

CEE labour migrants in the labour market region North-Limburg

From motives to migrate to intentions to stay



Research Proposal

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Preface

This master thesis is the result of a long process that started a couple of years ago with the decision to start with a new study, again. Today, I am finishing my thesis, as the final product of the study Human Geography, with a specialization in Globalization, Migration and Development. Despite my genuine interest and full commitment – two points that are not self-evident looking back at a long history of poor grades and terminated studies – finishing this master turned out to be a practical challenge, but in the end I can present a result that I am proud of.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Pascal Beckers, for his constructive feedback and useful comments. Personally I tend to stray away from the core of the research subject and methodology, it is thanks to his advises that the final result is readable, structured and methodologically substantiated.

I also have to thank my internship organization too for allowing me a look behind the scenes of this organization, in particular Greetje Lep, my on-site supervisor. She allowed me to visit several very interesting meetings, to recommend and let me browse through a wide range of internal documents, and to share her own expertise in order to enable me to create a report with a series of policy recommendations. Although a lot of people helped me with their personal experiences and advises, I would like to mention Armand Gerrits, for his constant involvement and very helpful feedback. Others are Grzegorz Czerwinski for his expertise on hesitation among labour migrants in Horst aan de Maas, Anna Jansen from Westland municipality, the different staff members of the RNI desk in Venlo, WonenLimburg, and the RviG. Finally I would like to thank Pavel, Pawel and Adam for their feedback on the first edition of my survey. Furthermore I like to thank all the participants that were kind enough to answer my questions, and the different organizations that allowed me to contact their workers, residents or clients.

Finally I have to thank my parents, all of this would not have been possible without their endless patience and their apparent trust in a good ending. It must have been frustrating watching me muddling along over the past decade, hopefully this period now has ended.

I hope you enjoy your reading.

Johan Baas, September 2019

Summary

This study tried to find out what motivates CEE labour migrants to come to North-Limburg, a region in the Netherlands that is a popular destination for labour migrants. North-Limburg is an attractive, low-risk destination for CEE labour migrants thanks to its economic composition with a high demand for flexible, low-skilled workers, existing networks based on earlier flows of east to west migration, and a well established migration infrastructure and industry. Although the easy accessible labour market is leading in their decision to come to North-Limburg, the local labour migrant population can be divided into a part that is here to earn money to spend in their country of origin (target-earners), and a part that is considering a new life outside their country of origin.

Using different statistical analyses, this research attempted to link the different motives of migrants to intentions regarding duration of stay. Starting point is a typology created by Engbersen et al., who tried to categorize different migration patterns. Although individual intentions turned out to be diverse and not always in line with their typology, some generalized statements can be made. Within the target earners there is a group called circular migrants, intending to return to their country of origin after several months, and a group called footloose migrants who actually don't seem to have developed any intentions at all. For those that are in search of a new life, a part is focused at a long term stay in North-Limburg (called settlers), and a group called bi-nationals that is considering a new life abroad but still keeps options open regarding permanent stay in North-Limburg or the Netherlands. These types can not be used to predict future behaviour, individual labour migrants can switch from one to another type, based on their position in the life cycle and their "hierarchy of acceptability".

Intentions too were inventoried, resulting in an overview of labour migrants intentions at arrival and at the moment of surveying. Based on the differences between both moments, it is concluded that intentions are a snapshot, individual intentions can change over time. In general, a third extends the intended time of stay, while an equal part starts to doubt their intentions, resulting in a third of the population that does not know how long they are intending to stay in North-Limburg. Labour migration to North-Limburg can best be seen as a self-reinforcing system of formation and decline. Thanks to the work of Polish pioneers who created networks between the region and Poland, labour migrants with this nationality today are over-represented among those settled in North-Limburg, although their numbers are now declining again. This suggest that Polish migration has past the phase of growth and probably shall start to decline. Migration from other CEE countries is growing, entering the phase of self-reinforcement, what suggests that these groups will keep on growing, a part of these groups shall probably settle in North-Limburg in the near future too. But, with less push factors as a result of smaller wage and employment differences between sending and receiving countries, together with a wider choice of destinations caused by an aging European population and the growing need for labour migrants willing to do low-skilled jobs, they can be more critical. They shall no longer just be interested in places where they can find work and housing, but also consider what place offers the highest quality of live and the most fruitful options for personal and household development.

Policymakers are thus confronted with a diverse and ever changing population, not only regarding their motive and migration patterns but also regarding their intentions. A conclusion is that it is no option to have one fixed labor migration policy, every individual migrant needs its own approach and has its own priorities and needs. In general, it can be concluded that those that are here to earn money in a short amount of time at first need access to a job, and a roof above their head. If their intentions change, and they start to consider a longer stay, or even think of building a new life in North-Limburg, their needs change from basic work and housing to other quality of life related aspects and the possibility to make upward moves on the labour- and housing market. These are the same aspects the native population or high-skilled migrants are searching for, both groups that are already targeted by campaigns that entice them to come to and settle in North-Limburg. Similar campaigns can be used to attract labour migrants too.

Whit such a diverse population with different needs and priorities, it is up to local policymakers to constantly monitor the population, to offer a wide range of information matching all their different needs, and ensure awareness and enforcement of the rules. If the region manages to offer migrants a high quality life, the word shall spread and North-Limburg shall stay an attractive migration location for CEE labour migrants.

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Abbreviations	Dutch meaning	Translation
ABU	Algemene Bond Uitzendondernemingen	Federation of Employment Agencies
BRP	Basis Registratie Personen	Personal Record Database
BSN	Burger Service Nummer	Civil Registration Number
CBS	Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek	Statistics Netherlands
CEE	Midden- en Oost Europees (MOE)	Central- and East European
EU	Europese Unie	European union
REVA	Registratie Eerste Verblijfs Adres	Registration First Address of residence
RviG	Rijksdienst voor Identiteitsgegevens	National Office for Identity Data
RNI	Registratie Niet-Ingezetten	Non-residents Registration
SNF	Stichting Normering Flexwonen	Foundation for Flexible Housing Standards
WRR	Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid	Scientific Council for Government Policy
VNO-NCW	Verbond Nederlandse Ondernemingen – Nederlands Christelijk Werkgeversverbond	Largest confederation of Netherlands Industry and Employers

1 Introduction

1.1 Labour migration from Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries to North-Limburg

Since the May 2004 accession of 10 new member states, a large number of EU countries have opened their labour markets wholly or in part to citizens from these new members countries. In 2007 Bulgaria and Romania too became EU member states¹. Since the enlargements of the EU in the number of labour immigrants from other EU countries increased strongly, at first particularly coming from Poland (Engbersen, 2010), later together with Bulgaria and Romania (Van Meeteren et al, 2013). Since then, the labour market region North-Limburg² turned out to be an important destination region for labour migrants from EU countries, it is estimated that around 8% of all labour migrants working for an employment agency in the Netherlands are working and living in the labour market North-Limburg (Van der Baars, 2017). CBS data show a rise of net immigration, despite of a steady decline of Germans working in this region, originally by far the largest group of non-Dutch workers (CBS, 2019a). The outflow of over 4000 Germans between 2000 and 2018 is completely compensated by the inflow of other EU migrants. Several researches show the economic importance of labour migrants for North-Limburg (Heyma et al., 2018; Lekkerkerker et al., 2017). At the end of 2018, Dutch employer organization VNO-NCW stated labour migrants are indispensable for several sectors of the Dutch economy (VNO-NCW, 2018), and thus should be encouraged to come to this country. Lekkerkerker et al. pointed out that the immigrants at this point are preventing the population decline you would expect in the aging region of North-Limburg (2017).

The current economic importance of labour migration for North-Limburg is clear and likely to grow during the next decades (Etil, 2018). Nevertheless, there is a lack of insights in why labour migrants select North-Limburg, instead of choosing another destination. It is also unclear if the flow of labour migrants is likely to continue, decline or maybe even grow during the next decades. Another question still open is if individual labour migrants in North-Limburg are here to stay or are intending to move further after a while. This thesis tries to uncover motivational factors that cause labour migrants to choose for North-Limburg as a place of work and/or residence, and to give more insight in their intentions regarding the duration of stay.

¹ In this study the term 'CEE countries' refers to 10 states: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Although Malta and Cyprus also joined the EU in 2004, they are excluded.

² Labour Region North Limburg contains seven municipalities: Beesel, Bergen (L), Gennep, Horst aan de Maas, Peel en Maas, Venlo, and Venray.

1.2 Research objectives and questions

Based on societal and scientific shortages in regional scaled explanations this research' main objective is to get a better understanding of the motivations of labour migrants working in the labour market North-Limburg; Is there a specific reason that made them end up in North-Limburg? And what can be said about their intentions to stay within this labour region? As explained before, it is said that this region will be (or already is) depending on the economic and societal contribution of labour migrants. That makes it interesting to know if there are specific aspects of a region which attracts labour migrants to a specific place, and what aspects of a region makes them extend their intentions to stay. A better understanding of the needs and demands of CEE labour migrants can be used to design and implement a migration policy that might be usable to attract wanted (or repel unwanted) future flows of labour migrants.

Not all labour migrants share the same motives and intentions. To find out if the different groups or typologies found by Engbersen (2013) also can be distinguished in the North-Limburgian practice, the first and second sub questions have to be answered.

To find out if local policies actually effect CEE labour migrants intentions and motives, or if their coming to North-Limburg is just a casual result of other regional aspects, the third and fourth sub questions are created. At first thought it looks pretty obvious that the attractiveness of the region for labour migrants plays a role in their decision to come and stay in North-Limburg, but it is not sure if they select this area as a result of substantiated considerations, or if it is just the first option they encounter. It is imaginable that the answer to this question is just as diverse as the alleged diverse composition of the total population. Finally, the goal of this research is to come with a set of recommendable measures that can be used to steer and influence future flows of migrants coming to North-Limburg.

Main question:

What are the migration motives and staying intentions of CEE labour migrants working or residing in the labour region North-Limburg, and what role can local policies play in making the region more attractive for a long term stay?

Sub-questions:

- 1 What are the most decisive migration motives for CEE labour migrants to migrate to the labour region North-Limburg, and how do motives relate to the intention to stay?
- 2 What are intentions regarding the length of stay expressed by CEE labour migrants residing in North-Limburg, and how do they evolve over time?
- 3 What role does local policy play in the CEE labour migrants decision to migrate to the labour region North-Limburg?
- 4 What role does local policy play in the CEE labour migrants intentions regarding the duration of stay in the labour region North-Limburg?
- 5 What measures can be taken by local policy makers to deal with labour migrants' diverse migration motives and intentions to stay?

1.3 Societal relevance

As explained, the numbers of labour migrants from CEE countries are rising. Looking at several reports and advises from before 2004, researchers and policy makers underestimated the amounts of migrants that would come from the new CEE member states. For instance, the German Center for Economic Studies predicted a number of 25.000 migrants working in the Netherlands in the year 2020 (Lejour et al., 2001). Boschma and Van Rietbergen conclude that just as the accession of Greece, Italy and Spain did not lead to large flows of migrants, “the ten new members from 2004 also are not expected to cause substantial flows” (2004, p.174). Nevertheless, over 360.000 CEE labour migrants worked in the Netherlands in 2016 (Heyma et al., 2018). According to Statistics Netherlands (CBS), almost 17.000 of them are working in the labour region North-Limburg (CBS, 2019a). It must be stated that CBS figures are based on official registration data, it is estimated that these figures at least have to be doubled to include all non-registered labour migrants too (Dagevos, 2011; Van der Heijden et al., 2013).

The societal impact is also growing, CEE labour migrants play an important role on the labour market (Etil, 2018) and their economic contribution is substantial (Heyma et al., 2018). On the other hand, there are rising worries regarding the impact of labour migration to this area. Some are focused on possible exploitation and unfair competition causing repression on the labour markets (Berkhout et al., 2011), others point their attention to the lack of quality housing and rising property prices (Lupi & Visser, 2015). Several municipalities in the Netherlands report nuisance caused by illegal and overcrowded housing by labour migrants (Van der Craats et al., 2015). Messages from the police in North-Limburg, who recently state that 50% of all its time is being spend on issues involving labour migrants (De Limburger, 2018) seem to confirm some of these worries. Another news item that caused serious agitation exposed fraud with unemployment benefits, received by former Polish migrants now living in Poland again (Nieuwsuur, 2018). Scheffer (2018) warns for a repetition of what he sees as a failed experiment, with the earlier flows of Turkish and Moroccan “guestworkers” during the seventies. These are indications of a government that fails to adequately respond to the rising inflow. Several of the listed unwanted effects can be linked to the intended duration of stay and the directly connected willingness to integrate (Penninx et al, 2006, ch.6). Most of the nuisance is caused by a specific group of labour migrants, being the migrants that are intending to stay for a short time with no intentions to settle (De Boom et al., 2008, p.112).

The growing dependency of the local economy, and competition with other regions and countries that are also trying to entice low skilled labour migrants to come to their part of the world asks policy makers to seduce more labour migrants to come to this area (Guardian, 2018; Economist, 2019). Nevertheless, there are growing worries about the societal impact, an unlimited entrance seems to cause societal discomfort, while a complete closure is economically unwanted. This research tries to solve the lack of local data regarding motivations and intentions of CEE labour migrants. If necessary, better insights in the motivations to come to North-Limburg and their intention to stay or leave, could help creating policy that convinces labour migrants to choose North-Limburg and stay for a longer period.

The intention to stay is directly linked to aspects like housing. Archer et al. describe how there are many examples where housing interventions had a positive impact on integration, but they emphasize that there is no one size fits all approach. Individual needs are shaped by a wide range of structural and personal factors, like settlement intentions (2018, p.16). Bolt et al. draw a similar conclusion, as they state that residential segregation is not automatically a result of failed integration, but has to be analyzed taking in account the social, economic, political and historical context in which migration took place (2010). Generalization does not fit the complexity of differences between ethnic groups, and differences within them, for instance regarding the expected duration of residence.

Labour market strategies too are often linked to the intended time of stay (van Ostaijen et al., 2015). Temporary migrants have different desires compared to knowledge workers or someone with a family that is looking for a place to settle for a long term. As a person's permanence shifts from temporary towards midterm or even long-term settlement, they shall employ different labour market strategies in search of upwards social mobility (2015, p.33-34).

