

The role of networks in the migration process from Poland to The Hague and the influence of personal life goals in the lives of Polish migrants in The Hague

Post-Accession Migration: Polish migrants moving from Poland to The Hague

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Preface

Writing this master thesis was possible because on our way we met people and institutions that were eager to help us. First of all we are very thankful for all the respondents who wanted to talk with us about their situation in The Hague. Without their participation, we would be not able to find out the Polish perspective of their stay in The Netherlands. We also would like to thank our colleagues at two organizations. They made it possible for us to conduct our research. First we would like to thank Nathan Rozema from research company Labyrinth in Utrecht. In this company, we did an internship for 6 months. Together with Nathan, we started thinking about ideas and plans on how our research should be. He introduces us to Chris Veldhuysen. Together with Chris, who works at MOVISIE, The Netherlands Centre for social development in Utrecht, we investigated the development on an institutional level concerning Polish migrants in The Netherlands. We had many meetings, visited research presentations and other interesting events about Polish migrants in The Netherlands. With the help of MOVISIE, we even participated in a congress, the Newcastle conference about post-accession migration. As a result of this participation, we were asked to write an article about our research. The article will be published in 2010 at the University of Newcastle, in an edited book about post-accession migration. In the appendix, we attached the article.

We also would like to thank Chantal Huijbers, who helped us with the difficult process of ‘writing *one* master thesis together’.

-Michal-

Our adventure with post-accession migration started in January 2009. We then started to prepare our investigation about Polish migrants moving to The Hague.

Around Christmas 2008, Anne Boer wrote me an email, asking me if I was interested in doing a research about Polish migrants in The Netherlands. She explained me that she would like to conduct a research about post-accession migration, however; she was limited by a language barrier. Most of the Polish migrants cannot speak any foreign language fluently; therefore she would have problems in making contacts with Polish migrants. During that time, I was searching an internship in The Netherlands. Thus, her offer was a nice surprise for me. Without any consideration I decided to join her. This research hugely influenced my career development. Therefore, I would like to thank firstly Anne. Without her help, I would not be able to take part in this interesting project.

The advantage of our research is that we originate from different counties. Anne is Dutch, I am Polish. Therefore, we managed to combine two perspectives, Polish and Dutch. Moreover, when I was doing this research, I had a feeling that this investigation was partially about me. I came to

The Netherlands in 2008 as an exchange student from the University of Lodz. After a half a year in Nijmegen, I decided to stay at the Radboud University Nijmegen to continue my study in The Netherlands. I became a Polish migrant. Therefore, when we talked with Polish migrants in The Hague, I felt that my experiences are in some cases similar. Thus, I can write that this research is about Polish migrants, written partially by a Polish migrant. This work is therefore unique in some aspects.

I would like to express my thanks to my supervisor Henk van Houtum for his advices and ideas which helped me to improve my thesis. I am very thankful for the language advices from a friend of mine- Jerome Vesnois. Special thanks for my parents who helped me to achieve so much in my life.

-Anne-

Exactly one year ago, Michal and I started our research. We went to The Hague to find out the places where Polish migrants live and come together. But this was a not as easy as we thought. Many, many times we went to The Hague, to discover the places where Polish migrants are living, eating, working, going out and more. After one year of doing investigation, I can say that we really found out a lot about Polish migrants. Conducting this research was a wonderful learning process for me. One year of carrying out interviews, talking with many people, participating in conferences and meetings of organizations, all helped to write this master thesis.

During this year, many people supported me. I would like to thank the people that have helped me during this research. First of all I would like to thank Lothar Smith, my supervisor at the Radboud University, for helping me writing my thesis. His advice, insights and his own experiences as a researcher always helped me further in my thinking process. Working together with Michal helped me better understanding the situation of Polish migrants, I am therefore very thankful to him. Thanks to all my friends who discussed with me about my thesis and gave me valuable advice. I also would like to thank Joske and Kim, who read my thesis and gave inspiring comments. Thanks to my family, my parents and brother for always support me and my sister for all the sleep-over parties in The Hague! Thanks a lot to Bram, for his never ending advice.

I Executive Summary

One of the most important effects of the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 was an increase of migration flows from new member states to old ones: post-accession migration. This study investigates the migration process which took place after 2004 from the moment of leaving Poland until the time when migrants start to lead an own life in The Hague. The main research question of this study is formulated as follows:

'To what extent the migration process of Polish migrants to The Hague is influenced by migration networks formed before and after their migration, and the personal life goals they aim to fulfil in The Hague?'

To formulate an answer to this question, a field study in The Hague was conducted in the period February-June 2009. During this period, 28 Polish migrants were interviewed; the interviews took place on different locations in the city. Besides that, an online survey was placed on several Polish forums like *Niedzala.pl* and *Polonia.pl*, 153 respondents took part in this survey. Furthermore, interviews and conversations were held with persons from key organizations in the field of Polish migrants in The Netherlands, like the Polish Embassy, the municipality of The Hague, Polish media in The Netherlands and other researchers in this field. Limited by time and financial means; we decided to choose one place for our field research. We agreed that the best choice was The Hague, since this city accommodates the largest amount of Polish migrants. Some 25,000 Polish migrants are estimated to live in The Hague. This is around 5% of the total population in The Hague. Therefore, The Hague is the most 'Polish' city of The Netherlands (Saraber, 2009).

The post-accession migration process from Poles to The Netherlands is relatively new; therefore, there is still insufficient knowledge about this process. Often, Dutch citizens possess information about newcomers from Poland based on stories presented by the media. The media is able to determine a general image of contemporary migration. This study contributes to the limited knowledge of post-accession migration from Poland to The Netherlands.

Polish people constitute the largest amount of post-accession migrants. Estimated is that between 2004 and 2006, 2 million of Poles moved away from home (Lucinska- Grabowska, Okolski, 2009). The Netherlands also started to play an important role as a host country for new European migrants. On the 1st of May 2007, The Netherlands opened their labour market fully for Polish workers. Thus from this date Polish migrants did not need a work permit any more. Because of the liberalization of these rules, The Netherlands started to attract even more Polish migrants. In a short time, The Netherlands became one of the most important migration

destinations for new comers from Poland. The most recent estimation of the number of Poles living in The Netherlands is approximately 150.000 (Stedenband, May 2009). These data are not precise, because the majority of Polish migrants are not registered in municipalities. They stay for a short period in The Netherlands (less than 3 months) or they rent places where there is no possibility to register. Thus, the exact amount of Polish migrants residing in The Netherlands is unknown.

In order to answer the formulated research question, an analysis was made of different aspects of the migration process from Poland to The Hague. Michal Karczemski concentrated on the reasons of coming to The Hague. He investigates the factors, which force Polish people to migrate to The Hague. According to his analysis, he distinguished economical reasons of migration, socio-economical reasons (family reunification), and the willingness to obtain new experiences. The majority of migrants moved to The Netherlands because of economical motives. Age and the gender do not influence significantly on the reasons causing the inflow to The Netherlands. An interesting aspect we found is the relation between education of our respondents and their motives. Migrants with a university degree mentioned that they arrived in The Netherlands to obtain new experience. Financial aspects do not play an important role for them in the decision making process of migration.

Besides these micro reasons causing migration to The Hague, Michal investigated also macro explanations of post-accession migration. He therefore relates to the theory presented by Layard (2002) and Okolski (2008). These scholars explain the reasons of post-accession migration as a migration status shift within a country from emigration states to immigration states. In their opinion, post-communistic countries have not experienced huge outflows of people since all socio-economic processes were restricted by the communistic regime after the war. Therefore, the accession of eight post-communistic countries to the European Union in 2004 has facilitated migratory processes. Surpluses of people, who are not able to fulfil their plans in their home country decided to migrate to reach their goals abroad.

The next point investigated in our research concerns the role of migration networks within the migration process from Poland to The Hague. We consider that the type of networks used by migrants influences their whole migration process. The type of job, accommodation and the degree of social involvement depends on networks, which are chosen to arrive in The Hague. The type of networks also determines which resources migrants possess to achieve their supposed personal life goals in The Hague. The important role of networks in the process of migration is of central focus in our study. We perceive the role of networks as crucial for the

development of the migration process. To comprehend situation of Polish migrants once they are in The Hague, we must first understand the function of migration networks before their arrival. We have distinguished two types of migration networks used by Polish migrants: informal networks and formal networks. Informal networks are understood as “sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants to one another through relations of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin” (Palloni et al., 2001). Formal networks are perceived as specialized social actors and commercial institutions that take directly benefits not only from human mobility but also from effective adaptation to the new environment (Garapich, 2008). Our investigation indicates that a majority of Polish migrants decides to migrate through informal contacts. However, there is group of migrants who arrived in The Hague using formal networks. Although migrating using informal networks is the most ‘common’ way to migrate, we noticed that more and more Polish migrants use job agencies, formal networks, to find a job and accommodation in The Netherlands. Formal networks do have an increasing influence on the migration process from Poland to The Netherlands.

Our study presents also the advantages and disadvantages of formal networks. We found that migrants using formal contacts are provided with accommodation, work and transportation. Therefore, the migration has become more accessible. But while using formal networks, migrants become also more and more depended on the employer, in all aspects of their life in The Netherlands. Contrary, informal contacts do not provide a “safe start”, however, they force migrants to be more entrepreneurial, which we perceive as a huge advantage of migration.

In this study, we found that the regional origin of Polish migrants is of influence on current migration processes. The majority of Polish migrants in The Hague come from Upper Silesia (historical region in southwest of Poland). This is a result of the development of migration networks in this region. Parts of Upper Silesia are populated with people who possess a double nationality (Polish and German). Because of their double nationality, they could work without any restrictions before 2007 (the year of opening of the Dutch labour market for Polish). These Polish migrants set a strong foundation for migration networks, which are still developing and attracting new Polish migrants to The Netherlands. These results confirmed that the migration process should not be interpreted without understanding of the history of the country. Events in the past can directly influence the migration process in the future.

Anne Boer continued the study, focusing on aspects of the migration process once Polish migrants are in The Netherlands. She focused on the personal life goals of Polish migrants and the strategies they use to achieve these goals. Furthermore, she investigated the social networks Polish migrants maintain and build up during their stay in The Hague.

We subdivided personal life goals of Polish migrants in four categories. The most important personal life goal is earning money. However, other personal life goals, like living an easier life, personal development and even adventure, are also goals that Poles obtain to achieve in The Netherlands. In order to determine the certainty of the plans for the future of Polish migrants in The Netherlands, we combined the personal life goals of Polish migrants with their orientation strategy for the future. The future orientation indicates where Polish migrants would like to build their future, where they think they might live in the future and with whom and where their social ties are maintained. Most migrants are characterized with a returning orientation; they want to move back to Poland. Others are characterized as emigrants, transnational migrants or global nomads. This study especially focused on the emigrants, migrants with a settling down orientation, the migrants that are planning to stay in The Netherlands. For 90% of these migrants, this study confirms that they sometimes or frequently have contact with Dutch people. This indicates that when Polish migrants decide to stay here for a longer period, they want to put effort into becoming more involved in the Dutch society. Furthermore, the online survey indicated that speaking the Dutch language, feeling at home in The Netherlands, buying a house in The Netherlands, and planning to stay longer in The Netherlands, all positively influence the amount of contacts with Dutch people.

Polish migrants have a lot of contact with other Poles in The Netherlands. However, the contacts they have are primarily with very close friends and family, which they often already know from the homeland. Regarding the 'wider ethnic community', they are often distrustful and therefore they keep their distance. This can be explained by the jealous behaviour amongst Polish migrants; the fear that they have towards each other, that one will use information from another, and misuse this to gain profits. Undoubtedly, this behaviour is a remaining of a socialistic society. During that time, possibilities to gain profits were related to the misfortune of others. Therefore, many Polish migrants are distrustful and often avoid contacts within the Polish "community".

Our research presents the Polish perspective on their migration to The Netherlands. During our studies, we sketched a clear picture of the migration process, from the beginning until the moment when migrants live their life in The Hague. It is very interesting to learn about this new migration from Poland to The Netherlands. The characteristics of this migration flow from a new to an old European Union member state is not discovered very well. Therefore, our report can help to understand this process by providing to reader with important information about historical aspects of Poland, actors who are important in this process and the migrants themselves and their plans for the future.

Through our different background – Polish and Dutch – we were able to approach our study from two different perspectives. This helped to understand the migration process more thoroughly. We are therefore able to recognise deeply the complex problems, structure and matters, which trigger Poles and Dutch.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Poland is a country with a long history of migration. It was and still is one of the most important emigration countries of Europe (Triandafyllidou, 2006). Over the years, it has been a vast reservoir of labour for many countries in Western Europe and North America (Inglicka, 2001). However, because of the political circumstances in the 20th century, migration became more complex and less accessible for Polish citizens. Especially after 1945, when Europe was divided into two blocs marked by the Iron Curtain, the possibility to move out of Poland became very limited. The borders of the communist territory were protected in order to minimize the outflow of people to the countries of Western Europe. After the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, movements between the former communist bloc and Western Europe became more accepted. However, between 1989 and 2004, migration flows from Eastern to Western Europe remained stable. In 2004, eight post-communist countries joined the European Union, with Poland being the largest country. This new geopolitical situation directly influenced the migration processes in Europe. The freedom of movement and the possibility of finding a legal job abroad caused many Poles to move to Western Europe.

With Poland being the largest of the new EU member countries, Polish migrants constitute the largest group amongst the new migrants from Central and Eastern European countries (CEEC). Therefore, the Polish migrant has become the most typical example of the 'newcomer' from CEEC into Western Europe. New migration after the enlargement entitles as *post-accession migration*. The overall number of post-accession migrants from Poland into Western Europe has been estimated at 2 million (Central Statistical Office of Poland, 2007). The Netherlands also became a very popular destination for Polish migrants. At present, around 150,000 Poles are living in The Netherlands, four times as many as in 2000 (TNS Nipo, 2009). Poles now compromise over 80% of the number of immigrants from the Central and Eastern European countries in The Netherlands (Sabina Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2008).

Migration studies play an important role in contemporary social sciences. Since the last century, migration researchers have tried to understand why people decide to move, where they move to and how they move. As migration is a dynamic process that is constantly changing, research regarding this topic needs to be continued on a regular basis. Concerning the influence of globalization and the increase of the number of EU countries, migration from Poland to The Netherlands also became more fluid, more dynamic, more flexible and more diversified. Places and borders no longer limit migrants; Polish migrants are able to move to places hundreds of kilometres away to fulfil their life goals. The fluid behaviour and changeability of their plans give a new character to the migration within the EU (Lucinska & Okolski, 2008).

Within this new migration process, the use of formal networks became more and more important. In addition, present-day Polish migrants' perceptions concerning their life goals and plans for the future may be different from those of the Polish migrants of the past. Social causes and explanations of the new migration process that has been taking place recently in Europe are scarcely investigated in the social sciences. There has also been little investigation into the 'Dutch case': the migration from Poland to The Netherlands after 2004. Therefore, we found it extremely interesting to look more precisely into the networks, personal life goals and plans for the future of Poles who recently migrated to The Netherlands, focusing on The Hague. On the base of available literature, in-depth interviews and an online survey, we wrote the present master's thesis: *Post-accession migration: Poles moving from Poland to The Hague*

Our research is based on 28 in-depth interviews with Polish migrants living in The Hague, and an online survey, which was filled in by Poles living in different parts of The Netherlands. Besides these two data resources, we interviewed 11 key persons who are in some way involved in the Polish community in The Hague. The main reason why we decided to focus on The Hague is the fact that this city accommodates a large concentration of Poles. According to official statistics, 3,800 Poles dwell in the city of The Hague. However, in reality some 25,000 Polish migrants are estimated to live in The Hague according to the organization 'Stedenband Den Haag – Warschau' (stedenbanddenhaagwarschau.nl, May 2009). The extremely large difference between these estimations can be explained by the fact that a majority of Polish migrants try to avoid registration or are unable to register with the city council. Besides the major concentration of Poles in The Hague, another reason why we selected this city is because Poles here are employed in different branches of the economy, so we can hold The Hague to be representative for the whole country. This city attracts assorted types of people who attempt to fulfil their plans in a variety of ways. Because of the presence of this mixed group of Poles, we found The Hague a representative city to build the profile of an average Polish migrant living in The Netherlands.

1.1 Research goal and research questions

In the Dutch discourse, emphasize has been put on The Netherlands' point of view regarding the arrival of Polish migrants in The Netherlands. In contrast, in this thesis, we will concentrate on the perspective of Polish migrants themselves, in particular those who arrived in The Netherlands after 2004. The main goal of our research is **to explore the migration process of Poles migrating to The Hague, including their reasons to come, the networks they use and their plans for the future.** We will investigate the main factors that influence migrant's decision to migrate, the networks that help them to come to The Hague and the networks they develop

after their arrival. Furthermore, we will investigate the personal life goals they aim to fulfil in The Hague. We will also elaborate on their plans for their future. Our main research question is formulated as follows:

To what extent the migration process of Polish migrants to The Hague is influenced by migration networks formed before and after their migration, and the personal life goals they aim to fulfil in The Hague?

In this thesis, we will emphasize the social situation of Polish migrants *before* and *after* their migration. This division is maintained in our research. Therefore, the main research question is split up into two sub questions. One sub question will focus on the migration process before arrival in The Hague and the other will concentrate on the migration process once the migrants are settled in The Hague.

In our opinion, the networks, which are used by migrants to migrate, have an influence on their future situation in the host country. The type of networks used by Polish migrants influence their social involvement and economical situation after their arrival in the host country. The type of networks also determines which resources migrants possess to achieve their supposed personal life goals in The Hague. We will emphasize the function of different networks in the initial phase of migration to show how these different networks have an impact on the life of migrants after their arrival. Personal life goals of migrants, development of new contacts in The Hague and their social involvement within the Dutch society can directly depend on the networks chosen by Polish to migrate.

The first sub question focuses on the social situation of Polish migrants before their migration. It is formulated as follows:

How do the social-economic reasons and networks influence Polish people to become mobile and subsequently move to The Hague?

In this chapter, we investigate the social-economic reasons, which cause that Polish migrants become mobile, but also the actors that encourage them to move. In this thesis, actors are understood as networks that a migrant uses to move. We distinguish formal and informal networks that encourage migrants to migrate. Formal networks are understood as migration businesses: all kinds of institutions that gain profits from dealing with migrants, e.g. by helping them to become mobile, to settle and find a job abroad etc. Informal networks, on the other

hand, are private and unprofitable contacts used by migrants to migrate. In chapter 5, we examine the information concerning the situation in which they will end up in The Hague (like accommodations and work), which the Polish migrants possess before their arrival. This question will be analysed with help of the following sub-questions:

- 1) What are the particular socio-economical reasons that may help to explain the mobility of the Polish who arrive in The Hague?
- 2) How do the informal networks maintain the migration of the Polish people to The Hague?
- 3) How do formal networks encourage potential Polish migrant to move to The Hague?
- 4) How do the migration networks influence on the geographical origin of migrants?

The second sub question is related to the migration process after the migration has taken place, when the Polish migrants already live in The Hague. This question is formulated as follows:

To what extent do personal life goals of recently arrived Polish migrants in The Hague influence their social involvement and thereby their opportunities for integration?

This sub question elaborates on the life of Polish migrants in The Hague, examining their personal life goals, and thereby their plans for the future. Furthermore, we investigate how these personal life goals relate to the social networks they build up and maintain. This question will be answered with the help of the following sub-questions:

- 1) What are the main personal life goals of Polish migrants and which strategies they use to achieve these goals in The Hague?
- 2) With whom are social networks formed and maintained, and to what degree are Polish migrants involved into the Dutch society?
- 3) In how far are personal life goals and the social involvement of Polish migrants in The Hague in conflict with each other?

1.2 Societal relevance

Our personal observation suggests that Dutch society recognizes the presence of the Polish migrants in The Netherlands. People are informed about Polish migrants living in the country by newspapers, television and other media. The media mainly shape the knowledge that Dutch citizens possess about Poles in The Netherlands. The media often makes generalizations of Polish migrants in The Netherlands, based on individual or incidental actions. Journalists tending to emphasize negative aspects of post-accession migration to The Netherlands, and focus less on positive aspects. We translated some headlines of newspaper to support this: ‘No job? No Food. A lot of Poles in The Netherlands are systematically exploited’ (March 2009, Z24), ‘Informing Poles earlier about work in The Netherlands’ (April 2009, Nu.nl), ‘Joint approach for the annoyance of Polish workers’ (March 2009, AD), ‘Poles from England flood The Netherlands’ (December 2008, De Pers), ‘Increasing number of homeless Poles in The Netherlands’ (March 2009, Nu.nl). We noticed that the knowledge about Polish migrants is meagre. We observe that the image of the Poles only is based on stories from the media or ‘family anecdotes’. In addition, often people will hear acquaintances mention that they came across some Polish shops or passed cars from Poland on the highway. In spite of that, there are little to no personal contacts between Dutch and Polish people. Poles do not have much contact with Dutch people through work, education, or in their neighbourhoods. This makes Poles an unconnected part of the Dutch society. Consequently, we are under the impression that people from Poland and The Netherlands only use stereotypes to describe each other.

During the course of our research, we started to play an active role in the discussion about newcomers from Poland. We were invited to different conferences where ‘Polish migrants’ were discussed¹. We noticed that the lack of knowledge is not just limited to Dutch citizens, but also amongst the Dutch politicians who regulate the migration and labour law. Through our contact with Poles, we figured out that they try to live a ‘hidden life’ in The Netherlands. They work here, earn some money and then go back or stay here. Nevertheless, they do not attempt to build a stable Polish community and lobby. Many of them do not know anything about the rules considering their residence in The Netherlands. Furthermore, the plans for their future are very ‘fluid’ and changeable.

¹ 19th of June 2009: ‘Post-Accession Migration in Europe’, a conference at the University of Newcastle

1st of July 2009: Presentation of Forum research: ‘Poles in The Netherlands’, The Hague

21st of October 2009: Official kick-off of the research about CEE migrants in The Netherlands, conducted by NICIS-Institute and Erasmus University, Rotterdam

Therefore, we decided to explore the matters related to the recent Polish migration to The Netherlands. We believe that different types of organizations in The Netherlands dealing with Polish migrants can use information collected by us. Knowledge presented in this thesis can help to decrease the informational gap between the Polish and the Dutch point of view. Moreover, we think that it is of interest for the Dutch government to know the expectations and plans of Polish migrants who are in The Netherlands, to have a better indication of the length of their stay. In addition, we suppose that for the Polish government it is interesting to be acquainted with the situation of Polish migrants in The Netherlands, to be informed about the amount of Poles in The Netherlands, their problems and the plans they have for their future.

1.3 Scientific relevance

Nowadays, migration is a popular field of study for a wide range of disciplines, including geographers, lawyers, sociologists etc. Over the last few decades, many books, articles and magazines about the phenomenon of migration have been published. Before 2004, numerous migration and ethnic theories tried to explain common evidence and/or causes of migration. However, in 2004, when large parts of Central and Eastern Europe joined the European Union, huge flows of migrants from the new member states started arriving in 'old' members states. Therefore, in many cases, older theories became invalid because they were unable to explain the contemporary migratory process (Favell, 2008).

The 'old' migration researchers tried to compare the existing situation with the phenomenon on the border between the USA and Mexico. However, these types of scientific relevance do not fit the European case, where there is a freedom of flows within the European Union. Migration researchers found an urgent need to explore new spatial behaviour within the European Union. Many scientists focused on the British case, where the largest group of new migrants arrived. Furthermore, much attention has been given to macro-scale effects of post-accession migration in the European Union as well.

However, micro-scale migration literature regarding the Polish-Dutch case is very scarce. In 2008, the municipality of Rotterdam conducted a research about Polish migrants in their city. They concluded that some 30 to 60 percent of Polish migrants are aiming to stay in The Netherlands (BSD Rotterdam, 2008). This was the first time the Polish perspective concerning their stay in The Netherlands was included in a scientific research.

Literature concerning Polish migrants focuses chiefly on economical reasons of their mobility, without a deeper understanding of the issue. There seems to be a lack of scientific knowledge at the micro scale level about the expectations, aims and (spatial) belongings of Polish

migrants in The Netherlands. We could not find any research that included the Polish point of view through in-depth interviews.

Finely, it is worth mentioning that we conduct our investigation in a time of global credit crisis. Therefore, we are enquiring about the influence of the economical crises on the migration flows between Poland and The Netherlands. For example, in ‘The British case’ we have seen that because of the decreasing job offer, many Polish migrants decided to go back to Poland or moved to other European countries. It is possible that there is also an effect of the global credit crises on ‘The Dutch case’. However, we have not noticed a decreasing job offer for Poles in The Netherlands. The number of Polish migrants entering The Netherlands is still increasing.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Two authors have written this thesis: Anne Boer & Michal Karczemski. The first four chapters of the thesis are written together: Introduction (1), Theory (2), History of Migration & Current Situation (3) and Data & Methodology (4). This also goes for chapter 7, Conclusion & Discussion, in which we discuss results of our common work. Next to these common chapters, we both wrote an individual chapter (chapters 5 & 6) in which we discuss our specific investigations. Below we provide a short clarification of the content of the different chapters.

In chapter 2, we will discuss theories related to the migration issues in all its aspects. These theories refer to our research questions and concern international migration, mobility, networks, and personal life goals. In chapter 3, we will discuss important facts from the Polish and Dutch history of migration, which can influence contemporary migration flows between Poland and The Netherlands. This chapter will also highlight statistical numbers of Poles in The Netherlands and The Hague and different social and cultural aspects of their stay here. In chapter 4, we will argue methodology, methods, and we will present some data gathered during the online survey. In chapter 5, Michal Karczemski will discuss ‘The socio-economical reasons and networks facilitating migration of Poles to The Hague’. He will explore the main reasons for the inflow of Poles into The Netherlands and the actors who are involved in the whole process. Moreover, he will investigate the information about the host country that the migrants possess before their arrival. The collection of this information enabled him to build a clear picture of the initial phase of the migration and an answer to his main research question. In chapter 6, Anne Boer will discuss “Mapping mind and social reality: Personal life goals and social involvement of Polish migrants in The Hague”. This chapter focuses on a further stage of migration, when the migrants are settled down in The Hague. Firstly, the personal life goals and plans for the future of Polish migrants in The Hague are discussed. This chapter also highlights the contacts and networks, which Polish migrants maintain and build up in The Hague. The main aim of her

research is to check the willingness of the Polish migrants for integration. Chapter 7 holds the most important conclusions of this thesis. We hope to give a well-funded answer on our research questions.

With this Master's thesis, we improve the knowledge of recent migration from Poland to The Netherlands. Nowadays, there is still a lack of knowledge on the Dutch side concerning this process. On the other hand, these migrants also are not informed enough about their situation in The Netherlands. Through our multi-national perspective, we are able to recognise deeply the complex problems, structure and matters that trigger Poles and Dutch.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we set out the theoretical concepts on which we base the analysis in chapter 5 and 6. We focus on the migration process of Polish migrants to The Hague. In chapter one, we presented our main research question, which emphasized the influence of networks formed before and after the migration and the fulfillment of personal life goals in The Hague. In order to understand the influence of different types of networks in different phases of the migration process, before and after migration, one needs to be acquainted with the theoretical concepts which are part of the migration process. Therefore, in this chapter we explain these theoretical concepts and their inherent cohesion.

Many Poles are not able to fulfill their *personal life goals* in Poland. Therefore they decide to become *mobile* and as a result *migrate*, for example to The Netherlands. During this movement, they use *networks* to arrive in The Netherlands. Once they are settled down in The Netherlands, new networks can be developed with other Poles or with Dutch people. The type of networks Polish migrants use to move to The Netherlands is of influence on their future situation and their (social) behavior in the host country. Therefore, we focus on the migration networks and their function in the lives of Polish migrants before their arrival and after in The Hague.

In this theoretical chapter we discuss the theories explaining the process described above. We do this in the chronological order of the migration process. We start with the actual migration in section 2.1. In this section we give an overview of different approaches to study international migration and we define international migration. Through migration, some Polish people become mobile; we therefore discuss in section 2.2 the concept of mobility. Different perceptions of mobility are presented in this section. To migrate, migrants use networks. Section 2.3 focuses on these networks. The difference between informal and formal networks will be explained. Furthermore, causes and implications of social networks which are maintained and build up in The Netherlands are discussed. In section 2.4 the theoretical concept of personal life goals is addressed. Life goals and strategies how to achieve these goals are emphasized. In section 2.5 the state of art in post-accession migration of Poland is discussed. We focus on a research about post-accession migration from Poland, ‘The Final Migration’, conducted by Marek Okolski, published in 2009 by the Warsaw Migration Research Centrum. Section 2.6 is a conclusion of chapter two.

2.1 International migration

-The idea of a person migrating from one nation-state to another seems to be undermined- by the broader context of increasing globalization - Sabina Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2008

International migration is not a new development; it has been a part of human history from earlier times. However, it has grown in volume and significance since 1945 and most particularly since the mid-1980s. Therefore, some argue that the last half of the twentieth century has been an age of migration (Castells and Millar, 2003). Numerous people move in search of better standards of living. Presently around 3% (Castells and Millar, 2003) of the world's population is a migrant. It signifies that the majority of people still reside in their countries of birth.

There is not one scientific approach, which deals with migration. Different disciplines, like anthropology, demography, economics, geography, history, law, political science and sociology study migration. Often, the collaboration between knowledge of different disciplines is used to investigate the processes of migration. Moreover, contemporary migration studies focus chiefly on the impact of migration rather than on the migration process itself. Therefore, it is difficult to formulate one single definition, which would explain the migration process and its implications

According to Hollifield and Brettell, a general definition of international migration can be formulated as “*self-directed movement of individuals from one state to another*” (Hollifield and Brettell, 2000). The definition which is more applicable to our research, since it takes into account the causes and consequences of migration, is formulated by Pennix, Spencer and Van Hear (2008). This definition of international migration is formulated as “*the spatial movement, voluntary or forced, of persons across political borders as a process, together with its causes and consequences*”. In our thesis, we hold on to this definition of international migration.

One of the first scholars of migration was the nineteenth century geographer Ravenstein. According to Ravenstein (1885), people move from densely populated spaces to sparsely populated area. Later, the development of this theory showed that most migrants move to improve their living standards and seek new opportunities (Castles and Miller, 2003).

However, the world is changing and so does international migration. The international migration seems to be part of contemporary world developments. It is likely to grow because of increasing globalization. The development of migration within the process of globalization refers to a ‘new geography of migration’, which means that categories and channels of immigration are extremely diverse (Pennix, Spencer & Van Hear, 2008). This can be understood in terms of changes in size, origin, destination and composition of international migration. Movements of

migrants can take many forms: people migrate as manual workers, high-educated specialist, entrepreneurs and refugees or as family members of migrants. In addition, all these changes correspond to a broader context: increasing globalization in all domains. In various sectors, globalization has an influence, starting with the financial sector, which is increasingly acting on a world scale instead of on a national level, this also accounts for trade. The industrial and agricultural production as well developed new divisions of labour across borders. Moreover, national borders do not limit development of culture and knowledge (Pennix, Spencer & Van Hear, 2008). All these changes have consequences for the mobility of people around the world.

