,1
	like work	10	8,1	9,6	81,7
	other	19	15,3	18,3	100,0
	Total	104	83,9	100,0	
	Missing	No answer	4	3,2	
Does not like job		13	10,5		
No job opinion		3	2,4		
Total		20	16,1		
Total		124	100,0		

Why not like the job

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	not enough money	7	5,6	58,3	58,3
	hard work	2	1,6	16,7	75,0
	other	3	2,4	25,0	100,0
	Total	12	9,7	100,0	
Missing	Likes job	108	87,1		
	No answer	1	,8		
	No job opinion	3	2,4		
	Total	112	90,3		
Total		124	100,0		

Satisfaction with residence

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	97	78,2	82,2	82,2
	No	21	16,9	17,8	100,0
	Total	118	95,2	100,0	
Missing	No Answer	6	4,8		
Total		124	100,0		

Migration intention

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Stay in The Netherlands	15	12,1	12,2	12,2
	Circulatory migrant	42	33,9	34,1	46,3
	Return to Poland	62	50,0	50,4	96,7
	Move somewhere else	4	3,2	3,3	100,0
	Total	123	99,2	100,0	
Missing	No answer	1	,8		
Total		124	100,0		

Influence of people on stay in The Netherlands

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, partner	8	6,5	57,1	57,1
	Yes, family/close friends in The Netherlands	1,8		7,1	64,3
	No	5	4,0	35,7	100,0
	Total	14	11,3	100,0	
Missing	Not staying	108	87,1		
	No answer	1,8			
	No migration intention	1,8			
	Total	110	88,7		
Total		124	100,0		

Influence of people on circular migration

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, partner	10	8,1	25,0	25,0
	Yes, family/close friends	9	7,3	22,5	47,5
	No	21	16,9	52,5	100,0
	Total	40	32,3	100,0	
Missing	Not circulating	81	65,3		
	No answer	2	1,6		
	No migration intention	1,8			
	Total	84	67,7		
Total		124	100,0		

Job in Poland

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, boss	1,8		2,5	2,5
	Yes, own business	4	3,2	10,0	12,5
	No	35	28,2	87,5	100,0
	Total	40	32,3	100,0	
Missing	Not circulating	81	65,3		
	No answer	2	1,6		
	No migration intention	1,8			
	Total	84	67,7		
Total		124	100,0		

Plans with money earned in NL

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Build a house	5	4,0	12,2	12,2
	Buy a house/apartment	6	4,8	14,6	26,8
	Start business	3	2,4	7,3	34,1
	Education	3	2,4	7,3	41,5
	Travel	1,8		2,4	43,9
	Other	23	18,5	56,1	100,0
	Total	41	33,1	100,0	
Missing	Not circulating	81	65,3		
	No answer	1,8			
	No migration intention	1,8			
	Total	83	66,9		
Total		124	100,0		

Influence of people on return migration

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, partner	3	2,4	16,7	16,7
	Yes, family/close friends in The Netherlands	7	5,6	38,9	55,6
	Yes, family/close friends in Poland	8	6,5	44,4	100,0
	Total	18	14,5	100,0	
Missing	Not returning	61	49,2		
	Survey design fault	44	35,5		
	No migration intention	1,8			
	Total	106	85,5		
Total		124	100,0		

When returning to Poland

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	within 1 year	23	18,5	41,8	41,8
	within 3 years	18	14,5	32,7	74,5
	within 5 years	4	3,2	7,3	81,8
	after 5 years	5	4,0	9,1	90,9
	At retirement	5	4,0	9,1	100,0
	Total	55	44,4	100,0	
Missing	Not returning	61	49,2		
	No answer	7	5,6		
	No migration intention	1,8			
	Total	69	55,6		
Total		124	100,0		

Reason of returning

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Don't like NL	6	4,8	11,3	11,3
	end of labor contract	2	1,6	3,8	15,1
	Miss partner/family/friends	19	15,3	35,8	50,9
	Other	26	21,0	49,1	100,0
	Total	53	42,7	100,0	
Missing	returning at retirement	5	4,0		
	Not returning	61	49,2		
	No answer	4	3,2		
	No migration intention	1,8			
	Total	71	57,3		
Total		124	100,0		

Plan when returning

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Start business	10	8,1	18,9	18,9
	work for boss	25	20,2	47,2	66,0
	other	18	14,5	34,0	100,0
	Total	53	42,7	100,0	
Missing	returning at retirement	5	4,0		
	Not returning	61	49,2		
	No answer	4	3,2		
	No migration intention	1,8			
	Total	71	57,3		
Total		124	100,0		

Influence of people on move other country

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, my partner	1,8		33,3	33,3
	No	2	1,6	66,7	100,0
	Total	3	2,4	100,0	
Missing	Not to other country	119	96,0		
	No answer	1,8			
	No migration intention	1,8			
	Total	121	97,6		
Total		124	100,0		

When move to other country

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	within 1 year	2	1,6	66,7	66,7
	within 3 years	1,8		33,3	100,0
	Total	3	2,4	100,0	
Missing	Not to other country	119	96,0		
	No answer	1,8			
	No migration intention	1,8			
	Total	121	97,6		
Total		124	100,0		

Reason to move to other country

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Other	4	3,2	100,0	100,0
Missing	Not to other country	119	96,0		
	No migration intention	1,8			
Total		120	96,8		
Total		124	100,0		