Integration and the willingness and efforts taken to learn the language are largely effected by the intention to settle or the intention to leave again (Penninx et al., 2006; Gijsberts et al, 2015, p.28). Not only do Penninx et al link the intention to settle to the willingness to start with integration, they also state that persons that leave with long-term settlement intentions are often better prepared for their integration process. These intentions are shaped by individual and household considerations, together with a factor that they call 'sending-state policies', that influence choices between return migration, permanent settlement, or foreign residency and naturalization (2006, p. 134) Integration is about the degree to which the migrants feel they want to belong and want to participate in society, both desires are off course linked to the desire to settle within a society. Another study even states that the intention to stay for a long term is an indispensable precondition for a successful integration process (Wachter & Fleischmann, 2015).

All of these are policy area's on which the municipality can play a large role, a role that cannot be fulfilled without knowing what the desires and intentions of these new inhabitants are.

1.4 Scientific relevance

There are several grand theories available when it concerns migration, and labour migration in specific. Rational neoclassical push-pull models explain how labour migrants are being pushed away from their homeland by poor job opportunities, and pulled to their place of destination by better possibilities (Castles et al., 2014). In case of migration from CEE countries to Western Europe two important labour related issues did shape the general east-to-west direction of internal EU migration: firstly there is a higher chance of finding a job, secondly the wages that are being paid are higher compared with the same function in the country of origin (Van Meeteren et al., 2013). The segmented labour theory even states that the demand for immigrants labour (high and low skilled) is structurally embedded in capitalist economies like the Netherlands (Castles, 2014). Both theories offer a part of the explanation. When being asked, labour migrants mention work as the core motive to migrate. As you would expect the higher wages are an important reason to migrate, workers that don't succeed earning higher wages often leave the region again after a short time (Razenberg et al., 2015). But both theories are not useful to explain individual differences, they downplay the role of a migrants' agency in explaining their migration patterns. Other theories for instance highlight the role of networks or migration as a risk-spreading household strategy, the presence of an organized migration industry, and practical issues like proximity or the availability of specific economic sectors. The availability of a migration infrastructure between two locations – systematically interlinked institutions and parties that facilitate and condition mobility (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014, p. 126) - makes migration more accessible than before.

As Castles states, there is a danger of understanding migration using one particular train of theoretical thought, ignoring the complex dynamics of migration (2014, p.52). To prevent generalizing, this research tries to offer more insights in the motivational factors that make people decide to come to North-Limburg by asking labour migrants themselves. Though a great share of migrants state that their choice for the Netherlands was pretty random (Wolf, 2015), there must be a reason that can explain regional differences across the Netherlands and Europe. To understand and explain the social and economic contexts of migration without ignoring the individual discourses, attitudes and narratives involved, a survey can be very useful and complement to existing grand theories (Kaczmarczyk & Salamonska, 2018, p.473; Clifford et al, 2010, p.78).

After their arrival, labour migrants have their needs. There is a strong connection between a job and the intention to stay, but this doesn't reflect the complexity of real life decision making. In virtually all cases of labour migration, there is no initial intention of settlement in many migrations (Castles, 2014, p.56; White, 2011, p.226). Korf et al. conclude that there are several reasons for labour migrants to like their stay in the Netherlands (2009) that also contribute to the fact that a substantial amount does decide to stay longer than intended at first arrival. Korf actually does see large differences, not only between early and later arrivals, but also between different places (2009, p.24-25). The migration intentions and movements shown by labour migrants are of a temporary, fluid and uncertain nature (Engbersen et al., 2010). Engbersen (2013) created a typology of labour migrants based on their attachment to the region, that can be used to divide the total group in 4 subgroups, each with for instance their own settlement intentions and desires (more in part 2.4). A

survey among CEE labour migrants staying in North-Limburg can confirm if this typology matches the local situation, or if specific groups are over-represented in North-Limburg (Engbersen, 2013, p. 961).

There are several important reasons not only to rely on sources that are already published. First, several studies point out that sources based on national statistics are incomplete (Boom et al, 2008; Dagevos, 2011). As can be seen in part 4, several studies use data based on the national Personal Records Database (BRP), that does not include those that are registered as non-residents or not registered at all. Van der Heijden (2013) shows that a significant part of the targeted population is indeed not registered and as a consequence, not being represented in studies that use this database as a primary data source. A survey is a useful tool for gathering information about people's lives that are not available from published data (McLafferty, 2010). Comparing results of a survey with the available data can also be a strong way to make statements about the reliability and usability of existing sources, such as for instance the local BRP administration.

Secondly, several sources are very general in the way they categorize the population. For instance, the distinction long vs. short stay, or temporary vs. permanent stay seems to be too simplistic to represent the fluidity and heterogeneity of the labour migrants stay (a.o. Engbersen, 2014; Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2015). Nevertheless, lots of (both local and national) policy documents use these terms as a way to distinguish the total population in sub-groups. As explained before, this division in two separate groups with their own distinctive features doesn't match the reality in which intentions and behavior can transform during their stay abroad.

Because it looks impossible to capture the fluidity described by Engbersen (2013) in an ad hoc research, this study uses his typology in characterizing CEE labour migrants in North-Limburg. Based on the differences found, results can help policy makers to find out what typologies (and with what intentions) are dominant in the labour region North-Limburg. Linking the part of the recipients that intend to stay more than 5 years (or permanently) to other variables could offer more insights in the process of intention transformation.

2 Literature review

2.1 Theories on labour migration

Several theories are used to explain why individuals decide to move from one country to another. Traditionally, push/pull models explain migration as a result of rational people that migrate from countries that offer weak opportunities to countries with more opportunities. Several kinds of push and pull factors can be added up to come to a result that can be used to compare places with each other. You could think of a wide range of factors, varying from conflicts or natural disasters to high unemployment rates or local tax climates. The focus of this study is on labour migration, so in explaining migration flows from East-European countries to the Netherlands the focus at first is on economic determinants. Migrants from MOE-countries in the Netherlands do mention work as the core motivation to migrate (Razenburg et al., 2015). Their study thus concludes that this form of migration can best be explained by neo-classical push/pull models: Migrants are being pushed away by the lack of opportunities and low life standards and pulled to in this case the Netherlands, as a result of higher wages and low unemployment rates. There are indeed substantial differences in wage and employment levels (Eurostat, 2019), but, according to Castles, this theory alone is not useful to explain all spatial and individual differences (2014). A theory called New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) for instance describes that migration often is not a rational and individual decision but a risk-spreading decision made by larger units of interrelated people.

The segmented or dual labour market theory assumes that migration is a consequence of a constant labour demand in developed destination countries, especially in jobs at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. This demand for unskilled, low-paid labour that cannot be fulfilled with the native population is a structural aspect of developed economies, leading to international labour migration (Massey, 1999). This theory thus suggest that although push factors play a role, it are in particular the pulling factors that determine the size and direction of migration flows.

Jennissen describes how some of the theories explained above are best usable to explain the initiation of migration flows, but others are better in explaining the course of migration flows over time in what he calls the continuation of migration (2004, p.32). This is the point where networks start playing a large role. Through membership in networks individuals gain access to social capital: sets of interpersonal ties connect experienced and potential migrants (Massey, 1999). Not only do they make migration more accessible, by lowering costs and risks, they also can steer migration by sharing both positive and negative experiences. Jennissen explains that networks can lead to the institutionalization of migration; the creation of commercial and non-profit organizations that are involved in and often depending on the continuation of migration (2004). As a consequence of growing ties between two places migration can have a self-enforcing effect. But, to explain why migration does not follow a linear and ever-continuous pattern, other theories try to describe migration as a process that follows a pathway from growth to decline (Castles, 2014, p.47; De Haas, 2010).

2.2 Why do people migrate to a specific place?

Not all parts of the Netherlands are confronted with the same inflow of labour migrants, and some nationalities are over-represented among labour migrants, although they are not per definition the countries with the lowest wages or highest unemployment levels. The grand theories listed in part 2.1 can not always explain regional spread as experienced within the Netherlands. Browsing through available researches, there are some aspects that might be better usable to explain the decision to migrate to a specific place, although several of them confirm the rather randomized choice migrants make.

A reason for migrants to choose for a specific destination is related to the economic sectors that dominate local economies. Economic sectors in which the highest amounts and percentages of migrants tend to work are those where low-skilled labour is needed (Castles, 2014, p.241). Sectors like logistics and agricultural that are highly represented in North-Limburg (CBS-TNO, 2018), both attract relative high numbers of labour migrants, especially those looking for a short term (or seasonal) job with low entry demands (Dagevos, 2011, p.15; Gijsberts et al., 2018). For skilled migrants too, a seasonal job in these sectors can be interesting to create a financial buffer that can be used in the country of origin (Strockmeijer et al., 2017).

An often mentioned and better studied reason to migrate is the higher chance on a well-paid job matching high education. It is not expected that high-skilled expats looking for a well-paid job decide to move to North-Limburg, the job offer for high skilled workers is low in this part of the Netherlands compared to the demand (Adzuna, 2017; Lekkerkerker et al, 2017). The majority of the high-skilled migrants orientates themselves before migrating, and those that are willing to do low-skilled jobs often see this kind of work as a calculated stepping stone to a better career, or want to earn money to invest in their original country (Trevena, 2013). High skilled CEE labour migrants in West-European countries regularly end up doing short term, low skilled jobs (Kaczmarczyk, 2016).

There are spatial differences in the kind of labour migrants coming to a specific area, based on job offers and the educational levels needed. This causes a significant difference between rural area's and large cities, the latter are the main destination for high skilled migrants searching a job abroad (Eliasson et al., 2015; Nienhuis et al., 2017). In part 4.4 regional-specific pull-factors for North-Limburg are being analyzed, these can be used to explain this region's high immigration numbers compared to other Dutch regions.

2.3 How long do migrants stay abroad?

There are several researches available that try to categorize different groups within the total population of labour migrants that base parts of their work on the duration of a migrants stay. An important goal of these efforts is to get more insight in the expected future migration flows. In 2013 the Dutch government published a guide that can be used by policy makers, that labeled migrants in 3 categories: Short stay, or migrants that intend to stay in the Netherlands for a maximum of six months, mid-stay, for those who stay between six months and five years, and long-term settlers (BZK, 2013). All of these groups are linked to their own housing preferences that need to be met. The document repeatedly states that people can switch between groups, together with their residential needs. In 2016, the provincial authorities used these categories in their policy note too, but there is a difference in their description of the mid-stay migrant: instead of linking this group to a mid-length intention to stay, their decision is called unclear, or “not yet decided” (Provincie Limburg, 2016, p.2). That’s why for housing issues, the province only uses short-stay and long-stay labels. Most of the municipalities within the labour market region North-Limburg are using this policy note, sometimes together with an additional paper suiting local conditions.

There are signs that this typology is not extended enough, and does not match the reality in which people can switch between these categories. More recent scientific efforts to categorize labour migrants create typologies that use more than two or three categories, that are not only build on the intention to stay. Based on the attachments to their country of origin and destination Engbersen et al. (2013) distinguish 4 categories: circular migrants, bi-national migrants, footloose migrants and settlement migrants (figure 2.1).

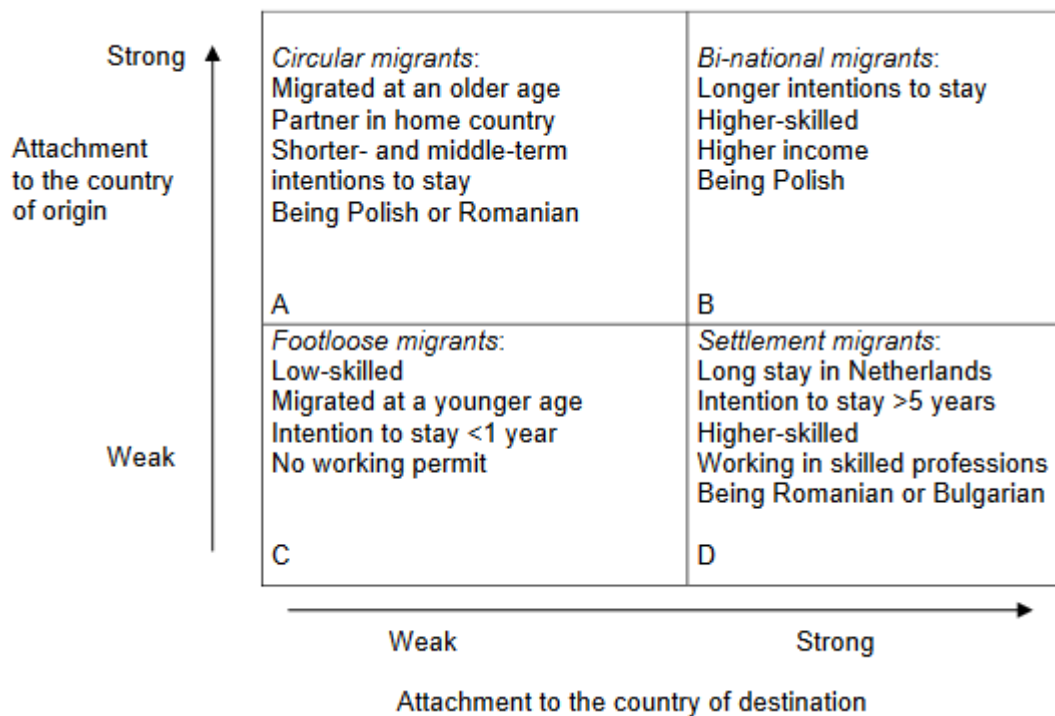


Figure 2.1: Typology based on the attachment to sending and receiving country (Engbersen, 2013, p.977)

Although in the typology created by Engbersen et al. there are more aspects that are linked to the type of migrant, the intentions regarding the duration of stay is an important factor. After a closer look to the regression models that Engbersen et al created in search of determinants that can be used to predict membership of a certain type, it is clear that intentions are not always this specific for one type (2013, p.974). Still, some conclusions are interesting: There is a significantly smaller change that a circular migrant wants to stay more than 5 year, compared to the chance that he/she wants to stay less than one year. There are no significant differences for the categories '1-5 year' or 'don't know'. Bi-national migrants are more likely to express intentions of '1-5 year' or 'more than 5 year', both with an odds-ratio of about 2,5 compared to intentions below 1 year.

The majority of footloose migrants mentions intentions shorter than 1 year. Chances that a footloose migrant intends to stay longer than 5 year are only 3 times as small compared to the chance that she/he wants to stay less than one year. Remarkably, chances are two times as small that a footloose migrant is unsure about his/her intentions, compared to the chance that he/she intends to stay less than 1 year.