Traditionally, migration means leaving one nation-state to another and most often this will lead to permanent settlement or return to the country of origin after some period. The decision to leave a country is often based on the so-called push- and pull- factors. Push factors are the factors in the home country that force people to move to another country. Pull factors are the factors in host countries that attract people to move to them. Some important push factors are poor economic conditions or ethnic problems in the home country. The traditional pull factors are better living conditions abroad, a higher wage and good employment opportunities (IOM, 1998). However, recent migration shifted to practices that are more fluid. The idea of a person, who migrates from one nation-state to another, seems to be undermined (Sabina Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2008). New developments, like cheap and easy travel possibilities and communication facilities, made it easy to become more fluid, to maintain ties with the home country and to build up contacts with people in other countries (Garapich & Eade, 2006).

The enlargement of the European Union in 2004 included eight formerly post-communistic countries from Central and Eastern Europe. Their membership was followed by huge and unpredicted movements from these new states to the old members states. The new migration after the enlargement is named *post-accession migration*. Post-accession migrants represent mobility, flexibility and transnationalism (Light & Craig, 2009). Therefore, the concept of international migration does not fully explain the movements of post-accession Polish migrants. International migration is perceived chiefly in spatial categories, but we cannot forget that migrants not only change places but also move in social spheres.

In contrast to international migration, mobility focuses on the movement in social sphere, comprehended as intentions, strategies and choices (Urry, 2007). Therefore, we discuss in the next section the concept of mobility, which attributes to the understanding of the migration process of Polish migrants to The Netherlands after 2004.

2.2 Mobility

-Mobility is one of the aspects of freedom, and such, as it is something new and excitement; being free to move around, to go where one wants- John Urry 2006.

Metaphorizing mobility

People crossing borders to find a better life perspective or searching a well-paid job are often on the move. Observing the arrival of the Poles in The Netherlands after 2004, we have witnessed that some Poles are very mobile. They easily can move from one place to another to fulfil their plans. Two metaphors, which can be applied to these migrants, are *nomadism* and *motel*. John Urry refers to the metaphor *nomadism* in his book “Mobility” (2007). According to him, nomads belong to de-territorialized society. In their living-world, there are no points or nodes, only the lines along migrants move. In *nomadism*, processes of creation and transformation are dominating (Urry, 2007). Polish migrants who take part in these new migration flows are perceived as flexible and fluid. Often, they do not recognize the host country as their final migration destination. They follow the most profitable places in Europe. If one place, city, region or country stops supporting their profits, they pack themselves and move further, like nomads on a desert that follow places with a lot of water. For Polish, “the water” is the value of Euro’s or British pounds. Another metaphor, which can relate to the post-accession migration of Polish migrants, is a “motel”. For most of us, this term brings memories of travelling to our holiday destination along highways. On our route, we pass different neon lights advertising motels where it is possible to sleep for a cheap price. However, in the cases of mobility and fluidity “*motel memorialize only movement, speed, and perpetual circulation*” (Morris, 1998). Examples of such places in The Netherlands exist as well; Polish labour hotels in Wateringen and in Maasdijk, or thousands of bungalows spread around the whole country, where Poles sleep after their work.

Access to mobility

The word “mobile” is often used in scientific works to emphasize the speediness of contemporary world. Our century is even being called: “The Mobile Century”. The development of communications like internet creates a virtual world in where humans are able to move around the globe never leaving their comfort zone at home. Not only humans are in motion but knowledge, capital and different types of products are constantly relocated. Increasing transport possibilities also make it easier to move around the world. Twenty years ago, flying was a symbol of luxury, but today’s cheap flights offered by *Ryanair*, *Easy Jet* and *Wizzair* have become icons of present days.

Besides transport and communication developments, the freedom for EU citizens to travel and work between countries belonging to the Schengen Zone caused that moving within the EU became much easier. The Schengen Zone forms the European Union without border controls. Citizens of the EU can move within the EU without special residence permission, trying to obtain new life experiences or to fulfil their plans.

Forced to be mobile

Mobility is not only a result of freedom. Often, movers are forced to change relocation. Therefore, mobility of migrants is particularly because of the world instability. Economic, social and environmental disturbances force people to leave their previous homes and become mobile. Frequently, contemporary migrants possess a double origin; some of them come from “wild zones”, places abused by globalization. The origin of others is from the “culture of terror” areas, regions, countries at war (Chechnya, Afghanistan, Sudan etc.) (Urry; 2007), their mobility is very often scarred by an exploitive character by different trafficking gangs.

Dimensions of mobility

Mobility is a general term, which includes all types of territorial movements. There is a strict border between movements in a geographical space and in a social sphere. Thus, physical movement take places in the first one. Movement in social sphere is comprehended as intentions, strategies and choices (Urry, 2007). Owing to this researcher, the framework of mobility is based on the three dimensions: *movement, motility and networks*.

Movements are mainly perceived in geographical sphere, as changes of places. However, as well communication through internet or telephone is an element of movements.

Motility is comprehended as a capacity to move socially and spatially by “actors”. Physical aptitude, aspiration, accessibility to transportation, communication and as well the knowledge and permissions are determinants of motility, which may affect the movements (Urry, 2007; Kaufmann, 2002). Kaufmann (2002) postulates that motility forms a new human capital. This new form of motility capital works independently from economic and social capital, which has influence on mobility of people.

Networks are the infrastructure of mobility. Technical infrastructure, forming the institutionalized networks and social networks, which includes institutionalized relationships. Through networks is it possible to connect and move. According to Urry (2007), the networks are “scapes”; part of the landscape of the contemporary world. We consider the role of migration

networks as a very important element, facilitating movement of the Polish to The Netherlands. Therefore, in the following section we present profound knowledge about migration networks.

2.3 Networks

*-Far from being static, networks are often fluid, changing as participants' needs and circumstances alter over time-
Morgan, 1990*

Nowadays, networks are increasingly seen as crucial for understanding patterns of migration, settlement, employment and links with 'home' (Castles & Millar, 2003). Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants to one another through relations of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (Palloni et al., 2001). In our study, we investigate their role separately. Michal Karczemski explores informal and formal networks, which caused migration to The Netherlands. Moreover, he investigates the influence of formal networks on Polish migrants after their arrival to The Hague, whereas Anne Boer examines the development of informal networks amongst Polish in The Hague. As well, she deals with the development of private (social) contacts between Polish and Dutch. Anne Boer examines the development of informal networks after the arrival of migrants in The Hague.

2.3.1 Networks which are used to migrate

Social (informal) networks

Migration networks affect significantly the migration process. Networks with people from back home are often used for exchanging information, sending money home, facilitating relatives or friends for migration. Social networks can help migrants in their migration process, by supporting them and/or helping them by finding a job. They can offer them an access to better possibilities on the labour market or higher quality goods (Massey 1994, Arango, 2000). Connections between migrants reduce the costs or risks of being mobile and entrance a foreign labour market. Therefore, potential migrants often decide to move to places that are already well-known by other members of a network. They can rely on their acquaintance to find a job, accommodation and physical support. Thus, contacts with people from back home are informational, but emotional as well. Emotional ties, which migrants maintain with good friends and family back home, can help migrants in combating homesickness and loneliness. However, friends through telecommunications can also provide emotional support. Through this form of emotional

networks, trans-national links with people back home may continue to play a supportive role even after migration (Ryan et al., 2008).

These networks with people from back home can be considered as a positive aspect of migration, because it facilitates the process of migration, it functions as a bridge of information and contacts between the migrants and their home country. Besides that, it helps to create a flow of remittance, which has a huge influence on the economy of many poor countries. However, there are also negatives features, which relates to migration networks. Migration networks in the receiving country can confine the integration of migrants in the new society, forming a migrant “ghetto”. Moreover, contacts with people from “back home” can also be perceived in a way of “acting as gatekeepers”; some weaker individuals (without any social networks to help them) may not have the access to migrate (Sabina Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2008).

Nevertheless, migrants form as well new contacts, friendships and relationships during their movements. Therefore, during the process of migration, migrants increase the amount of social contacts and form new social networks between them.

The formal networks (migration business/industry)

Besides informal networks, formal networks start playing an increasing role in migration processes. In this study, formal networks are understood as migration business. Garapich (2008) defines the migration business as “specialized social actors and commercial institutions that take directly benefits not only from human mobility but also from effective adaptation to the new environment”. Garapich thus states that the migration business facilitates moving and settling down in new places. The migration business simplifies the process of coming back home as well (Garapich, 2008). Therefore, migration patterns have become more fluid. Migration researchers have not acknowledged this new element of migration for a long time in the migration studies. Recently, American investigators who studied American- Mexican migration noticed the important role of the migration business in cross-border labour migration. Migration business belongs to migration studies; however, it is a recent development and still not deeply rooted in the understanding of migration (Ruben Hernandez-Leon 2005).

The use of informal and formal networks influences the situation of Polish migrants once they are in The Netherlands. Migrants using formal networks are provided with important living facilities at the beginning of their stay in a host country, whereas migrants who use informal networks have to deal with all these matters by themselves. The job agencies recruiting Polish to work in The Netherlands try to provide Polish with accommodation and work. This type of migration is completely regulated by job agencies. Polish migrants are often accommodated in old

monasteries, hotels or holiday parks or even on an old military base. Thus, migrants using formal networks do not have to worry about finding a job and accommodation abroad. At the same time, they can become an easy target of mala fide employers. Migrants arriving through informal networks have to rely on friends or family in The Netherlands. However, even with the help of these informal networks, Polish migrants can encounter problems such as finding a satisfying accommodation. It can happen that they are scarcely informed about the host country and do not speak the language, therefore some of them become victims of unreliable house owners practices.

The migration business facilitates migration significantly because it simplifies the access to the European labour market for Polish migrants and gives accommodation support. However, this type of migration can also cause some problems. Polish are completely controlled by employers. The loss of their job means automatically the loss of accommodation. Therefore, this type of networks has many advantages at the beginning of migration but it can affect migrants after some time also negatively.

Sometimes, migrants use these two types of networks interchangeably. Some Polish migrate via informal network but after arrival search jobs within the migration business. Others arrive using job agencies but once they develop new informal contacts in the host country, they try to find a job or accommodation via informal contacts.

Once Polish migrants arrive in The Hague, they start developing a private, social life. They maintain contacts with fellow migrants who for example helped them to migrate, but they also meet new people. In the next section, we present the theoretical background related to research about social networks in the host country. We divided this aspect in two parts: contacts with Polish migrants in The Hague and contacts with Dutch people.

2.3.2 Networks in the host country

Networks with other Polish migrants in The Netherlands

Besides the contacts that migrants maintain with their friends, family and other persons from the home country, migrants also build up new networks in the host country. Contacts with other Polish migrants in the host country can on the one hand provide a sense of security among other immigrants in The Netherlands. For many, contact with other Poles may be the only route to employment, accommodation, practical assistance and even companionship (Ryan et al., 2008). For example, Polish forums like *Niedzala.nl* and *Polonia.nl* can be helpful for Polish people to discuss the problems they have during their stay in The Netherlands.

Nevertheless, migrants who maintain strong ties with groups of co-ethnics may in addition be socially disadvantaged since contacts with other migrants in The Netherlands can be

seen as an obstacle to progress integration. According to migration literature, migrants *could* form more easily a “community” in where they group together. Besides that, tight networks of co-ethnics can lead to exploitation and cheating, as well as reinforcing social disadvantages and ghetto forming (Kelly & Lusic, 2006).

The formation of Polish communities in foreign countries is often been criticized by scholars. They argue that it seems that competition rather than collaboration amongst Polish migrants has often been the “hallmark” of Polish migrant communities (White & Ryan, 2008). A research from the Institute for Western Affairs in January 2008, showed that 72% of Poles believed that “you should be very careful in relations with other people”, while only 26% agreed that “generally you can trust most people” (Eurobarometer, 2008). There seems to be a sense of distrust from Polish migrants towards the wider Polish community. The idea that Poles “do not help each other” is also confirmed in the study of Ryan et al. concerning Poles in London (2008). This makes it reasonable to think that Poles distinguish between their very close friends of co-ethnics and on the one hand and the wider “community” on the other. These close circles of friends and relatives are often perceived as supportive, trustworthy and provided practical help as well as emotional support (Ryan et al., 2008).

Recently, the development of internet allows migrants to contact regularly with their acquaintances in the home country or somewhere else in the world. It facilitates as well new contacts with other Polish migrants in the host country. Social networking sites, forums and communicators, like *Nasza Klasa*, *Gadu-Gadu*, *Skype* and *MSN* add a new dimension to Polish networks (White & Ryan, 2008). For instance, the site *Nasza Klasa* is useful to maintain actively relations between Poland and other foreign countries. With the help of this internet forum, it becomes easier to find other Poles who also migrated and receive in the same country or town. In spring 2008, *Nasza Klasa* had 11 million users.

Networks with Dutch people in The Netherlands

Polish migrants also build up contacts with Dutch people during their stay in The Netherlands. Pettigrew states that contact between different (ethnic) groups generally relates negatively to prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2003). This means that if different (ethnic) groups have contact with each other; they will have less prejudice towards each other. In the majority of migration literature, authors are arguing that social capital is seen as “something that is acquired through immersion in the ethnic community at the place of settlement”. Nonetheless, this suggests that “immersion in the ethnic community at the place of settlement” is something that is taken for granted when migrants are abroad. This implies that migrants will play easily a role into networks

that provide them with resources and emotional support (Ryan et al., 2008). In reality, Polish migrants have difficulties to access existing networks and to establish new ties in the host country.

This raises the distinction between social capital based on *bridging* and *bonding* contacts. Bridging social capital refers to social networks which bring people of different sorts together while bonding social capital brings people of a similar sort together (Norris, 2003). Putnam, in recent work, re-examines the relationship between bridging and bonding social capital. He concludes that the two combined processes do not correlate in a zero sum relationship (Putnam, 2007). This suggests that migrants who have lots of contact with other Poles may also have lots of contact with people from another ethnicity. Bonding contact can also change into bridging contact. Migrants can develop new relationships, find alternative sources of information and support after they have been for a while in The Netherlands. The bonding contact felt probably safer. Nevertheless, at a certain moment, migrants can have the tendency to develop bridging contacts. This can be for several reasons; to make new friendships, to gain language skills or to feel more deliberate and to get a better understanding of the society they are living in. Besides the bridging and bonding aspect of social networks, the type of network also depends on class status, gender, age and education (Torunczyk- Ruiz, 2008). Well-skilled workers rely often on the networks consisting from colleagues and lower skilled labourers, which are more embedded in family networks (Vertovec, 2002; Torunczyk- Ruiz, 2008).

Besides the types of networks, we also have to take into account that networking requires effort and the investment of time and resources (Ryan et al., 2008). Thus depending on the available time and resources, people have different opportunities to access and participate in networks. Regarding the available resources, migrants can have economical, cultural and social forms of capital. These forms of capital can influence each other. For example, a migrant who speaks the Dutch language, who has a higher cultural capital, may also have more contact with Dutch people (Ryan et al., 2008).

Migration, mobility and social networks developed by Polish migrants during the process of migration, have an influence on their personal identity. As a consequence of migration, migrants are placed in a new environment. This can lead to developments in different directions, like different kinds of jobs, new social contacts, a new perception on their culture and the knowledge of new cultures, new plans for the future and so on. This can influence their worldview, and therefore directly influence their life goals and willingness to stay in The Netherlands. In section 2.4 we elaborate on personal life goals and plans for the future.

2.4 Personal life goals

-Personal life goals can help migrants to choose where they want to go in life. If they know what they want to achieve, they also know where to concentrate their efforts - Malmberg & Norrgard, 1999

When people orientate to the future they set up goals, figure out the means to reach those goals, and then evaluate the potential outcomes (Malmberg & Norrgard, 1999). Personal goals and needs are phenomena that are of importance for migrants who enter into a new life.

There are many definitions of life goals. Goals can be perceived as “desired states that people seek to obtain, maintain, or avoid” (Emmons, 1996). People give direction to their personal development through goal-directed actions. They shape their life course in aspired directions (Riediger, Alexandra & Baltes, 2005). Future and life goals also have been investigated as hopes and “worries, hopes and fears”, or “interest and worries” (Solantaus, 1987). Another description of personal life goals is formulated as “processes for thinking about your ideal future, and for motivate yourself to turn this vision of the future into reality” (Vanito, 2009). The latter description is the most applicable definition of personal life goals for this research.

Personal life goals can help migrants to choose where they want to go in life. If they know what they want to achieve, they also know where to concentrate their efforts. Personal life goals can be perceived as a personal objective, something you want to achieve in a specific period. Setting goals is as a process, which clarifies what you want in life, presented in a series of goals. These goals can be powerful motivators to work on your career or to achieve the things that make your life qualitative better. Typical examples of adolescent life goals are future education, occupation, leisure and family life, property or health. The goals and time extension vary according to culture, gender, socio-economic background and education (Malmberg & Norrgard, 1999). Personal life goals can be maintained without having the actual means to attain these goals. In addition, this is exactly the difference with “needs”; needs are more related to resources (economical, social or cultural) and are therefore more realistic. For personal life goals you can strive, as long as he or she anticipated that these goals could be gained in the future (Ryan, Dooley & Benson, 2008).

Boneva and Frieze (2001) concluded in their research that there are significant differences across countries concerning achievement and power motivation, between people who migrate and those who do not. Migrants do have a higher achievement motivation and higher power motivation than those who did not want to leave the country (Boneva & Frieze, 2001). They also declared that people who want to emigrate scored significantly lower on family centrality than those who wanted to stay in the home country.

Personal life goals can also be studied from the future orientation of Polish migrants. The future orientation depends on where migrants think they might live in the future and with whom and where their social ties are maintained. Thus, in which country important family members are located and whether they invest in a life there. Düvell and Vogel (2006) distinguish four different types of migrants, based on their future orientation. The first type is the *return oriented migrants*; these migrants are primarily focused on the country of origin. They only stay abroad for a limited period, mainly between 6 months and one and a half year. Migrants who are more oriented towards the receiving country are described as *emigrants*. Migrants who have a long-term bipolar orientation in two countries are perceived as *transnational migrants*. This group often keeps strong economic, personal and political ties to both countries, and they show their loyalties to both countries. Transnationalism is thereby thought of as a bridging pair of countries, e.g. the United States and Mexico or Germany and Turkey (Düvell & Vogel, 2006). Nowadays there is not *one* identity, which belongs to *one* place. Rather there are multiple identities that “*cut across fixed notions of belonging*” (Dwyer, 2000; Ehrkamp, 2005). Transnational migrants are often bilingual, without any problems they cross between two cultures. A majority of them possess two houses; one in the host country and a second in the former homeland. They follow actively political, economical and cultural events in both countries. Through the development of internet and cheap ways of communicating, transnational behaviour was able to grow (Portes, 1997). Migrants additionally are *negotiating* their origins. They must select the most important elements of multiple cultures and identities; therefore, they negotiate to achieve a compromise. They engage in creating places and transforming the landscape around them (Ehrkamp, 2005). A last type concerns migrants who are open to migrate to more places in the world. They are called *global nomads* (Düvell & Vogel, 2006). This type of migrants is even more open minded than transnational migrants. More often, they have lives in several countries and are open for living in different countries of the world. They did not develop any strong ties to any place. The length and the location of future settlement are completely open (Düvell & Vogel, 2006). These latter aspects of global nomads causes that the transnational ties of these migrants take on a more global perspective than that of the prior three categories.

In the table below, one can see the characteristics of different migrant strategies. These different strategies are related to the future orientations described above. The return oriented migrants can be described as “seasonal circulators”. These migrants still have a lot of family in Poland and stay in the Netherlands to earn money in order to return home. They are mainly located in the rural areas and in most cases by mediation of an agency. Most of these migrants will go back home and will return when they need the money again. The emigrants can be compared with the “settle

down” strategy. These migrants are more oriented to the host country; often they have families who live in the host country as well. They are not planning to return to their home country. Transnational migrants are in this table described as “long term” migrants. These migrants are more focused on achieving their goals, they maintain stable bipolar relationships. Global nomads have an “unpredicted intention” strategy. Often they are not married and therefore do not have a family who is waiting for them to return. Therefore, they are more flexible.

Table 1: Synthesis of post- accession migration strategy, adapted from Izabela Grabowska – Lusinska Marek Okolski (2008).

Indicator	Type of strategy			
	Seasonal Circulation	Settling down	Long term	Unpredicted intention
Future Orientation	Return oriented migrant	Emigrant	Transnational migrant	Global Nomads
Family strategy	Family in Poland	Family in host country	Family in destination country	Single/ partner
Level of used formal qualifications	Between neutral and positive	Positive	Positive	Between negative and neutral
Dominant of economy sector	Agriculture catering gastronomy construction	IT pharmaceuticals, biotechnology financial	IT pharmaceuticals, biotechnology financial	Catering gastronomy construction industry also high skilled sectors IT, financial
Space allocation	Rural area, tourist area	Depending on the localization of company and buying property	Depending on the localization of company	Space dispersion-space of new migrants network
Recruitment (formal & informal networks)	Bi-lateral contracts, job agencies	Planned process of recruitment or transfer	Planned process of recruitment or transfer.	Without earlier obligation
Coming back	Swing people	Hardly possible	Possible after the realization of defined goals of migration	Liquid coming back

Source: Izabela Grabowska – Lusinska Marek Okolski (2008).

These orientations can also change during the migrants stay abroad. For example, a return oriented migrant can show a pattern of *return illusion*: the plan to return is adherent but always postponed, so that in the end it never may be realised (Düvell & Vogel, 2006). Often, these migrants overestimate the saving opportunities in the receiving countries or get used to the way of life and wages while losing contact with their country of origin. This process can of course also

work the other way around. Polish migrants who want to stay in The Netherlands can have many disappointments and eventually decide to go back to Poland.

The decision to stay or to leave is a complex and difficult issue while studying migrant strategies and plans. Since Polish migrants are often uncertain about their future, can their initial plan can always change.

2.5 State of the art in post-accession research concerning migration in Poland

The huge outflow of Poles after 2004 surprised everyone in Poland. Before the European accession of Poland, Polish migration researchers expected that outflows of people would happen. However, the scale of this movement was unpredicted. The Warsaw Migration Research Centrum published on May 2009 a research conducted by Marek Okolski and Lucyna Grabowska-Lucinska- "*The final migration?*" These researchers try to explain the outflows of Poles after 2004. They summarize the knowledge that is possessed by Polish researchers and foreign publications concerning the migration after 2004. We found this book very relevant for our research and therefore we present some important parts concerning the Polish point of view on the migration process after 2004.

In the authors opinion, recent outflows out of Poland relates to Poland's demography and the development of the Polish society and economy in the 20th century. They explain that the status of a migration country is depended on the outflow of the dispensable amount of citizens and the increasing role of modern economy. In a country with a modernizing economy and a decreasing number of redundant people, the emigration gradually diminishes. Furthermore, the moment when demographic growth rate is nearly zero, the population is aged and the economy is segmented, causes a shift from an emigration into an immigration country. This situation took place in Western Europe between 1950's and 1970's. It is worth to notice that as well The Netherlands was an emigration state until the 1950's. Dutch citizens migrated mainly to Canada and Australia or to other countries in the New World. However, due to the development of a modern economy and a lack of labour force in the country, the Dutch government was forced to "import" cheaper labour from other countries. This caused that The Netherlands became an immigration state. Later, this migration process proceeded in Mediterranean Europe (Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece). Until the 1960's and 1970's, these countries were sending their own population abroad. Nowadays, they attract people from other countries.

Richard Layard (2002) emphasizes that the post- communistic states from Central and Eastern Europe did not experience this shift in their migration status. Therefore, the EU membership can cause a shift of migration status in these countries. Firstly, it gives the urge for

huge outflows of citizens from East to the West. This migration affects mainly the unemployed people and the workers with low salaries. Okolski and Lucinska (2008) stated that the modernization of the state depends on the outflow of surplus people. In their opinion, the redundant citizens have features, which are useless for the modernizing economy. Retraining of them would cost a huge sum of money for a country; therefore, the governments choose for migration of its own citizens (Lucinska & Okolski, 2008). In this “theory”, the existence of “useless” people is presented, people who cannot place themselves in the transformation process after 1989.

After 1945, the Polish economy and social development was regulated by the state. A strict migration policy limited the possibility to migrate during this period. People were employed in inefficient branches of the economy. Furthermore, the communistic labour system forced pendulum migration amongst the rural population of Poland. In 1960's and 1970's, the process of urbanization was blocked by the regime. Long-term migration between the rural area and the city was limited by the impossibility of registration in the municipality. Thus the rural workers, employed in the cities, were forced to live at the countryside without a perspective of moving closer to their work places. Despite of their non-agricultural activities, most of them possessed small farms for their own application. According to the communistic nomenclature of the previous system, they were called- *chłoprobotnik* (peasant-labourer).

The transformation of the system from communism to capitalism in the 1990's affected negatively on this labour group. Many of them became unemployed and their farms were too small to develop them and make profit out of it. They found themselves on the margin of the society. Therefore, many of these Poles decided to take seasonal jobs abroad. The first migratory destinations became Germany, later The Netherlands and Italy. The behaviour of this labour group indicates the shift from pendulum migration within their own country to seasonal migration abroad. Moreover, it is observed that the children of seasonal workers inherit migration manners from their parents.

Polish researchers as Okolski (2008), Grabowska- Lusinska (2008) and Garapich (2006) are remarking that fluid or liquid migrants characterize contemporary flows. The main features of these movements are the lack of geographical, time and functional determinism, which did not exist amongst previous migration processes. Traditionally, migration was perceived as movement between place A and B for some period. If the migration was seasonal, then it was logical to return from point B to point A. Nowadays, the movement from point A to point B does not have to mean as only option to stay in point B or returning. Many times, there is a flow from point B to C or another geographical destination, without any time frame. The strategies of

migrants are characterized by huge unpredictability of migrant's behaviour. These types of mobility demand cheap and easy transport, unlimited access to the labour market and knowledge of universal culture (Okolski, 2008).

In the research of Michal Garapich and John Eade (2006), Poles living in London are perceived as "liquid" migrants, who try to avoid a nationalistic behaviour. They represent a cosmopolitan ideology to fit better into the labour market. The Polish migrants demonstrate a high grade of mobility.

2.6 Summery

This chapter has presented the most applicable theoretical concepts for our research. We have discussed the relevance of the concepts international migration, mobility, networks and personal life goals for our research.

The concept of traditional international migration is not applicable to post-accession migration. This new form of migration has a more diverse, mobile and fluid character than migration that took place before 2004. The concept of mobility is often perceived as a synonymous for the speediness of the contemporary world. Through developments in all kind of sectors, like internet, technology, but also global (financial) markets, people have easily access to travel or even migrate to other countries. Networks are crucial in the migration process because they can largely determine in which situation migrants will arrive in the host country. Formal networks are facilitating networks and are therefore perceived as a more 'easy' way of migrating. Migrants using these networks are more certain of a job and accommodation comparing with migrants who migrate through informal networks. Personal life goals can give a direction to the migrant's process of moving to another country. Life goals of migrants are indicators for their future orientation and a certain strategy they maintain.

These theoretical concepts form the foundation of the empirical chapters 5 and 6. Being familiar with this theoretical background, makes it possible to understand the complexity of the process of migration from Poland to The Hague. In the empirical chapter 5 and 6, we analyze to what degree these theoretical concepts are applicable in our research.

This chapter provided theoretical information. However, the migration process from Poland to The Hague cannot only be explained through this theoretical framework. Therefore, the next chapter contributes additional, practical information, which add value to comprehend the process of migration from Poland to The Hague.

Chapter 3: History and current situation of Polish migrants in The Netherlands

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, information about the history of migration from Poland and the current situation of Polish migrants in The Netherlands is presented. To understand the causes and reasons for post-accession migration of Polish migrants, it is important to be familiar with the history of Polish migration. Post-accession migration from Poland to The Netherlands is related to previous flows of Polish migrants and the economic situation in Poland after the fall of communism system in 1989. Polish with a German nationality migrated for many years seasonally to The Netherlands. They lived in Poland but they worked abroad (Germany or The Netherlands). Because of this, they formed strong migration networks. These networks, which are formed in the 1990's, still attracting new migrants to The Hague. Many migrants from Upper Silesia who arrived in this city have family or acquaintances in The Hague. Those relatives also originate from Upper Silesia. Therefore, there is a strong link between the place of origin of Polish migrants and their preferable migratory destination- The Hague/The Netherlands.

Besides historical information, this chapter also includes statistical data about current Polish migrants in The Netherlands. Social, cultural and economic aspects of their life in The Netherlands are highlighted.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. Section 3.2 provides information about the history of Polish migration. It distinguishes between the history of political and economic migration in Poland. Furthermore, it explains the special role of Poles with a double citizenship: a Polish and a German passport. Section 3.3 describes the history of migration from Poland to The Netherlands and the other way around. First, in 3.3.1 the history of Dutch people in Poland is described. Secondly, in 3.3.2 the history of Poles to The Netherlands before 2004 is emphasized. Section 3.4 elaborates on this by describing the situation of Poles in The Netherlands after 2004. In section 3.5, the situation of Poles in The Hague is described. Section 3.6 presents information about the social and economic aspects of the life of Polish migrants in The Hague, like Polish facilities in The Hague, religious activities of Polish migrants, housing possibilities and work conditions. In the final section 3.7, we make a comparison with other migrants in The Netherlands.

3.2 History of Polish migration

Political migration

Migration from Poland has a political and economical dimension. The first political migration from Poland arose in the nineteenth century. In 1795, the Commonwealth of Poland and

Lithuania lost its independence. Russia, Prussia and Austro-Hungary distributed the Polish territory and occupied it for 123 years. The Polish noble class in the Congress Poland (the Russian part of Poland) organized bloody uprisings three times. All of them were defeated. Therefore, lots of Polish gentry who were fighting against the Russian occupation were forced to go abroad, mainly to France or Belgium. The second political migration emerged during the Second World War. Many Poles had to escape from Poland. Some of them decided to stay in England. London became a residence of the Polish Government in Exile. This city played an important role in dissident's lives. Polish soldiers who fought in the Second World War in western armies (the British Army or the Army of Gen. Anders) were blamed for treason by the communistic regime. To avoid the death penalty, thousands of soldiers and their families decided to stay abroad and never return to Poland.