The relative chance that a settler expresses intentions more than 5 year, is almost 10 times as high as the chance that he/she wants to stay less than one year. According to the odd-ratio the chances for expressing unsure intentions are over 5 times as high compared with intentions to stay less than 1 year.

Looking at the Dutch version of the study of Enbersen et al., it is clear that there are large differences between Polish, Romanian and Bulgarian migrants regarding their intentions (2011, p.86). The conclusion that over 36% of the participants are footloose migrants, but only 18% states that he/she is intending to stay less than 1 year also shows that not every footloose migrant mentions short intentions regarding the duration of stay. Looking at the descriptive analysis, where the standard deviations are listed, it can be found that within every intention-category, the deviation is close to 0,5 (on a 0 or 1 scale). This suggests that, although there is a relation between intentions and typology, this is definitely not a direct or causal relation; within every group intentions do vary considerably. Engbersens study does not provide a model that compares the intentions of the different types with each other. For instance, it is impossible to state if footloose migrants are more often unsure about their intentions compared with settlers, although one could expect that settlers more often made a final decision about their residence, and thus are less often unsure about their future plans. Otherwise one would expect that footloose migrants are not sure about the duration of their stay. What is clear is that 28% of all his respondents are not sure about their intentions. According to Engbersen, especially young and independent migrants that are not bounded by family obligations or other commitments can permit this intentional unpredictability and postponed decision making (2013, p.964).

Engbersen mentions that the four types are probably not useful to demarcate migrants when they arrive, he suggests that people can choose a type and the patters attached to it (2014, p.10). An example that he provides is the fact that the start of a family makes footloose or bi-national migration less interesting options (2013, p.979). In most cases becoming a parent leads to a different lifestyle, causing a migrant to switch from one to another type and affecting his/her needs and priorities. An aspect that does indeed seem to play a role is the participants age, and more important, the time of stay in the Netherlands. The longer a migrant has spend in the Netherlands, the smaller the chances are that she/he is a footloose migrant, and the larger the changes are that she/he is (or becomes?) a settler. The authors do see differences between both categories, which regard their housing and

family situation. Settlers more often have a family with children living in the receiving country, they are better capable of speaking the Dutch language compared to bi-nationals, and use the regular housing market to find a place of residence. In other words, they almost function as regular inhabitants, making it even questionable if it still considers labour migrants, keeping in mind that there is no clear definition.

Later research confirmed that intentions are “fluid”, people can move from one type to the other (Engbersen et al., 2014; Glorius et al. 2013; Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2015). Engbersens 2014 study involved a second survey following the 2013 study, participants were asked to answer questions regarding their ‘migration-pattern’ a second time 3 years after the first study. He discovers that a substantial part of the population has moved from one to another category, including settlers that transformed into footloose migrants and otherwise. Especially the group of footloose migrants three years later is scattered, with just as many persons that now are settlers as people that returned to their homeland (2014, p.27). Gijsberts & Lubbers study migrants who were registered in the GBA (the BRP predecessor) in 2010 but were unsubscribed two years later. In 2010 they also gave their intentions to stay (with 5 categories: intention to stay, to commute, to return, to move further to another country or to return home). They too find out that a substantial part of those that intended to settle or to commute did unsubscribe, apparently they’ve changed their minds despite their intentions (2015, p.28).

This is affirmed by Castles, who refers to the “life cycle”: young single workers originally intended to stay for a few years, but as they grew older and established families, their plans changed; a footloose migrant can become a settler, just as a settler can decide to return to the country of origin (2017, p. 97). The transformative and liquid character of intentions are further described by Kaczmarczyk, who’s conclusion shows that over time individuals can transform from one type to another, and even back again (2016). So although intentions are fluid and diverse, to a certain amount they can be linked to the created typology. Table 2.1 presents an overview of the four different types and their current intentions. This study doesn’t assume large differences regarding doubts between different types, but it is assumed that shortstay intentions are more often in doubt compared to those focused at a longer stay.

Migrants type	Intention to stay
Circular migrants	Short- to Midstay (<1yr. - <5yr.)
Bi-national migrants	Midstay (>1yr. <5yr.)
Footloose migrants	Unsure/Shortstay (<1yr.)
Settlement migrants	Longstay (>5yr.)

Table 2.1: Migrant type and their intention to stay in the receiving country (Engbersen et al, 2013, p.15-17, authors editing)

2.4 Migration policy

While access to a job seems to be the main motivator to come to a region, several studies focus at the growing role of non-economic factors in attracting migrants, and state that the with smaller economical differences between the Netherlands and sending CEE-countries, the desire to migrate will also decline, while the choice of potential destinations shall grow. This might lead to an expansion of the “race for talent”, the international battle to attract high-skilled migrants, to low-skilled migrants too, enabling them to demand better conditions (Faggian et al., 2012; Fuchs et al., 2019, p.91). To secure a steady flow of labour immigration, the migration industry is searching for new sources. This is already visible in the percentage of labour migrants from Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary. Only 50% of the survey’s respondents had the Polish nationality. Neuteboom et al. note that with declining economic differences within the EU, purely economic motivated migration will decline as well for migrants from these countries (2019). This is being confirmed by other studies that suggest that economic and socio-geographic factors will be less decisive within Europe, while the availability of for instance cultural, natural and/or educational amenities will become more important (Rodriguez-Pose & Ketterer, 2012). As migration today is the only reason that the European population is not shrinking, in the near future the “battle for the migrant” can only be expected to further intensify. In this competition, job availability and better wage opportunities alone are not enough to lure labour migrants to your region, other aspects such as career opportunities, social welfare systems and working conditions are just as important (Kurekova, 2011). Kurekova explains that this asks for a better understanding of the needs and interests of (potential) migrants, with a recognition of the diversity of CEE-countries and their inhabitants (2011, p.29). In a recent study that tries to understand what pulls high-skilled migrants to the Netherlands, it turned out that next to work and housing ideas about the quality of life (security, way of life, culture) and possibilities to develop yourself (career options, knowledge infrastructure) are important factors in their destination choice (Buers et al. 2018, p.15).

Berkhout et al. (2015) published a report on attracting non-EU high-skilled migrants to the Netherlands, in which they discuss possibilities for policymakers to motivate high-skilled migrants from outside the EU to come to work in the Netherlands and encourage them to stay for a long period. They conclude that this type of migrants has a wide choice of potential destination countries. Thanks to that admission policies hardly play a role in their decision (2015, p.7). Instead of employment opportunities other pull factors play a growing role, especially skilled migrants carefully weigh opportunities in selecting a place to migrate to. Studies in other countries confirm the wide choice of high-skilled migrants, and the role of amenities and quality of life related aspects, not only in selecting their destination, but also in their decision to stay or leave (Darchen & Tremblay, 2010; Florida, 2005). With a rise of destinations that are interested in pulling CEE labour migrants to their region and a free movement of persons within the EU, it can be expected that these other pull factors shall be more important in their decision too. As stated by Berkhout et al., “*Skilled migrants want to live in attractive neighbourhoods, as do the skilled workers who are native to a country*” (2015, p.7). It is not unimaginable that the same applies for every worker, including non-skilled CEE labour migrants. Berkhout et al mention the salary level, but also refer to the important role of career opportunities, scientific institutes and “worldclass” companies, living in a neighborhood that offers those amenities matching your needs, options for other

family members like a partner or children, and other, abstract concepts such as living in a safe and tolerance society, the local landscape or even “the atmosphere” (2015).

Papademetriou also lists various variables that influence a migrants choice, which he divides into three categories (2012, p.47). At first variables that are related to career options and finding a place that offers the best opportunities for personal professional growth. The second group of variables regard the quality of life, fair and generous social services and a tolerant and save society. Third aspect he mentions are clear and fairly applied migration-rules, a clear and fair chance for obtaining permanent residence, equal rights, recognition of foreign diplomas and certificates, and good economical and educational chances for family-members. The first, career-related category is most significant from the migrants perspective, as found out in part 5.4.1 work is the core reason for migrants to select North-Limburg as their destination. But, zooming in on the aspects that according to Papademetriou make a place attractive for workers, just work alone is not enough. Options for personal development and professional growth are needed, and it is questionable if the North-Limburgian labour market offers these options too. After all, on a national scale Limburg is confronted with an outflow of young families and skilled youth, based on the lack of opportunities these groups see in this part of the Netherlands.

North-Limburg is a place that has not been very successful in keeping natives in the region, immigration is compensating demographic decline that is an effect of local youth and young families that leave the area in search for a region that offers better chances. This demographic shrinkage causes a negative spiral in which population decline leads to a lower quality of life that makes the region less attractive again (Haase et al., 2014, p.1525; Ponds et al., 2013, p.25). Based on an inventory of aspects like the local housing stock, local labour market, availability of social, cultural and natural amenities Ponds et al. conclude that North-Limburg scores way below the national average regarding level of attractiveness (2013, p.67). As seen before labour migrants in North-Limburg are filling the demand for low-skilled labour, they are often working in jobs that don't offer much career opportunities. In search of a better job they might be forced to leave the region again (Faggian et al., 2011). When people from Limburg are asked for a reason that could make them leave Limburg, they mention the lack of labor market opportunities before anything else (Visser & Ten Doeschot, 2009, p.8).

2.5 Conceptual model

Based on the findings in part 2, a model is constructed that presents the way motives are shaped, and how motives are expected to relate to labour migrants intentions (figure 2.2). The model presents how different motives lead to two different migration goals and four migrant types, that can be used to make a statement regarding the migrants intentions at that point of his/her life cycle. For this study it is expected that for a majority of the migrants coming to North-Limburg economic factors are dominant, whether it is to earn money to spend in the country of origin or to earn money to make it possible to build a new life abroad.

Although both these groups are motivated by a large chance to earn more money than what would be possible in their country of origin, the goal of this money differs. Based on the typology created by Engbersen, these two different goals are linked to the different types of migrants. It is expected that those that want to earn money to spend in the country of origin are predominantly circular migrants and bi-nationals; circular migrants arrive with short-term intentions, bi-nationals too are attached to their sending countries and are intending to return after a year.

A part of those that are in search of a new life are settlers, that arrive with the intention to settle for more than 5 years or even permanently. The other part are footloose migrants, just like settlers intending to leave their country of origin, but without strong intentions regarding settlement in their destination. This group has a short planning horizon, leading to short term or undecided intentions that are hard to predict.

As written in part 2.3, within each type there are differences regarding intentions to stay. In this conceptual model intentions as described are indicative. The distribution of intentions as seen in the conceptual model are loosely based on table 2.1, but thus should not be understood as definitive intentions.

As explained in part 2.4 the variable 'intentions to stay' is an important factor in shaping the needs and priorities of a labour migrant. Although every migrant is in need of some kind of work and housing matching their current typology and intentions, it is expected that those with long term intentions extend their priorities to other aspects, such as the quality of life, being able to participate and develop themselves. But, as made visible with the two large blue arrows, if for instance a bi-national or a footloose migrant has a job, a house and some career perspective, this might lead to longer intentions, and growing attention to quality of life related issues.

Motivation to Migrate:	Migration-goal:	Migration-type:	Intentions to stay:	Needs and priorities:
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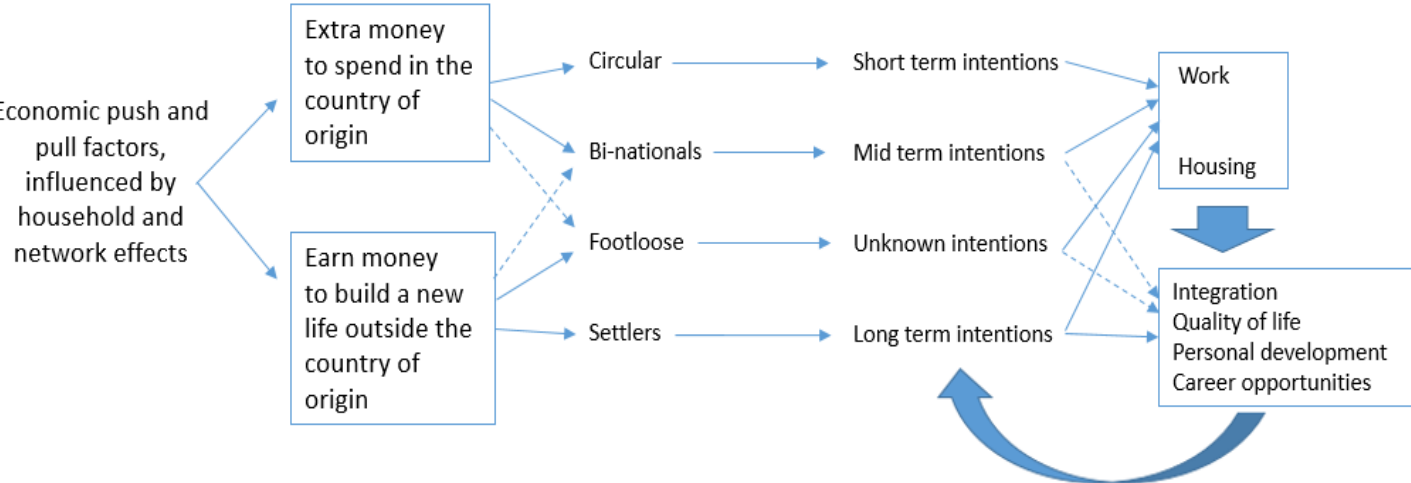


Figure 2.2: Conceptual research model

3 Methodology

3.1 Research philosophy

The term 'research philosophies' refers to the systems of assumptions and beliefs about way knowledge is developed and constructed, what means that every researcher's philosophy contains certain assumptions about the way he/she views the world (Saunders et al., 2019, p.131). These assumptions shape all aspects of a research project.

For this empirical study it is assumed that labour migration is an objectively observable phenomenon. Based on quantitative and qualitative research it is expected that it is possible to find generalizable facts and laws that can be used to test our hypotheses and assumptions. Goal is to find explanations that can be used to describe motives and intentions of labour migrants that might be usable to predict the scale and composition of future flows. This asks for a positivist approach; objective facts offer the best evidence, for instance in testing if or not existing typologies regarding labour migrants are applicable on the North-Limburgian situation, and in finding out how long migrants want to stay in this region. The positivistic approach uses the observable social reality in order to search for the truth, most often relying on quantitative research methods and statistical analysis (Slevitch, 2011, p.76).