After the war, migration from Poland was strictly regulated by the government and freedom of travelling was limited by special laws. Some groups of Poles were forced to migrate because of ethnic policy. According to the communistic ideology, Poland should be a homogeneous ethnic country and therefore, many Ukrainians and Germans were displaced. Especially, this policy was exposed in the late 1960s by the communistic regime. The aggravated relations between the Soviet Union and Israel in 1968 caused an anti-Semitism atmosphere in the communistic block. During student protests in 1968 (The Polish March), Jews were accused of preparing anti- government "rebellions". Consequently, 20.000 of them were compelled to leave Poland, getting a one way-ticket (Kaczmarczyk, 2008).

In 1970, demonstrations against the price rises broke out in the northern Baltic coastal cities of Gdańsk, Gdynia, Elbląg and Szczecin. These events directly influenced the situation in the whole country. The Polish regime was afraid of the Czechoslovakia scenario from 1968. Therefore, they changed the first Secretary of Party for a more liberal politician. This decision had an influence on the liberalization of social life in Poland. As a result, travelling and passport policy became less restricted. Therefore, the number of Polish travellers who went abroad increased. Some of them used this chance to stay in western countries, asking for asylum. The amount of Polish tourists who did not return during that period is estimated around 75,000 (Okolski, 1999). The intensification of outflows of Poles took place in the period between the formation of the Solidarity Movement (198) and the beginning of the martial law in Poland- 13th December 1981. It was related to the increase of repercussion after the establishment of the first trade union in the communistic block. Many members were discriminated by the regime and repressed. Thus, during that time, 20 thousands Poles left the country. The martial law completely blocked cross- border movements. The policy of détente came in the second part of

the 1980's. Democratization of Poland after 1989 and the restoration of freedom of travelling caused that Polish stopped migrating because of political reasons.

Economic migration

Until nowadays, Poles migrate because of economic reasons. Enormous unemployment, low salaries and the lack of perspective to find a better job, cause the outflow of people. The first Polish economic migration emerged in the nineteenth century in Galicia, which belonged to Austro- Hungary. The Galicians possessed small farms in the highland area. Poverty and a lack of cultivated land forced many of them to migrate to the USA. They mainly settled in Chicago. Poles from the Prussian territory migrated as well. Majority decided to move and find a job in industrial regions of western Germany or in the Benelux. Many Poles were employed in Belgian or in Dutch coalmines in Limburg. The economic migration from Poland decreased during the economic crisis in 1930s. After the war, Poles migrated mainly because of political reasons. Often economic reasons were used as background motives. Migrants who asked for asylum in western countries used political reasons to explain their escape from Poland because it was easier to get privileges in host countries. Therefore, the economic reasons of migration were suppressed.

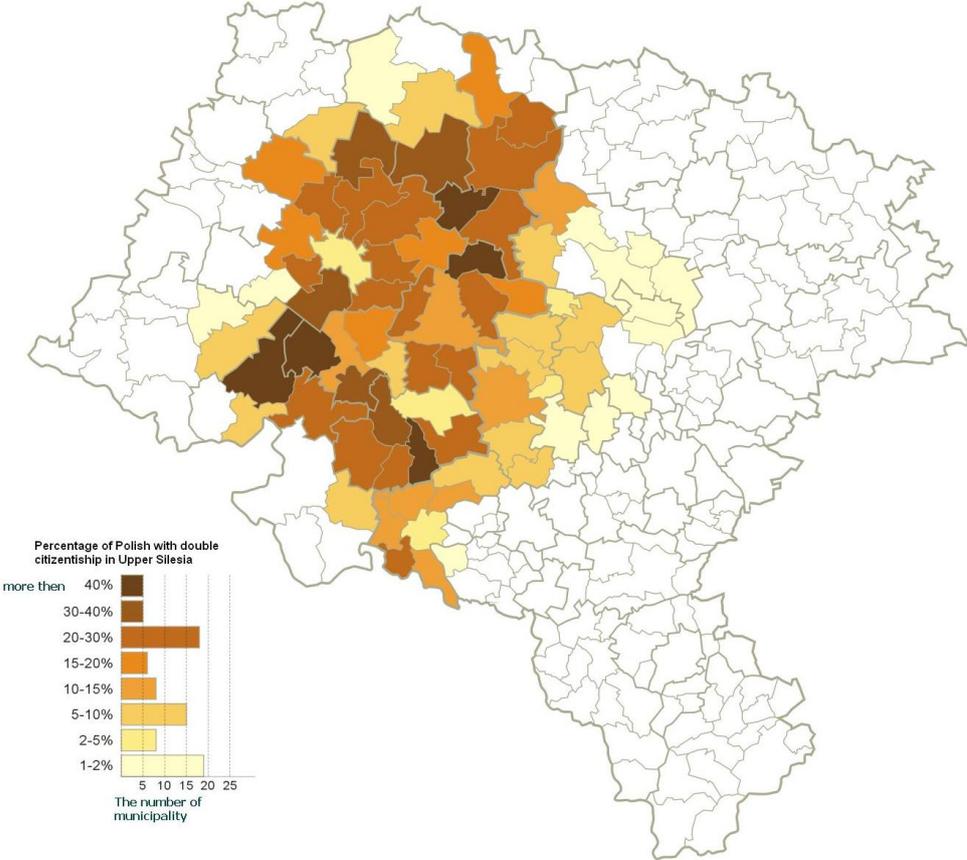
The liberalization of the social life in Poland in the 1970s influenced the perception of Poles about western countries. In that time, Poles could travel to the west. Polish cinemas were full of Americans films. These elements created a Polish awareness of the “Golden West” or “Golden El Dorado”. This myth is to some extent still present in the awareness of Polish people and it can even facilitate contemporary migration flows.

The huge economic crisis in late the 1980s extorted a more liberal migration policy from the government. Therefore, the amount of people migrating increased. In 1989, 148,000 Polish workers were registered abroad. Moreover, the outflow of Poles during the last decade of the communistic period can be estimated at 1.0 – 1.3 million people. (Okolski, 1999). It means that around 3.5 percent of the Polish population dwelled abroad.

The economic migrants of the late 1980s and 1990's were the pioneers of seasonal migration to some European countries (Germany, Italy, Scandinavia and the Netherlands). The accession of Poland to the European Union caused new migration flows from Poland. Around 1 million of Poles have moved to the UK after 2004. The amount of Poles who stay or work in member countries of the European Union is estimated around 2 million. (Grabowska- Lusinska, Okolski, 2008). Some groups in the Polish society perceive migration as a golden mine, which can improve their lives. In Poland, migrants are recognized as brave people who go to the west and make “*fast money*”. Therefore, the migrants who do not have a luck are judged as losers. The fear of coming

back to the home village without a “*suitcase full of euro’s or dollars*” causes that many of the migrants choose to be homeless in foreign countries instead of admitting that they did not earn much money. An important characteristic of Polish migration is the lack of cooperation between migrants. Poles abroad perceive each other as rivals. Therefore, they do not help each other. There exists a huge antagonism between political and economical migrants. These two groups do not recognize themselves in the space of host countries.

Figure 1: Poles with a German nationality in Upper Silesia



Source: Wikipedia, 2009

After the Second World War, the borders of Poland were changed. The new geopolitical shape of the country directly influenced the lives of millions Polish and Germans. According to the Potsdam Conference, Germans should be displaced from the area of Poland. Therefore, around 8 millions of them left the new Polish territory. The situation was even more complicated in the borders regions of Upper Silesia and East Prussia, which before 1939 belonged to Germany. Many people who lived there originally had Polish roots but they were Germanized.

After the war, the communistic regime positively verified some of them and as a result, they could stay in Poland. In the 1970s, many of them decided to migrate to Germany, especially because they had problems with the integration in communistic Poland. Moreover, in late 1980s and 1990s the German government decided to give German nationalities to those Polish people who had been born in Germany before 1939, as well to their children and even the grand children. Therefore, many Poles decided to take this opportunity and searched German ancestors to get a German passport. They did this mainly because of economical reasons. These people predominantly came from Upper Silesia, which used to belong to Germany. The German nationality allowed them to work in Germany or in the rest of the European Union before the European enlargement. (Jończy R. 2003). The existence of this double nationality is important for our research because many Polish seasonal migrants came to the Netherlands before 2004 on the base of a German passport.

3.3 History of migration from Poland to The Netherlands

3.3.1 The Dutch in Poland

International relations between Poland and The Netherlands arose 500 years ago. The increase of their cooperation occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. During that time, Poland functioned as a granary for the Low Countries. Dutch merchants imported Polish grains to The Netherlands. Many of them decided to move to the Commonwealth of Poland to have better control on their businesses. Therefore, they built their residences in the port city Gdansk.

Besides that, Dutch farmers and colonists were asked to populate marshy areas in Poland to recultivate them. Therefore, the Polish Kingdom in the 17th century decided to invite harassed followers of Mennonite Sect from the Dutch Republic. They settled down on the delta of The Vistula River (Zulawy), and in the valley of this river. Their arrival accelerated the development of the Polish agriculture in the 17th century. The areas populated by Dutch colonist were incorporated by Prussia in the eighteen century, because of the division of Poland. Similarities in

culture and religion caused that Dutch people easily became Germanized. After the Second World War, people who were perceived by the communistic nomenclature as Germans were forced to live Poland. Therefore, majorities of Dutch farmers in the surroundings of Gdansk or in the valley of the Vistula River had to leave their houses and were later displaced to Germany. Despite of this, Dutch traces are still recognizable in the Polish landscape, like canals and windmills, and in national landmarks like the national Polish tree, a willow brought by Dutch colonists. It is even recognizable in surnames like 'Kop', 'Koter' or 'Boer'. Moreover, after 1989 Poland became attractive for Dutch farmers to buy cheaper land there. Thus, some Dutch families settled down in Poland as well.

3.3.2 Migration of Poles to The Netherlands before 2004

The first group of Polish migrants came to The Netherlands to work in the coalmines in the southern part of the Netherlands, during the industrial revolution. The second group of Polish migrants stayed in The Netherlands after the war. They were mainly soldiers of the Gen. Maczek's Army who liberated towns in Noord-Brabant, like Breda. During the communistic regime, a small amount of Poles asked for political asylum in The Netherlands. At that time, The Netherlands was not a famous migration destination for Polish dissents.

In the 1990's, The Netherlands became a significant country for seasonal Polish migrants. During that time, numerous seasonal workers have been employed in the agriculture sector in The Netherlands. However, a majority of them, approximately 50 percent, worked illegally (Lewandowska, 2008). The frequent controls of the work inspection decreased the number of illegally working migrants. Poles with a double nationality, Polish and German, formed exceptions. They could work legally. Those people were responsible for the creation of specific contacts and links, which developed rapidly after the accession of Poland to the European Union and especially after May 2007. Some of those networks were transformed into more official networks; for example in job offices recruiting Poles to The Netherlands (Pijpers, 2008)

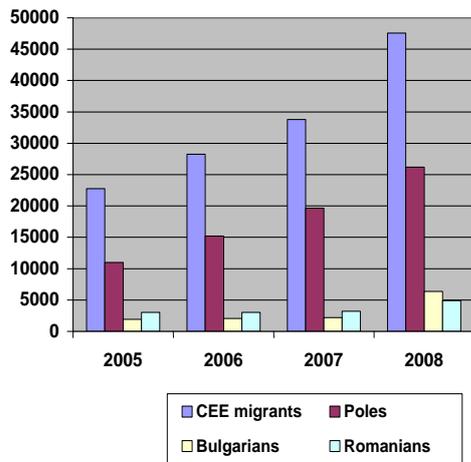
After 1998, it became easier for Poles to find legal jobs in The Netherlands. Under the pressure of the agriculture and horticulture organization, (De land- en tuinbouworganisatie) which unites agriculture and gardening companies, the Dutch government prepared a law which made the employment of foreigners for seasonal work to some extent possible. Later, some Poles who possessed a one-person-company, started to work as constructors and renovators. Besides seasonal workers, The Netherlands also attracted women who mainly came here to get married with a Dutch man (Lewandowska, 2008).

The Netherlands opened their borders on 1st May 2004 for people from the new EU countries, thus Poland as well. The citizens of these countries could work in The Netherlands, although they still needed a work permit, which restricted the possibilities to work. From 1st May 2007, Poles do not need this work permit any more. Illegal migrants became legal. They only had to apply for a special number (BSN) which allows them to work legally. The number of application for this increased from 17,000 in 2003 to 30,000 in 2004. However, this data does not indicate how many of these applications were asked by newcomers or migrants who wanted to become legal (Lewandowska, 2008). It is not compulsory for Poles to register themselves when they arrive in the Netherlands and stay less than three months. Nonetheless, for practical reasons, a residence or a declaration of registration can be useful during their stay in The Netherlands. According to article two from a pact concerning social security between The Netherlands and Poland, accepted in Warsaw on the 26th of March 2003, Poles have rights to Dutch social insurances. To obtain this, they must live and work in The Netherlands for a period of 6 months. (Spaans-Plociennik, 2009).

3.4 Polish migrants in The Netherlands after 2004

In 2008, 60,000 Poles were registered in The Netherlands (CBS, 2009). However, many Poles in The Netherlands are unregistered. The most recent estimation of the number of Poles living in The Netherlands is approximately 150.000 (Stedenband, May 2009). However, it is difficult to make such estimation because when a Polish migrant is here temporary, it is not necessary to register. Nevertheless, Polish migrants who are even longer in The Netherlands than three months often do not register because they do not have any official address. Sometimes, recruitment companies, which regulate job and housing for Polish migrants, avoid registration. Besides that, not every registered Polish migrant who leaves The Netherlands informs the city council about this. Therefore, statistics concerning numbers of Polish migrants in The Netherlands are as well subjective.

Figure 2: 'GBA' information about CEE migrants in The Netherlands



Source: Community of The Hague, 2009

In figure 2, one can observe that Poles are the largest group of migrants from the CEEC who migrated to The Netherlands after 2004. In contrast to Poles, Romanians and Bulgarians still need a work permit to work in The Netherlands, and therefore they are less represented. When they do not need a work permit any more, it is reasonable that the number of Romanians and especially Bulgarian migrants would increase even more.

Table 2: Dutch cities with more than 500 Polish citizens, on 1 January 2008

City	Number of Poles
The Hague	3.686
Amsterdam	3.007
Rotterdam	2.522
Eindhoven	1.218
Breda	1.008
Tilburg	993
Utrecht	983
Heerlen	904
Haarlemmermeer	812
Venlo	756
Almere	675
Haarlem	659
Helmond	618
Nijmegen	602
Westland	590

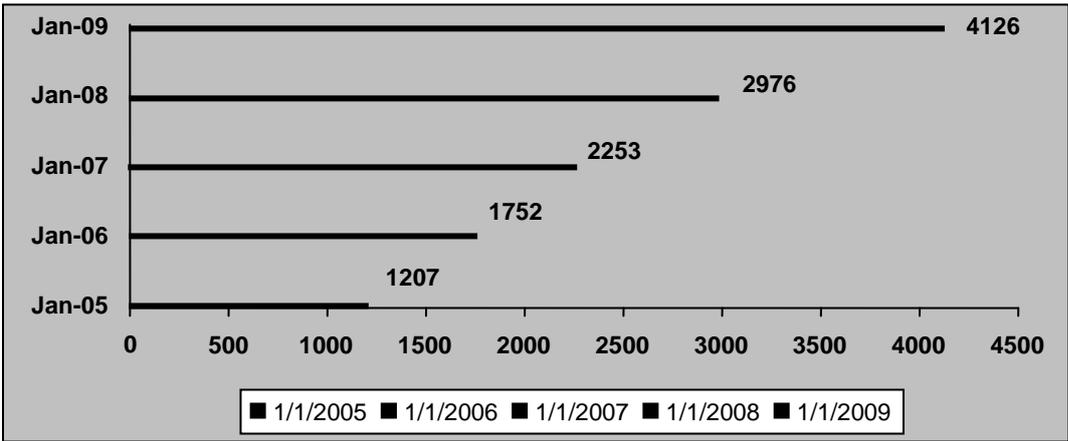
Source: 'Polen in Nederland', FORUM, 2009

In table 2, the spread of the Polish migrants in the Netherlands is presented. There are three cities, which accommodate a large number of Polish migrants: The Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The Hague accommodates the largest number of Polish migrants.

3.5 Polish migrants in The Hague

In The Hague, 28% of the citizens are non-Dutch (SEOR, 2008) compared to 24% in 1997. The arrival of Africans and Asian people remained quite stable, especially after 2003. The largest increase of non-Dutch people concerns people from Europe. The increase of these migrants is mainly caused through the migration of Polish migrants, migrants from the former Soviet Union and other European nationalities. After 2004, Poles are the third largest group of immigrants in The Hague, after German people (3.700) and English (3.500). On 1 January 2009, 4126 Poles were registered in the city council of The Hague.

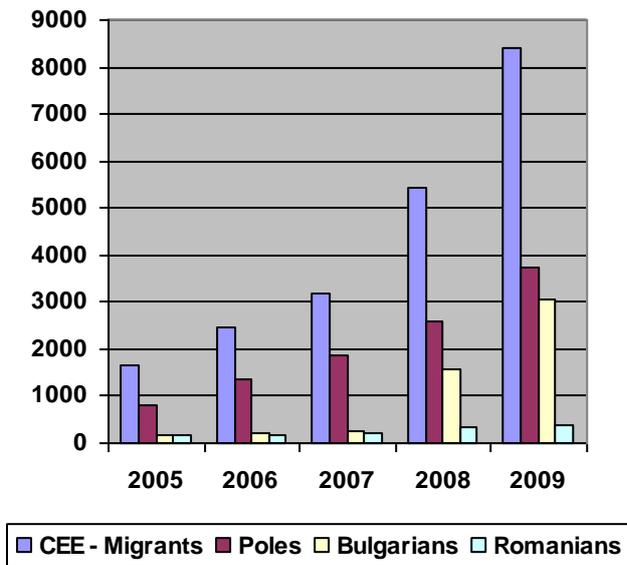
Figure 3: Registered people with the Polish nationality in The Hague



Source: Municipality of The Hague, 2009

In figure 3, one can see the number of Polish people who are registered in the city council of The Hague. Within four years, 2005 - 2009, the number of Polish migrants has increased from 1207 to 4126. These are of course only those migrants who are officially registered.

Figure 4: Spread of CEE migrants within The Hague



Source: The Hague municipality, 2009

In figure 4, the ethnicity of CEE migrants in The Hague is presented. Poles are the biggest group of CEE migrants. The high increase of Bulgarians is also interesting: we can see that in 2008 and 2009, the number of Bulgarian migrants in The Hague increased a lot. Comparing the number of registered Poles with the actual estimation of Poles in The Hague, we observe a big difference. It seems that between 20.000 - 25.000 Poles live in The Hague. This is around 5% of the total population in The Hague. Therefore, The Hague is the most 'Polish' city of The Netherlands (Saraber, 2009). Especially the neighbourhoods Regentessekwartier-Valkenbos (ReVa), Transvaal, Laak en Rustenburg-Oostbroek accommodate many Polish migrants (Zandstra & Jehoram, 2008).

3.6 Social and economic aspects of the life of Polish migrants in The Hague

3.6.1 Polish facilities

In the city of The Hague, many Polish facilities have arisen the last years. Every Sunday there is a service in a Polish Roman-Catholic Church. Besides this, there are Polish shops, cafes, discos, but also: a Polish dentist, obstetrician and advisory bureaus. For example, in the Beeklaan there is Café Syrena and in the Fahrenheitstraat café Fahrenheit with Polish music and a Polish atmosphere. Furthermore, in the Weimarstraat there is a Polish shop where all kinds of original Polish food can be bought. There even is a Polish bakery, which provides shops with Polish

bread within The Hague and in other towns and cities in The Netherlands. In fact, some Poles see this as a kind of remedy for their homesickness during their stay in The Hague.

3.6.2 Religious activities of Poles in The Hague

Polish people are very religious. Almost 90% of the population belongs to the Roman-Catholic Church. A survey in 2005, the Eurobarometer, pointed out that 80% of the Polish population believed in God (Eurobarometer 225, wave 63.1, 2005). This is also visible in the life of Polish migrants in The Hague. Already mentioned above, there is a Polish church in The Hague. The Teresia van Evila, this is the official name of this church, lies at the back of the historical city palace 'De Spaansche Hof'. Every Sunday, there is a service, which is very popular amongst Polish migrants in The Hague and surroundings. The churchgoer's public is very mixed. Young people with children, but as well older people are attending the church service. After this service, they often go to a small café to drink coffee with each other. Therefore, the church also functions as a socializing factor in the lives of Poles in The Hague. Nevertheless, the role of the church is decreasing in the Polish society in recent years. In previous times, the church played a role as facilitator of a place to shelter and work for many (illegal) migrants. The church community fulfilled a central role in the religious and societal life of Poles. Still, Polish migrants perceive the church as a place where their cultural identity and ethnicity is amplified (Korf et al., 2009).

3.6.3 Housing possibilities for Poles in The Hague

Polish migrants who come to The Netherlands by mediation of an agency are often placed in residences arranged by these agencies. These accommodations are often major housing locations, like old monasteries, hotels or holiday parks and even on an old military base next to the airport in Weeze in Germany. Polish migrants working on the rural area often sleep at the farmers place. The 'dark side' of these job agencies is that Polish migrants are enormously dependent on them, since they often organize transport, housing and work for them. Consequently, Polish migrants can be easily misled by the job agencies. There are a lot of agencies in bad faith, the 'mala fide' agencies. These agencies do not completely act according to the law and do not give special care towards housing for Polish migrants (Zandvliet et al., 2008).

Poles who decide to migrate individually, without mediation from an agency, have harder times finding a sleeping place or house once they arrive in The Netherlands. Often, they end up in very bad circumstances in houses owned by incorrect house owners. These incorrect house owners are called 'slum landlords' (Gottlieb, 2007). These landlords earn lots of money by putting too

many migrants in a small living place. Consequently, Polish migrants are living sometimes with 10 or even more people in one house. They often do not have their own room.

Another factor that influences the current housing situation is that Poles do not complain very quickly. Poles do not expect much concerning their accommodation in The Netherlands. They want to live as cheap as possible, to save money for back home.

Thus, on the one hand there are problems concerning housing circumstances of Polish migrants but on the other hand, Polish migrants themselves do not seem to care very much about this. Nevertheless, in reality the problem concerning housing is that there is just not enough available accommodation for Polish migrants. This is a serious problem, which the government is trying to deal with. Due to the shortage of houses, there is an occurrence of unsafe circumstance and nuisance, which cause troubles within neighbourhoods.

Communities and non-profit organizations like 'Leger des Heils' also do not know what to do with this increasing problem. In The Hague, this problem also occurs increasingly. Ernst-Jan Stroes from 'Stichting Fond voor Polen' assumes that there are some 200 Poles in The Hague without house or a sleeping place (nu.nl, 2009). Besides this, the municipality of The Hague estimates that there is a need for 4500 temporary sleep places based on a stay in the Netherlands for half a year. The Hague has the ambition to create 2500 sleeping places. Therefore, some municipalities are satisfied when job agencies take control over the housing situation for Polish migrants. For example, Groenflex has built two labour hotels in the area of Wateringen and Maasdijk.

Another step forward to better housing circumstances of Poles is the launch of the sticker: 'Certificated Flex Home', developed by ABU, the general association for housing agencies. This association recruits some 40.000 Poles (Volkskrant, 2009). ABU, together with NBBU (Dutch association for mediation and agencies) developed this sticker to make it more comprehensible for institutions like municipalities, fire brigades, supervising organizations and the employee himself, to see that the relevant agency is acting accountable towards housing.

3.6.4 Profession and work conditions of Poles in The Hague

Polish migrants are perceived as hard workers, who are doing the 'dirty' jobs in the Netherlands. They are willing to work for a gaunt loan and do not complain much. In The Hague, many Poles are living in the city but are working on the rural area around The Hague, the so called 'Bollenstreek' and 'Westland'.

Polish migrants are mainly working in the horticulture and agriculture. Besides this, they work also in the construction sector, services (hotel and catering industry, au pair, cleaning work),

transport, fabric work and metal sector. Besides that, there are also Polish migrants who fulfil specialized work like welding, plasterer, thatcher and more (Korf. Et al., 2009).

In 2008, Rotterdam conducted a research about Poles in the city of Rotterdam. They also investigated the sectors in where Poles are active. This research showed that most of the Polish migrants in Rotterdam are working in the horticulture, food production, and meat preparation (48%). Another fraction (23%) is working in the construction sector. The others are spread over different sectors like transportation, administration and unknown.

Before Poland's accession to the EU, Poles were mainly seasonal workers. Nowadays, more and more Polish stay longer than one season. Therefore, the businesses in where Poles are active are more and more diverse. To illustrate this, the number of Poles who run an own business is increased from 190 in 2003 to 3.347 in 2006. In 2007, there were already more than 7000 Poles with an own business. 60 % of these companies are in the construction sector (Korf. et al., 2009). There are no specific numbers for The Hague.

There are as well difficulties in the working sector. There are job agencies who are not acting according the Dutch laws. In fact, Poles should work according to the same terms of employment as Dutch citizens. In addition, in these laws it is stated that the loan of Poles can only be used for renting as long as they keep the minimum wage, but many agencies exceed these laws (van der Morst, 2007). VIA, the International Organization for Employment mediation, wants to strive for agencies who are 'in good faith', which means that they are active for a minimum of two years, and 65% of their turnover has to be realized with foreign employers. Organization VIA tries to construct international agencies more officially based. VIA members who attract foreign workers to The Netherlands, also have to meet with the conditions according to the label: European Legal Labour Certificate. This certificate states that the employer is acting in a human way with temporary, foreign workers. This certificate is devised by SKIA, the International Association for Employments-finding Certificates. Agencies with this certificate employ as well native speakers, hence that migrants can be assisted best possible during their stay in The Netherlands. Agencies with this certificate are controlled at least two times a year (Website ABU, 2009)

3.7 Comparison with other migrants in The Netherlands

Polish migrants in The Netherlands are often compared with migrants from Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece, rather than those from Morocco and Turkey. The reason for this is the resemblance with their religion (mainly Catholic) and their European origin (Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2008). Migrants from Mediterranean countries came to The Netherlands because they had small chances in their

own country to find a job. Thus, their motives to come to The Netherlands were mainly economic. Their intention was to stay for a limited time and then to return to their home country. Those motives are quite similar with the motives of Polish migrants who came to The Netherlands recently. Since most of the Mediterranean migrants return to their home countries after some time, many people prospect that the same will happen with Polish migrants. However, there are significance differences between the migrants from the Mediterranean area and Polish migrants. Namely, Polish workers are more skilled and often possess an own business like renovating companies. Polish women are very active on the labour market as well.

The information we presented in this chapter, the history of Polish migration, data concerning (Polish) migrants in The Netherlands and the social and economic situation of Polish migrants in The Hague, constitute the background at which the migration process of Polish migrants takes place. Using this informational background helps one to understand more carefully the analysis in chapter 5 and 6. Moreover, we suppose that our research contributes to a growth of knowledge about newcomers from Poland. Our research belongs to the domain of migration science, which investigates flows of Polish people. In the next chapter, we will elaborate further on how our research fits in the methodological paradigm of social sciences. The next chapter also contains information on how we collected our data.

Chapter 4: Data & Methodology

In the following chapter, we explain the methodological approach of our research. This constitutes the fundamental base of why and how we conducted our research. In section 4.1, the research methodology and research methods we used in our study are discussed. We also introduce the methods we use, Mixed Methods. These methods enrich our report because we can combine different sorts of methods: qualitative and quantitative. We illustrate this with a qualitative-MM-quantitative continuum. Section 4.1 also provides information about the limitations of our research. Section 4.2 presents the research population used for our analysis. First, we discuss the in-depth interviews; we present an overview of these interviews. Furthermore, we describe how we experienced the fieldwork research we did in The Hague. Secondly, we present statistical information of the online survey in order to obtain an overview of the respondents. This overview contains data about gender, age, education, year of arrival and more. We end with a table including information about the key persons we have interviewed during our fieldwork.

4.1 Research methodology and research methods

We start with explaining the difference between research methodology and research methods. A research methodology is a worldview including philosophical and socio-political issues. It is a broad approach to specify scientifically how research questions should be asked and answered. Research methods are more practical, it includes specific strategies and procedures for implementing a research design, including sampling, data collection, data analysis and interpretation of the findings (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Thus, research methodology includes more than just the techniques used for data collection. It covers the entire research design, including questions whether the research should be qualitative or quantitative, what kind of sampling methods we use and so on.

4.1.1 Research methodology: How does our research fit into “the paradigm debate”?

Research methodology focuses on the procedures for understanding the world. The pressing question is, ‘How should the researcher go about finding out about social reality?’ (Bailey, 2007). We believe that society, individuals, and in our case Polish migrants and their living situations, are so complex that it is hard and actually not achievable to capture this in empirical models and

laws. We consider that our knowledge of social reality is subjective, ideologically conscious and situational and culturally variable (Marvasti, 2004). Thus instead of aiming to find universal laws, which is characteristic for a Positivistic way of doing research, we rather strive to find out how different situational and cultural variations shape reality. We are not after using a Positivistic way of doing research, in were a researcher follows an objective way of collecting data through common methods of observation and the formulation of theories and hypotheses which could be tested.

We aim to combine qualitative and quantitative data, to find patters in the behaviour of Polish migrants, which can explain and/or predict their situation in The Netherlands. And therefore, our philosophical orientation can be defined as *pragmatism*: a deconstructive paradigm that debunks concepts such as “truth” and “reality” and focuses instead on “what works” as the truth regarding the research questions under investigation. Pragmatism rejects the *either/or* choices associated with the paradigm wars, advocates for the use of mixed methods in research, and acknowledges that the values of the researcher play a large role in interpretation of results (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Mixed methods, the research method which is most associated with pragmatism and will be discussed in sub chapter 4.1.2, counters the incompatibility thesis. This thesis states that it is inappropriate to mix qualitative and quantitative methods, due to fundamental differences. According to this way of thinking, research paradigms are associated with research methods in a kind of one-to-one correspondence. Out of the pragmatist philosophical worldview, the mixed methodologist put forward the compatibility thesis, which states that qualitative and quantitative methods are compatible. Therefore pragmatism is an alternative to the *either-or choices* (to use either qualitative methods or quantitative methods) of the incompatibility thesis (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). It tries to search for practical answers to questions that intrigue the investigator.

In this research, we used qualitative and quantitative data. We believe that both methods can be useful in our research. We used four different sources of data collection for our analyses. Firstly, we conducted 28 in-depth interviews with Polish migrants in The Hague. Secondly, we placed online a survey, with a response of 153 persons. Thirdly, we spoke with 11 key persons in and around The Hague, who provide us with a lot of specific and useful information concerning the situation of Polish migrants in The Hague. Finally, Michal Karczowski visited Poland and he collected additional data, which enriched his analysis. He spoke with employees of five job agencies and a few dwellers of Opole.

Our point of departure in the analysis are the in-depth interviews, which provided us with a lot of detailed information. In order to place this information on a higher stance, we used the

survey results as a framework of reference, something to compare with. The interviews with key persons provided an insight view into the situation of the migrants, this helped us to place the information gathered by the in depth interviews on a broader scale. The data gathered in Poland helped to make the analysis in chapter 5 more intelligible.