Although a large part of this study relies on statistical analysis, as can be read in part 2 it is not assumed that it is possible to present a factual model that can describe motives and intentions of all migrants. Several scientific models are being used to analyse the available data, but these are used to prove that the reality of labour migration is too complex to rely on reductionist scientific models. An important conclusion of the literature study is that there is no neutral knowledge that can be used to approach the world of labour migration. Migration is too complex to capture in one overall truth. This results in the paradoxical situation in which a positivistic approach is being used to prove that a positivistic approach is not always most useful to describe the complexity of labour migrants' motives and intentions. The positivistic truth is, that there is not one overall truth regarding a broad topic such as labour migrants motives and intentions. This matches the researchers' post-positivistic standpoint; knowledge, and 'the truth' shall have to be regarded as personal perceptions based on personal experiences, discourses and institutional contexts (Ryan, 2006, p.16). Ontologically, this means that this study doesn't pretend to deliver the perfect, impeccable truth. A researcher studying a complex topic like labour migration shall always have to realize that there are lots of uncertainties involved. This is an important reason not to present the statistical findings of this study as irrefutable facts.

3.2 Research approach

A research approach contains plans and procedures for research spanning from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis. Generalized, it is possible to choose for a quantitative or qualitative study, the former making use of descriptive analysis and the latter of statistical analysis (Creswell, 2014). But, as Creswell describes, this distinction is often too rigid, in practice a lot of studies incorporate elements of both approaches, making them mixed methods research (2014, p.32). A mixed methodology might even be the most fruitful approach to bring together the strengths of both pathways and end up with a nuanced analysis (Clifford et al., 2010, p.174).

This study does employ both qualitative and quantitative research methods, but especially during data analysis, quantitative methods dominate. At first a descriptive analysis tries to verify if the typology designed by Engbersen et al. matches the regional situation. As the labour market region North-Limburg is the area of study, in part 4.3 one of the municipalities within it shall be involved in a brief case study to find out what is the magnitude of the phenomenon. In part 4.4 using a literature study region-specific North-Limburgian pull-factors are being uncovered. After that a statistical analysis is used to explore if or not the four types can be linked to the (regional-specific) motives, intentions and needs. As concluded in part 2, labour migration to North-Limburg is a complex and ever transforming phenomenon in which there is no single truth or a direct causal relation between specific motives, intentions and behavior. This study is confronted with a group that is expected to be very diverse regarding their motives and intentions. Although a typology was created based on the attachment to both sending and receiving countries, at other aspects the individual migrants within the different types are probably not as consentient, making it risky to rely on statistics alone. This asks for a pragmatic and open-minded approach capable of applying different forms of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2014, p.40).

Goal of this study is to give more insights in the motivation of labour migrants to come to North-Limburg and their intentions to stay. Several of the variables of study are difficult to operationalize or measure, and open for individual interpretation. A person that looks to be settled might have short intentions, while someone intending to settle might act like a circular migrant due to practical issues. The challenge involved is to offer a combination of statistical analysis that offers practical handles for policymakers, and a quantitative description that captures and interprets individual differences.

Within the quantitative and qualitative methods the researcher can choose from what Creswell calls “a baffling number of approaches” (2007, p.6). Thanks to the exploratory character of this study, in search of correlations and connections mostly quantitative data analysis shall be applied for this study as further explained in part 3.6.

3.3 Research strategy

Because of the lack of insight in migration numbers and patterns, this research would not be complete without a quantitative inquiry among labour migrants working and residing in North-Limburg. A short survey physically spread among labour migrants is a promising approach, as explained by Creswell, this method makes it best possible to compare the (inter)national figures with the local reality (2014). Kaczmarczyk & Salamonska too refer to the survey as a strong way to collect information that is missing in official statistics (2018, p.464). Besides its usability for eliciting peoples individual attitudes and opinions, a survey is particularly useful to link specific behavior, ideas or experiences to the respondents personal characteristics such as age or nationality (Fowler, 2014; Clifford et al., 2010). Another important advantage of a survey is the possibility of identifying characteristics of a substantial population from a relatively small group of individuals (Creswell, 2014). Interesting questions are what motivated CEE labour migrants to come to the North-Limburg labour region, and if they have clear intentions about the length of their stay. This study uses closed questions, with answers based on the different categories as explained above. The combination with questions regarding age, the time of their residence in the region, or earlier migration experiences can help drawing conclusions regarding possible longitudinal transformations of intention and motivation.

As seen before, there are some indications that CBS figures do not represent the reality, estimations suggest that the CBS data based on the BRP doesn't cover the whole group of labour migrants. To make sure that this group is a part of the sample too, I will actively approach labour migrants myself, by meeting them at places where they work, live and meet. As concluded, invisibility can be a choice, a part of the targeted population might be afraid and thus unwilling to participate and answer all of the questions. That makes it important to avoid stigmatizing language, that links them to incriminating behavior such as overstaying (Ellard-Gray et al., 2015). Creswell too writes about hidden populations, and recommends to use vague, open-ended identity labels and avoid stigmatization while sampling (2014, p.158). I believe that, based on my personal experience living and working together with eastern European labour migrants for the past five years, there is a certain level of trust between me and them, that might make it more easy for me to approach them and include them in my survey.

To prevent stratification it is necessary to spread the locations where I shall seek out for recipients (Creswell, 2014). That means it is best to make sure that the sample reflects the diverse characteristics within the group "labour migrants". Several studies for instance got lots of their response from Polish church visitors (Korf et al., 2009) or visited employees in relative specific sectors (ABU, 2018). I want to prevent an over-representation of any groups by looking at several locations, like Polish bars, supermarkets, employing companies, churches, housing locations like holiday parks or so called polish hotels, etc. To make sure the sample is representative, random sampling as explained by a.o. Creswell (2014) will be applied. This way results are reliable and can be used to create policy matching the total population.

A number of at least 100 CEE labour migrants working in the North-Limburg labour region is the goal of the survey, although this is highly depending on the willingness to participate.

There are large differences between other researches regarding the response-ratio, caused by the methods of approach and the targeted group. Best results are based on face to face approaches, a time-consuming method that asks for a good preparation. Because of the high rate of labour migrants living in North-Limburg, and the researchers personal experiences with working and living together with this group, it is expected that a personal approach offers the highest response-rate and the most representative result.

3.4 Sample selection

When using a sample to make general statements about the total population of labour migrants coming from one of the 10 CEE countries, sample selection is crucial to generate representative and valid data. There are three key aspects of sample selection (Fowler, 2014, p. 15). Crucial is a sample frame, that corresponds to the total population that the researchers wants to describe. In case of labour migrants working in North-Limburg, creating a sample frame is extra challenging, because there is no clear overview of the exact size and composition of the population. In this regard, an important goal of this survey has an exploratory character, it aims at getting more insight in the composition of the total population. In an attempt to check the representativeness of the sample, their composition is compared with the local BRP. In order to obtain selective access to the BRP, a statement of confidentiality was signed, and permission had to be granted by 4 different aldermen.

The municipalities involved in this study use a selection based on long- and short-stay, but this distinction seems to be too static (Engbersen, 2014, Eade et al, 2009). To secure the highest possible level of comprehensiveness, survey locations and participants are selected out of known locations that are frequently visited by a broad range of the local labour migrant population. This way the probability of being included in the final sample is enlarged. As this study expects differences in intentions and motivations among the population, that influence their choice of work, housing and other aspects of (social) life, it makes use of stratified samples drawn from more than one sample frame. For instance, to include parts of all expected "types" of migrants, part of the sample is derived from a list with all large scale housing locations, but this frame is supplemented with small scale and informal housing locations, information and advice of local institutions that have a better insights in (parts of) the population, (clusters of) companies that have substantial numbers of labour migrants among their working staff, places where the researcher expects to find different groups (store, cafe, etc.), some locations are even based on personal experiences. In case of this study the strength is not so much in the numbers of recipients, but in the number and variety of different locations that are visited.

3.5 Survey design

There are several methods of surveying available that a researcher can choose from in order to collect the data that is relevant to answer the research questions, all come with their own strengths and weaknesses (Fowler, 2014). In case of this study, the method of choice is a self-administered, on-paper survey with predominantly closed questions. The choice for an on-paper survey over a digital one is based on the selective availability of mailing addresses. There are some organizations that have a list with e-mail contact details, for instance the local Polish church or an employment organization that also organizes housing as a part of an all-inclusive “work abroad” package, but in these cases there are reasons to expect that rather specific groups (regarding both migration motivation and intention to stay) are over-represented on these lists. It can be expected that those that are a member of the local church are more often intended to stay for a longer period, at the same way seasonal workers in a 3 months all-in package including housing are probably more often intending to migrate back to their sending country after the 3 months are finished. As this study has a cross-sectional nature, and thus aims at fair representation (as much as possible) the survey will be done by going to those sites where respondents are, including church, employers, housing locations or stores focused at CEE labour migrants (Clifford et al, 2010). A flexible, creative combination of different sampling strategies is also a useful method to include the hard-to reach or even hidden part of the population, for instance those that are housed at illegal ways, or those that are not registered as they should (Ellard-Gray et al, 2015). Of course in these cases confidentiality regarding the respondents individual reactions is key and shall be guaranteed.

In order to protect the participants and avoid negative consequences for those that answer the survey questions, anonymous participation is guaranteed; labor migrants were not asked about their names or address. This also enhances representative participation, persons that are for instance unemployed, or living in illegal or stigmatized circumstances are more willing to participate if their personal information can not be tracked (Cresswell, 2014).

Cooperation was voluntary, leaving an e-mail address was an option for those who wanted to. While introducing the survey, all participants were informed about the goal of this study and the organizations involved. Participants were assured that they could leave questions open if they did not want to answer them, and of course employers, housing organizations or employment agencies would not have access to their survey. These guarantees are essential in convincing persons that are unsatisfied or even feel exploited, for instance about the ways they are being treated by their employers (Ellard-Gray et al., 2015). Although there is no solution that takes the unwillingness of some groups completely away, in order to prevent non-response bias protection of the participants is essential (Fowler, 2014, p.142). As a lot of questions involved are asking about subjective opinions, a fair response is essential to ensure reliability, especially because validity can not be checked with a subjective question (Fowler, 2014, p.96). That’s why no questions are being asked that can be used to link an answer to a specific person. In designing the (closed) answer options it was attempted to make them one-dimensional, specific and monotonic regarding order. Following Fowlers advice, more than one question is asked about one topic, to find out if a participant is consistent in his/her answers, which can be seen in the similar answer options at different questions (2014, p.97).

The survey (see annex 3.1) is designed in such a way that the respondents can complete it in an order of minutes, to make it more attractive for the targeted audience to fill in the form without losing too much time. To prevent the risks of uncompleted survey forms or bungled responses the researcher is on the spot, and a small reward will be raffled among the participants. This also makes it possible to collect anecdotal material what can be very useful during analysis of the survey response, and to find new ways or locations where more supplementary respondents could be found (Fowler, 2014, p. 63). As mentioned several times by Fowler, a survey is a learning process too, as results are often useful to open new research directions and get more insights in the population needs and interests.

The extensive nature of a survey compared to for instance qualitative, in-depth interviews, makes it possible to consider the results as representative for the entire population (Clifford et al., 2010). Of course this is only the case if the survey's recipients are a representative sample of the total population. The combination of representative sampling combined with (closed) reliable and valid questions make it possible to measure relationships (Fowler, 2014, p.75), in this case the relationship between a North-Limburg labour migrant's motivations and intentions, and his/hers desires and needs.

3.6 Survey questions and implementation

The final design of the survey that will be used to gain more insight in labour migrants' motivations to come to North-Limburg and their intention to stay, is based on the development process as described by Fowler (2014, p. 99). Based on the goals as described in this study's research plan and a broad study of available literature a series of questions was designed that can be used to measure the variables needed. There are four aspects that decide if a survey question is a "good question" or not (Bickman & Rog, 2009, p. 376):

1. Questions need to be consistently understood.
2. Respondents need to have access to the information required to answer the question.
3. The way in which respondents are asked to answer the question must provide an appropriate way to report what they have to say.
4. Respondents must be willing to provide the answers called for in the question.

To check if the survey meets these aspects, the draft version was discussed with different individual labour migrants in the researchers' inner circle. Based on their reactions some of the questions were rewritten in such way that they were both interpretable, reliable and analytically useful.

Because of the diversity of the targeted population the first aspect is most challenging. A substantial part of this group does not speak English very well, if they speak this language at all. During try-outs with individual labour migrants a Polish translation is not automatically sufficient to bridge this language gap, as a growing part of the North-Limburg labour migrant population is born in other countries such as Romania or Hungary, countries that, unlike for instance Slovakia, do speak a completely different language. One of the first respondents pointed out that some of them even use an alternative (Cyrillic) alphabet. To involve a group as large as possible, the final survey is designed to be clear and simple (Clifford et al., 2010, p.79), using simple English and including a word list that translates some of the words used in Polish.

Respondents do have access to all the information needed, if not there is an option to answer "I don't know", an answer useful during analysis too. As most of the questions are closed, the options to choose from are carefully created, the final question is created to make sure that there is room for any remarks left.

The questions are designed in such a way that they offer analytically useful results. Questions are based on some assumptions that are a result of the theoretical framework (part 2). For instance, it is expected that people with intentions to settle are more often interested in following education or local career options, and that positive experiences are increasing the grades and the intended duration of a migrants stay.

To enhance the willingness to cooperate, a personal approach is proven to be a successful approach, together with questions that are relevant for the respondents too (McLafferty, 2010). That is why an introduction of my research' topic will be a standard part of every individual survey. Based on the reactions during the try-outs, it became clear that labour migration itself is a very actual topic among the migrants themselves too. Although they are less interested in the impact on the region, the societal impacts of labour migration itself are a theme of discussion in the sending countries too. They pointed out that a part of the population might be skeptical about researchers, as some of them look at themselves as victims that have no choice to accept poor jobs abroad. The survey is introduced in a neutral way, offering them a chance to share their opinions.