4.1.2 Limitations

We are aware of the fact that we cannot discover universal laws that provide probable causal explanations for human behaviour and laws that presumably hold true across time and place (Marvasti, 2004). Since we are dealing with a specific group, which is constantly under changing characteristics and develops itself from time to time, we hope to create a well-fitted image of this group according to their latest motives, networks, movements and actions. We cannot neglect their different aspirations, ways of thinking, and therefore we are not focused on a value free, neutral language of science. Besides that, we believe that what can be learned about the social world exist not independently of the researcher. The manner and quantity regarding the influence of the researcher on the research differs during the investigation. At some points during the research process, the researcher and respondents may require an intensive relationship, while on other point this relationship is less necessary to obtain information and answer complex questions.

Concerning the limitations of our own data, the (qualitative) in-depth interviews may not be representative to make solid generalizations, since we cannot conclude out of 28 interviews in how far these opinions match with the opinions of 149.972 other Poles who live in The Netherlands. Bearing in mind the survey results, they may be more representative in numbers, but on the other hand, we have to take into account the selection procedure, which is applicable with such a method of collection data. Since Poles need a computer to take part in the online survey, the respondents from this survey are a selected group. Thirdly the in-depth interviews with key persons and persons in Poland, they can be used to gain more insight in the situation, but we have to be aware here as well that the information they provide is purely from their perspective, and therefore can be subjective.

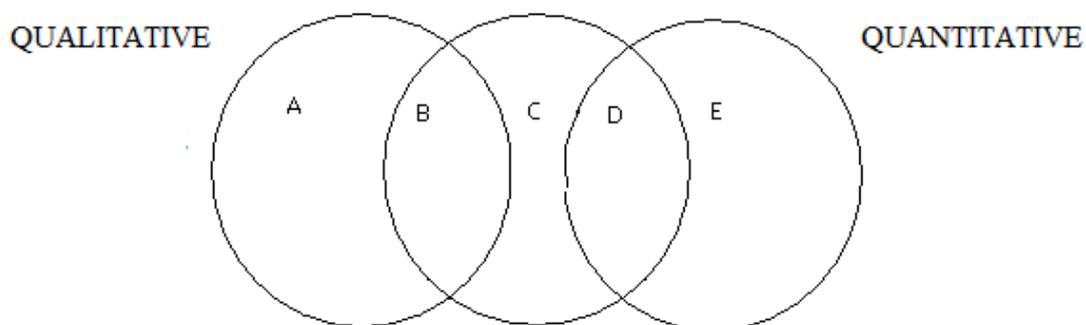
4.1.3 Research methods: Mixed Methods (MM)

Mixed methods has been defined as “a type of research design in which qualitative and quantitative approaches are used” (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). The MM design incorporates

techniques from qualitative and quantitative methods to answer research questions. It involves the integration of statistical and thematic analytic techniques.

The combination of the three layers of data and thus the use of a MM design can help us to neutralize or cancel out some of the disadvantages of some methods. As well, the strengths all three methods can complement each other (Byrne & Humble, 2006). This way, it becomes more straightforward to understand the complexity of the situation. To illustrate how we want to combine our qualitative and quantitative data in this research, we present in figure 5 the relation between the different levels of methods. The left circle represents the qualitative tradition, which mainly emphasize on narrative data. The right circle symbolizes quantitative research and is focused more on confirmatory research questions, numeric data and statistical analyses. The middle circle represents the MM tradition, which is a combination of the other two traditions. The two-pointed arrow represents the qualitative-MM-quantitative continuum. The different zones illustrate in how far a researcher tends towards or uses a certain method. Zone A consist of qualitative research, while zone E contains quantitative research. Zone B represents primarily qualitative research, with some quantitative components. Zone D represents primarily quantitative research with some qualitative components. Zone C illustrates totally integrated MM research. Movement towards the middle of the continuum indicates a greater integration of research methods and sampling. Movement from the central point to the right of left is indicates research which is more focused on one method. This continuum provides the way to determine the optimal path to study the research question. Our project can be placed in zone B; we emphasize qualitative approaches but we also use quantitative information to supplement data.

Figure 5: Qualitative - MM - Quantitative Continuum



Source: Byrne & Humble, 2006

4.2 Research population

Since we aim to generate an insight in the process of recent migration from Polish migrants living in The Hague, our research population constitutes with Polish migrants who migrated to The Hague after 2004. In this way, we could capture migrants who just arrived in The Hague, but as well, migrants having a longer migration experience. We did not select on age, because we were curious on perspectives of all kinds of migrants' ages. With the two criteria of 1) The Hague and 2) arrived after 2004, we tried to cover a wide range of migrants. The reason why we only selected respondents who arrived after 2004 is that we are primarily interested in the process, ideas and plans of migration that took place after the EU accession in 2004. This type of migration is different from the migration from Poland that took place before 2004. Migrants who arrived in The Netherlands before 2004 worked here mainly seasonally. Only a few of them decided to settle down in this country. In 2004, The Netherlands opened its labour market. Thus, this country became very attractive for Polish people to work and live legally. We believe that there is a need to focus on these post-accession migrants. We wanted to include men and women, migrants with a different occupational position and family situation in The Hague. We aimed also to spread the interviews on different locations in The Hague, varying from the Weimarstraat/Beeklaan to the 'Polenhotels' in Wateringen. In subchapter 4.2.1 we will elaborate on these interviews.

In order to compare the in-depth interviews with more general information, we placed an online survey on different Polish internet forums like *Polonia.pl* and *Niedzala.nl*. Besides this, we distributed 35 surveys during the 'The Hague helps market', which was organized by the municipality to help the less strong citizens in The Hague. In total, 187 respondents filled in this survey. Only 81.2% of them arrived after 2004 in The Netherlands. Since we want to compare these results with the results from the in-depth interviews, of which the respondents all arrived after 2004, we decided to remove these 33 (18.8%) persons who arrived before 2004. Therefore, we ended up with a response of 153 respondents. They are distributed around the entire country. By comparing these results with the in-depth interviews, we want to investigate in how far the case study 'The Hague' represents the situation of Polish migrants in other parts of the Netherlands. In subchapter 4.2.2, we will go into detail about further facets of this survey.

Thirdly, to place the information gathered through the survey results and during the in-depth interviews in a broader context, and to find the deeper explanations of certain issues, we conducted 11 interviews with key persons of the Polish community. These persons, who are described in subchapter 4.2.3, all fulfil a role within the Polish community in The Hague.

4.2.1 Semi – structured in-depth interviews

We used semi- structured, in-depth interview. This type of interviewing is less controlled than structured interviews. It gives the subject of the interview more freedom to direct the flow of the conversation. It allows a more fluid interaction between the researcher and the respondent (Marvasti, 2004). The flow of the interview, rather than the order of the questions, determined when and how a question was asked. Semi-structured interviews are less stringent about the assumptions of interviewing than structured interviews. While carrying out the in-depth interviews, we tried to see the world from the respondent's point of view. Beforehand, we prepared a set of questions. However, during the interviews, we aimed to call upon the respondent's direction as much as possible. Therefore, the respondents were not limited by a fixed set of answers, but there was a chance to reveal multiple attitudes about a certain topic. After all, when respondents started talking about their 'life stories', they often previously answered questions which were assumed to pose later on. Therefore, this is a fluid way of conducting interviews. In some cases, interviewing felt as a kind of 'talk therapy' for the respondent. Respondents could give their opinion; express their thoughts and ideas about everything. This is a different from a fixed set of questions, which need to be filled in.

The 28 in-depth interviews are carried out on several locations in The Hague, like Polish shops, Polish café's, and a Polish church, on the streets and during a market organized by 'Stedenband Den Haag – Warschau' where Poles could ask for assistance. All the interviews are recorded. Before we started the interview, we asked our respondents permission for this. The duration of the interviews varied a lot. Some of them only took 20 minutes, while others captured more than one hour. In the following table, you can see an overview of the interviewed persons.

Table 3: Overview of the demographics of 28 in-depth interviews

Age:	Education:	Gender:	Family Situation:
15-24:7	Higher education: 3	Female:17	In a relationship: 5
25-34:8	Vocational/practical: 22	Male:11	Single: 13
35-44:6	High school: 3		Married: 10
45-54:7			

For how long already in The Netherlands:

Less than 6 months: 4

6 months -1 year: 5

1-2 years: 11

3-4 years: 8

Occupation in The Netherlands:

Construction: 7

Fabric: 5

Agri- horticulture: 7

Skilled work: 1

Hotels, shop, cleaning, postman: 6

No job: 2

Source: Collected by Michal Karczowski and Anne Boer, 2009

Women constitute a majority (17 out of 28). This division does not agree with the recent Polish migration in The Netherlands according to the latest statistics. A reason can be that women are more willing to participate in the research than men. As one can see in this table, the age of the respondents is enormously distributed. The youngest participant is 20 and the oldest 54.

Concerning the education background of the respondents, the majority is practical or vocational educated (22 out of 28). Actually, everyone at least attended secondary school, which means that they all have some form of education.

Taking into detail the duration of their stay in The Netherlands, we see that the majority (39%) receives in the country for 1 to 2 years. Another 29% lives already 3- 4 years in The Netherlands. The other respondents live 6 months until a year (18%) or even less than 6 months (14%) in The Netherlands.

As well, the occupation of the respondents is divided. Many are working in the agriculture and horticulture in the area of The Hague or in the construction. Others are working in the service sector, like hotels, shops, cleaning and even one mail carrier. There are also respondents who work in the fabric. One respondent has a skilled job and two respondents did not have a job.

Regarding the family situation, 13 respondents are single (46%), 10 married (36%) and 5 respondents were in a relationship (18%).

4.2.2 Experiencing the in-depth interviews

This section describes our personal experience while conducting the in-depth interviews. Most of the in-depth interviews were carried out in Polish language. Because of Michal's Polish origin, he conducted most of these interviews, since most of the respondents could not speak Dutch. During the interviews, Michal translated the most important parts, so that it was possible for Anne to participate as well. After every interview, we directly discussed together the most important answers and wrote down the quotes we found most interesting.

During the first days of our field research, we focused on making an overview of the Polish situation in The Hague. We had to localize the places in The Hague which are often visited by Poles. On the internet, we found a list of Polish shops in the city. Therefore, we decided that the best option to find respondents was to go to the Polish shop "U Kazia" on Weimarstraat. We often talked to people and asked them for telephone numbers. Some of them were very talkative and eager to help us. However, it was difficult to make appointments for an interview, since Polish migrants do not have much leisure time or are afraid to take part. Therefore, we changed our approach of making contacts with people. We agreed that the best solution would be to conduct the interviews directly. We interviewed five respondents during an informational market in The Hague. The atmosphere of such an event led to a more open attitude of Polish migrants. In a café, which belongs to the Polish church in The Hague, we also interviewed two Polish ladies. Such places create an atmosphere of trust. We also conducted some interviews with Poles living in a labour hotel. In the labour hotel of Groenflex in Wateringen, we spoke with two women and three men. Migrants in this hotel were quite open to talk. They wanted to tell about their problems and (unfair) treatment at their work. They wanted to be heard.

Generally, Polish migrants are not eager to take part in interviews. They speak openly about their problems if they know that the conversation is private. However, when we mentioned that we want to interview them, they became suspicious. The contact between them and us became distant. It was not easy to get their confidence. They became suspicious when we asked if it was fine that the conversation was recorded. This can be partly explained through the Polish social experience from the communistic period. During that time, people felt controlled and to survive, they had to hide the truth or lie.

Since Poles do not have much leisure time and are very busy, they often gave short answers. We tried to ask specific questions to obtain answers that are more detailed. Despite of that, the average time of interviews was around 10 minutes.

Summarizing our experience, we can say that Polish migrants are not very keen to be interviewed, especially when the conversation is recorded. It also depends on the place and atmosphere of the interview.

4.2.3 Online survey

We conducted an online survey during April – August 2009. We used Polish forums on different websites like *Niedźwala.pl* and *Polonia.pl* to place our survey. Besides this online survey, we also handed out the survey during a market in The Hague, where Poles could ask for practical assistance. During this market, 35 surveys were filled in. In this section, we show and describe some characteristics of this group in order to create an overview of this group of respondents. The actual analysis of the data from the online survey is presented in chapter 6.

In this research, we use The Hague as a case study. As you can see, 28.8% of the respondents live in The Hague, the remaining respondents live somewhere else in The Netherlands. Two persons did not fill in their place of residence.

Table 4: Do you live in The Hague?

<i>Do you live in The Hague?</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Yes	44	28.8%
No	107	69.9%
Missing	2	1.3%
Total	153	100%

Source: Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

To find out if these groups differ statistically from each other, we used cross tabs to test for differences with regard to nominal variables between the ‘The Hague-group’ and the ‘Non The Hague-group’. Nominal variables are variables with two or more categories, like education or age group. With a Chi-Square test, we tested if there is a significant difference between the two groups. When a variable is not nominal but ratio, we used a one-way anova test to find out if the ratio variable statistical differed in the two groups. If the two groups differed significantly from each other, we compared their answers separately in the analysis. However, if they did not differ significant from each other, we perceived them as one group in our further analysis.

Generally, we can say that there are small differences between Polish migrants who live in The Hague and Polish migrants who live elsewhere in The Netherlands. These small differences

are not significant, except for two variables. In this section, we only present the variables which are not significant, because in chapter 6 the analysis of these two variables differs from the other variables. For the two significant variables, ‘professional sector’ and ‘buying a house in The Netherlands’, the two groups (‘The Hague’ and ‘not from The Hague’) are analysed separately because the differences are too big to perceive them as one group. For the other variables, we perceive the ‘The Hague’ group and the ‘non The Hague’ group as one population.

Variables with significant differences

In which branches do respondents work? In table 5, one can observe the different sectors in which Polish migrants are working in The Netherlands. It is possible that respondents filled in more than one sector, since some Poles work in different branches.

Table 5: Profession Sector

<i>Profession</i>	<i>The Hague (%)</i>	<i>Not From The Hague (%)</i>
Agriculture	23 (39.3)	22 (14.8)
Construction	5 (8.9)	7 (5.5)
Industry	5 (8.9)	25 (19.5)
Care	12 (21.4)	35 (27.3)
Office	10 (17.9)	40 (31.2)
Missing	2 (3.6)	2 (1.6)
Total	56 (100)	128 (100)

Source: SPSS Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

In table 5, you can see that the main profession sector of Polish migrants in The Hague is agriculture, while in other parts of The Netherlands this are office jobs. Jobs in the industry are also well presented in other parts of The Netherlands. The differences of job professions between Polish respondents living in The Hague and Polish migrants from other parts of The Netherlands are statistical significant with an alfa from 0.003. This means that these groups cannot be perceived as one group, but as two separately groups.

The differences between the The Hague group and the Non-The Hague Group of the variable, ‘Do you want to buy a house in The Netherlands’, are also significant. In the following table, one can observe the differences of this variable.

Table 6: Do you buy a house in The Netherlands?

<i>Buy a house?</i>	<i>The Hague (%)</i>	<i>Not From The Hague (%)</i>
Yes	22 (50)	46 (43)
No	12 (27.3)	59 (55.1)
Maybe	10 (22.7)	2 (1.9)
Total	56 (100)	128 (100)

Source: SPSS Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

A bigger percentage of respondents in The Hague (50%) than from other places in The Netherlands (43%) stated that they want to buy a house in this country. Polish migrants from other parts in The Netherlands seem to be more certain that they do not want to buy a house in The Netherlands, since 55.1% said ‘no’ to this question, comparing with 27.3% from migrants in The Hague. These differences between the two groups are significant with an alpha from 0.00.

General characteristics of the respondents

We now present some characteristics of the respondents from the online survey. These are: the year they came to The Netherlands, gender, age, education and the number of children.

Table 7: In which year did you come to The Netherlands?

<i>Which year you came to The Netherlands?</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
2004	7 (4.6)
2005	16 (10.5)
2006	19 (12.4)
2007	57 (37.3)
2008	38 (24.8)
2009	16 (10.5)
Total	153 (100)

Source: SPSS; Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer 2009

In table 7 you can see that there is an increase of Polish migrants after 2007; both for Poles in The Hague and elsewhere in the country. The cause of this increase is the fact that since the 1st May 2007, Poles do not need a work permit any more to work in The Netherlands. Therefore, it became much easier and less restrictive for Poles to come and work here. However, before 2007, there were of course already Poles who worked here.

Table 8: Gender of the respondents from the online survey

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
Man	58 (37.9)
Women	93 (60.8)
Missing	2 (1.3)
Total	153 (100)

Source: SPSS; Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

Table 8 presents the distribution between man and women in the research population. There are more women than man are in these both cases. One of the reasons of this can be that women are more willing and have more leisure time to fill in an online survey, but we do not now this for sure.

Table 9: Age of the respondents from the online survey

<i>Age</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
15-24	47 (30.7)
25-34	73 (47.7)
35-44	24 (15.7)
45-54	6 (3.9)
Missing	3 (2.0)
Total	153 (100)

Source: SPSS Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

The majority of the respondents (47.7%) are between 25 and 34 years of age. One can observe in table 9 that there are less Polish migrants older, comparing with young migrants. Worth mentioning is that migrants who filled in the survey, but arrived before 2004 in The Netherlands and are therefore not included in the analysis, are older than migrants who arrived after 2004. For example, 30.3% of the migrants who arrived before 2004 were between 35-44 years old, comparing with 15.7% of the migrants who arrived after 2004.

Table 10: Education of the respondents from the online survey

<i>Education</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
Basic	7 (4.6)
Practice	18 (11.8)
Middle	80 (52.3)
Higher	48 (31.4)
Total	153 (100)

Source: SPSS Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

Table 10 shows that most of the respondents have a higher (31.4%) or at least middle (52.3%) education. Many Polish migrants did complete an education in Poland, but could not find a job and therefore decided to migrate in the hope to build a career, or at least earn money, abroad. However, the number of respondents with a higher education is higher than we should expect from what we have read in other research. A logical reason for this can be that respondents, who are higher educated, are maybe more eager to participate in the online questionnaire.

Table 11: Number of Children of the respondents from the online survey

<i>Number of children</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
0	98 (64.1)
1	25 (16.3)
2	17 (11.1)
3	8 (5.2)
4	2 (1.3)
Missing	3 (2.0)
Total	153 (100)

Source: SPSS Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

How many do Polish migrants possess children? One can observe that the majority do not have children (64.1%). Another 16.3% has one child.

4.2.4 Key organizations

During our fieldwork, we got in touch with many organizations, governmental and non-governmental, which provided us with information about the current situation concerning housing, work, education, integration, social life etc of Polish migrants in The Netherlands. The interviews we conducted with people from these organizations were very useful and helped us to create a broader picture of the current situation of Polish migrants in The Hague. Through the interviews with the persons in these organizations, we were able to understand the developments concerning Polish migrants in The Netherlands. These persons helped us to build up a network within the Polish community within The Hague.

The following table presents organizations that we have spoken during our fieldwork and who helped us specifically. Because we want to guarantee anonymity, we do not mention the specific persons we have spoken, but only the organizations.

Table 12: Key organizations

<i>Key organization</i>	<i>Added value</i>
'Stedenband Den Haag-Warschau	The organization helps to develop contacts between different social organizations, institutions and schools located in Warsaw and in The Hague. They provided us with information concerning the Polish people in The Hague.
STEP- Stichting van Poolse Experts in Nederland	The organization develops economic and cultural cooperation between Poland and The Netherlands. The information provided by this organization was useful to obtain an overview about Poles living in The Netherlands.
The Polish grocery shop in The Hague	Polish shop plays important role in the everyday life of the Polish migrants. It is also a meeting point for the Polish in The Hague.
Niedzala.nl	The popular Polish weekly newspaper
Municipality The Hague	Municipality of The Hague provided us with statistical information concerning Polish migrants.
The labour hotel in Wateringen for the Polish workers	They provided information about their hotel and let us do interviews in the building of this hotel.

Polish Embassy	They provided us with information and opinions about the Polish migrants in The Netherlands
Migration experts of post-accession migration from Poland to the UK	We went to New Castle for a conference about post-accession migration to the UK. Here we learned to what extent the situation in Great Britain concerning post-accession migration differs from the Dutch case.
Polish- Dutch Job Agencies in Opole and The Hague Duijdam: Groenflex OTTO Praca w Holandi AXIDUS	We spoke with a couple of job agencies in The Netherlands and in Poland. During a visit in Poland, Michal spoke with office workers of the job agencies located in Upper Silesia. He got an overview and important information about the recruitment process.

Source: Michal Karczewski and Anne Boer, August 2009

The chapter Data & Methodology illustrates the whole process we went through in order to gather all the necessary information for this research. This chapter also prepares the reader for the following empirical chapters, in which we present the results of our research. A better understanding of the methods, which we use in our research, helps one to obtain an own opinion about our research and judge our work by how we gained our results.

Chapter 5

Socio-economical reasons and networks facilitating migration of Poles to The Hague

Michał Karczemski

Post-accession migration to The Netherlands is a structural process. Therefore, I decided to present the most important factors, which facilitate migration and push Polish people from their home country. In my opinion, the background of this migration is still not very well recognized. As well, there is no one good answer, which can give easy explanation, why the Polish migrate. Therefore, I try in this chapter to present a hypothesis, which can explain the antecedents of migration.

Moreover, I investigate the role of migration's business within the migration process to The Netherlands. It is worth to notice that the role of migration's business is still hardly recognized within migration studies. To find all answers I formulated the main question:

How the socio-economical reasons and networks influence the Polish people's mobility and make them move to The Hague?

I have divided the main question in different sub questions in order to answer more precisely:

- *What are the particular socio-economical reasons that may help to explain the mobility of the Polish who arrive in The Hague?*
- *How does the informal network maintain the migration of the Polish people to The Hague?*
- *How does formal network encourage the potential Polish migrant to move to The Hague?*
- *What is the relation between the migration networks and geographical origin of migrants?*

Each of these questions is to be answered in the particular section of this chapter. The section 5.1 includes the answer for the first sub-question. Therefore, there the reasons which force the Polish are distinguished and detailed analysed. At the end of this section, I try to explain why the economical reasons predominate within the migration process from Poland to The Netherlands. In the next sections of this chapter, I analyse the networks, which encourage Polish to arrive in The Hague. Therefore, the section 5.2.1 deals with the informal networks. There, I try to find answer about the role of this type within the flows of Polish people coming to The Hague. The section 5.2.2 includes analysis concerning the formal networks and their function in migration. The last section 5.3 answers for the last sub-question. There, it is present the relation between all

types of migration networks and geographical origin of migrants. It helps us to understand why the majority of migrants come from one particular region in Poland.

5.1 The reasons of migration to The Hague

What are the particular socio-economical reasons may help to explain the mobility of the Polish who arrive in The Hague?

According to the interviews held amongst Polish migrants in The Hague, I distinguished different types of reasons pushing Polish people to migrate to The Netherlands:

According to the interviews held amongst Polish migrants in The Hague, I distinguished different types of reasons pushing Polish people to migrate to The Netherlands:

1. The economical reasons
2. Social-economical- reason
 - a. The family re-unification
3. Social reasons
 - b. Getting a new experience
 - c. The relationship between Polish and Dutch citizens

1. Economical reasons

Majority of migrants decided to migrate because of economical reason. The lack of perspective for finding a well-paid job or any job forced them to migrate. This group of respondents is not homogenous. It includes people of different age, gender and coming from various regions. Their problems with finding a job had different causes. The results of my analysis coincide with the theory of M. Okolski and I. Grabowska- Lucinska (2008) which we presented in the paragraph (2.7): State of the art of the post accession research about migration in Poland.

The lack of perspectives after school graduation

After the school graduation, young people have a problem with finding a job in Poland because their skills are not adapted to the vacancies available on the Polish labour market. I talked with Marcelina (24), coming originally from the Opole region. In Poland, she finished a technical middle school and got a diploma in computer science. Her skills were too low to get a good job in her sector and too high to “*work in the supermarket*”. She complained that her education was useless on the labour market. Therefore, she moved from Poland to The Netherlands. In her opinion, she can earn much more in The Netherlands than in Poland. Anna (36) gave a similar reason pushing her to migrate. She explained that with her middle school education she would have no chance for a good job: “*I have finished the middle school, without any specialization or studies I was*

not able to find any job. They offered me only job as a shopkeeper. Therefore, I decided to move to The Netherlands to earn some extra money for my further studies”. However, her plans have changed during her stay in The Netherlands and she still lives and works here.

The victim of economical changes

Two older Polish women Elzbieta (58) and Danuta (55) who live now in The Hague had huge problems finding a job. In their stories, they told us about an important problem that concerns many Polish women older than 50 years. Some Polish employers are not willing to employ females in the pre-retirement age. These two older women worked in public companies for most of their life. During the economical transition in Poland, the companies where they worked were privatized. The new owner fired many workers because of workforce surplus. They became unemployed, with very few chances of finding a new job. We must remember that the communistic labour system was very inflexible. People worked in the same company during most of their life without thinking about changing the workplace. These women pointed out also that the Polish labour market is even more difficult to access for older people than in other countries because of the more critical situation.

Finding a better job in the Netherlands

The third group of the people who justifies its migration through the economic reasons includes men and women who had a job in Poland but decided to migrate because, in their opinion, their former job did not give them sufficient income. Thus, they resigned from their works and took the opportunity to live in the Netherlands. Mikolaj (24): *“I worked in a small company close to Lodz. But, I was not satisfied with the money that I earned. That is why I left Poland”.* The respondents who abandoned their jobs felt disappointed with low salaries or work terms in Poland. Andrzej (36), who has now his own little business in The Hague, told me that he had a well-paid job in Poland. However, the atmosphere at work did not give him any satisfaction. He tried to find something else but there was a lack of jobs that could suit him. He decided then to migrate.

The reasons pushing Polish to migration are connected to the poor economic situation of Poland and social conditions of the Polish citizens. Many Polish migrant with whom we spoke feel useless in Poland. They think that they are not able to make career neither to have a decent life. They do not “believe” in the motherland Poland, the place where they would like above all to build their future. They are disappointed with the political and economical situation. Polish migrants necessarily compare the work conditions in The Netherlands with work condition in Poland. They see that Poland must still deal with a pile of problems just as other countries

recently facing liberalization. They are afraid that the development may still take years; Poland regained its independence only 20 years ago. On top of this, the interviews were held during the difficult climate of the economical crisis. The media were constantly reporting about the rising unemployment rate in The Netherlands. On the other hand, the Polish media pretended that the economical crisis affected only slightly Poland. Despite of this positive news, the respondents complained much about the economical recession in their country. They did not believe that their situation on the Polish labour market would be better if they went back. Anita: *“I came here because I do not believe that the situation on the Polish labour market improves next year”*. Polish migrants coming to The Netherlands often use such explanations. This generation of Polish people seems to be “jealous for the El Dorado which represents the western countries”. They want to improve their standard of living as quickly as possible. Therefore, they do not plan to build their lives in Poland because it involves many emotions and struggle with the “ghosts from the previous system”. There are still remains of the communistic mentality within the Polish minds which tend to dampen willingness and motivation to develop an own business and become entrepreneur.

Persons from key organizations have regular contacts with Polish people arriving in The Hague emphasized that the disbelief in the “motherland” is very noticeable amongst the Polish migrants. The Polish who are in The Netherlands blame Poland for their migration.

Especially in this group, there are young people who do not feel emotional connection with their country. The places where they live do not play a significant role. They left Poland because they could not to fulfil their economical aspiration. The importance of earning money makes them very mobile. I believe nonetheless that if the situation on the Polish labour market would improve significantly, majority of migrants would re-emigrate.

During our interviews, we spoke with people who are constantly on the move. For them, migration is only a way to live. They migrated from Poland because of the poor economical situation in their region. Before coming to The Netherlands, they worked for example in Germany or Ireland. However, the economical crisis that strongly influenced on these countries pushed them to migrate again. They did not think though to go back to Poland. They searched a place in Europe where the earnings would be higher. We asked if they planned to search another job in these former residence countries. They answered that they did not feel any relation with those former places. Wiktor said: *“I lost my work one afternoon, the same day I packed my bag and came to The Hague”*.

This behaviour can be a sign of huge fluid decisions from migrants and their easy changeability. Moreover, they do not have the willingness to build their future in home country. Such demeanours of migrants were also described in the research of in the research of Michal

Garapich and John Eade (2006). According to that research, the Poles living in London are perceived as “liquid” migrants, who try to avoid a nationalistic behaviour. They represent a cosmopolitan ideology to fit better into the labour market. The Polish migrants demonstrate a high grade of mobility. Thus, it can indicate that such a behaviour is a common feature for post-accession migrants. They try to be as much as it is possible flexible.

2. Social- economical reasons

The reunification

The process of family reunification does not belong to a pure social category. I consider that a reunification is a process where social and economical reasons co-exist because this group of migrants consists mostly of women whose partners have left for The Netherlands for work. Beata: “*My husband has a job in The Hague. He wanted only to work here for a few months. As he liked that place very much, he decided to stay longer. To be together, I had to join him*”. The candidate for migration usually left Poland after 2004; earlier, finding well-paid jobs was much more complicated. Their wives or girl friends stayed in Poland, most of the time they did not work there. During our interviews, these women mentioned that their partners were supposed to migrate temporarily. However, when they found very profitable jobs here, they decided to stay longer. The long separation between the partners in Poland and in The Netherlands forced women to migrate and join their husbands or boyfriends in The Hague.

3. Social reasons

Getting new experience

The third reason of migration is willingness to gain new experiences. In this personal research, I am not focussing especially on that reason. In my opinion, this reason is strongly related to the personal life-goals investigated by Anne Boer. I present though here only a short description of these reasons.

Emilia (26) studied law and administration at the University of M. Kopernik in Torun. She would find a job without any problems. Despite of this fact she decided to get a new experience abroad. Her decisions about leaving Poland did not have mainly economic reasons. Obviously, she came to The Netherlands to work, but does not consider this as an economical reason.

Another person who gave a similar reason for coming to The Netherlands was a woman, 35 years old, with higher education. Her decision of migration was not dictated by economical terms. She migrated to The Netherlands because she wanted to learn the Dutch language.

Relationship

The last reason of migration, which I distinguished on the basis of our interviews relates to the emotional relationship between the Polish citizen and Dutch citizen. In the subchapter about the history of migration from Poland to The Netherlands (3.2.1 Migration of Poles to the Netherlands before 2004), we mentioned that until 2004 the majority of the Polish women migrated to The Netherlands to get married with Dutch citizens. In an example of our survey, a Polish man migrated to The Netherlands because of the relationship with his Dutch male partner. They live together for 2 years in The Hague. The respondent, Krystian told us about decision to move to The Hague “*I really wanted to leave Poland because I could not live there together with my partner. Gays are discriminated in Poland. We decided that moving to The Netherlands was the best solution.*” In this case, the decision was motivated by two reasons: relationship and sexual discrimination.