3.7 Data analysis

At first this study is about mapping the regional population. Just the fact that one group is over-represented in North-Limburg would be an interesting conclusion for local policy makers. Based on the work of Engbersen et al. (and other authors using their typology), several characteristics are linked to specific types of labour migrants, that could potentially be used to create policy recommendations regarding for instance housing needs or integration measures. Secondly, this study could uncover relations between several of the listed variables, that at this point are unclear. For instance, does someone's motivation to come to North-Limburg influence the intention to stay? Does the intention change if someone is in the Netherlands after a specific time? Several techniques could be applied to find significant relations, like (logistic) regression, or analysis of variance (ANOVA) (Foster et al., 2006, p.26). In search of relations and their nature, especially regression is a powerful tool (Bryman & Cramer, p.192). These researchers explain that regression using statistical analysis software (such as SPSS) allows to find a computed regression line of fit. This can be used to make predictions about likely values of the dependent variable, such as the time of stay in North-Limburg since arrival. Placed in an equation, regular linear regression can be used to give dependent 'y' through $y=a+bx+e$, in which 'x' is the independent variable. 'a' is the intercept where $x=0$, and 'b' presents a value for the slope of the regression line. 'e' is the error, the unexplained part of the regression model. Linear regression calculates a linear function, that can result in probabilities that could be less than 0, or even bigger than 1. These are not useful when working with dependent variables that are dichotomous. That's where logistic regression is introduced, this is a method that calculates an odd-ratio between zero and 1 (using a s-shaped curve). Instead of predicting 'y' logistic regression presents an odds-ratio by dividing $p(x)$ by $1-p(x)$, for instance dividing the odds of being in North-Limburg after 1 year by the odds of not being in North-Limburg after the same time (Sieben & Linssen, 2009). More independent variables can still be added, in search of a model capable of predicting odds-ratios using different variables as 'x' at once, leading to a formula $p/(1-p)=a+b_1x_1+b_2x_2+e$.

After an introduction of the research area and region-specific aspects that could influence the type of migrants that are attracted to North-Limburg and their intentions, chapter 5 starts with a description of the population that participated in the survey. Part 5.3 presents a descriptive analysis as recommended by Fowler (2014).

Part 5.4.1 will be used to find disparities based on the two migration motives that participants could choose from, in order to create a profile of both groups. For this case a series of t-tests is being used. The t-test is a test that is used to search for correlations to determine if the distribution of values of two sub-groups within the population differs, together with a level of significance (Bryman & Cramer, p.134). Based on the profile created for both groups this study searches for differences in intentions regarding the duration of stay.

For the survey participants are asked about their intentions at first arrival in North-Limburg, and the intentions during surveying. These can be compared with each other to find patterns of change, as it is expected that intentions are fluid based on the theoretic framework in part 2. Using a logistic regression model it is possible to determine relationships among pairs of variables. Multiple regression is suited when more than two variables are involved, this

method of analysis seems to be most suited to link the different intentions to priorities and needs of labour migrants in North-Limburg. Although regression is closely related to correlation, regression can be used to make predictions and express the character of a possible relationship (Bryson & Cramer, p.196). That's why in part 5.4.2 different multiple regression models are tested to find out if specific variables can be used to predict the odds that a migrant is intending to spend a small or large amount of time in North-Limburg. As a result of the literature review there are signs that the migration market is changing from a push market into a pull market, with a wider choice of destinations for potential labour migrants. This could affect their demands, it is interesting to see if the survey results show signs of a more demanding population compared to earlier flows. The results of the different qualitative and quantitative methods are used in part 5.4.3 and 5.4.4 to search for policy areas that can be used to influence the motive to come to, and the intention to stay in North-Limburg. Again it might be interesting to apply a logistical regression to determine what priorities or needs are contributing to a longer or shorter stay within North-Limburg. Based on the analyses and the policy areas involved the analytical chapter ends with a series of recommendations that can be used by policymakers.

To analyze the expert interviews and observations involved, categorical aggregation as explained by Creswell (2007, p.163) can be applied to look for relevant meanings in the collected data. To prevent specific interests that could possibly influence responses (for instance when it regards employers) I do want to leave some space for a phenomenological approach during the analysis of the interviews as explained by Porta et al. (2008), I am interested in the experiences of those working with CEE labour migrants, instead of comparing their opinions with each others. Of course it is depending on their willingness to cooperate, and the added value of their responses what kind of analysis is most suited.

4 Case description

4.1 Research Area: labour market region North-Limburg

This study concerns labour migration to the Labour Market region of North-Limburg, the upper part of Limburg, a province located in the South-Eastern part of the Netherlands. With the division of the Netherlands in 35 Labour Market regions policy makers tried to demarcate areas of focus for employers and potential employees, instead of following traditional borders like those of the provinces. For instance, in the Labour Market region division, the Limburgian municipality 'Mook en Middelaar' is a part of the Labour Market Region surrounding Nijmegen, as this is the most obvious region to find a job for its inhabitants. In case of unemployment, inhabitants of Mook en Middelaar are invited to visit the Employee Insurance Agency (UWV) in Nijmegen, inhabitants of Gennepe can visit the UWV office located in Venlo.

As seen in figure 4.1 there are 7 municipalities located within the Labour Market Region North Limburg, with a total of 273718 inhabitants. Looking at other regional variables of table 4.1 there are substantial differences between the seven municipalities, not only regarding the number of inhabitants but also population density or earlier experiences with migration. Over 85% of Venlo's inhabitants are living within one city (named Venlo too), a large contrast with Bergen, comparable in size, but with only 5300 inhabitants in its largest town and a much lower population density.

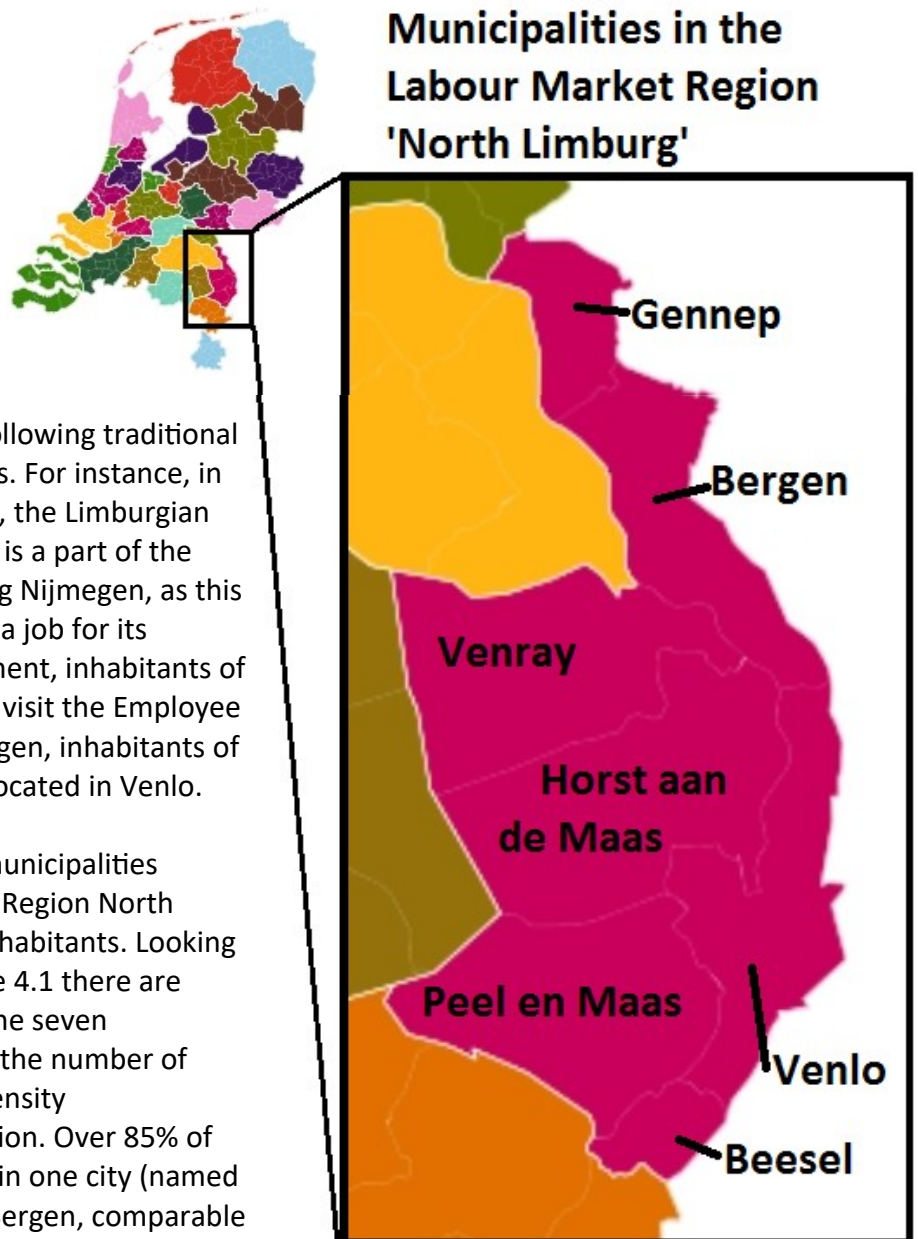


Figure 4.1: Labour market region North-Limburg (regioatlas.nl, authors editing)

	Gennepe	Bergen	Venray	HadM	PeM	Venlo	Beesel	N-Limburg
Population (2018)	17052	13106	43341	42271	43312	101192	13444	273718
Surface area in km ²	50,4	108,5	165	191,9	161,4	129	29,2	835,4
Population per km ²	358	127	265	224	272	814	480	328
Polish migrants	84	120	1216	1470	841	2629	112	6472

Table 4.1 Differences within the labour market region North-Limburg (CBS, 2018)

Part of this research was an internship at one of the municipalities involved: Horst aan de Maas. Horst aan de Maas is being used as an example of a typical horticultural municipality by the WRR (Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy). As a result of the extensive agricultural sector a large amount of migrants with in particular a Polish background is now living and working within its boundaries (Schmeets, 2019). As stated by the WRR, a large amount of labour migrants from Poland is now settling in Horst aan de Maas and building a flourishing community (2019, p.18). Originally labour migration was dominated by seasonal migrants from Poland, working in agricultural jobs, but in recent years the amounts of CEE-migrants are rising, and they are working in different sectors too, such as logistics (also see 4.3) leading to a more continuous stay (Etil, 2018). That's why a new housing policy was recently designed, which distinguishes short and long-stay migration. Part of the policy is the opening of relatively large scale housing locations managed by employers or employment agencies, where several hundreds of migrants can find temporary housing (Horst aan de Maas, 2019).

4.2 Demography

In 2015, minister Blok of internal affairs wrote a letter to the Dutch second chamber in which he motivated his policy to handle demographic shrinkage in several parts of the Netherlands. Together with Groningen and Zeeland, Limburg is referred to as a 'krimpprovincie', Dutch for province of shrinkage (BZK, 2015). Especially Parkstad, the southern part of Limburg is listed as an area where shrinkage is already visible, the North and Middle parts of the province are areas that need to anticipate future shrinkage (BZK, 2016). Although in the 2016 report North-Limburg it becomes clear that this is the only area that does not participate in the official plan of action, in 2018 North-Limburg is still labeled as an anticipation area (BZK, 2018). A graph of the population development in Limburg shows a line that was declining steadily between until it turned around in 2005. Between 2005 and 2016, there is not a clear trend.

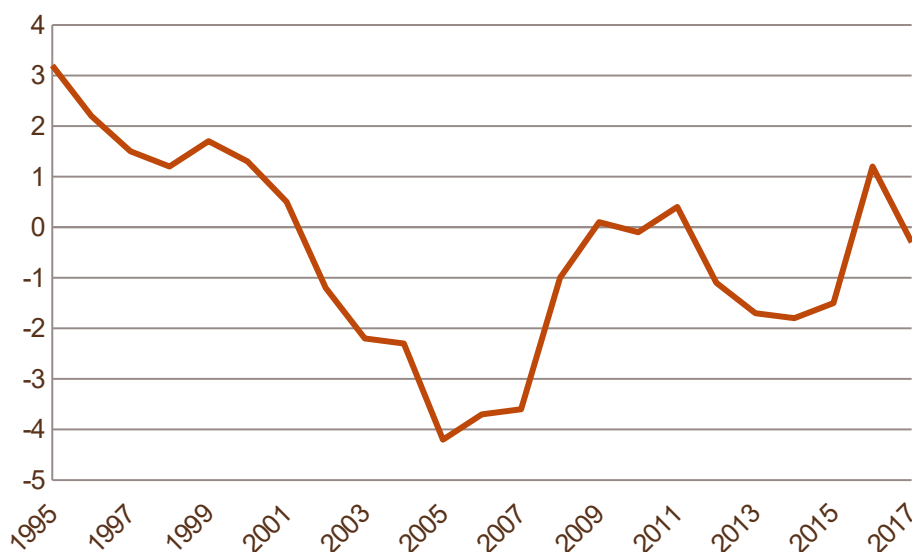


Figure 4.2: Population development Limburg (CBS, 2018)

4.3 How many people migrate to North-Limburg?

To tackle the societal issues mentioned before, reliable data are indispensable. Available data regarding the number of labour migrants are often based on the Dutch BRP (Basis Registratie Personen or Personal Record Database), which contains the personal data of inhabitants (residents) and people living abroad with a legal connection to the state (non-residents). The latter group is made up out of people that used to live in the Netherlands but emigrated, and people that who intend to reside in the Netherlands for less than 4 months. To be able to obtain a BSN (Burger Service Nummer, or Citizen Service Number) registration in the BRP is necessary, and to be able to work in the Netherlands, labour migrants need a BSN. But, if after four months, people do decide to stay longer, they have to take the initiative to inform their municipality and get registered as a resident. If you don't, in the CBS data they are counted as someone living abroad again.

Especially the RNI (Registratie Niet-Ingezetenen, or Register Non-Residents) makes it very difficult to draw strong conclusions about the number of labour migrants living or working within a municipalities borders. Although the RNI was introduced in 2014 as an instrument that could help improve registration, for instance of those with unknown place of residence (Wet BRP, 2014), after registration in the RNI, it's still not possible to say anything about the whereabouts of this person, he or she could live within the municipality where the registration took place, moved to a different city or even moved abroad. There are no checks, although several of the 20 municipalities with a RNI registration desk started to apply a system called REVA (Registratie Eerste Verblijf Adres, or Registration First Residential Address), which means that subscribers have to inform the municipality about their first place of stay. Again, there are no checks, and no obligations to keep this personal RNI data updated, so REVA too is not the final solution for the lack of insight. To make it more complicated, there are differences between specific groups based on ethnics and age, regarding the percentage that is registered as resident or non-resident (Dagevos et al., 2009). Van Ostaijen et al. (2015) too draw a direct link between (non-)registration and problems regarding social security and participation. As they conclude, for labour migrants economic participation is much higher than socio-cultural participation and political participation. For the first type of participation basically all you need is a BSN, for which a RNI registration is sufficient. Reading the CBS explanation regarding the BRP data, it becomes clear that in their registration, everybody who is registered as non-resident is assumed to be no longer in the Netherlands (CBS website, 2019)



Figure 4.3: Cbs population register data p.4: simplified distinction between residents and non-residents. (CBS, 2019)

This collides with the work of researchers who conclude that a large part of the labour migrants they contact are registered as non-resident, while they are working and living in the Netherlands (Van der Heijden, 2011 & 2013). This means that they are not represented in the statistics that are being used by municipalities and the national government. This suggests studies based on CBS figures alone are incomplete. After contacting the RviG, (Dutch National Office for Identity Data, manager of the BRP), it becomes clear that at this moment over 4 million people are registered as non-resident, a number that is annually growing with 100 to 200 thousand registrations (S. Harkema, personal communication, May 2019). Nobody can tell if these persons are still in the Netherlands, let alone where they reside. Engbersen states that different results of different studies are often best explained by their use of CBS statistics that are building on the BRP (2014, p.7). He concludes that thanks to the possibility of RNI registration, labour migrants that do have strong intentions to settle, or already are settled are over-represented, while those that are only here for 4 months are under-represented. Thanks to this especially the group that he refers to as ‘footloose’ is sometimes left out of these studies. This difference in methodological approach can be used to explain different outcomes for instance regarding labour market position.