Table 13: The main reason of migration & the education of respondents

<i>Reasons of migration</i>	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Respondents with higher education</i>	<i>Respondents with basic, middle and technical education</i>
Personal economical reasons	21	–	21
Family re-unification	4	–	4
Wish of new experience	2	2	-
Relationship/discrimination	1	1	-
Total	28	3	25

Source: Deep interviews, Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

In the table above appear the most significant categories of reasons that influence on the migration flows from Poland to The Netherlands. It is clearly noticeable that contemporary migration to The Netherlands has a strong economical dimension. 21 respondents claim that they left Poland because of the bad economical situation in their country.

Why do economical reasons play the most important role in the migration of Polish people to The Hague?

Post-accession migration from Poland is mainly caused by economical reasons (Kaczmarczyk; 2008). Moreover, Polish people perceived the Netherlands as country where one can find a seasonal work – a traditional migration country (Kaczmarczyk; 2008). In the opinion of the Polish researchers, young and well-educated people who speak English language prefer to migrate to Great Britain and Ireland or go to United States via students programs as Work & Travel. The older migrants or migrants without any particular skills decide to migrate to more traditional migration countries like Germany, The Netherlands or the Mediterranean countries. In these

countries, they are able to find seasonal jobs in agriculture or in construction (Lucinska & Okolski, 2008). The Polish migrants in Great Britain and Ireland are usually well- educated. 68% of them have middle education and 22% is higher educated (Garapich M. & Osipovic D., 2007). Other Polish researchers indicate that the reasons pushing Polish people to migrate to UK depend on the educational level and the age of migrants. On the basis of this inquiry, Polish migrants in Great Britain were divided in 3 categories. Young people and well-educated people younger than 25 years old decided to migrate to improve their English or gain new experiences (27%). Low educated people, often unemployed in Poland arrived after 2004 because of life necessity (24%). The third group of migrants includes different Polish people who migrated because they wanted to improve their economical situation (49%) (Milewski M. & Ruszczak-Zbikowska J. 2008).

I assume that the general reasons of migration to western European countries after the accession of Poland in the E.U. are mostly based on economical factors. The migration to The Hague is due too to economical reasons. However, some features of migrants indicate that Polish people in The Hague differ from the Polish who went to the British Isles. According to our inquiry, Polish migrants in The Hague are not as well educated as migrants in Great Britain. Only three of the respondents are higher educated. Moreover, only people from this group indicated that they migrated to the Netherlands to live new experience, learn the Dutch language or join a Dutch partner. There is as a result an insignificant number of people who migrate because of social reasons. People come to The Hague mainly because of economic reasons, finding a job or get a better income than in Poland.

According to my personal observation and the interviews held with key persons, I consider that economic reasons of migration are related to the type of jobs offered to the Polish migrants on the Dutch labour market. These jobs are mainly based on physical tasks where the language skills or specific education is not required. People with lower education often decide to work in agriculture or construction sectors. Some of them had problems with finding a job in Poland. Therefore, the best option for them is to come to The Netherlands and find a low skilled job where any foreign language is not necessary. Aneta told us: *“I went a few years ago to Scotland to work during my holidays. Really, it was very easy to find a job there. I wanted to return there again. However, the situation has now changed and it has become difficult to find a job without good commands of English or extra skills. In the end, I made up my mind to come to The Netherlands where it is easier to get some work”*.

During our inquiries, we also met people with middle- school education and not reluctant to accept jobs like cleaning and in the agriculture field. They would deserve a better work when taken into account their education level, but the lack of sufficient Dutch commands represents an

obstacle to work in their professions. More often, the Polish who know English language prefer to go and work in English-speaking countries. Their knowledge of language helps them to rise through the ranks. They also have a better chance to develop their social life. In The Netherlands, Dutch language is for many Polish migrants a barrier in making a career. Thus, it is very difficult to obtain new experience or have an extended social life if one does not know the language of host country. The respondents who told us that they are here to get new experience could speak fluently Dutch.

I conclude that most of the jobs offered to Polish attract mainly low-skills workers who arrive to The Hague because of income need. Therefore, the economical reasons play the most important role in the flows from Poland to The Netherlands.

5.2 The formal & informal networks

Beside, the reasons, which push people to migrate, the networks, help them fulfil their plans relating with migration. Therefore, the knowledge about migration networks is significantly important within understanding the migration from Poland to The Hague. From our in-depth interviews, 18 of the migrants (64.3%) decided to come to The Hague via informal networks. Seven migrants (25%) used formal networks to migrate. Only two respondents (7.1%) came to The Netherlands through direct contacts with Dutch employers. One respondent claimed that he came to The Netherlands without any networks. His decision was spontaneous; he did not plan the migration to The Netherlands

5.2.1 Maintaining migration by informal networks

How do the informal networks maintain the migration of the Polish people to The Hague?

Informal networks are still a predominant factor of migration of Polish people to The Hague. Polish who have already lived in The Netherlands urge their relatives and acquaintances to migrate and join them. The potential migrants usually feel in this case more comfortable because of the support they can expect at their arrival in the host country. Therefore, the networks of contacts can strongly influence the decision of migration. The links, which connect potential migrants with the Polish in The Hague, are most of the time strong. Migrants also try to help other members of their family or friends to migrate. Thus, the informal migration networks grow and maintain the flows from Poland to The Netherlands.

Moreover, the migrants who already live in The Hague play an important role in transferring the knowledge about their place of residence, work and culture. These stories build an image in the

minds of potential migrants. Very often, they are positive and emphasize the advantages of living abroad. Especially, the migrants who migrate because of economic reasons are delighted by the idea of easily earning more money than in Poland.

People who decide to migrate do not have many worries for the negative aspects of their migration. They believe in a success. Issues, like the lack of knowing any foreign language, finding accommodation or insurance do not bother Polish migrants. They have little to lose and if something would turn wrong, are able to come back or migrate further to another country, mainly where they also possess networks of contacts. Some respondents told us that their whole families had moved with them to The Hague. Parents, brothers and sisters or even schoolmates, all attracted one by one by the migration.

An illustration is for example one of the in-depth interviews. Anna: *“A friend of mine was working in The Netherlands in a small company; her boss needed an au pair for his children. My friend mentioned that I had some problems with finding a job in Poland. Then my friend called me, after a few days I came to The Hague. Really, I did not know anything about that place. Ok, I knew there is a lot of water and tulips”* This quote is from a woman, 36 years old who has now lived for a few years in The Hague. She came to The Netherlands through the contact of a friend. She knew that this friend arranged work for her. Therefore, she did not have to worry about collecting information about her residence in the Netherlands. A 24-year-old woman told a similar story; Karolina: *“I finished my school in Poland; my uncle who lives in Rotterdam asked me if I could take care of his child during my holidays, and I came to Rotterdam and I stayed here even after the summer”*. We asked her if she used some information, which could be helping her to migrate. She answered: *“I did nothing to learn about The Netherlands; of course I had some knowledge from my school. However, I did not search any information. I trusted my family that everything would be fine”*. Her husband took also part in our inquiry. We asked him which contacts he used for migration; he told us that his mother and sister were already living here. Therefore, it was easier for him to come to The Hague. Bartłomiej: *“My mother and my sister were here, they wanted me to join them because I had problems with finding a job in Poland...I learned something about The Netherlands from my family.”* These respondents have possessed strong migration networks of informal contacts in The Netherlands. Their arrival was a result of a high unemployment rate in Poland. Their informal contacts persons helped them to find a job and provide them with a safe start of living abroad. Therefore, they did not search any extra information about the work and life in The Netherlands. They took a chance to work abroad and they came.

My research tends to show as well that there are people who decide to migrate after a very well recognition of the situation in host country. In their case, migration is a gradual process. I present a story of a woman who decided to migrate to The Hague after several visits here. Danuta (56)

had a daughter studying at the University of Leiden. Therefore, she came and spent some time at her child's place in The Netherlands. During these visits, she made some new Polish friends, who offered her a job and accommodation in The Hague. These contacts influenced her decision to leave Poland definitely. *“My daughter booked me a weekend journey to Paris from the Polish travel agency in The Hague. In the bus, I met a very nice woman who told me lots of things about working in The Netherlands. They offered me help by finding a job in The Hague. I did not have any close relatives in Poland. I use the assistance of my daughter and these new friends to come to The Hague and stay here”*.

Her decision about migration was well planned. She knew that she could rely on her daughter and new friends. Moreover, during her visits she gathered information about The Netherlands. She had some experience of living abroad.

The informal migration networks play a main role in the process of family reunification (Arango, 2004). During our inquiries, we met several women who migrated to The Netherlands because their partners already lived in The Hague. These migrants only used informal networks to come to The Hague. Their partners encouraged them to migrate too. These women did not have a special ambition for migration. They were not curious about the life in The Netherlands. They knew that they should join their partner abroad. After arrival, they started encountering problems due to the lack of information about the life here. The biggest issue for them was finding a work. Furthermore, these women came most of the time to join their partner with their children. They did not have enough information about the school neither the health system in The Netherlands. Their partners did not speak fluently Dutch or any foreign language. Those men also worked very hard and they did not have much time devote in solving such problems. Therefore, these women had to overcome many troubles with the acclimatization to live alone in a new place. Beata, who joined her husband in The Hague, told us: *“my partner was here and I knew that I should join him”*. Therefore, she did not care much about the situation where she would be working or about her personal development after arriving in The Hague. *“Really, I still don't know much. I send my child to school, but I still feel misinformed on many aspects of life here”*.

Some migrants decide to migrate through informal networks without knowing their contacts personally. They use some acquaintances of their friends who live or work in The Netherlands to migrate. These people sometimes do not have much knowledge about life in The Netherlands. They trust their informal networks that after an arrival they find a job or accommodation. For example a Polish migrant who worked in Germany before coming to The Hague. He lost his job because of the economic crisis and tried to find a job somewhere else; Wikotor: *“A friend, with whom I had worked in Germany, told me that his friend has a job in the Netherlands; I took the telephone number of this guy and came here”*.

During our inquiries, we also talked with a respondent who came to The Netherlands using informal contacts with Dutch people. He is the only one who came through such a network because of the economic reasons. He met that person via his Polish friends. Therefore, it was not a straightforward relation between the Polish migrant and the Dutch man.

Other migrants, who use private contacts with Dutch people to migrate, came to the Netherlands from different reasons as getting new experience or a relationship. They developed their friendships with Dutch already before their decision to migrate. These migrants could rely on very well helpful and sufficient information to stay in a host country.

From our interviews, we notice that a majority of the Polish migrants using informal migration networks trusts their contact persons. They are not interested in obtaining any special knowledge about the place where they are moving. They believe that their contact persons will take care of them during the first days after their arrival. They come in The Netherlands without precise plans.

5.2.2 Formal networks- new important element of migration

How do formal networks (migration business) encourage the potential Polish migrant to move to The Hague?

One of the key organizations we interviewed, underscores the specific function of migration networks in The Netherlands. “*The migration networks which generate migration flows to The Netherlands are different on the countryside than in cities. Those who migrate to the cities are using more often informal networks than people who move to the countryside. The latter are using mainly formal networks*”. In our research, only seven respondents decided to migrate to The Hague via formal networks. Moreover, the extra interviews with the staff of job agencies recruiting Polish to work in The Netherlands informed us that Polish workers mainly work in agriculture or horticulture, only skilled workers are employed in industry or logistic. These workers are accommodated close to their place of work. Therefore, it can suggest that these migrants reside in rural areas.

The respondents who came using migration business (‘specialized social actors and commercial institutions that take directly benefits not only from human mobility but also from effective adaptation to the new environment’) (Garpich, 2008) work in agriculture or horticulture nearby a city. The total amount of respondents employed in agriculture is seven individuals. These numbers can show the relation between formal networks and the employment structure of the Polish migrants. I assume that migration business (formal networks) which recruits Polish to work in The Netherlands specializes in recruiting for agriculture and horticulture. Migrants who arrived via informal networks work in various branches of Dutch economy. A majority of them

found a job by using informal contacts. However, some respondents work via Dutch job agencies as Randstad, Tempo Team or smaller ones. The difference between these job agencies and the migration business agencies, which recruit people from Poland, depends on the way of migration. In the first case, migrants arrive to The Netherlands via their private contacts and during their job search, they can use some job agencies, which are only meant for providing a job. In the second case, job agencies recruiting Polish provide all facilities like accommodation, journey and language help. They are responsible for the whole process of migration from the moment of arrival until the return to home (Garapich, 2008).

Figure 6: Job agency OTTO in Opole



. Source: Michal Karczowski

During our inquiries, we visited the Polish labour hotel in Wateringen, a suburb of The Hague. Three hundred Polish men and women are accommodated in this hotel. They came to The Netherlands through the Dutch-Polish job agency Groenflex. This job agency not only provides them with work but also with an accommodation, transportation and different facilities. The Polish workers sleep with four people in one room. There are also special rooms for married people where couples can be accommodated. Moreover, there is a huge canteen where the workers can have a meal. They are not allowed to cook in their rooms. The canteen is opened from Monday until Friday. It means that during the weekends, residents cannot eat warm meals at their place of residence. The average gross income earned by Polish workers, is 8 euro per 1h. The net income is around 40% lower (5 euro per 1h). The migrants sign a work contract only for three months. After that period, the contract can be prolonged. We met migrants who work and live in the hotel the whole year with one or two short holiday breaks. The duration of a work contract relates to the demand of registration in a municipality. Due to the Dutch law, a person

should be registered in a municipality if he or she resides longer than 3 months in The Netherlands. Polish migrants who get 3 months contracts are exempt of a registration. Before getting a new contract, they go for a few days to Poland. Often the workers sign a new contract in Poland to give proof that they do not reside whole year long in The Netherlands.

Figure 7: Labour hotel for Polish migrants from Groenflex, Wateringen



Source: <http://www.hagebouwadvies.nl/cms/content/view/40/44/>

Lacks of informal networks and a willingness to work abroad makes some Poles decide to migrate via formal networks. These people do not have any contact persons in the host country and in addition, cannot speak any foreign language. For them, migration without formal networks would be impossible. They cannot rely on any support from friends and relatives in host country. Therefore, many of them would never dare to migrate. The migration business replaces the informal networks, and gives a safe form of migration. Migration stops being a process where families or friends are involved. Migration via migration business is very institutional (Ruben Hernandez-Leon 2005). The migrants who use this form of networks get all-inclusive migration package, which includes work, accommodation, transportation, and food or even Sunday church services. On the one hand, migration business provides Polish migrants with all facilities; on other hand, it limits the migrant's choices and decision after the arrival. The migration should not be only the easiest way to earn money. People who migrate gain new skills; they are forced to learn, develop their lives and expand their horizons of knowledge because they encounter problems, new situations and cultures. The job agencies perceive Polish as a cheap taskforce, which brings huge profits for the employers.

Some respondents claimed that they came to The Hague via migration business because they do not possess any contact persons. For them, it was the easiest way to find a job abroad. The migrants learn about job agencies from different sources. Two women told us that their friends

had worked for the same company before. Thus, they decided to use the verified formal networks to migrate. Iza told us: *“My neighbours worked for Groenflex a few years ago, and they came back satisfied. Thus, I chose this company also”*.

Polish regional newspapers and online website are full of advertisement and job offers for Poles looking for a work in The Netherlands. These sources of information play an important role in the migration process. Job agencies that recruit Polish workers have an internet website in both languages Polish and Dutch. In Silesian towns, these job agencies are very visible. One of our respondents said that the company which helped him to find work in The Netherlands was located in the area of his place of residence; Walenty: *“I saw a huge banner that people are needed to work in The Netherlands. I went to that office and I applied”*.

Poles who decide to move to The Hague via migration business take some risks i.e. to become a victim of abusive practices. In The Netherlands, numerous of fake “mala fide” job agencies do exist. These agencies sometimes do not pay salaries or pay less than what is agreed in the contract. Frequently, job agencies employ workers for a short time and send them home at the end of the week, without paying salaries. The second risk of the migration business is the accommodation offered by employers. Sometimes, the rooms where Polish migrants live are overpopulated, not sufficiently equipped or without water, gas etc. Some respondents told us that up to 5 to 7 men could live in an only small room. Some Polish are more vulnerable because they cannot speak any foreign language and they cannot or do not dare to complain.

Polish media informs about such risks in The Netherlands. Therefore, Polish candidates for migration are usually aware that they can be abused. During our inquiry, we asked the respondents if they trusted new employers before arriving to The Hague. A majority of them turned out to be afraid. Krystyna said, *“I do not trust him, but what can I do. I must pay my bills. You must somehow believe that everything goes well”*.

During a meeting with, the head of Economical Department of the Polish Embassy in The Hague, we discussed the main dangers which Polish migrants encounter in The Netherlands. It was mentioned that every month, a significant number of Poles ask for help at the Polish Embassy in The Hague because they became victims of fake job agencies. She also emphasized that many Polish who plan to migrate are aware of the work conditions and of the situation in The Netherlands: *“They only want to earn money and do not take into consideration the responsibilities”*. A similar opinion comes from the staff of a well-known job agencies recruiting Poles to work in The Netherlands. They told us that clients who come to their offices do not ask any questions

about the terms of their accommodation, insurance or working contract. They only want to know how much they can earn.

5.3 The geographical origin of the Poles in The Hague

What is the relation between the migration networks and geographical origin of migrants?

The majority of investigated migrants have a common point; they come from the Polish region of Upper Silesia. Only an insignificant number of respondents come originally from other regions. 25 respondents came via formal and informal networks, 18 of them come from Silesia. The rest comes from other parts of Poland. Two respondents who came via direct contacts with Dutch employer and one without any contact come from other regions in Poland. This phenomenon can be explained by the migration networks, they are particularly well developed in Silesia. I assume that existing formal and informal networks influences the migration to The Netherlands. Therefore, I found interesting to explore the origins of these networks in Silesia and understand their function in the life of this region. The analysis is based on the interviews with migrants in The Hague, personnel of job agencies in Opole, and short interviews with the dwellers of Opole. The historical origin of networks was more precisely described in the paragraph (3.2.1): History of migration from Poland to the Netherlands.

Julia: *“The Netherlands are very popular amongst the people from Lower Silesia who search a job abroad”* This quote came from a woman who has lived already a few years in The Hague and who is originally from Opole. In her opinion, the popularity of this host country is related to the migration history of this region. She mentioned that many dwellers of her town possess a German passport, which allowed them to work legally in The Netherlands before 2007. The social contacts with this people played significant role for her to learn something about The Netherlands, as a country where you can have a comfortable income. She told me that her husband who works as a car mechanic in The Hague had found a job because his brother had worked here earlier. On top of this, his brother came to The Netherlands because one of his possessing a German passport informed him that there was a vacancy in The Hague.

Figure 8: The origin and amount of respondents from in-depth interviews according to administrative provinces of Poland



Source: www.gazeta.pl

During our interviews, we spoke with three respondents who possess the German citizenship. In their opinion, The Netherlands have been perceived as an important migratory destination amongst their friends and family. Dorota (28) (originally from Opole area), *“Many of my friends from my school and also some family members have come to work in The Netherlands”*. Furthermore, Walenty (from Katowice, with German passport) who came to the Netherlands via formal networks informed us that The Netherlands have been for already a few years an important migratory destination for the people from his region.

These opinions of migrants suggest that The Netherlands is perceived as important migratory destination in Upper Silesia, especially because of the importance of migration networks which has developed there for years.. Similar opinion represents Polish people in Opole. Agnieszka- a girl from that city told me that *“We often saw that our friends or family migrate to The Netherlands. I think that a majority wants to work in The Netherlands more than in Great Britain or Ireland. Particularly now as we frequently hear that the last crisis has strongly affected the United Kingdom”*. When we asked if the crisis turned The Netherlands into a more important migratory destination, she replies: *“Really, I do not know; The Netherlands and Germany have always been perceived here as good places to migrate”*. The personnel from one job agency in Opole gave me a similar answer. *“Our clients predominantly ask for jobs in The Netherlands. Very seldom, someone is interested in job vacancy in*

France or Spain. People want to go to The Netherlands. They know better what they can expect there. This is my opinion”.

The first migrants (pioneers) of these migratory flows to The Netherlands gave the foundation for contemporary migration development. The people with double nationality started building networks of contacts. Before 2007, the networks were predominantly homogeneous because they included Polish with German nationality. After the opening of the Dutch labour market to new E.U. members such as Poland, the migration networks started to grow. People with only a Polish nationality could come and work in The Netherlands. This has been perceived as a trigger, attracting more and more people from different regions to migrate. We questioned the migrants who arrived in The Hague via informal migration networks; it appeared that they come from parts of Poland different than Upper Silesia like Lodz, Gdansk, Lublin, and Szczecin. The number of such migrants is significantly lower than number of migrants from the traditional region Upper Silesia.

The formal networks started growing particularly fast. The main source of the recruitment remains Upper Silesia. Cities like Opole, Katowice or smaller ones possess an important amount of job agencies which recruit Polish to come to work in The Netherlands. The history of this job agency connected to the pioneers of these flows. Personnel from one job agency located in the shopping mall in Opole told me that: *“Before 2007 we recruited only people with German citizenship. Therefore, our boss decided to set up office in the place where these people live. Opole was the best choice. In this area were living many Polish- German citizens”.*

The streets of the old town in Opole are full of job agencies. At every corner, billboards can be seen, advertising for work in The Netherlands. Signs of these job agencies are very visible in the contemporary landscape of Opole. Moreover, the local newspapers are filled with advertisements for job agencies recruiting for the Dutch labour market. Internet is also a good source of information about the development of migration business in Poland. When checking the internet sites of job agencies recruiting Polish to come to The Netherlands, it is noticeable that the main offices are located in Opole or in Silesian urban areas (Katowice, Gliwice, and Raciborz). Companies like Groenflex, Duindam Uitzendergroep, Holland Contacting, EU-people and lots more have their offices in Opole.

In the Polish labour hotel in Wieringen, we held an interview with a man who arrived in The Netherlands via formal networks (Groenflex). He does not come from Silesia but from the eastern part of Poland. This person mentioned that in the region where he comes from there are many unemployed people; therefore, the migration business has found a new area to explore.

Kamil: *“I have noticed that new job agencies which recruit people to work in The Netherlands have appeared in Chelm. I think it is because of huge poverty there”.*

On September 29th, 2009, the news portal interiafakty.pl published an article: *“The end of Dutch Eldorado”*. The main issue discussed in this article was the role of Polish people with German passport on the Dutch labour market. The author wrote that nowadays, the workers with the double citizenship have a smaller chance to find a job in The Netherlands due to the fact that they are more expensive than workers with only the Polish citizenship. Dutch employers prefer to employ less experienced workers who have not worked in The Netherlands before in order to have lower cost. Therefore, many Polish- German decide to leave The Netherlands and work in Germany where there are nonetheless still work restriction for Polish people. The personnel of the job agency in Opole confirmed this tendency described in the article. Therefore, the migration business needs to expand and adapt itself to be more diverse.

The reasons and networks are very important features of becoming mobile and consequently migrating. As it was presented, the main reason, which pushes Polish to arrive to The Hague, is related to the economic situation of migrants in Poland. Migrants use predominantly informal networks if they possess any friends or relatives in a host country. Without personal contacts abroad, it is more difficult for them to migrate. Therefore, a migration business opens new period in the migration. The people are able to migrate without any particular contacts or even without knowledge of any foreign language. However, from other hand, migrants became more depended on their employers or different institutions, which obtain profits organizing migration.

The next chapter of Anne Boer is a continuation of this research. In the following chapter there are presented the aspects concerning the migrants who are settled in The Hague. Therefore, their life goals, and the willingness to stay in The Netherlands is discussed. Moreover, the topic of personal contacts, which the Polish migrants develop in The Hague, is analysed.

Chapter 6:

Mapping mind and social reality: personal life goals and social involvement of Polish migrants in The Hague

Anne Boer

In chapter 5, reasons and networks, which are used by Polish migrants to arrive in The Netherlands, are examined. This chapter studies the personal life goals of Polish migrants; these are explained in chapter two as: ‘the processes for thinking about your ideal future, and for motivate yourself to turn this vision of the future into reality (Vanito, 2009). These goals are ‘mental’ ideas, which mainly take place in the minds of Polish migrants. The strategies migrants use to achieve these goals are also analysed. Through examination of personal life goals and strategies, plans concerning their future can be investigated. The social involvement of Polish migrants in The Hague, mapping social reality, is also analysed in this chapter. Social contacts and other indicators for integration are analysed.

Mental and social reality mapping, the personal life goals of Polish migrants and their social involvement in the Dutch society, enables one to understand the diversity in the group of Polish migrants. Rather than perceiving them as one homogeneous group, this chapter tries to distinguish different types of Polish migrants staying in The Hague.

This chapter presents the empirical findings gathered by means of in-depth interviews and online questionnaires. Section 6.1, ‘mental mapping: personal life goals and orientation strategy’, provides information about the main personal life goals of Polish migrants. While focusing on migrant’s personal life goals, we also take into account the strategies they use to achieve these goals. Thereby this section provides a response to the first sub question: *What are the main personal life goals of Polish migrants and which strategies they use to achieve these goals in The Hague?*

Section 6.2, ‘mapping social reality: social positioning in The Dutch Society’ discusses the social involvement of Polish migrants in The Hague. It examines social networks of Polish migrants, how and with whom these networks are formed and maintained. Attention is paid to networks, which are established with Dutch people, and networks, which are maintained and build up with Poles in The Netherlands. It also focuses on other aspects of social involvement, like speaking the Dutch language and the feeling of home. This section answers the second sub question:

With whom are social networks formed and maintained, and to what degree are Polish migrants involved into the Dutch society? The degree to which Polish migrants are involved in the Dutch society, like the frequency of contact they have with Dutch people and their will and ability to speak Dutch, can

indicate their will to integrate and the length of their stay, therefore this question is very important.

Section 6.3, mapping mind and social reality: Conflict or Consensus?, examines the discrepancy between on the one-hand intentions of Polish migrants to stay permanently in The Netherlands and on the other hand the will to integrate. I discuss to what degree personal life goals, and thereby plans for the future of Polish migrants can indicate their will to become involved in the Dutch society. To answer the third sub question: *In how far are personal life goals and the social involvement of Polish migrants in The Hague in conflict with each other?*, results from section 6.1 and 6.2 are combined. This question is significant because it indicates to what extent certain Polish migrants are an isolated group, who on the one hand insist to stay longer in The Netherlands but on the other hand are not involved in the Dutch society.

6.1 Mental mapping: personal life goals and future orientation strategy

As earlier described in chapter 2.5, personal life goals are perceived as a process for thinking about your ideal future, and motivating yourself to turn this vision of the future into reality (Vanito, 2009). Personal life goals help migrants to choose where they want to go in life. If they know what they want to achieve, they also know where to concentrate their efforts. Examination of personal life goals of Polish migrants is essential. With the help of these goals, we can find out expectations and aspirations of Polish migrants that are of influence on their plans for the future. People have short-term and long-term life goals. Some goals you might want to realize next year, like finishing your studies, while others are more long-term, like finding a challenging job. In this analysis, I focused especially on these long-term personal life goals. Long-term personal life goals give a better indication in which direction Polish migrants want to arrange their life. For example, whether he or she is planning to move back to Poland, or whether or not they want to have their children grown up in The Netherlands. After all, sometimes one needs to achieve a certain (short-term) goal before reaching the other. Therefore, I tried to place personal life goals of Polish migrants in a broader context, and focus on the 'direction' Polish migrants choose in their lives.

We asked all respondents what their personal life goals are and if they were able to achieve these goals in The Hague. From the 28 in-depth interviews, it emerged that 4 main categories can be distinguished. They are presented in table 6.1. Some respondents mentioned more than one personal life goal they wanted to achieve. We then asked to give the most important life goal. Another important remark, life goals can also partly overlap each other. For example, someone who migrates to gain new experiences might also do this because he knows

that he can earn more money abroad. Therefore, it was sometimes hard to find out the real aspirations of the respondents.

The personal life goals may be perceived in some ways as similar to the reasons for migration, which are discussed in chapter 5. However, personal life goals definitely differ from the reasons for migration since life goals are more related to plans for the future. A reason to migrate does not directly indicate what someone wants to achieve in his or her life. Reasons for migration can be perceived as short-term goals and personal life goals as long-term goals, goals that realise your ideal future. Therefore, focusing on personal life goals can give a better insight into the plans for the future of Polish migrants.

Table 14: Personal Life Goals

<i>Personal Life Goals</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
Earning Money	12 (42.9)
Easier Life	8 (28.6)
Personal Development	7 (25.0)
Adventure	1 (3.3)
Total	28 (100)

Source: In depth interviews conducted by M. Karczemski & A. Boer, 2009

As one can observe, most mentioned personal life goal of the respondents is to *earn money*. Often, our respondents mentioned that they want to renovate or buy a house in Poland and therefore needed money. For example Grzegorz, who lives in the Poland-Hotel in Wetering for 6 weeks, stated: ‘*I want to earn money in The Netherlands to buy a private house for my wife and children in Poland*’. These migrants are very straightforward with regard to their life goals. They have come to The Netherlands purely to earn and save money. Often, they want to achieve certain investments and therefore need money. This is most often a house, a renovation of the house or a car.

The second personal life goal can be summarized as *living an easier life*. Eight respondents mentioned that they want to live without any problems. According to them, life in The Netherlands is easier comparing with life in Poland, where it is an everyday struggle. This relates to the feeling of disappointment for many Poles, which relates to the economical transition into a capitalistic system after 1989, described in chapter 5. This transition caused that many Poles became unemployed, because during the communistic period, everyone had a job. A client we spoke to in a Polish shop in the Weimarstraat in The Hague also referred to this feeling of disappointment, he said that in Poland there is a ‘lack of perspective’. This indicates that comparing to life in The Netherlands, life in Poland offers less perspective for the future, concerning job offers, wages, making a carrier etc. However, living an easier life in The Netherlands of course goes along with earning money; therefore, the second personal life goal

'touches' the first personal life goal, earning money. Anna, a woman who lives in The Netherlands for 1.5 years, illustrated this as follows: *'Here in The Netherlands you can live a 'normal' life, people here are not afraid to live. In Poland we are taught how to avoid the truth, therefore it is hard to trust someone. To live, money is of course necessary, but is not the most important thing'*. She added: *'Here in The Netherlands you can live a worthy life.'* Thus living an easier life mainly comes down to living a less restrictive, more worthy life, to have a better perspective and to feel more 'human'.

The third personal life goal of Polish migrants can be described as *personal development*. This can be: learning the Dutch language, finishing a study or start studying again. Pauline, a young girl, stated: *'In The Netherlands, it is easier to combine it all: studying, living and working. In Poland this is impossible'*. Another woman, Julia, stated that here in The Netherlands it is easier to find a more flexible job: *'I have a twin and need a lot of time for them; in The Netherlands it is possible to find a flexible job with good working conditions. In Poland, employers do not take into consideration the fact that you have children'*. This type of migrants prioritise their personal development and are thinking less in economical terms but more in what The Netherlands can offer them, besides earning money.