The incompleteness in data regarding amounts and intentions to stay also make it difficult to create suiting housing policy, though it turned out that housing is important regarding integration and participation. The Dutch housing market is overheated, with fast rising prices thanks to high demands and low supplies (Groot et al., 2018). In several sectors there are shortages, but estimation on the amount of shortages vary between 100.000 (Lennartz, 2018) to over 250.000 (Capital Value, 2019, p.20). According to the SNF (Stichting Normering Flexwonen, or Foundation for Flexible Housing standards) there even is a shortage of 120.000 houses for labour migrants alone, next to general housing shortages (SNF, 2019). The SNF warns for repression, and is in favor of concentrated housing outside residential area’s for short term labour migrants. It must be stated that the SNF is an organization which targets regarding “good housing” doesn’t involve societal support or integration. Bolt et al. (2010) for instance state that residential segregation actually hinders integration, they recommend societal dispersion of larger groups of migrants as a good way to establish “meaningful contacts”, essential for true integration (Valentine, 2008, p.325). Based on a

survey among municipalities in Limburg, the regional newspaper concluded that ‘nobody knows how many labour migrants can sleep in North-Limburg’ (De Limburger, 2018).

During the internship it was attempted to estimate how many labour migrants there can be found within the Netherlands, and within the municipality of Horst aan de Maas. First issue is that different definitions are used, that lead to different conclusions. There is no official definition of when a person is a labour migrant.

Second, as described above, the possibility for migrants to register as non-resident creates a situation in which it is impossible to tell where a person is living, and if or not she/he has left the country. During several visits at the RNI-desk in Venlo and conversations with several staff members, it is clear that large groups of labour migrants are simultaneously registered as non-resident. One of the larger regional housing and employment organizations has a fixed weekly appointment with the RNI counter in Venlo, at which all their latest customers are registered as non-residents at the same time. At their locations, hardly anybody is registered as a resident. Theoretically, these persons should leave after 4 months, or go the municipality where they are housed to register as a resident. In reality it is practically impossible to find out what part of the population takes these steps. With a growth of 26.000 individuals in 2018, a large part of the rise of RNI-registrations mentioned before can be assigned to the RNI-desk in Venlo. A BSN lasts for life, so a non-resident can come back next year, without having to notice anybody. This makes it very difficult to even estimate the number of labour migrants that are in the Netherlands at a specific moment.

Table 2.1 shows the disparities between national CBS statistics and other sources that tried to include the non-residents and unregistered labour migrants within their estimation.

Year	Definition used	CBS numbers	Source and estimated number
2018	Labour migrants from CEE-countries working in the Netherlands	+/- 277.000	Tweede Kamer (2018) estimation 400.000
2016	Employees with CEE nationality working in the Netherlands	219.000	Heyma et al. (2018) 371.000
2014	Referring to V.d. Heijden (2013)	179.700	Engbersen et al. (2014) 340.000
2012	CEE labour migrants	161.400	Etil (2018) 250.540
2010	CEE labour migrants	148.000	Vd Heijden (2013) between 182.000 & 340.000
2010	Poles in the Netherlands	43.083	Dagevos (2011): 150.000
2009	CEE labour migrants		Vd Heijden (2011) max. 305.000
2008	CEE labour migrants		Vd Heijden (2011) max. 280.000

Table 4.2: comparing CBS statistics with other sources

Table 2.2 shows different sources available within the municipality of Horst aan de Maas. The total estimated number is about three times as high as the official CBS statistic. This is probably mostly related to the fact that lots of migrants living in a large scale housing location are registered as non-residents.

Source	Definition/remarks	Number
Local BRP registration	Number of residents with a CEE-nationality. This includes 161 persons aged below 12, or persons that are living in Horst for over 20 years.	1498 (June 2019)
CBS statistics	Differs per used definition (number of jobs, migration background, nationality)	Between 1323 and 1854, most used is 1448 (2017)
Housing permits granted for "housing labour migrants"	Hard to find one number, there is no central database where permits are monitored and actualized	Housing permits for +/- 3000 persons (May 2019)
Tourists taxes for labour migrants	217.033 overnight stays by labour migrants in 2017 ($217.033/365 = 595$ per night)	595 – 1785 persons (from 1 year stay to 4 months stay)
Total	Rough estimation, depending on time of the year and definition used	3500 – 5500 labour migrants

Table 4.3: rough estimation regarding the number of CEE labour migrants in Horst aan de Maas

4.4 Regional-specific pull-factor of North-Limburg

At first there is a large offer of jobs that are easily accessible for those without experience, education or knowledge of the Dutch language. The Dutch labour market is very flexible, with a large temporary employment sector, in 2018 21% of all jobs were temporary functions (OECD, 2019a). Within the Netherlands, Limburg is an outlier, especially because of the large agricultural and logistic sectors (SER, 2014). The latter sector, logistics, is a booming sector, during last decade North-Limburg presented itself as a logistic hot spot. The number of jobs in the sector “trade and storage”, in which logistic jobs are included, grew with 10% in 2018 alone, what makes it the fastest growing sector by far (a.o. ING, 2019; LISA, 2019). A 2019 Tempo Team Market Intelligence study labeled the logistic job market “extremely tight” (2019). In particular the development Greenport Venlo attracted a large group of logistic companies, combined with Venray North-Limburg has become one of the Dutch “logistic hotspots” that presents itself as a perfect place for large companies searching for a place to build their distribution centers (a.o. LIOF, 2019; Dynamis, 2019). These jobs are often filled in by temporary labour migrants from CEE countries working for an employment agency (Van den Berge et al., 2018, p.32). It is expected that future labour shortages will occur in in jobs with low entry demands regarding experience and educational attainment (CBS-TNO, 2018; Etil, 2018). It are these, often flexible jobs that are very attractive for labour migrants (Dagevos, 2011; Gijsberts et al., 2018). As 100% of the surveyed respondents had a job out of which over 85% worked in North-Limburg, the easiness to find a job in the region is again being confirmed. It is this aspect that seems to be the primary motivation for most labour migrants in their choice for North-Limburg.

A second reason that gives North-Limburg a head start in pulling migrants to its municipalities is the presence of networks, build by earlier (often seasonal) migrants working in agricultural functions such as roses- and asparagus harvesting (Pijpers, 2006, p.17). They functioned as the first stepping stones used by others during their migration to the Netherlands. Though most CEE migrants in the Netherlands didn’t choose specifically for the Netherlands as their place of destination, a part ends up in this country because of friends with good experiences (Wolf, 2015; White, 2011, p.86). This so called chain migrants plays a large factor in the first place of arrival (Snel et al., 2012). Engbersen et al. mention that this form of migration is often a decisive factor for those without specific intentions about a destination place (2013). Especially before 2004, when institutional networks were not as tight as they are today, for a majority of migrants from Poland personal networks played a decisive role in selecting the place of destination (Torunczyk-Ruiz, 2008, p.36). Thanks to the role of networks migration can act as a self-reinforcing process, in which positive experiences of earlier migrants work as a magnet to other potential migrants. Several grand migration-theories describe the large role of networks too, not only in the decision to migrate but also in selecting a destination (Castles, 2014, p.56; De Haas, 2010). This might also explain why migration flows often tend to cluster in one region, in particular those without a fixed idea of a destination decide to follow other migrants (Trevena, 2013). This could also explain why a substantial part of the Poles in North-Limburg are coming from the same region in South-Western Poland. It can also explain differences between rural and urban area’s (Eliasson et al., 2015) and even differences between two, equal sized cities such as The Hague and Rotterdam (Van Ostaijen et al., 2015, p.38)

Third reason for the popularity of North-Limburg can directly be linked to the second reason. Together with the arrival of migrants, a migration industry settled in North-Limburg. Not only is there a large offer of employment agencies, some of them specialized in Eastern-European migration, there are also other organizations that focus on migrants. There are information desks, Polish supermarkets, beauty salons, discos, and even dating agencies for labour migrants, specifically from Poland. These take away some of the thresholds and lower the risks of migration (Jennissen, 2004). While their focus used to be on Polish migration, they also offer services to other MOE-migrants. As the thresholds are lowered, the diversity of the migrants will grow (Jennissen et al, 2018), migration industry expands their services to other migrants, which further lower thresholds again. Thanks to this self-reinforcing effect not only the diversity regarding origin will grow, also migration patterns involved will be more diverse, something that is now very clearly visible in CEE-migration where we see long and short term migration at the same time (Strockmeijer et al., 2018). The introduction of all-inclusive migration that offers packages in which work, housing, and transport are combined have lowered remaining thresholds to an extend at which migration hardly takes any efforts of the migrants themselves (Snel et al., 2012). Compared to other Dutch regions, employment agencies do play a large role on the North Limburg labour market, not only regarding the number of people working for an employment agency, but also regarding the annual growth of this sector (De Wit et al., 2018; Gijberts et al., 2018). A nice example is OTTO Workforce, a Venray based employment agency originally providing labour migration arrangements to North-Limburg, that knew an explosive growth over the last decade and is now one of the larger agency's in the Netherlands (Flexmarkt, 2018). Especially circular migrants with short term staying intentions use these arrangements, they do not really seem to care if they work in the Netherlands or in Germany, let alone the specific region (Tweede Kamer, 2011, p.33). All-inclusive labour migration packages usually cover a period of four months, with short term temporary contracts that are very interesting for labour migrants (Van den Berge et al., 2018). Their study concludes that there is hardly any displacement in these sectors, a conclusion that is being confirmed by Heyma et al. (2018, p18). An explanation can be found in the fact that it often concerns jobs that are uninviting for Dutch, thanks to physical labour and flexible working schedules involved. Summarizing, there are three mechanism at work: an attractive labour market, existing networks, and a thriving migration industry.

This conclusion can not explain why one labour migrant decides to settle for a long time, while the other one leaves after a few months. For the survey participants were asked to elucidate why they decided to go work abroad, after all work is a means to an end, not an end in itself. In particular question 5 *"Why do you work outside your own country of origin?"* is useful to distinguish different motives within the population, as it offers insight in the reason participants are looking for a job abroad; as a reason to earn some cash in a short amount of time, whether or not with a clear goal (respondents mentioned for instance "buying a house" or "marriage"), or as a reason to fund the quest for what possibly could be a new life abroad. The responds reveal a divided population, with 48% of the participants stating that they are here to earn money to spend in their country of origin and 40% to search for what could be a new life outside their country of origin (see part 5.3).

5.0 Analyses

5.1 Who did (not) participate?

As explained in chapter 3 this study uses a sample frame that tries to minimize sampling error by collecting small amounts of data at a broad range of different locations, varying from large scale housing locations to the local supermarket. Nevertheless, not only does available literature expose a very diverse population with motivations and intentions that are often just as variable, there is also a lack of insight in the regional spread and thus the regional, North-Limburgian composition of labour migrants (see part 2 and 3.2). That makes it rather difficult to state if or not the final sample is truly representative for the whole population of labour migrants in North-Limburg. Based on the final results there are some reasons to believe that a part of the population is underrepresented as a combination of sample error and sample bias. For instance, the group of long term settlers seems to be underrepresented, a consequence of the selection of locations to hand out the survey. Another aspect that might draw a distorted picture is the fact that many recipients did not know their exact situation, for instance regarding their BSN or the 'construction' regarding their housing. That's why before presenting a description of the respondents, a brief overview of possible kinds of error is listed.

5.2 Sampling errors

After first analysis it is clear that the group that answered the survey questions is not a cross section of the general North-Limburgian population. As the average inhabitant of the province is over 43 years old (CBS, 2019b), the respondents average age is just below 30. This is also a bit younger than the average inhabitant of Horst aan de Maas with a CEE nationality. Based on the local BRP in which only residents are represented, the latter groups average age is 35 years old, including the latest born that can no longer be defined as labour migrants. When excluding those under 18, the average rises to almost 39, almost 10 years older than the average age found in the survey.

During surveying, not everybody was willing to answer my questions. As written by Fowler, every surveyor shall be confronted with non-response, often by a distinctive group (2014, p.44). This leads to a certain amount of bias, but no correction was made. In this case it is expected that persons who did not want to participate do not have different intentions or motives compared with the participants. It looks like most non-willing labour migrants just weren't in the right mood, or maybe thought their English was not sufficient.

Another difference between the participants and the residents with a CEE background is the time of stay in the Netherlands. In the survey about 2/3 of the respondents is in the Netherlands for a maximum of 1 year since arrival, 37% even less than 4 months. The rest is in the Netherlands longer than 1 year, of which just over 5% for more than 5 years.

According to the local BRP, only 14% of all registered inhabitants with a CEE nationality are registered within the last 4 months.

As 94 of the 114 respondents are working for an employment agency (over 82%), on this aspect the results coming from the survey are much closer to those of other studies that also do not only rely on BRP statistics. This also explains the large amount of respondents that lives in a non-regular house, for instance a building rented from an employment agency.

Although a part of those living in such a house are registered as residents, the majority is not, as can be concluded comparing the number of labour migrants living there according to the housing permit with the number of registrations at this address according to the local BRP.

Otherwise, thanks to the method chosen for this study, long-term or even permanent residents are slightly under-represented. Data on the kind of housing are comparable with those working for an employment agency; none of those surveyed lived in an owner-occupied home, only 26 of them in a private or social rental house. None of the respondents answered that they were unemployed, and none of them did not have a BSN number. Although there are sometimes stories of exploitation in the news, the migrants I spoke to seem to have followed legal routes, I did not encounter harrowing situations during the process of surveying. The only situation that I thought of as doubtful to say the least concerned an agricultural laborer sleeping in a tent behind her employers house during her stay in North-Limburg, but she too had a BSN and was actually satisfied with the overall circumstances. Of course, it is possible that respondents are reluctant to tell the truth about exploitation or illegality, as seen in chapter 3.

Looking back, the answers at two questions are probably blurred as a consequence of uncertainty among the respondents. At first, asked for the kind of housing they resided in, several respondents replied that they were housed in an apartment from their employer, where I am sure it was at a location owned by their employment agency. It must be stated that even for the researcher it was sometimes difficult to capture the exact construction. For instance, I visited a location owned by an employment agency that was a part of a large scale employer, located at a holiday park that, next to tourists, also housed Dutch people that urgently need housing. In these cases I often received different responses, even from people living in the same building.

Secondly, several persons did not know how they obtained their BSN, or stated that they got it from their employer while they probably meant that they visited the town hall together with their employer. It is clear that not all labour migrants know what a BSN is, let alone that there is a difference between residents and non-residents. Asked for their BSN, several stated that this is a working permit, a tax number, or simply "a number you need to work". Theoretically, all persons with a BSN were at the town hall at some point, but almost 35% refer to their employer or employment agency as the one that gave them their BSN. Around 19% doesn't know where or how they obtained their BSN, or is not even sure if they have one, however all respondents had a job so should have a BSN. In case of an obviously wrong answer, for instance regarding their housing, their response was corrected.

5.3 Descriptive analysis

In total 125 labour migrants participated, after selection a total of 114 usable surveys remained. Most of the results excluded (11 in total) were surveys that were only partly filled in (for instance only the front page), or filled in by participants that had a different nationality than the target group, such as Spanish or Serbian. A last reason to leave out two surveys was the strong impression that they were filled in as fast as possible, with several answers that were clearly colliding with each other.

After this selection 114 respondents coming from 8 of the 10 CEE countries answered all of the survey questions (figure 5.1). For most Dutch inhabitants, “labour migrant” probably is still synonymous for “Polish man”. It is true that within the Netherlands the group coming from Poland is by far the largest group, but of the respondents, only 50% is from Poland. Over 75% is between 18 and 35 years old, both the age group 21-25 as well as 26-30 are good for 28% of the total respondents (figure 5.2).

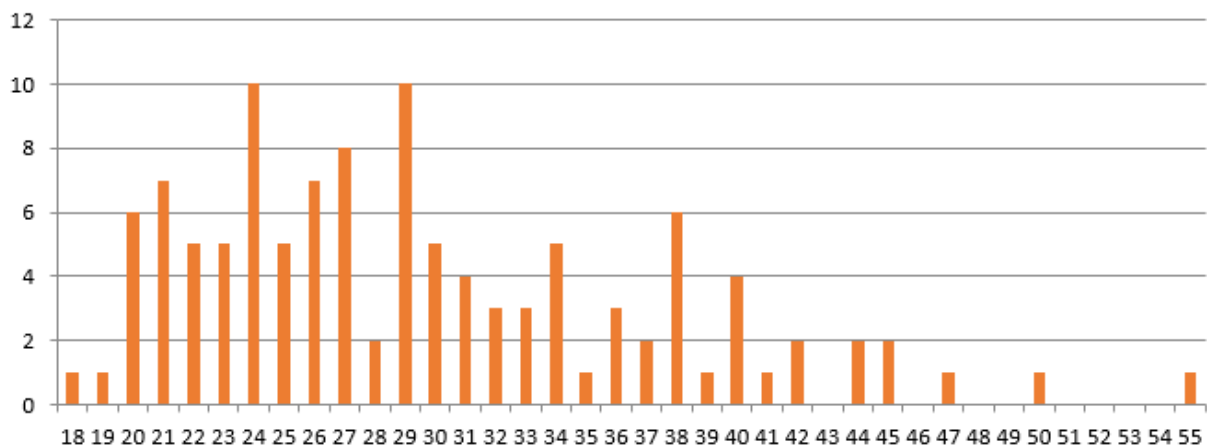
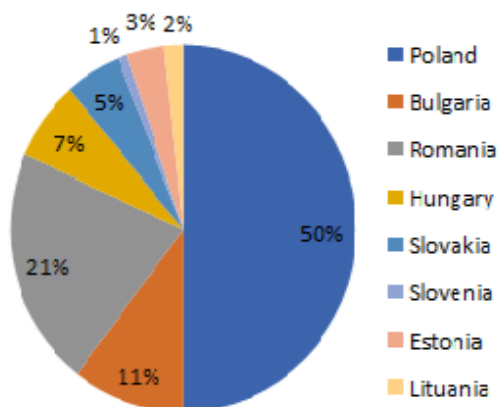


Figure 5.1: Age distribution of the surveys participants

Percentage per country of origin



Respondents age

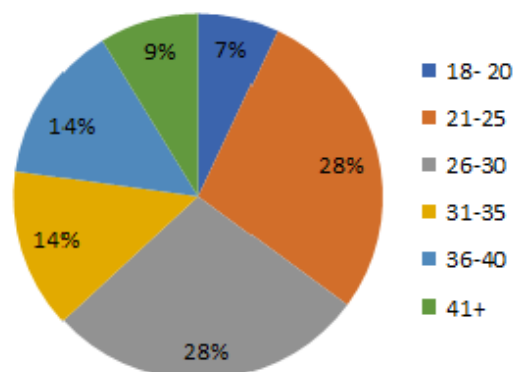


Figure 5.2: Participant distribution regarding country of origin (left) and age group (right)

All of the participants have a job, out of which 82% are working for an employment agency. All of the participants do have a BSN (registration number), but they are not always sure about the meaning of their registration. Several respondents asked me what I mean with

BSN, and referred to it as their working permit number or tax number. The difference between resident or non-resident was also unclear. Several persons thought they obtained their BSN before their journey to the Netherlands, something that is impossible, and only 50% states that they got their BSN at the town hall. The rest responded that they received their BSN from their employer, employment agency, or doesn't know if they have one or where they got theirs from. I suspect that all respondents went to the town hall, something that is also necessary if you are registered as non-resident. But after joining the RNI session in Venlo it is imaginable that for lots of persons it is not exactly clear that this was the moment at which they were registered in the Dutch BRP, a potential lifelong registration that brings both rights and obligations.

Asked for their motivation to migrate, 55 persons state that they are working abroad to earn money to spend in their country of origin, 45 are searching for a place to build a new life. The other 14 persons mention other reasons, like for instance spending holidays, having fun with friends, visit family in the Netherlands or seeing the world. For the latter group, a work and stay seems to be a cheap (or even profitable) way of spending free time outside their country of origin.

When asked for their earlier experience working abroad, for only 33% this was the first time working outside their country of origin. 18% works abroad every year, 30% worked in the Netherlands or even in North-Limburg before. The other 19% worked abroad before but outside the Netherlands.

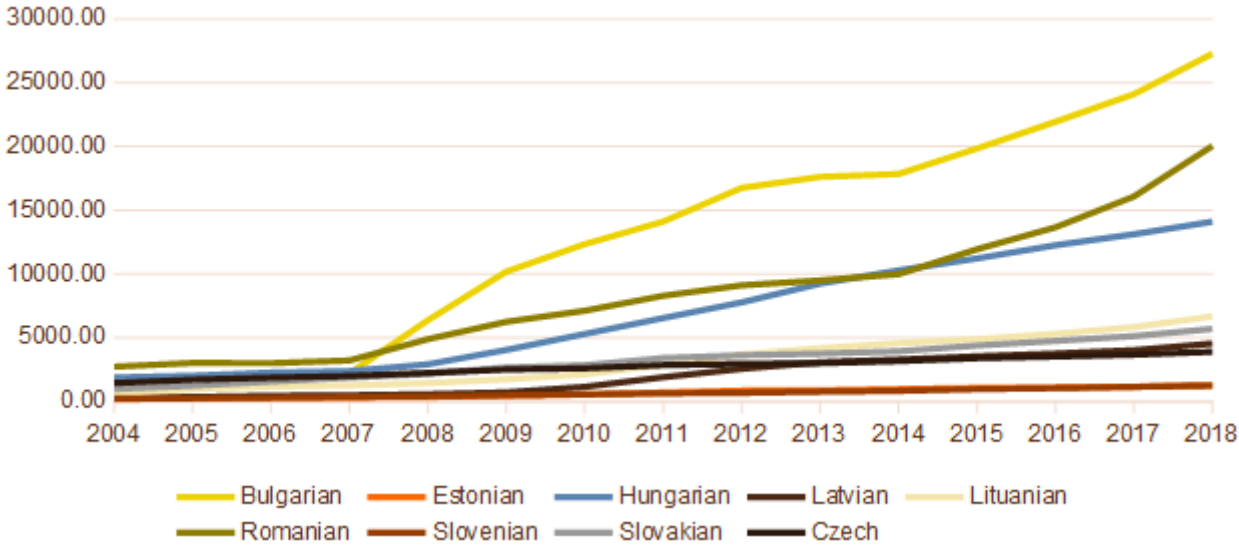
38% Of the participants was in the North-Limburg for less than 4 months, 27% between 4 months and 1 year, and 30% between 1 year and 5 years. Only 5% was in North-Limburg for more than 5 years, a sign of the under-representation of the settled part of the population.

Only 23% of the recipients lives in a regular rental house, public or private. The rest is housed in a building from their employer (14%), their employment agency (48%), or at a holiday park (14%). Again, there might be some overlap, as some housing constructions were rather vague as described in part 5.2. 83% lived in a house in North-Limburg, only 7% in Germany or Belgium, a number that I think is surprisingly low but might be caused by the fact that I approached most persons at their place of residence, ergo in North-Limburg.

At the end of the survey participants could grade three different aspects of their stay in North-Limburg. On average work received a 6,5, housing a 6,4 and social life a 6,9. Based on these grades, it looks like most migrants are rather positive about their stay, although there were lots of outliers, both positive as negative.

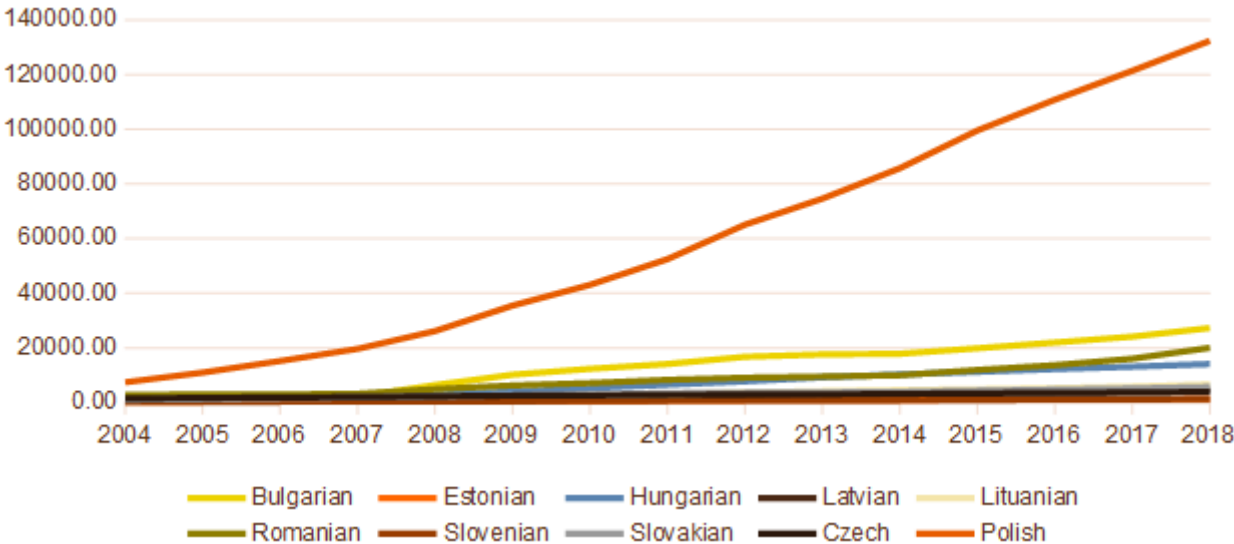
An overview of all the responses per question can be found in annex 4.1.

The fact that the largest group of respondents has a Polish nationality matches available sources that state that Poland was by far the largest sending country of labour migrants since the 2004 admission of 10 CEE countries to the EU (CBS, 2019a). Since 2007 the number of Bulgarians and Romanians saw a sharp rise, also visible in CBS data (graph 5.1).



Graph 5.1: Growth of non-Polish CEE labour migration to the Netherlands (CBS, 2019a)

This graph doesn't contain Polish migration, when Poles are added as seen in the next graph this group still dwarfs the number of migrants from other CEE-countries; 60% of all the CEE-migrants are from Polish origin.



Graph 5.2: Growth of CEE labour migration to the Netherlands (CBS, 2019a)

This Polish domination is also visible within the local BRP. Of all the CEE migrants registered as Horst aan de Maas residents over 85% is from Polish origin, followed by 5,5% from Bulgaria and not even 3% from Romania. But, of those registered in 2019 only 65% was from Poland, and almost 30% from Romania or Bulgaria. From the participants of the survey only

50% is from Polish background, as seen in figure 5.2. These are followed by Romanians, Bulgarians and Hungarians.

This confirms that North-Limburg follows an international trend in which CEE labour migration becomes more and more diverse regarding nationality of those migrating to the Netherlands (Jennissen et al., 2018). In their publication Horst aan de Maas is being mentioned specifically as a region with a relatively high ‘diversity score’, thanks to agricultural labour migration (2018, p.57). It is likely that the local BRP will be a better representation of the actual composition when more labour migrants will register themselves as residents, although the option of non-residence registration shall probably lead to under-representation of new groups entering the country after 2014, when the RNI was introduced.

Although with 24 Romanian respondents and 12 from Bulgaria the former group seems to be larger, it is expected that this is more a result of coincidence than a true picture of the actual ratio in North-Limburg. For instance, the local BRP shows that in Horst aan de Maas Bulgarian residents do outnumber Romanians (87 vs 46). It is the same BRP overview that shows that relatively large groups of persons with the same nationality are simultaneously registered at addresses that can be linked to an employment agency. This might mean that these are now expanding and offering their (all-inclusive-)services to persons outside Poland, for instance by setting up a branch in Romania or Ukraine. This could cause over-representation of different groups at different locations. At one of the addresses in the BRP that was visited during my surveying (a large scale housing location from an employment agency) are 15 Romanians registered and no Bulgarians, at another addresses 22 Bulgarians and zero Romanians can be found in the BRP.