The fourth personal life goal is the *adventure of migrating*. One respondent clearly stated that she came here for the adventure. Genowefa: *'I came here as an au pair, I like travelling and new places; therefore, coming to The Netherlands is an adventure for me'*. This type of migrants touches the third type, migrants who move for personal development. These migrants both migrate not in the first place for the money, but to develop and increase their personal experiences. The difference is that migrants who come here for the adventure are thinking less in terms of what is useful for them as a person, but more in terms of what they like to do at that specific moment in their lives.

6.1.2 Dimensions of personal life goals

After having distinguished four types of personal life goals, I discuss in this section different dimensions of personal life goals. These dimensions make the personal life goals more intelligible. Since personal life goals are ideas about an ideal future, they are not always very realistic. In this section, three dimensions of personal life goal are discussed. The first dimension is achievement, to what extent Polish migrants can achieve their obtained personal life goals? The second dimension of personal life goals can be described as ideas concerning staying or leaving The Netherlands. The third dimension is the orientation strategy of Polish migrants. These strategies represent how migrants try to obtain their life goals.

These three dimensions add value to the determination of the personal life goals of Polish migrants.

Achievement

All of our 28 respondents, except for one, stated that they could achieve their personal life goals in The Netherlands, and thereby also in their current place of residence, The Hague. For most of them, this is possible because they can earn more money than in Poland. This thus not necessarily means that their main personal life goal is earning money. But through earning money, conditions are created to more easily reach their supposed personal life goals.

Two respondents were more doubtful about whether they could fulfil their personal life goals in The Hague, because they felt an increasing competition, especially through the arrival of people from other CEE countries, notably Bulgarians and Romanians. He stated: “*These groups are a danger for Polish migrants*”. Therefore, he was not sure for how long life in The Netherlands could help them with achieving their personal life goals. In general, our respondents were sure that they could achieve their life goals in The Netherlands.

Staying or leaving

Personal life goals also include plans for the future. Table 15 presents the distribution between respondents who want to go back to Poland and respondents who do not want to go back to Poland.

Table 15: Back or not to Poland?

<i>Going back to Poland</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
Yes	15 (53.6)
No	13 (46.4)
Total	28 (100)

Source: In-depth interviews conducted by M. Karczemski & A. Boer, 2009

Error! Reference source not found. indicates that 15 respondents want to go back to Poland and 13 respondents do not want to go back to Poland. To what degree are these serious plans? The decision to stay or leave has to do with other factors like the location of friends, family and work, but also the economical situation in the home country and having a partner or not. Therefore, plans concerning staying and leaving are often vague and are sensitive for changes. When we combine the personal life goals with the answers from the decision to stay or to leave The Netherlands, the following groups appear:

Table 16: Crossable Personal Life Goals * Going back to Poland

	<i>Do you want to go back to Poland?</i>		<i>Total</i>
	No	Yes	
Personal life goals			
Earning Money	3	9	12
Easier life	6	2	8
Personal Development	3	4	7
Adventure	1	0	1
Total	13	15	28

Source: In-depth interviews conducted by M. Karczemski & A. Boer, 2009

This table indicates that most of the respondents whose initial personal life goal is *earning money*, want to go back to Poland. Respondents, who want to have an *easier life* in The Netherlands, are more tending to not come back to Poland (6 out of 8). Respondents who stated that they want to develop themselves are dispersed; some of them want to stay (3) and some want to go back to Poland (4). This division indicates that respondents who only want to earn money are more focused to a life in Poland and respondents who are here for personal development are more focused on a life outside Poland. Respondents with other personal life goals are more doubtful concerning their future destination.

Orientation strategy

To clarify the aspirations behind plans for the future of Polish migrants, I subdivided the respondents from the in-depth interviews into groups based on their orientation strategy. These theoretical based groups, which are explained in chapter 2.5, indicate to what degree plans for the future are determined. There are four categories: settling down, return oriented, transnational oriented and global nomads.

Settling down migrants, are more oriented towards a life in The Netherlands. They are not planning to go back to Poland. Return oriented migrants do plan to return. They only stay in The Netherlands for a short period. Transnational migrants do have a long-term bipolar orientation in two countries. This means that they have good contacts in both Poland and The Netherlands. They live a kind of double life and for them it is quite uncertain where they might live in the future: in Poland or in The Netherlands. Global nomads are even more liquid than transnational migrants are, they can live in different countries and they are not bounded by any boundaries.

Table 17: Orientation Strategy of Respondents from in depth interviews

<i>Orientation Strategy</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
Settling Down (emigrants)	10 (35.7)
Return Oriented (seasonal migrant)	11 (39.3)
Transnational (long term migrants)	2 (7.1)
Global Nomads (unpredicted migrants)	5 (17.9)
Total	28 (100)

Source: In-depth interviews conducted by M. Karczemski & A. Boer, 2009

According to table 17, ten respondents are characterized with a settling down orientation strategy. This group is perceived as ‘emigrants’. Their current perception is that a life in The Netherlands will be better for them. For example, a 35-year-old woman said: *‘A lot of things, like having a good job, owning a flat, having friends and family, keep me here in The Netherlands. Therefore I cannot go back to Poland now’*. Another woman said: *‘Me and my husband are thinking of staying here forever, there is not much to go back for to Poland’*. The migrants who really want to stay in The Netherlands, often have a better life perspective here than in Poland. It is possible that friends or family migrated to The Netherlands as well, or a partner who wants to stay in The Netherlands. Also, Polish migrants who have children often plan to stay in The Netherlands since they think that their children can gain a better education here.

Eleven respondents can be described as return oriented or ‘seasonal migrants’. They are planning to move back to Poland and perceive their stay in The Netherlands as temporary; often they stay for one season and then return. Alexandra, a 21-year-old girl stated *‘the distance between The Netherlands and Poland is too big; I miss my family in Poland’*. This indicates the importance of the family for many Poles. Despite of the fact that Poland is modernizing, it is still a traditional country in where family plays an important role. However, plans about leaving The Netherlands are often vague and uncertain, what is illustrated by the statement of Anita, we spoke her in a Polish shop in The Hague, she is 29 years old: *‘I want to go back to Poland, I do not know when, but I hope it will be soon’*. This suggests a return illusion, described in chapter 2.5. The initial plan is to return to Poland, but this plan is often postponed, so that in the end it never may be realised (Düvell & Vogel, 2006).

Transnational migrants maintain strong ties with people from back home but as well build up relations in The Netherlands. Anna told us: *“When I am in Poland I miss The Netherlands, but when I am here I miss Poland: I have got a house there. In Poland it is ugly and grey, but when I celebrated Christmas in The Netherlands last year, I missed Poland: Christmas in Poland has some kind of atmosphere which you won’t find somewhere else”*. This statement illustrates the bi-polar orientation of transnational migrants. They have build up a life in The Netherlands, but are also strongly attached to their home country. Therefore, it is unclear whether they will stay in The Netherlands or decide to move back to Poland.

For global nomads (5 respondents), or ‘unpredicted migrants’, place does not seem to play a very important role; they are not restricted by any borders. We also spoke with some of these ‘global nomads’. Piotr, a 27-year-old guy who works at the Poland Hotel in Wateringen, said: *‘I do not know how my future will be, maybe I am in Poland, maybe The Netherlands or maybe somewhere else’*. Another respondent with ‘unpredicted’ plans described her future as follows: *‘your home country is there where*

you can earn money'. These statements indicate the uncertainty of the plans for the future of this group of migrants. They do not have a well-thought idea about where they will be or want to be in the future, this depends on how certain aspects of their lives, like having a job, place of residence of their friends, having a relationship or not, will develop the coming years.

Table 18: Back to Poland * Orientation Strategy

	<i>Orientation Strategy</i>				<i>Total</i>
	Settling Down	Return Oriented	Transnational	Global Nomads	
Back to Poland?					
Yes	1	10	0	4	15
No	9	1	2	1	13
Total	10	11	2	5	28

Source: In-depth interviews conducted by M. Karczemski & A. Boer, 2009

Table 18 shows that from the ten respondents with a settling down strategy, nine respondents do not want to go back to Poland. Ten respondents from the return oriented category want to return to Poland. Thus, the settling down and return oriented respondents seem to be consistent concerning their plans for the future and strategies. The two transnational migrants do not want to return to Poland; it seems that their 'double' life is tending more to a future in The Netherlands than in Poland. From the five respondents who are characterized as global nomads, four respondents eventually want to go back to Poland. It is possible that they first live in other countries and finally go back to Poland.

Table 19 suggests that respondents with a settling down orientation and a return orientation are consistent concerning their plans for the future and their strategies. The respondents, who have a settling down strategy, insist not to go back to Poland in the future. Respondents, who are at this moment oriented towards going back to Poland, also indicate that they definitely will do this. For transnational migrants and global nomads, it is more difficult to predict their plans for future. Their ideas about the future are more uncertain and therefore it is difficult to say whether they will stay in The Netherlands or return to Poland.

Table 19: Orientation Strategy * Personal Life Goals

<i>Personal life goals</i>	<i>Orientation Strategy</i>				<i>Total</i>
	Settling Down	Return Oriented	Transnational	Global Nomads	
Earning Money	1	7	1	3	12
Easier life	7	1	0	0	8
Personal Development	2	3	0	2	7
Adventure	0	0	1	0	1
Total	10	11	2	5	28

Source: In-depth interviews conducted by M. Karczemski & A. Boer, 2009

After having examined the distribution between the respondents who want to go back to Poland and their orientation strategy, the division between personal life goals and orientation strategy are presented. Personal life goals and orientation strategies might look similar, since they both are dealing with a future perspective of life. However, they are different from each other. This is visible in Table 6.6. From the respondents with a settling down orientation, one respondent initially wanted to earn money. For this group, personal development and especially having an easier life seems to be more important. The return oriented migrants have earning money (7) as their main personal life goal and for some of them, personal development (3) is also important. The other two groups are distributed over different personal life goals; however, none of them came here with the aspiration to have an easier life.

Respondents who want to *earn money* in their life are more willing to go back to Poland and in general, hold a return oriented strategy. For these migrants, earning money is their initial goal and The Netherlands can be used to achieve this goal. Respondents who wanted to have an *easier life* are more willing to not go back to Poland. In general, as one can see in table 19, these migrants have a settling down orientation. They are more oriented towards a future in The Netherlands. Migrants who wanted to *develop themselves personally* are spread over the strategies. Some of them want to return to Poland, some want to stay in The Netherlands and some want to live in other countries. The last group, *adventurous migrants* that is represented by 1 respondent, is too small to make a generalisation. This respondent stated that she wanted to go back to Poland, but she maintained a transnational strategy, so probably she will move to some other countries first before she returns to Poland.

6.2 Mapping social reality: social positioning in the Dutch Society

After having discussed the personal life goals Polish migrants want to achieve in their life and the strategies they use, this section deals with the social fulfilment of the life of Polish migrants once they are in The Netherlands. Social involvement in the Dutch society of Polish migrants, mapping the social reality, indicates their awareness and their willingness to become integrated and is therefore an important aspect to investigate.

During the in-depth interviews, respondents were asked if they have contacts with Dutch people during their leisure time and to what degree they experience barriers in making contacts with Dutch people. I choose to focus on the social activities during the leisure time of migrants, because this indicates whether they put effort in making contacts with Dutch people. Nevertheless, we have to take into account that many Polish migrants have only limited leisure time. We asked our respondents also if they have contacts with other Poles in The Netherlands

and if these contacts were important for them. In this section, these two topics firstly are addressed. Secondly, the online survey is analysed. The data from the online survey presents information about the measure of social involvement of Polish migrants in the Dutch society. Several indicators for integration are analysed: having contact with Dutch people, speaking the Dutch language, buying a house in The Netherlands, feeling at home in The Netherlands and duration of their stay in The Netherlands.

6.2.1 In-depth interviews: Social contacts

Contacts with Dutch people

Out of the in-depth interviews with 28 Polish migrants, nine respondents indicated to have frequent contact with Dutch people. These respondents are mostly migrants who have children at school and therefore meet Dutch people and migrants who live in neighbourhoods, which note a high presence of autochthonous. Ten respondents sometimes have contact with Dutch people in their leisure time. They occasionally meet other Dutch persons, for example at parties of friends, or greet their Dutch neighbours. A further 9 respondents indicated that they never have contact with Dutch people in their leisure time. They do not have common meeting places where they can meet Dutch people. Krystyna, a Polish woman that we met in a Polish shop in The Hague explained to us: *'I do not have contact with Dutch people because I have simply no idea where I should meet them'*. This quote indicates the isolated position in where many Polish migrants find themselves. Such isolation from the Dutch society is mostly caused by the influence of job agencies. These agencies organize transport, work, papers and housing, as described in chapter 5. Polish migrants do not have a lot of possibilities to change their situation because they depend on these agencies. Besides the isolated situation of many Polish migrants, they are also very busy with their work and do not have much leisure time. In addition, Polish migrants who are here temporary often do not see the benefits of having contact with Dutch people. They are not interested in making contact with Dutch people.

All these factors point to the important fact that the 'being in The Netherlands' thus not directly indicate 'being part of the Dutch society' The sparse free time, limited common 'meeting places' and temporary stay are reasons why Polish migrants do not have many contact with Dutch people. Another reason, which causes also limited contact with Dutch people, is the language problem. This is perceived as a barrier in making contact with Dutch people.

Barriers in making contacts with Dutch people

The previous section showed that one third of the respondents have frequently contact with Dutch people. However, this may not always indicate that Polish migrants do not *want* to have more contact with Dutch people. Thirteen respondents declared that they wish to have more contacts with Dutch people during their leisure time. Our research suggests that 10 respondents experiences barriers in making contacts with Dutch people, 6 respondents have experienced difficulties as well, but less than the first group. The main barrier is the language, already mentioned above. Bartłomiej, a 42 year old man said: *'I feel very insecure because I cannot speak Dutch; therefore I perceive it as an obstacle to make contact with Dutch people.'* A 35-year-old woman told us the following: *'I want to have more contact with Dutch people, but I feel very embarrassed because I cannot speak the language'*.

Besides the language barrier, there are other difficulties in making contact with Dutch people. Especially in the beginning, Piotr experienced many barriers in making contact with Dutch people, mainly with women. *'When Dutch women heard that I was Polish, they did not want to speak with me'*. Justyna, a 24-year-old girl, sometimes has problems in making contact with Dutch people because *'they are very reserved'*. Dorota, a 28-year-old lady who was visiting a Polish shop in The Hague, explained: *'I sometimes feel difficulties in making contact with Dutch people because they do not tolerate foreigners'*. Therefore, she feels discriminated. Another lady explained to us that in the beginning of her stay in The Hague, she felt barriers: *'In the beginning, I felt barriers, because you do not know the culture, the habits. But everyone is so friendly, at my work and in the shops, after some time, I did not felt any barriers any more'*. This indicates a shift from having contact with Poles towards having contact with Dutch. In the beginning, contact with Poles felt safer. After some time, it seems to be easier to make contact with Dutch people.

For 22 out of 28 respondents, it would be helpful to speak the Dutch language in their private and working life. This indicates that Polish migrants seem to understand that if they want to stay longer in The Netherlands, speaking the language is very important. But after all, only some of them can speak Dutch (2 out of 28 respondents). Julia, we met her during an information market for Polish migrants in The Hague organized by Stedenband Den Haag-Warschau, explained to us that it would be helpful for her to speak Dutch in order to make it easier to find a better job. She added: *'And Dutch people perceive you then in a different way, they have more respect for you'*. This points to the advantages of bridging contact, described in chapter 2.3.2. Bridging social capital refers to social networks which bring people of different sorts together and bonding social capital brings people of a similar sort together (Norris, 2003). This theory assumes that bridging contact can offer alternative sources of information and support and furthermore it

can provide new friendships, it can help to gain language skills or to feel more deliberate. Besides that, it can help also to get a better understanding of the society they are living in. Polish migrants seem to understand the advantages of bridging contact. But still only a third of them have frequent contact with Dutch people. There are still too much barriers in making contact with Dutch people. On the other hand, some Polish migrants are blocked in making contact with Dutch people through a 'lack' of putting effort in it, mostly because they stay here temporary.

Contacts with other Poles in The Netherlands

Besides contacts that Polish migrants build up with Dutch people, they also maintain strong contact with other Poles in The Netherlands. For most of the respondents, having contacts with other Poles in The Netherlands is important. One respondent, a young person, explained that contacts with other Polish migrants in The Hague are important because they can help to stay here. Emilia (26), a Polish girl who speaks Dutch quite well, told us that contacts with Poles are very important for her because in her own language she can express herself better than in Dutch. Walenty, a 45-year-old man, told us that contact with Poles are important for him, because these contacts are with people similar to him- '*Ziomkami*'. This is a Polish word for people from the same region; therefore, they share the same uses. He stated '*I feel connected with these people through blood and language.*' There are several reasons why contact with other Poles is important. Contact with other Poles might be helpful to find a job or because of emotional reasons: because you can express yourself better or because you feel connected.

Although most of the respondents perceive contact with other Poles as important, they mainly have contact with close Polish friends whom they already know from Poland. Almost all of them have only contacts with well-known Poles in their close surrounding. Therefore, there are no bonding contacts; since these are contacts with people from the same community build up in The Netherlands. The contacts Polish migrants have with other compatriots can be seen as a continuation of the informal contacts they use to migrate to The Netherlands. These contacts, which are analysed in chapter 5, are contacts with friends and family, which help Polish to migrate. These friendships continue from the moment Polish migrants are in The Hague. Besides these friendships, they do not build up a lot of new, significant, contacts with other Poles in The Netherlands

Ten respondents perceived the contact with other Polish migrants in The Netherlands as not really important or only slightly important. Grzegorz doubts the usefulness of maintaining contact with other Poles: '*It is easier to get help from a Dutch person than from a Polish person, you have to be very careful with Polish persons, and you cannot always be totally open to them*'. Mikolaj, a Pole who lives

in The Hague now for 6 months, said something similar: *'You can be abused by Polish persons very easily; therefore it is not always good to have a lot of contact with them'*. A Polish man, who promised him a room, cheated him; the papers, which he signed, were false.

From the 28 in-depth interviews, one respondent did not have contact with other Poles during his stay in The Netherlands. Krystian explained this with the following reason: *'I am afraid of the intolerance of Polish migrants'*. This respondent did not migrate to The Netherlands to work, but he came here to live together with his Dutch partner.

The importance of Polish facilities in The Netherlands

Besides contact with other Poles in The Hague, we also asked how important Polish facilities in the city are for our respondents. This indicates the significance of the Polish culture in their life in The Netherlands. A majority (57.1%) answered that facilities, like Polish shops, a Polish church and Polish cafes are important for them. Most of them explained this by arguing that these facilities remind them of Poland, their home country. One of our key persons, he is the director of the Polish newspaper *Niedźwala*, emphasized the importance of the church in The Hague. He explained: *"The church is the biggest gathering of Polish people in The Hague. In the first 5, 6 months, everybody goes there. After 6 months, they find more people and places in the city and they stop coming, then there will be a new group. The church is a kind of networking."* This indicates the importance of the church for Polish migrants, not only because of the religious factor but as well because of the social factor the church proclaims. The Polish church in The Hague has an enormous reach of Polish migrants in the city. However, not everyone feels attracted to visit the church. Some may not like to feel the 'moral burden' that is related to the Polish church. There are some other facilities which may serve as an alternative; however, these facilities are very scarce in The Hague and do not reach so much Polish migrants compared to the church.

6.2.2 Online survey: indicators of social involvement

What does the online survey tells us? The in-depth interviews indicated that some do have contact with Dutch people, some not, and others sometimes. The online survey showed the following distribution.

Table 20: Contact with Dutch in leisure time

<i>How often do you have contact with Dutch people in leisure time?</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
Never	9 (5.9)
Seldom	53 (34.6)
Sometimes	40 (26.1)
Often	38 (24.8)
Very Often	13 (8.5)
Total	153 (100)

Source: SPSS; Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

Of the 153 respondents, 5.9% never and 34.6% seldom has contacts with Dutch. Another 26.1% sometimes has contacts and 24.8% often. Only 8.5% has very often contacts with Dutch in their leisure time. Respondents that have often and very often contacts with Dutch people together form a group of 33.3%. However, which 'kind' of Poles does have more contacts with Dutch people in their leisure time than others? To answer this, I analysed the relationship between speaking the Dutch language and having contacts, buying a house in The Netherlands and having contacts, feeling at home and having contacts and staying in The Netherlands and having contacts with Dutch people. I assume that when Polish migrants speak the Dutch language, they are better integrated in the Dutch society and therefore have more contact with Dutch people.

Table 21: Do you speak Dutch?

<i>Do you speak Dutch?</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
No, nothing	42 (27.5)
Little bit	73 (47.7)
Yes, I do	31 (20.3)
Very good	7 (4.6)
Total	153 (100)

Source: SPSS; Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

Table 21 shows that almost half of the respondents insist that they speak a little bit Dutch. However, 'a little bit Dutch' often means not more than speaking a couple of Dutch words. 20.3% can speak good Dutch and 4.6% speaks the language very good.

Table 22: Cross table: Having Contact with Dutch people in free time * Speaking Dutch

<i>Do you have contact?</i>	<i>Do you speak Dutch? (%)</i>			
	No, nothing	Little bit	Yes, I do	Yes, very good
Never	4 (9.5)	4 (5.5)	0 (0.0)	1 (14.3)
Seldom	19 (45.2)	27 (37.0)	6 (19.4)	1 (14.3)
Sometimes	12 (28.6)	19 (26.0)	9 (29.0)	0 (0.0)
Often	7 (16.7)	15 (20.5)	14(45.2)	2 (28.6)
Very often	0 (0.0)	8 (11.0)	2 (6.5)	3 (42.9)
Total	42 (100)	73 (100)	31(100)	7 (100)

Source: Online Survey, Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

In table 22, one can see that respondents who speak good and very good Dutch have more often contact with Dutch people in their leisure time than respondents who speak a little bit or not at all Dutch. From the respondents who not speak Dutch, 45.2% seldom has contact with Dutch people. This percentage decreases as the amount of contact with Dutch people increases. Therefore, respondents who speak very good Dutch have less ‘seldom contacts’ with Dutch people in their leisure time than respondents who do not speak Dutch. I tested this relationship with a linear regression model. This model suggest that when Polish migrants speak better Dutch, their chance to have contacts with Dutch people increases ($b=0,417$). This is a significant ($p < 0.001$) relationship.

Besides speaking the Dutch language, buying a house in The Netherlands is also an indicator for integration into the Dutch society. We assume that when Polish migrants want to buy a house in The Netherlands, they want to stay longer and they are better integrated. As argued in chapter 4.2.3, differences between the ‘The Hague’ group and the ‘non The Hague’ group concerning buying a house in The Netherlands are significant. This means that Polish migrants from The Hague (44 respondents) and Polish migrants from other parts in the Netherlands (107 respondents) cannot be perceived as one group. Therefore, I analyze these two groups separately. Due to this, the numbers in the columns are in some cases meager. It is therefore more difficult to generalize.

Table 23: Cross-table: Having contacts with Dutch people*Buying a house in the Netherlands ‘The Hague’ group

<i>Migrants from The Hague</i>	<i>Do you want to buy a house in the Netherlands?(%)</i>		
	Yes	Maybe	No
How often do you have contacts with Dutch?			
Never	1 (4.5)	0 (0)	1 (8.3)
Seldom	8 (36.4)	4 (40.0)	8 (66.0)
Sometimes	5 (22.7)	4 (40.0)	3 (25.0)
Often	7 (31.8)	2 (20.0)	0 (0.0)
Very often	1 (4.5)	0 (0)	0 (0.0)
Total	22 (100)	10 (100)	12 (100)

Source: Online Survey, Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

Table 24: Cross-table: Having contacts with Dutch people*Buying a house in the Netherlands ‘Non The Hague’ group

<i>Migrants not from The Hague</i>	<i>Do you want to buy a house in the Netherlands?(%)</i>		
	Yes	Maybe	No
How often do you have contacts with Dutch?			
Never	1 (2.2)	0 (0.0)	6 (10.2)
Seldom	12 (26.1)	0 (0.0)	20 (33.9)
Sometimes	12 (26.1)	0 (0.0)	16 (27.1)
Often	13 (28.3)	2 (100)	14 (23.7)
Very often	8 (17.4)	0 (0.0)	3 (5.1)
Total	46 (100)	2 (100)	59 (100)

Source: Online Survey, Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

The first cross table shows that respondents who live in The Hague and want to buy a house in The Netherlands, have more contacts with Dutch people than respondents who do not want to buy a house in the Netherlands. The second cross table shows that respondents living somewhere else in the Netherlands, and want to buy a house in The Netherlands, as well have more contacts with Dutch people than respondents who do not want to buy a house.

This relationship between buying a house and having contacts with Dutch people is confirmed with the help of a linear regression model. This model indicates that if there is a significant effect between these two variables and for which group ('The Hague' or 'not The Hague') the effect of buying a house on the amount of having contacts with Dutch is stronger. The test suggests that the relationship between buying a house and having contacts with Dutch people in your leisure time is stronger for respondents who live in The Hague ($b=0.377$) than for respondents who live in other parts of The Netherlands ($b=0.267$). These b-coefficients denote that when migrants decide to buy a house in The Netherlands, their chance to have more contacts with Dutch people increases with 0.377 for respondents from the 'The Hague' group and 0.267 for the 'non The Hague' group. Both effects are significant ($p<0.05$). The R-square, the explained variance, is 0.121 in the case of the 'The Hague' group and 0.056 in the case of the 'non The Hague' group. Thus, the R square as well confirms the stronger effect of buying a house on having contacts for the 'The Hague' group. However, the low R-square level in both groups indicates that besides buying a house in the Netherlands, a lot of other factors determining how much contacts migrants have with Dutch people. Only 12.1% (0.121) in the case of the 'The Hague' group and 5.6% (0.056) in the case of the 'non The Hague' group of having contacts is explained by buying a house in the Netherlands.

Another indicator of social involvement is the feeling of being home. I assume that when Polish migrants do feel more at home in The Netherlands, they also have more contact with Dutch people.

Table 25: Do you feel at home in The Netherlands?

<i>Do you feel at home in The Netherlands?</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
No	16 (10.5)
A little bit	29 (19.0)
Neutral	44 (28.8)
Yes	49 (32.0)
Yes, very much	15 (9.8)
Total	153 (100)

Source: SPSS Michal Karczowski & Anne Boer, 2009

Quite a large group (41.8%) answered that they feel at home of ‘very much’ at home in The Netherlands. However, there is also a group who does not feel at home (29.5%). However, these numbers indicate that there are more respondents, who feel at home in The Netherlands than who not feel at home. Table 6.7 shows that migrants who are feeling more at home in the Netherlands do have more contact with Dutch people in their leisure time.

Table 26: Feeling at home in the Netherlands

How often do you have contacts with Dutch?	<i>Do you feel at home in The Netherlands? (%)</i>				
	No	A little bit	Neutral	Yes	Yes, a lot
Never	1 (6.3)	1 (3.4)	3 (6.8)	3 (6.1)	1 (6.7)
Seldom	7 (43.8)	16 (55.2)	16 (36.4)	12 (24.5)	2 (13.3)
Sometimes	4 (25.0)	7 (24.1)	14 (31.8)	14 (28.6)	1 (6.7)
Often	3 (18.8)	5 (17.2)	7 (15.9)	14 (28.6)	9 (60.0)
Very often	1 (6.3)	0 (0.0)	4 (9.1)	6 (12.2)	2 (13.3)
Total	16 (100)	29 (100)	44 (100)	49 (100)	15 (100)

Source: Online Survey, Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

One can observe that the people, who feel at home in The Netherlands, have more often contacts with Dutch people. From the people who insist to feel much at home in the Netherlands, 60.0% often and 13.3% very often has contacts with Dutch people in their leisure time. Comparing with people who do not feel at home in The Netherlands, these percentages are respectively 18.8% and 6.3%. A linear regression test also confirmed this correlation. The test showed with a b-coefficient from 0.240 and an alpha from 0.001 that people who feel better at home in the Netherlands do have a bigger chance to have more contacts with Dutch people in their leisure time.

The next indicator of integrating is the duration of stay in The Netherlands. We assume that Polish migrants who stay longer in The Netherlands are better integrated and therefore also have more contacts with Dutch people.

Table 27: How long do you stay in The Netherlands?

<i>How long do you want to stay in The Netherlands?</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
Less than 1 year	6 (3.9)
1-2 year	22 (14.4)
2-5 year	28 (18.3)
more than 5 year	90 (58.8)
I don't know	6 (3.9)
Missing	1 (0.7)
Total	153 (100)

Source: SPSS Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

One can observe that 58.8% of the respondents stated that they want to stay 5 or more years in The Netherlands.

Table 28: How long do you stay in the Netherlands?

How often do you have contacts with Dutch?	<i>How long do you stay in the Netherlands? (%)</i>					
	I do not know	Less than 1 year	1-2 years	3-5 years	More than 5 years	Total
Never	0 (0.0)	1 (16.7)	2 (9.1)	1 (3.6)	5 (5.6)	9 (5.9)
Seldom	2 (33.3)	4 (66.7)	8 (36.4)	14(50.0)	25 (27.8)	53 (34.9)
Sometimes	1 (16.7)	1 (16.0)	10(45.5)	8 (28.6)	19 (21.1)	39 (25.7)
Often	3 (50.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (9.1)	4 (14.3)	29 (32.2)	38 (25.0)
Very often	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.6)	12 (13.3)	13 (8.6)
Total	6 (100)	6 (100)	22 (100)	28 (100)	90 (100)	152 (100)

Source: Online Survey, Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

Table 28 indicates that respondents who want to stay longer than 5 year in The Netherlands, have more contacts with Dutch people than respondents who want to stay shorter. The differences are quite big. For example, from the respondents who insist to stay less than one year in The Netherlands, 0.0% has often or very often contacts with Dutch in their leisure time, comparing with 32.2% and 13.3% for respondents who want to stay longer than 5 years in The Netherlands. This relation between staying in The Netherlands and having contacts with Dutch is confirmed with a linear regression test. When respondents decide to stay longer in the Netherlands, their chance to have more contacts with Dutch people increases with 0.215 ($P < 0.05$).

6.3 Mapping mind and social reality: conflict or consensus?

Concerning the in-depth interviews, we indicated that 13 respondents said that they did not want to move back to Poland. Of this group, nine respondents are characterized with a settling down orientation. Thus, these nine respondents are tending to stay in The Netherlands.

Taking into account the social involvement of the respondents, we have seen that one third of the respondents frequently have contact with Dutch people in their leisure time. This suggest that exactly the same amount of respondents who have serious plans to stay also are social involved in the Dutch society. This suggests that when people have a future orientation towards staying in The Netherlands for a longer period of time, they also do more effort to become involved in the Dutch society, also confirmed in the online survey. Nevertheless, are the respondents who are tending to stay longer in The Netherlands really the same respondents who have contact with Dutch people?

Therefore, I made the group ‘stayers’. These are the nine respondents who stated that they do not return to Poland and have a settling down strategy. In table 6.9, one can observe their contacts with Dutch people.

Table 29: Crosstable Contact with Dutch * Stayers

	<i>Contact with Dutch people in your leisure time</i>		<i>Total</i>
Stayers	Yes	Sometimes	
Total	5	4	9

Source: In-depth interviews conducted by M. Karczemski & A. Boer, 2009

Table 29 suggests that all respondents from the group ‘stayers’ have contacts with Dutch people in their leisure time. Five respondents have regularly contact and four respondents sometimes. This confirms the idea that when Polish migrants want to stay in The Netherlands, they will do more effort to become involved in the Dutch society.

A key informant who is in The Netherlands for 30 years, director of the organization STEP, is engaged in the situation of Polish migrants in The Netherlands and therefore has a helicopter view of what is going on here, she explained: *“What can you do with the Dutch language in Europe? Nothing! The perspective of Polish migrants is very short term, they do not know for how long they will stay, and therefore do not invest in learning the Dutch language. They only learn it when they need it, at work or when they have children. Polish migrants start thinking about settling down here as soon as the children arrive. Having children is a bridge to the Dutch society. Once Polish migrants realize they will stay longer, they will put effort in becoming integrated.”*

It seems that as soon as Polish migrants have serious plans to stay in The Netherlands, when they have children or when they have a better job, which gives them a better perspective, they are willing to do more effort to become involved in the Dutch society. This means, to have more contacts with Dutch people and to learn the Dutch language. Until that time, Polish migrants are not enthusiast to make contacts with Dutch people. This is also because of the language: they perceive this as a barrier in making contacts with Dutch people.

The same comparison can be made for the respondents from the online survey. The survey showed that 90 respondents (58.8%) insist to stay longer than 5 years in The Netherlands, 33.3% has often or very often contact with Dutch people. Of the 153 respondents, 25.3% speaks Dutch, 41.8% feels at home in The Netherlands and 44.4% wants to buy a house in The Netherlands. The mean value of the social involvement of respondents from the online survey, calculated by adding up these values, is 36.2% and dividing them by four. Thus, there is a gap between the will to stay (58.8%) and the measure of social involvement (36.2%) of 22.6% (58.8-36.2). Therefore, 22.6% of the respondents from the online survey is on the one hand not

socially involved but on the other hand wants to stay in The Netherlands for longer than 5 years. But these numbers are based on information retrieved from the online questionnaire, and therefore we cannot be sure about the certainty and seriousness of their plans for the future since we cannot place these respondents in a orientation strategy group, in contrast to the respondents from the in-depth interviews. Therefore, we attach more value to the in-depth interviews.

Chapter 6, 'Mapping mind and social reality: personal life goals and social activities of Polish migrants in The Hague', contributed to the knowledge of Polish migrants in The Netherlands. Often, Polish migrants are perceived as one group, who will 'return back home as soon as they have earned enough money'. This chapter demonstrated the diversity within the group of Polish migrants in The Hague. It indicated that Polish migrants have different personal life goals, which they want to achieve and that they use different strategies to do so. Furthermore, is also illustrated how Polish migrants fill in their leisure time and to what extent they are involved in the Dutch society. The in-depth interviews indicated that when Polish migrants are willing to stay longer in The Netherlands, they do effort to become involved into the Dutch society. The online survey showed that speaking the Dutch language, feeling at home in The Netherlands, buying a house in The Netherlands, and planning to stay longer in The Netherlands, all positively influence the amount of contacts with Dutch people. With this information, it has become clearer how Polish migrants perceive their stay in The Netherlands, which migrants want to stay and which want to return to Poland.

Chapter 7 Conclusion and Discussion

The past six chapters focused on the migration process of Polish migrants who moved to The Hague after 2004. In this final chapter, we present an overview of the most important aspects brought forward in our study. We also formulate answers to the questions proposed in chapter 1.

We perceive the networks used by migrants as main indicators of the migration process. The type of network, which is chosen by migrants in an initial phase of the migration process, is of influence on the future situation of migrants in the host country. We distinguished formal and informal networks used by Poles to arrive in The Hague. Once migrants reach their destination, migration networks still have an influence on their situation in the host country. Networks determine what kind of job and accommodation migrants can obtain. They also can affect the degree to which Polish migrants are involved in the Dutch society. Polish migrants can maintain their contacts with people from back home, make new contacts with other Polish migrants in the host country or can get in touch with native citizens. All of these elements are related to the type of networks which they used to migrate. We divided our research in two parts: networks developed before the arrival and networks developed after their arrival in The Hague. This helped us to better understand the impact of networks in different phases of the migration process.

The initial goal of this research was to explore *the migration process of Poles migrating to The Hague, including their reasons to come, the networks they use and their plans for the future*. In this research, we used The Hague as a case study. We fulfilled this goal by collecting empirical data and analysing this information by focusing on the process of migration *before* and *after* the arrival of Polish migrants in The Hague. Chapter 5 concentrated on reasons and networks (formal and informal) within the migration process from Poland to The Hague after 2004. Following the chronological process of migration, chapter 6 focused on the social contacts Polish migrants have once they are settled down in The Hague. In this chapter, we also emphasized the influence of personal life goals and migration strategies on their social involvement and plans for their future.

Structure of the chapter

In the next sections, we discuss the conclusions of our research.

In section 7.1, we explain the findings of our empirical chapters 5 and 6. To cover the most important findings from these chapters, we give answer to the following questions: 1) “*Why do Polish migrate to The Hague?*” 2) “*What do they want to achieve?*” 3) “*How do they migrate?*” 4) “*With whom do they have contacts in The Hague?*” The answers help us to summarize the results of our analysis and directly relate the empirical findings with the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2.

This research has made a big step in post-accession migration from Poland to The Netherlands. The improvements we made and the extent to what they can be even more investigated are described in section 7.2. In this section we compare our empirical findings with previous research on post-accession migration and give recommendations for further research. Section 7.2.1 discusses improvements comparing previous post-accession migration research. In this section, we compared the focus of theoretical concepts in previous post-accession Polish migration research with our research and highlighted the improvements we made. In section 7.2.2, we offer recommendations for further investigation. We feel that there is a need to continue research concerning Polish migrants arriving in The Netherlands. Knowledge about the impact of post-accession migration in The Netherlands is scarcely. Therefore, more and more attention should be drawn on this topic.

Section 7.3 presents policy recommendations. The conclusions of this research can be of interest for policy makers. With these results, it is possible for organizations or governmental institutions that are dealing with Polish migrants, while making or adjusting their policy, to take better into consideration the situation of Polish migrants in The Netherlands. Firstly, ideas on an organizational level are presented. Secondly, recommendations for the Dutch policy towards Polish migrants are included.

7.1 Results and conclusions

The main research question we answered in this study is:

To what extent the migration process of Polish migrants to The Hague is influenced by migration networks formed before and after their migration, and the personal life goals they aim to fulfil in The Hague?

The answer of this question is given in the following parts of section 7.1. We will give an answer on this question by taking into consideration the following questions:

1) Why do the Polish migrate?

Polish migrants in The Hague explained that their main reason to migrate is related to the economic situation in Poland. The lack of perspective on the Polish labour market and a feeling of economic disappointment caused that some Polish decided to leave their country. Some of them described the socio-economical situation in Poland as very negative. The quote “the

situation there is tragic”, was often repeated by respondents who arrived in The Hague because of economical reasons.

This observation confirms the explanation of post-accession migration presented by M. Okolski (2009) and R. Layard (2002). They claim that post-communistic states from Central and Eastern Europe did not experienced a shift in migration status – these countries are still emigration states, and not as Western European states immigration states. The enlargement of the European Union caused a decrease in barriers to move within the EU. This caused a growing migration from the new member states. In the opinion of these scholars, people who decide to migrate belong to surplus work forces that are not able to fulfill their own plans in the home country. Our results confirmed this. Our respondents were characterized with feelings of being useless in Poland. Thus, they did not see their closest future in their home country. This situation can be a result of difficulties which some Poles had to encounter during the economic transformation from the communistic system into capitalistic since 1989. The post-communistic society was not prepared for capitalistic reforms. The restructurization of the industry in the 1990s caused that many factories became liquidated. At the same time, millions of Poles lost their jobs. They felt utterly bereft. We cannot forget that the communistic system provided Poles with basic goods and work. For 45 years, the phenomenon of unemployment did not exist. There was always work and lazy citizens were forced to work. Therefore, many people felt helpless and useless after losing their jobs. In addition, people who lived during the communistic system were not taught how to be flexible on the labour market. Thus, searching a new job or changing job profession seemed inconceivable for many of them.

Young people who were born in the last decades of the communistic regime in Poland have been resentful because of lack of better perspective in their country. They felt even more disappointed as their parents. The older generation accepted the situation sooner - they understood that they became the *‘lost generation’*, while many young Polish people started to compare their chances with the possibilities offered to peers in western countries. In Poland, they were not able to achieve their goals. Therefore, they perceive the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 as a huge chance to fulfill their plans by migrating abroad. Some 150,000 of them decided to reach their goals in The Netherlands.

The reasons of Poles to migrate to The Hague are mainly economic. However, the underlying feelings of these reasons are more complex. We should not interpret them only in the categories of earning money or having a more easy life. Respondents arrived to The Hague because of difficulties which they encountered in Poland. Those problems caused that many of them could not find their own way of life in Poland.

Therefore, Polish post-accession migration to The Netherlands should be understood as a part of the process concerning a shift of migration status from emigration state to immigration state. Poland as a fast modernizing state has rapidly encountered the migratory shift. The huge inflow of Polish people to The Netherlands and especially to The Hague is an example of this (macro) migration process.

2) What do Polish migrants want to achieve?

In our research, we focused on personal life goals of Polish migrants. These goals may be perceived in some ways as similar to the reasons for migration. However, personal life goals definitely differ from the reasons for migration since personal life goals are more related to plans for the future. A reason to migrate does not directly indicate what someone wants to achieve in his or her life. Personal life goals gave us a better insight into the plans for the future of Polish migrants.

The most important personal life goal for Polish migrants is earning money. However, migrants often want to achieve goals that have a long-term perspective. To achieve these long-term goals (like finishing a study, buying a house for their family or making a journey) they have to overcome certain barriers, such as earning enough money. Therefore, earning money is often more related to short-term goals, which eventually serve more long-term goals. Besides earning money, respondents migrated to build up a new, easier and more comfortable life in The Netherlands or to work on their personal development. The migrants left Poland because in their country, they could not find any possibilities to improve their standards of life. In their opinion, The Netherlands can offer them more chances to make progress in their lives. In Poland, some of them felt limited. Their chances to obtain success in Poland were restricted.

In this study, we have noticed that migrants are ready to take any work to fulfil their life goals. People with middle-school education and with university education work physical in The Netherlands. In Poland, a majority of them would never consider such a job. This indicates that Polish migrants strive to achieve their personal life goals in The Netherlands, even when they have to work under their professional qualification.

Migrants try to achieve personal life goals by making use of different strategies. The type of strategy they use depends on how they think about their plans for the future. Seasonal circulation (return oriented migrants) and settling down (emigrants) strategies are the most common strategies. Long term (transnational migrants) and unpredicted intention (global nomads) are vaguer strategies and are therefore more uncommon. Polish migrants who hold on to a seasonal circulation or settling down oriented strategy are consistent concerning their

strategies and plans for the future. Our study confirms that respondents with a settling down orientation do not want to move back to Poland. In their case, they want to build their future in The Netherlands. They do not consider that returning in the nearest future to Poland would help them to achieve their life goals. Concerning migrants with a seasonal circulation strategy, they want to move back to Poland. These migrants perceive their stay in The Netherlands as temporary. A majority of them use migration as a way to earn some extra money to have a better start in Poland or to spend money in current expenses. So the characteristics of these two theoretical strategies, seasonal circulation and settling down, are confirmed in our research.

For the two other strategies that Düvell and Vogel (2006) distinguish, long term and unpredicted intention, the supposed future plans are not so straight forward. According to the theory, transnational migrants have a bi-polar orientation; they maintain strong links with the host but also with the home country. Our study confirms this; transnational migrants try to combine their stay in The Netherlands with maintaining strong relations with Poland. It gives them a secure position because if something goes wrong in The Netherlands, they can always return to Poland. However, we suggested that transnational migrants seem be more oriented towards a future in The Netherlands. They keep their contacts with Poland as a back up, but they focus on a future in The Netherlands. This shows that their proposed personal life goals can be achieved in The Netherlands and therefore their stay here becomes more serious.

Migrants with an unpredicted strategy are described as global nomads. Global nomads suppose to follow the places, which bring them better profits (Düvell and Vogel, 2006). Therefore, they are perceived as the most fluid migrants, their plans are very changeable. However, four out of five global nomads eventually want to return to Poland. This indicates that global nomads perceive themselves as free people, able to travel and live where they want, but they prefer to build a stable future in Poland. Therefore, there fluidity is not as dynamic as supposed by Düvell and Vogel.

Although the transnational migrants and global nomads are both characterized with fluid plans, they both seem to consider a firm destiny country. For transnational migrants, The Netherlands seems to be the country where they can fulfil their life goals. For global nomads, this tends more towards Poland, their home country. Observing the plans and behaviour of the four types of Polish migrants, indicates that the European awareness of free travelling for all EU citizens is not deeply recognized, since they all tend towards the feeling of a secure home country. Migration becomes more and more fluid, but migrants keep still a save country to end their 'journey towards a better life'.

3) *How do they migrate to The Hague?*

Our research confirmed that migrants use different types of networks, to migrate to The Netherlands. The networks are functioning as facilitators of migration flows. We distinguished formal and informal networks, which helped respondents to arrive in The Hague. A majority of these people arrived through informal contacts with friends and family, who often already were in The Netherlands. Only seven respondents decided to use migration business (formal networks) to migrate to The Hague. The importance of informal networks in the migration process to The Hague is noticeable. In our opinion, this fact can be explained by three reasons, which were described by different scholars dealing with migration networks.

When we have a look at the history of Poland between 1939-1989, the role of social networks played an important role for Poles. Buying products or visiting a doctor were often only achievable through networks of family and friends. People mainly trusted informal, trustworthy contacts. They neglected networks connecting them with the regime. Therefore, the lack of trust in formal networks is strongly recognizable in the Polish post-communistic society (Jazwinka E. Okolski M., 2001).

The second reason is explained by Vertovec (2002). He stated that the type of network used to migrate depends on the type of migrant. He claims that well-skilled workers more often use formal contacts to migrate because the chances to get a well skilled job in their professions depends mainly on the contacts developed at work or universities (Vertovec, 2002). Polish migrants in The Hague are mainly unskilled. They work in the agriculture, industry and services. None of our respondents is employed in a profession where high skills are required. Therefore, the explanation of Vertovec is applicable in our investigation.

Moreover, migration to urban areas like The Hague, is very varied; Polish migrants in this city are able to find a job in different branches of the Dutch economy. While job agencies recruiting Poles in rural areas in The Netherlands specialize predominantly in recruitment of Poles in the agriculture. This also explains why a low number of Poles arrived through this type of networks.

The function of the migration business, which helps some Polish to migrate to The Hague, is quite similar to the migration business that is developed on the Mexican- American border. The legal and illegal migration between these two countries is steered predominantly by migration business. Therefore, American and Mexican were the first researchers who studied this issue. They gathered lot of knowledge on which we partly based our investigation concerning migration business attracting Polish to migrate to The Netherlands. Just like Polish migrants who

use formal networks, Mexicans who arrived in the USA via job agencies are provided with accommodation, work and other facilities during their stay abroad. Moreover, Polish and Mexicans encounter comparable problems. Job agencies encourage people to become mobile and help migrants to search a job and accommodation abroad, which can be very helpful when not speaking a foreign language. However, these migrants are depended on the decisions and rules of these agencies. Polish migrants who use these agencies are perceived by the employers as 'labour' and not as humans who arrive in The Netherlands to develop an own life.

Another important finding concerns the origin of migrants arriving in The Hague. A majority of migrants come from Upper Silesia. This fact is influenced by migration networks attracting Polish to migrate to The Netherlands. These networks were developed in the last decade of the 20th century. Many Polish migrants from this region possessed a Polish- German citizenship, which allowed them to work without any restrictions in The Netherlands before 2007. This example indicates that networks built up many years ago by pioneers of migration strongly affect future migration flows and determine the migratory destinations. The Polish migrants still use these networks to arrive in The Hague. We therefore cannot investigate migration processes without understanding historical events that happened in the specific countries. Migration networks, which are formed in the past, keep attracting migrants. Moreover, new migrants build up new migration networks, which encourage potential migrants to move. Therefore, the process of formation of networks is not a restricted process. As long as The Netherlands will attract new comers, migration networks enlarge. Our research showed that job agencies, which are established in the area populated by Poles with German citizenship, still recruit many workers to The Netherlands. Although interesting, the migration business is more and more interested in recruitment of Polish with one nationality, which can cause the expansion of the formal networks in the future. Job agencies prefer to recruit workers with less job experiences. The costs of inexperienced workers who have never worked in The Netherlands are less than costs of experienced workers. Therefore, job agencies search employees from different parts of Poland who have never worked in The Netherlands.

4) With whom do they have contacts in The Hague?

Once Polish migrants are in The Netherlands, they have many contacts with other Polish migrants. For almost all our respondents, contacts with other Poles are important. This contact creates an atmosphere of home. However, we can conclude that our respondents primarily maintain contacts with very close friends and family, which they often already know from the homeland. Regarding the 'wider ethnic community', they are often distrustful and therefore they

keep their distance. The argument of White & Ryan (2008) that ‘competition rather than collaboration amongst Polish migrants has often been the hallmark of Polish migrant communities’ is therefore also confirmed in our research. We can explain this by the jealous behaviour amongst Polish migrants; the fear that they have towards each other, that one will use information from another, and misuse this to gain profits. This behaviour relates directly back to the history, which is explained in the section about networks. In previous times, Poles could mainly trust very close friends and family. This behaviour is still visible in their life these days. Our research therefore not confirms the advantages of bonding contact, contact between people from the same ethnicity, which are mentioned in migration literature. These advantages, like providing a sense of security and assistance by finding a job, accommodation etc. are not applicable in the case of the Polish migrants living in The Hague.

Besides contacts with other Polish migrants, one third of our respondents frequently have contacts with Dutch people in their leisure time. Another third sometimes has contacts and the others never have contacts with Dutch people. We found no ‘gap’ between respondents who want to stay longer in The Netherlands and their social involvement. This means that all Polish migrants who are oriented towards a life in The Netherlands have bridging contacts, contacts with Dutch people (Norris, 2003). We consequently suggest that when Polish migrants who are planning to stay longer in The Netherlands, they will do more effort to become involved in the Dutch society. As soon as Polish migrants decide to stay for a longer period in The Netherlands, they are willing to make bridging contacts. The benefits of bridging contacts, like new friendships, gaining language skills, feeling more deliberate and getting a better understanding of the society, can all contribute to create more possibilities for personal development. The online survey showed that speaking the Dutch language, feeling at home in The Netherlands, buying a house in The Netherlands, and planning to stay longer in The Netherlands, all positively influenced on the amount of contacts with Dutch people.

We also conclude that there is a big group of Polish migrants, which does not have, or slightly has, contacts with Dutch people in their leisure time. This has to do with several reasons. Quite a group of migrants experienced barriers in making contact with Dutch people. The main barrier in making contact with Dutch people is language. Most of the Polish migrants do not speak the Dutch language. Our research therefore suggests the importance of language skills in the process of making contacts between Polish migrants and Dutch people in The Netherlands. Another important obstacle to progress the contact with Dutch people is the influence of the job agencies. Poles are often isolated from the Dutch society; they do not have much common meeting places where they can meet Dutch people. This isolation is mainly caused by the

influence of the job agencies: these agencies regulate transport, work, papers and housing for Polish migrants. Therefore, the migrants are depended on these agencies and do not have much possibilities to change their isolated situation. This dependency confirms the influence of different types of networks on the life of Polish migrants once they are in The Netherlands. Polish migrants using formal networks (job agencies) end up in a more depended situation than Polish migrants who arrive through informal networks.

Thirdly, Polish migrants work a lot during the week and many times also during the weekend. Therefore, they simply do not have much free time to meet other people. A final reason is caused by the temporariness of many Poles. When Polish migrants stay in The Netherlands for only a short period, it is in their opinion not beneficial to do efforts in making contacts with Dutch people.

The degree in which Polish migrants make contacts with Dutch people mainly relates to their own future orientation. Polish migrants who want to stay longer in The Netherlands see the benefits of bridging contacts and are therefore willing to do effort. Migrants who want to move back to Poland do not see these benefits, they rather prefer to keep contacts with the people they already know from back home. They are less interested in gaining new social networks. However, we have to keep in mind that for Polish migrants who life in a more isolated situation, using formal networks, it is more difficult to get in touch with Dutch people. They maybe have the will to get in touch with Dutch people, but see no possibilities in realizing this.

7.2 Discussion and recommendations for further research

This research has attempted to give an overview of the migration process from Poland to The Netherlands after 2004, from the Polish and from the Dutch point of view. Comparing with other migration research on post-accession migration, this research improved the knowledge on current Polish migration to The Netherlands. In section 7.2.1, we first address the benefits of our research and discuss what needs to be investigated more. Section 7.2.2 suggests more options for further research on migration from Poland to The Netherlands.

7.2.1 Improvements comparing previous migration research on Polish migration

The results in this research indicate that there are similarities with the concept presented by M. Okolski and I. Grabowska-Lusińska (2009) in their book “Ostatnia migracja?” (The Final migration?). These two Polish researchers considered that the huge outflows of the Polish after

2004 are an echo of the economic and political transformation in 1990s. In their opinion, the modernization of the economy needs outflows of citizens who are not able to fulfil their plans on the labour market. Consequently, these people feel useless in their country; they decide to migrate to reach their goals abroad. Our research confirmed these concepts. Many Polish migrants with whom we talked shared similar feelings of being useless in their country. Therefore, they decided to migrate.

The research held on the British Isles amongst Polish migrants by Milewski Maciej, Joanna Ruszczak – Żbikowska (2008) shows more diverse reasons of migration to the United Kingdom or Ireland. Our participation in a congress about Post-Accession Migration in Europe, at the University of Newcastle on June 19, illustrated this contrast between ‘the Dutch case’ and ‘the British case’ of post-accession migration. Therefore, we suggest that that further migration research should involve a comparing study between different European countries to which Polish migrants migrated. This can give more insight into which kind of Poles moved to which countries. This information is also of concern for agencies and organizations which are dealing with returning Polish migrants. This business should take into account that there are different types of Polish migrants and therefore their advertisement must be adjusted to these specific types.

An interesting study about post-accession migration was conducted by Roos Pijpers (2007). In her investigation, she paid special attention to the fear of the inflow of labour migrants from new member states. The anxiety of the effect of the enlargement of the European Union influenced directly on the migration policy of old member states. Many of these countries decided to introduce special restrictions controlling the accessibility of their own labour markets for migrants from new member’s states. In her study, the case of The Netherlands is used to show that opening of the labour market for Poles was followed by a huge public discussion. Our study confirms that there is a still lack of knowledge about the effects of post-accession migration. Therefore, we encourage sociological, political or even psychological research about the formation of public images concerning post- accession migration in host countries.

Our research also focused on the regional origin of the majority of Polish migrants in The Netherlands. We found that a lot of them come from Upper Silesia. The aspect of seasonal migration from this region was investigated by R. Jonczy in his paper about labour migration from Upper Silesia (2007). Our research continues his research concerning social and economical reasons causing the flows of Silesian people to The Netherlands. We would recommend to do research about economic and social influences of the migrants staying in The Netherlands on the

development of this Polish region. This is important because a lot of citizens of this region are living on the base of remittances.

The research of S. Toruńczyk-Ruiz (2008) about Polish migrants in The Netherlands emphasized the role of informal networks within the migration process to this country. The formal networks, which attract Polish migrants, were completely neglected. Therefore, our research is the first study, which investigates the role of formal networks, migration business, in the migration process of the Polish to The Netherlands. Unfortunately, we were limited by time to conduct more research concerning the role of the migration business in the Polish case. In our opinion, this topic is still insufficiently recognized within migration studies. Therefore, we recommend extra scientific research about the role of migration business in post-accession migration.

7.2.2 Recommendations for further research

Our research raised new questions about the future development of the migration process from Poland to The Netherlands. Nowadays, we observe an increasing role of formal networks concerning flows from Poland to The Netherlands. Our results verified that formal networks discourage migrants to integrate and often can lead to exclusion of migrants. Based on these findings, we like to raise a question for further research. This question is formulated as follows: *To what extent should the migration business provide migrants with facilities, in order to prevent them from exclusion in the host country?* We often experienced that municipalities prefer to devolve matters concerning post-accession migrants and burden job agencies with these problems. We believe that there should be a delimited border between the role of migration business and the government and/or municipality.

Our research has certain shortcomings. Due to limitations, especially time and money, we were not able to investigate everything that would have been of interest. Therefore, the shortcomings of this research are listed as recommendations for further research.

In this research, we used The Hague as a case study. In further research to this migration process, it is interesting to take into account a broader geographical area and to make a distinction between cities and rural areas. We already observed a difference in using networks concerning Polish migrants who move to a Dutch city –using mainly informal networks- and Polish migrants who move to rural areas –using mainly formal networks.

In this study, we focused on the Polish point of view. Why *they* migrated, how *they* migrated, with whom *they* have contact, where *they* want to go and so on. We believe that this special focus can add a lot of knowledge about Polish migrants in the Dutch society. For further research, we think

that this focus on the Polish point of view is very important when one wants to understand their situation. Moreover, it is even more interesting to combine this point of view with the Dutch perception and ideas about these migrants. While investigating both sides of the coin, it can help to improve each other living worlds and therefore helps to a better understanding of each other.

Since migration from Poland to The Netherlands is a very fluid process, plans for the future are often very uncertain. Therefore, it is interesting for further research to follow some migrants during a longer period. To observe their plans, their ideas about the future, their developments in work, relationships and to see how this all influences their future path.

7.3 Policy recommendations

We would like to give recommendations for different types of institutions and organizations which deal with Polish migrants. In order to have a better understanding of Polish migrants, it is important for organization to recognize the needs concerning newcomers from Central Europe.

1. Establishment of an united organization for all types of Polish migrants in The Netherlands

In our research, we found out that Polish migrants in The Netherlands have difficulties with finding help for different kind of things: problems concerning housing, paying tax, choosing the right school for their child and so on. This is partly caused because there is not one, big Polish organization, which efficiently represents the Polish community in The Netherlands. In addition, this is again caused by the fact that there does *not* exist such a Polish community in The Netherlands. Poles in The Netherlands are not united because firstly, this migration process is relatively new and therefore there is not much established on an organizational level. And secondly, we showed in our research that Polish migrants do not tend to form one huge community, they rather prefer to maintain contacts in small trustful groups. For that reason it is difficult to organize one big Polish community. Because of the Polish mentality, cooperation between different organizations and political parties is also very difficult. Thus in order to make the life of Polish migrants in The Netherlands more accessible for help, we postulate to establish one strong Polish organization which can covers the belongings and needs of different types of Polish migrants in The Netherlands. Thus, the organization should be trustworthy for all Polish migrants. Moreover, it should support smaller Polish organizations which were often formed some years ago and can have better insight in problems of Polish migrants in particular regions of The Netherlands.

Such an organization should have the followings aspects:

- Act as a link between Dutch institutions, Dutch government and the Polish migrants in The Netherlands. Also act as an information point about the situation of Polish migrants in The Netherlands for Polish institutions. We found out that there is a lack of information on the Dutch but also on the Polish, institutional, side concerning the situation of Polish migrants in The Netherlands.
- Be accessible for all types of Polish migrants; this means Poles who are here temporary, Poles who are planning to stay longer or Poles who are doubtful concerning their plans for the future. But also in terms of education, work profession and so on. This means that all these types of Poles should benefit from the possibilities this organization offers.
- Reduce the gap between Polish migrants and Dutch people by making Polish migrants less isolated, less dependent from agencies and to organize activities to bring them closer to the Dutch society. Nowadays job agencies are often the only place where Polish migrants can ask for assistance. This isolated position could be decreased by the increasing possibilities for Poles to ask for help or to take part in activities.

This organization should be a well-known organization for Polish migrants, so that they can easily ask for help or take part in activities. One of these activities can be the opportunity for Polish migrants to take part in a Dutch language course. When Polish migrants want to do effort to become involved in the Dutch society, they should have the possibilities to do that. Nowadays, it is not always possible or migrants have to pay a lot of money. Secondly, Dutch courses offered by municipalities are often insufficient for Polish migrants. The participators of these courses told us that the teachers focus too much on the cultural differences than on developing language skills. The Polish and Dutch cultures are quite similar. The differences are mainly in the details. Therefore, the program of these courses should be more adjusted to the Polish demands.

The realization of such an organization described above is possible through collaboration of the Dutch government, Polish organizations like the Polish Embassy, Polish people whom already life in The Netherlands for a long time, so who build up experiences in The Netherlands.

2. Dutch policy concerning Polish migrants in The Netherlands

The Dutch government should more widely accept the current presence of Polish migrants because of the free movement of all EU citizens. The arrival of Polish migrants in The

Netherlands is a consequence of their membership of the EU and therefore cannot be neglected or resolved. We, The Netherlands, should therefore accept the fact that these migrants live and work here and that in the future, a major part of them will return to their home country but that migrants from other countries, like Bulgarians and Romanians, will replace them.

We therefore believe that the existence of clear policies towards different needs of Poles in Dutch municipalities can help a lot to improve the living situation of Polish migrants in The Netherlands. Nowadays, it is often not evident who is responsible for the living and work situation of the Poles. Often, it is assumed that job agencies regulate everything. However, what if there is not enough housing; who should solve the housing problems? When the municipality applies a strict policy, which determines the conditions concerning housing and work where job agencies should hold on, it is more clear who is responsible for which aspects of the migration process. This implies as well that when someone, a person or an organization, neglects the laws, the municipality has the right to intervene, for example by a special commission, or enforcement team. This can decrease the number of Polish migrants who become victims of “mala fide” job agencies.

Another benefit of the existence of such a policy is that the citizens in a village are more open towards Polish migrants who live there, because they have the idea that the municipality recognizes them. Therefore, it is more clear for them that ‘they are there’ and that ‘they should live with them’. This can improve their mutual perception.

Final remarks

Through post-accession migration from Poland to The Netherlands, these two countries have become closer as never before. The enlargement of the EU encouraged many Poles to move and find their luck somewhere else. Through the fluid character of post-accession migration, countries within the EU should not be demarcated as ‘containers’, like ‘us’ and ‘them’, which stand opposite towards each other. The Netherlands, and also other countries in the EU, should position the migration flows of Polish migrants in a broader, European context. The different factors of the migration process, like networks and type of migrants, all should be taken into account when one wants to understand the situation of Polish migrants and thereby the European reality in where each of us has the right to live and work in 27 European states.

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Appendix

I. Question to key organization/ key persons

- What is exactly your main activity within relation to Polish migrants?
- For how long you have been working with Polish people in The Netherlands?
- Are there, in your opinion, any problems in relation to Polish migrants in The Netherlands, and if yes, what are these problems?
- How do you perceive the Polish community in The Hague?
- How has the Polish community developed after the opening of the Dutch labour market for Polish workers?
- To what degree Polish migrants are involved in Polish diaspora?
- What kinds of contacts does exist between Polish diasporas and the Dutch government and municipalities?
- For how long most of the Polish migrants in your opinion will stay in The Netherlands?
- How do you perceive job agencies attracting Polish people to migrate?
- What is your opinion about integration of Polish migrants into the Dutch society? Do you think this is necessary?
- To what degree Dutch policy makers (municipalities and national organizations) are involved in solving problems concerning Polish migrants?
- What is your opinion about the involvement of the Polish government in the process of migration of Polish migrants to The Netherlands?

II. In-depth Questionnaire

Part 1: Background/Motives

- 1) What was the main reason to migrate to The Netherlands?
- 2) Which information did you possess about The Netherlands (about your job and living circumstances) before you migrated?
- 3) How did you gain this information (which sources did you use)?
- 4) Why did choose for The Hague?
- 5) Which networks (friends, family or job agency) did you used to migrate to The Netherlands?

Part 2: Life Goals

- 6) What are your main personal life goals?
- 7) How your being in The Hague can help to achieve these goals?
- 8) Are you willing to achieve these goals somewhere else if you are not able to let them succeed here?

Part 3: Integration

- 9) What languages do you speak?
- 10) Do you think that speaking Dutch can be helpful to improve your situation in The Netherlands?
- 11) Do you have any contacts with Dutch people in your free time?
- 12) Do you experience barriers in making contact with Dutch people?
- 13) Is it helpful for you to have contacts with Dutch people?

Part 4: Identity

- 14) Do you feel at home here?
 - What things make you feel at home here?
 - What are the things that disturb this?
- 15) How many contacts do you have with Polish people in The Netherlands?
- 16) How important are these contacts for you?
- 17) How many times do you visit Poland in a year?
- 18) Do you see Poland as a country of you final destination?
- 19) Where do you see yourself in 10 years?

III Online Questionnaire

- 1) What is the highest education you gained?
 - Primary school
 - High school
 - Practical/Middel education
 - University
- 2) In which sector you are working?
 - Agri- horti culture.
 - Construction
 - Industry
 - Service (au pair, cleaning)
 - Office
- 3) In which year you came to The Netherlands?
- 4) How often do you have contact with Dutch people in you leisure time?
 - Never
 - Rarely
 - Sometimes
 - Often
 - Very often
- 5) Do you speak Dutch?
 - No
 - A little bit
 - Yes
 - Yes, very good
- 6) Are you planning to buy a house in The Netherlands?
- 7) Do you feel at home in The Netherlands?
 - No
 - A little bit
 - Yes
 - Yes, very much
- 8) For how long are you planning to stay in The Netherlands?

- Less than one year
 - 1-2 year
 - 2-5 year
 - Longer than 5 years
- 9) What is your age?
- 10) Where do you live in The Netherlands?
- 11) How many children do you have?
- 12) From which region in Poland you are?

IV Linear Regression Model

Table 30: Linear Regression Model

Lineaire regressie analyse			
		B-Coëfficiënt	Significantie
(Constant)			
Nederlands spreken		0,417	0,000
Een huis in Nederland kopen	The Hague	0,377	0,021
	Not-The Hague	0,267	0,015
Zich thuis voelen in Nederland		0,239	0,002
Hoelang blijven in Nederland?		0,215	0,008

Dependent variable: The amount of contact with autochthones in leisure time

Source: SPSS; Michal Karczemski & Anne Boer, 2009

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“The Dutch Case”: Networks of Polish Migrants in The Hague

A Mixed Method Study to examine formal and informal networks used by Polish migrants before and after their arrival in The Hague

Michal Karczemski and Anne Boer

This article seeks to explore the role of networks “before and after” Poles are migrated to The Netherlands. After Poland’s accession to the EU in 2004, a lot of Poles migrated to The Netherlands. A majority of them decided to settle down in the area of The Hague. Therefore, we used this city as our case study. Before their arrival in The Hague, Polish migrants use formal and informal networks to make their move abroad. Formal networks consist of the migration business: created by agencies, which provide work and housing for many Poles in The Hague. Informal networks comprise friends and family, which support migrants during this process. This article also highlights the development of the networks and contacts which are built up and maintained during the migrants stay in The Hague. The research is based on 28 in-depth interviews with Polish migrants gathered in the city of The Hague and on an online survey (N=187).

Key words: Migration Networks, Migration Business, Social Contacts, Plans for the Future.

Introduction

Poland is a country with a long history of migration and remains undoubtedly one of the most important emigration countries. Polish emigration was, and still is, outstanding in Europe (Triandafyllidou, 2006). In 2004, eight post-communist countries joined the European Union, Poland being the largest of them. Polish migrants constitute the largest group amongst the new Central and Eastern European migrants in Western Europe. Therefore, the Polish migrant has become the most typical example of the ‘newcomer’ from Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC) into Western Europe. The Netherlands became a very popular destination for Polish migrants. At present, around 150,000 Poles are living in The Netherlands, four times as much as in 2000 (TNS Nipo, 2009). Poles nowadays represent 80% of the immigrants from the CEEC in The Netherlands (Sabina Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2008). Most of the Polish migrants in The Netherlands are living in the agglomeration of The Hague. According to official statistics, 4126 Poles dwell in the city of The Hague. However, in reality some 25,000 Polish migrants are estimated to live in The Hague according to the organization ‘Stedenband Den Haag – Warschau’ (stedenbanddenhaagwarschau.nl, May 2009). This is around 5 % of the total population in The Hague. Therefore, The Hague is the most ‘Polish’ city of The Netherlands (Saraber, 2009).

This article is based on a study of recently arrived Polish migrants in The Hague. We examine the role of networks *before* and *after* Polish migrants arrive in The Hague. Due to the worldwide globalization and the increase of the number of EU countries, migration from Poland to The Netherlands became more fluid, more dynamic, more flexible and more diversified. Places and borders no longer limit migrants. Without the need of a work and resident permit, migrants are free to move within the EU, except for Germany and Austria. Their fluid behaviour and the changeability of their plans give a new character of migration within the EU (Lucinska & Okolski, 2008).

We argue that within this new migration process, migration to the Netherlands mainly depends on informal networks, like friends and family. However, there is an increasing role for the formal networks within this process. Formal networks can be defined as the “migration business”. The migration business can be understood as organizations (like job agencies) which gain profits by dealing with migrants; helping them to become mobile, settling down and finding a job abroad. The migration business replaces more and more the traditional institutions such as state policies and the church.

Besides analyzing the process of migration to the Netherlands, we also focus on the social networks Polish migrants maintain and establish once they have settled down in The Netherlands. We take into consideration whether the Polish migrants hold on to contacts with other Polish people and how they access and establish contacts with Dutch people. This is crucial in order to understand the plans for the future of Polish migrants. We investigate the influence of social networks on the migration process: in what degree the type of networks can indicate the future plans of Polish migrants. The central question, which we want to answer in this article, is formulated as follows: *“To what extent does the migration process of Polish migrants to The Hague depend on migration networks formed before and after their migration?”*

History of Polish migration to The Netherlands

Poles have been migrating to The Netherlands since the nineteenth century. The first group of migrants came to the southern part of The Netherlands, Limburg, as mineworkers. After the Second World War, many Polish soldiers who liberated The Netherlands decided to stay in the country. During the communist period, the outflows from Poland were restricted. However, some people decided to leave the country and move to the West. An insignificant number of them asked for asylum in The Netherlands.

In the 1990's, the first wave of seasonal workers arrived in The Netherlands. A majority of them were in the possession of a “German passport” and were originally from the area of

Silesia. Their parents were born in Germany before 1939, which allowed them to obtain German citizenship. The possibility of getting a German passport was important for them; it gave them the right to work legally in the EU. Nonetheless, many Polish workers without permission also decided to start working (illegally) in The Netherlands. Before 2004, 70% of the Polish migrants in The Netherlands were women, who mainly came to marry a Dutch man, the so called “Polish bride”. After 2004 and especially in May 2007, when the Dutch government fully opened the labour market for all Polish workers, the percentage of Polish men increased significantly. Nowadays, finding a job is the main reason for migrating to The Netherlands. Polish migrants in The Netherlands work mainly in the horticulture and agriculture as these jobs are unpopular amongst Dutch citizens and do not require good language skills. Poles are also working in construction, services (hotel and catering industry, au pair and cleaning work), logistics, fabric work and metal sector. Furthermore, Polish migrants fulfil specialized jobs like welders, plasterers and thatch fitters (Korf. Et al., 2009). There are also Polish migrants who decide to start their own business. The number of Poles who run their own business increased from 190 in 2003 to 3,347 in 2006. In 2007, already more than 7,000 Poles were running their own businesses - 60% of these companies in the construction sector (Korf. et al., 2009)

Theory

Formal and Informal Networks

Polish migration to The Netherlands relies mainly on informal migrant networks. Informal networks can be understood as “sets of interpersonal relations that link migrants or returned migrants with relatives, friends or fellow countrymen at home” (Arango, 2000). Many migrants decide to move because family or friends migrated before or still live in the host country (Arango, 2000). Poles often use informal contacts to find a job or an accommodation in The Netherlands. Family reunification is another example of using informal networks.

Besides informal networks, formal networks start playing an increasing role in this migration process. In this study, formal networks are understood as migration business. Garapich (2008) defines the migration business as “specialized social actors and commercial institutions that take directly benefits not only from human mobility but also from effective adaptation to the new environment”. Garapich thus states that the migration business facilitates moving and settling down in new places. The migration business simplifies the process of coming back home as well (Garapich, 2008). Therefore, migration patterns have become more fluid. Migration researchers have not acknowledged this new element of migration for a long time in the

migration studies. Recently, American investigators who studied American- Mexican migration noticed the important role of the migration business in cross-border labour migration. Migration business belongs to migration studies; however, it is a recent development and still not deeply rooted in the understanding of migration (Ruben Hernandez-Leon 2005).

Many Polish migrants have informal contacts in The Netherlands because acquaintances worked in The Netherlands before. These acquaintances, Poles with a German passport, gave the foundation for the migration networks in the Netherlands. The opening of the labour market for all Poles in May 2007 caused a new flow of migrants with only a Polish passport. This shift into a more diverse origin of Polish migrants was also visible within the migration business. In the beginning, job agencies only recruited Poles with a German passport. After 2007, Dutch agencies, which offer jobs in the Netherlands, specialized in searching Poles with only Polish nationality. They opened offices in different regions in Poland, especially in areas with a high unemployment rate. Most of the headquarters of these job offices are located in Silesia, which remains the centre region for cross-border recruitment.

The use of informal and formal networks influences the situation of Polish migrants once they are in The Netherlands. Migrants using formal networks are better provided with important living facilities than migrants who use informal networks. Migration through formal networks is completely regulated by job agencies. These agencies act as mediators, by providing transport, (temporary) accommodation and basic facilities. Polish migrants are often accommodated in old monasteries, hotels or holiday parks or even on an old military base. On the one hand, migrants using formal networks do not have to worry about finding a job and accommodation abroad. On the other hand, they can become an easy target of mala fide employers. Migrants arriving through informal networks have to rely on friends or family in the Netherlands. But even with the help of these informal networks, Polish migrants can encounter problems such as finding a satisfying accommodation. Because they are often scarcely informed about the host country and do not speak the language, some of them become victims of unreliable house owners practices.

Social Networks in the Netherlands

Once Polish migrants have settled down in the host country, they establish and maintain contacts with different sorts of people. Contacts with fellow Polish migrants in the host country can on the one hand provide a sense of security among immigrants in The Netherlands. For many, contact with other Poles may be the only route to employment, accommodation, practical assistance and even companionship (Ryan et al., 2008). However, migrants, who maintain strong ties with groups of compatriots, may be socially disadvantaged, as contact with other Polish

people in The Netherlands can be seen as an obstacle to integration. Migrants can easily create a “community” in where they group together. Besides that, tight networks of co-ethnics can lead to exploitation and abuse, as well as reinforcing social disadvantages and ghettoization (Kelly & Lusia, 2006).

Polish migrants also establish new contacts in The Netherlands. Pettigrew & Tropp (2006) state that contacts between different groups in general relate negatively to prejudices (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006): when groups maintain contacts with each other, they will have fewer prejudices towards each other. In the majority of migration literature, authors argue that social capital can be seen as “something that is acquired through immersion in the ethnic community at the place of settlement”. But “immersion in the ethnic community at the place of settlement” is not an automatic process while Polish migrants are abroad. In reality, Polish migrants have difficulties to access these existing networks and to establish new ties in the host country (Ryan et al., 2008).

Methods

Between February 2009 and May 2009, 28 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted in the city of The Hague. We gathered the data at different locations in The Hague, like in Polish shops, at a Polish Church and during activities organized for Poles. In addition, quantitative data was collected by posting a survey on different Polish web forums in the Netherlands like *Niedźzala* and *Polonia* (N=187). This survey was filled in by Polish migrants from all over the country. Statistical analysis shows that in this survey, the answers given by the migrants from The Hague did not differ from the answers given by other migrants. Therefore, we may perceive the respondents from the survey as one group in our analysis. Additionally, we interviewed 11 key persons, specialists in the field of Polish migration in the Netherlands. The interviews with the key persons provide an insight view and this helped us to place the information gathered by the in-depth interviews in a broader perspective.

This article is based on both qualitative and quantitative data. We believe that combining both methods is useful in our research. In particular in the analysis concerning the social networks developed in the Netherlands, the quantitative data clarifies the qualitative data. We are fully aware of the fact that all methods of data collection have limitations; the (qualitative) in-depth interviews may not be representative to make solid generalizations, as we cannot conclude out of 28 interviews to what extent these opinions match with the opinions of 149,972 other Poles living in the Netherlands. The survey results may be more representative in numbers, but on the other hand, we have to take into account the selection procedure which is applicable with

such a method of collection data. The survey is filled in by a selected group of migrants since they had to possess a computer if they wanted to fill in the survey. With the use of a Mixed Method design, we can neutralize or cancel out some of the disadvantages of research methods. In addition, the strengths of each method can complement each other (Byrne & Humble, 2006). Mixed Methods can be defined as “a type of research design in which qualitative and quantitative approaches are used” (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). It involves the integration of statistical and thematic analytic techniques. Hence, we combined three layers of methods, the in depth interviews, a survey and specialist interviews. The combination of these layers can help us to understand better the complexity of the situation.

Results

The role of informal and formal migration networks within the migration process to The Hague

In this chapter, we present the results of the role of informal and formal networks within migration of Poles to The Hague. Firstly, we present the data, obtained from the in-depth interviews. Next, we discuss the role of informal networks and formal networks.

From our in-depth interviews, 18 of the migrants (64.3%) decided to come to The Hague via informal networks. 7 migrants (25%) used formal networks to migrate. Only two respondents (7.1%) came to the Netherlands through direct contacts with Dutch employers. One respondent claimed that he came to the Netherlands without any networks. His decision was spontaneous; he did not plan the migration to The Netherlands.

Table 1.0 Type of contact used to migrate to The Hague

Source: In-depth interviews, Michal Karczowski & Anne Boer, 2009

Members of the family or friends, who migrated some years earlier, encourage mainly Polish people to migrate The Hague. They offered them a “safe start” in the first day of migration. This quote is from a woman, 36 years old who lives already since a few years in The Hague. She came to The Netherlands through the contact of a friend. She knew that this friend arranged work for her.

“A friend of mine was working in The Netherlands in a small company; her boss needed an au pair for his children. My friend mentioned that I had some problems with finding a job in Poland. Then my friend called me, after a few days I came to The Hague. Really, I did not know anything about that place. Ok, I knew there is a lot of water and tulips”

24-year-old women told a similar story: *“I finished my school in Poland; my uncle who lives in Rotterdam asked me if I could take care of his child during my holidays, and I came to Rotterdam”*. We asked her if she used some information, which could be helping her to migrate. She answered: *“I did nothing to learn about The Netherlands; of course I had some knowledge from my school. However, I did not search any information. I trusted my family that everything would be fine”*. Her husband also took part in our research. We asked him which contacts he used for migration; he told us that his mother and sister were already living here. Therefore, it was easier for him to come to The Hague. *“My mother and my sister were here, that is why I knew something about the life in The Netherlands.”*

During our research, we met several women who migrated to The Netherlands because their partners already lived in The Hague. This type of migration is called- reunification (Arango, 2004). These migrants only used informal networks to arrive in The Hague. After their arrival, they encountered many problems, since they did not have enough knowledge about the life here. They only had information from their parents, or family who were already in the host country. One woman who joined her husband in The Hague told us: *“my partner was here and I knew that I should join him”*. Therefore, she did not care much about the situation where she would be working or about her personal development after arriving in The Hague. *“Really, I still don’t know much. I only send my child to school, but I still feel misinformed on many aspects of life here”*.

A woman (56) had a daughter studying at the University of Leiden. Therefore, she was visiting her child quite often in The Netherlands. During these visits, she made some new Polish friends, who offered her a job and accommodation in The Hague. These contacts influenced her decision to leave Poland permanently. *“My daughter booked me a weekend journey to Paris from the Polish travel agency in The Hague. In a bus, I met a very nice woman who told me lots of things about working in The Netherlands. They offered me help by finding a job in The Hague. I did not have any close relatives in Poland. I use the assistance of my daughter and these new friends to come to The Hague and stay here”*.

There are also migrants who make of informal networks, without knowing their contacts personally. They trust them because it is an opportunity to find a job. For example a Polish migrant who worked in Germany before coming to The Hague. He lost his job because of the economical crisis and tried to find employment somewhere: *“A friend, with whom I had worked in Germany, told me that his friend has a job in the Netherlands; I took the telephone number of this guy and came here”*.

From our interviews, we notice that a majority of the Polish migrants using informal migration networks trust their contact persons. They are not interested in obtaining knowledge

about the place where they are moving. They believe that their contact persons will take care of them in the first days after their arrival. They come in the Netherlands without precise plans.

One of our key persons we interviewed, Malgorzata Bos- Karczewska, underscores the specific function of migration networks in the Netherlands. *“The migration networks which generate migration flows to the Netherlands are different on the country side than in cities. People who migrate to the cities are using informal networks more often than people who move to the countryside. The latter are using mainly formal networks”.*

In the case of The Hague, most of our respondents indicated that they came to the Netherlands using informal. These people work in different branches of the Dutch economy. The majority is employed in greenhouses or in factories. Respondents using formal networks mainly live in the Polish labour hotel in Wateringen, a subarea of The Hague. Three hundred Polish men and women are accommodated in this hotel. They came to the Netherlands through the Dutch-Polish job agency Groenflex. The employer is responsible for work, transportation and accommodation. The lack of informal networks and their willingness to work abroad makes some Poles decide to migrate via formal networks. These people do not have any contact persons in the host country and additionally, they cannot speak any foreign language. For them, migrating without formal networks is very difficult. The problems with finding a job and accommodation limit the outflows of these people. Thus, these job agencies are a solution for them. The agencies provide migrants with accommodation and work, sometimes even with transportation. Newcomers do not have to worry about the bureaucracy, because the job agency takes care for the institutional arrangements of their arriving. The employer arranges the bank account and a BSN number which is required by different Dutch institutions.

Some respondents claimed that they came to The Hague via migration business because they do not possess any contact persons. For them, it was the easiest way to find a job abroad. The migrants learn about job agencies from different sources. Two women told us that their friends had worked for the same company before. Thus, they decided to use the verified formal networks to migrate. *“My neighbours worked for Groenflex a few years ago, and they came back satisfied. Thus, I chose this company also”.*

Regional newspapers and online website are full of advertisement and job offers for Poles who looking for a work in the Netherlands. These sources of information play an important role in the migration process. Job agencies that recruit Polish workers possess double language internet pages; Polish and Dutch. In Silesian towns, these job agencies are very visible. One of our respondents said that the company, which helped him to find work in the Netherlands, was

located in the area of his place of residence *“I saw a huge banner that people are needed to work in the Netherlands. I went to that office and I applied”*.

Poles who decide to move to The Hague via migration business take some risks i.e. become a victim of abusive practices. In the Netherlands, numerous of fake or “mala fide” job agencies do exist. These agencies may not be paying salaries or paying less than they should according to the contract. Frequently, job agencies employ workers for a short time and send them home at the end of the week, without paying salaries. The second risk of the migration business is the accommodation offered by employers. Sometimes, the rooms where Polish migrants live are overpopulated or without any water, gas etc. Some respondents told us that 5 to 7 men were living in one small room. Some Polish are more vulnerable because they cannot speak any foreign language and they cannot defend themselves.

Polish media informs about such risk in the Netherlands. Therefore, there should be some awareness amongst the migrating Poles that they can be abused. In our research, we asked the respondents who came to the Netherlands if they trusted new employers before arriving to The Hague. A majority of them turned out to be afraid. One respondent said, *“I don’t trust him, but what can I do. I must pay my bills. You must somehow believe that everything goes well”*. During a meeting with Anita Ring, the head of Economical Department of the Polish Embassy in The Hague, we discussed the main dangers, which Polish migrants encounter in the Netherlands. She mentioned that every month lots of Poles ask for help in the Polish Consulate in The Hague because they became victims of fake job agencies. She also emphasized that many Polish who plan to migrate are aware of the work conditions or their situation in The Netherlands: *“They only want to earn money and do not take into consideration the responsibility”*. A similar opinion comes from the staff of well-known job agencies recruiting Poles to work in the Netherlands. They told us that clients who come to their offices do not ask any questions about the terms of their accommodation, insurance or working contract. They only want to know how much they can earn.

Networks of Polish migrants in The Hague

During the in-depth interviews, we asked our respondents if they had contacts with Dutch people in their leisure time and to what degree they experience barriers to get in contact with Dutch people. We asked if they had contacts with other Poles in the Netherlands and if these contacts were important for them. In this section, we first address these two topics. We end up with an analysis of the online survey.

Out of the 28 in depth interviews, 9 respondents (32.1%) do have frequently contacts with Dutch people and 10 (35.7%) sometimes. Respondents who have frequent contacts with

Dutch people are often migrants who do have children at school and therefore meet Dutch people there. Also migrants living in a neighbourhood with a lot of Dutch people and migrants who are better integrated have more contacts with Dutch people in their leisure time. Some respondents occasionally meet other Dutch persons at parties, or greet their Dutch neighbours, or they have some vague Dutch 'friends'. Another third (32.1%) confirmed that they never had contacts with Dutch people in their leisure time. However, this may not always indicate that Polish migrants who occasionally or not at all have contacts with Dutch people do not *want* to have more contacts. A Polish woman that we met in a Polish shop in The Hague explained this to us as follows: *'I do not have contacts with Dutch people because I have simply no idea where I should meet them'*. Often, Polish migrants are very busy with their work and do not have much leisure time. Besides that, their social spheres are often isolated from Dutch spheres. The little free time and limited common 'meeting places' can be reasons why Polish migrants do not have much contacts with Dutch, as well the lack of efforts to make contact.

Our research shows that 35.7% of the respondents experience barriers in making contacts with Dutch people, 21.4% have experienced difficulties as well, but less than the first group. The main barrier is the language. Bartek, a 42 year old man said: *'I feel very insecure because I cannot speak Dutch; therefore it is a obstacle to make contact with Dutch people.'* Besides the language barrier, there are other difficulties in making contacts with Dutch people. Kamil, a 27-year-old person who works in a Polish hotel, said that there were especially in the beginning a lot of barriers in making contacts with Dutch, mainly with women. *'When Dutch women heard that I was Polish, they did not want to speak with me'*. Justyna, a 24-year-old girl, sometimes has problems with making contacts with Dutch people because 'they are very reserved'. Another respondent, a Polish lady who was visiting a Polish shop in The Hague, explained: *'I sometimes feel difficulties to make contacts with Dutch people because they do not tolerate foreigners'*. Therefore, she feels discriminated. Another lady explained to us that in the beginning of her stay in The Hague, she felt barriers: *'In the beginning, I felt barriers, because you do not know the culture, the habits. But everyone is so friendly, at my work and in the shops, that I do not feel any barriers after some time'*. This indicates a shift from having contact with Poles towards having contacts with Dutch as well. In the beginning contact with Poles felt more safe. After some time, it seems to be easier to make contacts with Dutch people.

Apart from the fact that a third of the respondents from the in depth interviews does have regularly contacts with Dutch people in their leisure time, 46.4% declared that they wish to have more contacts with Dutch people during their leisure time. Again, the reason why they do not have more contacts is mainly because of language problems. A 35 year old woman told us the

following: *'I want to have more contacts with Dutch people, but I feel very embarrassed because I cannot speak the language'*. Even 22 out of 28 respondents (78.6%) declared that it would be helpful for them to speak the Dutch language in their private and working life. A woman, we met during an information market for Polish migrants in The Hague explained to us that it would be helpful for her to speak Dutch in order to make it easier to find a better job. She added: *'And Dutch people perceive you then in a different way, they have more respect for you'*. This indicates that Polish migrants seem to understand that if they want to stay longer in the Netherlands, speaking the language is very important to develop themselves. Nonetheless, respondents who said that it would be better for them to speak Dutch, only some of them can in fact speak Dutch (2 out of 28 respondents).

To summarize, one third of the respondents does have frequent contacts with Dutch people in their leisure time. Another third has sometimes contacts and the last third never has contacts with Dutch people. There are respondents who feel barriers to make contact with Dutch people, mainly because of language problems, and therefore feel restricted to do so. There are also some respondents who declared that they wish to have more contact with Dutch people. Our research therefore suggests the importance of language skills in the process of making contacts between Polish migrants and Dutch people in the Netherlands.

Besides contacts that Polish migrants build up with Dutch people, they also maintain strong contacts with other Poles in the Netherlands. From the 28 in-depth interviews, one respondent did not have contacts with other Poles during his stay in the Netherlands. He explained this with the following reason: *'I am afraid of the intolerance of Polish migrants'*. This respondent did not migrate to the Netherlands to work, but he came here to live together with his Dutch partner. For most of the respondents (60.7%), having contacts with other Poles in the Netherlands is important. They bring up several reasons. One respondent, a young person, explains that contacts with other Polish migrants in The Hague are important because they can be helpful when staying here. Michalina, a Polish girl who speaks Dutch quite well, told us that contacts with Poles is very important for her because in her own language she can express herself better than in Dutch. Valenti, a 45 year old man, told us that contacts with Poles is important for him, because these contacts are *Ziomek*. This is a Polish word for people from the same region; therefore, they share the same uses. He stated: *'I feel connected with these people through the blood and language.'* There were 10 respondents (35.7%) who perceived the contacts with other Polish migrants in The Netherlands as not really important or only slightly important. Kamil, who works in a Polish hotel, doubts the usefulness of maintaining contact with other Poles: *'It is easier to get help from a Dutch person than from a Polish person, you have to be very careful with Polish persons, you can not*

always be totally open to them. Artur, a Pole who lives in The Hague now for 6 months, said something similar: *You can be abused by Polish persons very easily; therefore it is not always good to have a lot of contact with them*. A Polish man who promised him a room, cheated him; the papers which he signed were false. Besides contacts with other Poles in The Hague, we also asked how important Polish facilities in the city are for our respondents. This factor can give an indication about the meaning of Polish culture in their life in the Netherlands. A majority (57.1%) answered that facilities, like Polish shops, a Polish Church and Polish cafes are important for them. Most of them explained this by saying that these facilities remind them of Poland, their home country.

Contacts with other Poles are very important for most of our respondents. This contact creates an atmosphere of home. However, we can conclude that our respondents primarily maintain contacts with very close friends and family, which they very often already know from the homeland. Regarding the 'wider ethnic community', they are often distrustful and therefore they keep their distance. This can be explained by the jealous behavior amongst Polish migrant; the fear that they have towards each other, that one will use information from another, and misuse this to gain profits. This feeling can as well be a reason for the restricted contacts Polish migrants have amongst each other.

Besides the in-depth interviews, we tested two correlations with data from the online survey. We used this data to find out whether there is a significant effect of the relationship between having contacts with Dutch people and the duration of their stay in the Netherlands. To test this relationship, we used a linear regression model. The test confirmed the existence of this relationship: the b coefficient (0.187) is confirmed with an alpha from 0.01. This means that when Polish migrants do have more contacts with Dutch people in their leisure time, they are planning to stay longer in the Netherlands. This is also the case for Polish migrants who speak Dutch, they also plan to stay longer in the Netherlands ($b=.488, p<0.01$). This suggests again the importance of networks created in The Hague and being able to speak the language. Those having more contacts with Dutch people and good language skills are planning to stay for a longer period in the Netherlands.

Conclusions & Discussion

Formal and informal networks are both responsible for the migration process of Polish people to The Hague. It seems that migration to The Hague is strongly related to networks of migrants. Majority of our respondents arrived to the Netherlands because they have informal contacts in the host country. Friends and family who already lived in the Netherlands enabled them to find a

job or an accommodation. Migrants who want to move for seasonal work and do not have any acquaintances abroad will more often use cross-bordering job agencies. They encourage people to become mobile and help them to search a job and accommodation abroad, what can be very helpful when not speaking a foreign language. However, these migrants are depended on the decisions and rules of the private institutions that send them to work abroad. Polish migrants who use these agencies are perceived by the employers as 'labour' and not as humans who arrive to the Netherlands to develop an own life. It is difficult to predict the role of formal networks in the migration process. Nowadays, we observe an increasing role of formal networks. Formal networks causes that migration became more available for everyone.

In our research, we found that contacts with other Poles is very important for a lot of Polish migrants. This creates for them an atmosphere of home. Polish facilities as well play an important role in the daily life of Polish migrants in The Hague. Polish migrants seem to realize that learning the Dutch language and having contact with Dutch people can be very helpful to develop themselves. One third of the migrants are having frequent contacts with Dutch people, but less than 10% can speak Dutch. From the online survey, we can conclude that having more contact with Dutch people and speaking the language increases the chance that Polish migrants will stay longer in The Netherlands. At last, we can conclude that networks of Polish migrants in The Netherlands are of influence on their migration process. Poles who maintain strong contacts with compatriots are more oriented to their home country, Poland. Migrants who have established contacts with Dutch people, or are willing to make contact with Dutch persons, are more oriented to building a future in the Netherlands.

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