Keeping in mind that several sources state that the number of migrating Poles is expected to continue to fall (a.o. Gijsberts et al., 2018, p.134) the growing diversity visible in graph 5.1 and in the fact that almost 20% of those surveyed was not from Poland, Bulgaria or Romania, the diversity will rather grow than decline. A recent study even warned for growing difficulties in motivating migrants from these other CEE-countries too, as a consequence of improving economic situations in sending CEE-countries (Neuteboom et al, 2019). Especially employers and employment agency’s state that they have more and more trouble finding Europeans to work in the Netherlands, (Logistiek.nl, 2019; NOS, 2018; VNO-NCW, 2018), they are suggesting to look at other countries and even continents. All in all, regarding nationality the survey-results reveal a diversity among labour migrants much higher than the local BRP would suggest, a diversity that is expected only to grow in the near future as employers and employment agencies are broaden the scope of their recruitment-areas.

There are more interesting differences between labour migrants from Poland and those from other CEE-countries, all of them signs that Poles are more experienced in working in North-Limburg. At first they are in North-Limburg for a longer time compared to non-Poles:

How long are you in North-limburg since arrival?	Poles (n=57)	Non-Poles (n=57)
< 4 months	37%	39%
4 months – 1 year	18%	37%
1 year – 5 year	36%	23%
> 5 year	9%	2%

Table 5.1: Poles vs. non-Poles regarding duration of stay since arrival in North-Limburg

As can be seen 45% of the Poles are in North-Limburg for more than 1 year, compared to 25% of the non-Poles. Another difference is based on earlier experience working abroad. On average, labour migrants in North-Limburg are experienced, but as can be seen in the table 5.2 Poles are much more experienced than non-Poles. Within the latter group 40% did not work outside their country before, compared to only 26% of the Polish labour migrants. 23% works abroad annually, and 19% states that he/she worked in North-Limburg before.

Is this the first time you work outside your county of origin	Poles (n=57)	Non-Poles (n=57)
Yes	26%	40%
No, I worked in another country before	16%	23%
No, I worked in the Netherlands before, outside North-Limburg	16%	18%
No, I worked in North-Limburg before	19%	7%
Every year I work a short period outside my country of origin	23%	12%

Table 5.2: Poles vs non-Poles regarding experience working abroad

All in all it can be concluded that the population included in the survey is relatively young and did not (yet) spend a long time in North-Limburg. A large majority is working in flexible jobs, and living in flexible housing situations provided by their employer or employment agency. When they arrive in the Netherlands they often do not have plans to stay for more than one year. Non-Polish migrants form a much larger share of the participants than one would expect based on the official CBS data. There are interesting disparities between Poles and non-Poles; labour migrants from Poland are more often in North-Limburg for more than a year, and they are more experienced working outside their country of origin. The survey also contained questions regarding the motives and intentions of labour migrants coming to North-Limburg. The results of those are further analysed in the next chapters.

5.4 Research questions

The following part is used to analyze the survey results, using different ways of descriptive and statistical analysis. The first part focuses at the different motives with which migrants arrive in North-Limburg. Comparing means of different subgroups within the population, there is searched for disparities based on nationality, intentions, and the duration of stay thus far. Part 5.4.2 tries to find out at what way intentions transform during a migrants stay in North-Limburg, to find out if the regional situation matches the fluidity described in part 2. Based on the former two parts, part three and four look at policy options, in order to create recommendations that match the local situation. Different regressions are used in search of variables that can help predict the migrants' behaviour. In part 5.4.5 it is described if and how these recommendations can be used by local policymakers to convince migrants to come to North-Limburg and stay here for a long period.

5.4.1 Migration motives: target earning or building a new life?

As explained in part 2, economic factors dominate when somebody decides to migrate from a CEE-country to the Netherlands. It is the combination of lower unemployment rates and higher wages that works as a magnet and pulls migrants in search for a job to North-Limburg. But North-Limburg is not the only place in Europe or the Netherlands whit this specific combination of pull-factors (Eurostat, 2019). In part 4.4 there were other non-economic and regional aspects highlighted that also play a role, in search of pull-factors that distinguish North-Limburg from other area's three aspects jumped out. At first the composition of the labour market, with a high demand for low-skilled employees, willing to do low-paid jobs in often temporary contracts. Secondly, thanks to the role of networks potential migrants from CEE-countries know that North-Limburg is a region where it is rather easy to find work. A substantial part of the participants state that friends or family recommended the region or were working in North-Limburg themselves. When considering migration the region has an advantage over destinations that are unknown. Third, during the last decades a migration industry was founded that offer their services to migrants. As an effect migration to North-Limburg is rather low-risk, and living in the region is possible without speaking Dutch or without having to miss your Eastern European products.

But, as concluded in part 4.4, these three aspects can not explain why one person decides to settle for a long time, while another leaves within a couple of months. Using the survey, within the total migrant population two main motives were distinguished; at first the motive to earn money, whether to spend in the country of origin or somewhere unknown (48%), at second the motive to earn money to build a new life in the destination country (40%). The third motivation, spending holidays, having fun or meeting friends, was selected by the remaining 12%. This part tries to find out if these different motives are related to specific characteristics, or the intention to stay, to answer the first sub-question.

To find out if there are specific characteristics for both groups with which a profile could be constructed, a t-test is applied. Using an independent-sample t-test, it is possible to find out if means of two different parts of the total population are different from each other. In this case the null hypothesis (both parts of the population have a mean equal to 0,5 or 50%) is

tested. Based on the p-value the level of significance is calculated; the closer to nil, the smaller the chance that it is a coincidental difference (Bryman & Cramer, 2003, p.206).

Variable	Motive: earn money to spend at home (n=55)	Motive: build a new life abroad (n=45)	t	Sig. (p-value)
Country of origin: Poland	63%	30%	3,60	<0,000
Time in North-Limburg since first arrival < 4 months	46%	26%	2,18	0,035
Intention to stay (arrival) < 4 months	46%	11%	4,54	<0,000
Intention to stay (arrival) not sure	15%	22%	-0,94	0,337
Intention to stay (now) < 4 months	26%	7%	3,06	0,003
Intention to stay (now) not sure	34%	28%	0,62	0,535
Intention to stay > 1 year (dummy)	25%	52%	-2,97	0,004
When finished I go back to my country of origin	44%	22%	2,59	0,011
Every year I work abroad	25%	7%	2,87	0,005
Q9 Why are you working in N-Limburg, and not somewhere else?				
I followed friends/family that are working in N-Limburg	16%	28%	-1,50	0,139
I found an all-inclusive package	31%	37%	-0,67	0,504
I know N-Limburg because I worked here before	25%	4%	3,38	0,001
I found a job/vacancy in country of origin	34%	28%	0,62	0,535
Friends/family in my country of origin recommended N-Limburg to me	21%	22%	-0,15	0,884
I found a place to live in/close to N-Limburg	21%	17%	0,42	0,675
I live in a house from my employment agency/holiday park (dummy)	59%	67%	-0,92	0,359

Table 5.3: T-test; Disparities between participants motivated to earn money to spend in their country of origin and participants motivated to build a new life abroad.

Based on this t-test it can be concluded that there are several significant differences between both groups. The group that answers that it is here to build a new life in majority is not from Poland (30% vs 63%), is more often in North-Limburg for more than 4 months (46% vs 26%) and is more often intending to stay more than 1 year (52% vs 25%). It concerns labour migrants out of which only 7% is a seasonal worker, compared to 25% of the persons here to earn money to spend in their country of origin. In majority they are not planning to move back to their country of origin; if they would leave North-Limburg 78% would rather move further to another Dutch region or another country.

In search of a further specification regarding motives of labour migrants in North-Limburg the t-test is applied on question 9 “*Why are you working in North-Limburg and not somewhere else?*”. Only one answer gives a significant result. 25% of those that are here to earn money to spend abroad has worked in North-Limburg before, compared to 4% of the

other group. There are no significant differences regarding the use of all-inclusive packages or housing, or the role played by friends and family.

Although the survey used for this study does not directly ask for the level of attachment to sending and receiving country, based on question 5 and 17 it might be possible to try to position the participants within Engbersens typology (2013). Based on their motive, settlement migrants and bi-national migrants – both groups that are attached to their new destination country – are probably positioned in the group that is in North-Limburg purposefully in search of a new life.

The group in which individuals state that they want to earn money in North-Limburg and spend it in their country of origin contains the circular migrants described by Engbersen, with shorter intentions to stay, and weaker attachment to North-Limburg. This second group is called “target-earners” by Castles (2014, p.56), based on their goal to save money in a higher wage economy to improve conditions at home. This leaves Engbersens footloose group, that is also described as having weak attachment to the destination country. Target-earning does not suit their kind or less targetless behaviors that is called intentional unpredictability by Engbersen (2013, p.964). But, Engbersen did not only look at the attachment to the country of destination, but also to their country of origin. This is especially interesting to distinguish the unpredictable footloose group from the circular migrants. In this case, question 17 (If you would leave North-Limburg, then where would you go to?) can be used to search for differences within the two groups found above at question 5.

If you would leave N-Limburg, where would you go to?	To build a new life (n=45)	To earn money to spend at home (n=55)	t	Sig.
Country of origin	22%	44%	2,59	0,011
Somewhere else in the Netherlands	57%	34%	-2,44	0,016
Another country	13%	13%	0,03	0,997
Don't know	9%	9%	0,02	0,981

Table 5.4: T-test; migration motive – where would you go to if you would leave North-Limburg

In case of the persons searching for a new life, only 22% would go to their country of origin, the largest part would go somewhere else in the Netherlands. This is actually not a surprise, it is imaginable that this group would not leave if no-one would force them. Maybe they already took some steps to integrate, it would be a waste to start over again in another country.

Looking at the target-earners (both footloose and circular migrants), 44% would go back to the country of origin, just as one would expect from a circular migrant. But that means 56% would go to another place in the Netherlands, another country or is not sure yet. That suggests that a part of the target-earners are circular migrants, the other part footloose migrants. Eade et al. are using the well chosen terms ‘storks’ and ‘hamsters’ for the two types with no permanent settling intentions (2009, p.34); Storks fly over every year, hamsters are hoarding reserves. The hamsters description matches that of the footloose group; they are here to earn money, but not with a clear goal or clear intentions, which is

also visible in the large part of the target-earning group that is unsure about their intentions (table 5.3: 34%). So a substantial part of the group called target-earners by Castles might actually be targetless earners; here to earn money, but without a clear goal, or even a clear place to spend the earnings.

Differences between Polish and non-Polish participants

An interesting result from the descriptive analysis is the difference between Polish and non-Polish migrants. If a t-test is applied to compare all the results between the Polish and the non-Polish group there is an overall difference ($t(112) = 2,495$; $p < 0,014$, see annex 5.1) that shows how Poles and non-Poles apply different migration strategies. A part of this can be explained with the differences in migration motive. As shown in table 5.3, Poles are over-represented within the target-earners. The differences between the Polish and non-Polish group is also being reflected by differences between both groups regarding intentions to stay in North-Limburg for a period less than 4 months:

Intentions to stay less than 4 months when arrived and intentions during surveying			
	Total population (n=114)	Polish origin (n=57)	Non-Polish origin (n=57)
Intentions to stay <4 months on arrival	32%	44%	19%
Intentions to stay <4 months during surveying	18%	26%	11%

Table 5.5: Different arrival intentions for Polish and non-Polish participants

Looking at these results Poles are more often involved in short term migration, with the goal to earn money to spend it in Poland after 4 months abroad. Both findings are confirmed by a significant correlation between Polish nationality and an intention at arrival to stay for only 4 months: ($t(112) = 2,20$; $p = 0,03$, see annex 5.2).

Again, the differences could suggest that Polish labour migrants show different migration patterns compared to those coming from other CEE-countries. Based on these findings one could expect that the majority of Polish migrants is here for a short time, while the others are here for a longer time. Nevertheless, when asked for the time spend in the Netherlands (table 5.6), out of the Poles, 46% is in North-Limburg for more than a year compared to only 25% from non-Polish origin. So in terms of percentages, among migrants that are in North-Limburg for more than a year Poles are over-represented. This seems to collide with the motivation to earn 'fast money' and the intention only to spend a short time in North-Limburg and then return back to Poland.

Q7 How long are you working in North-Limburg?			
	Total population (n=114)	Polish origin (n=57)	Non-Polish origin (n=57)
< 4 months	38%	37%	39%
4 months – 1 year	27%	18%	37%
1 year – 5 year	30%	37%	23%
> 5 years	5%	9%	2%

Table 5.6: Differences between Polish and non-Polish participants regarding the time spend in North-Limburg

So there is a mechanism at work that leads to an over-representation of Poles among those coming to Limburg with the intention to stay for a short time, and also among those working

in North-Limburg for the longest time. As seen in table 5.3 there is a positive, significant relation between the motive to come to North-Limburg in search of a new life and the intentions regarding the duration of stay at arrival and during surveying. The motivation to earn money to spend back home is significantly correlated with the intention to stay less than 4 months, otherwise the motivation to search for a new life is significantly correlated to intentions to stay for more than a year, or even permanent.

How can this contradiction be explained? The results of the survey bring forward several conclusions that indicate that earlier migration to North-Limburg has led to a period of self-sustaining growth called cumulative causation (Massey, 1999), a mechanism that also plays a role in the migration systems theory (Castles, 2014, p.44). This theory argues that a large role is played by networks, culture of migration and migration industry, especially during the earlier phases of migration (De Haas, 2010). De Haas describes an ideal-typical trajectory of migration system formation and decline (p. 1607), in which a large growth of migrant numbers occurs after a pioneer group did the first exploring work and the first network nodes are established. Although the largest flows of Poland-to-Netherlands migration occurred after 2004, before that year an annual stream of especially seasonal agricultural migrants from Poland worked in Limburg too (Provincie Limburg, 2016, Janssen et al., 2017; De Mijnen.nl, 2019). It looks like this group fulfilled the ‘pioneer role’ as described by De Haas (2010, p.8). When the group of Polish participants is being split in sub-groups based on the length of their stay, and then their migration motive is added, it is clear that Poles that are in North-Limburg shortly are much more likely to be here with the motive to earn money (table 5.7). Otherwise, Poles that are in the region for a longer time state that they migrated with the motive to build a new life. Combined with the declining growth numbers compared to other nationalities, this suggests that this group is at the end of the cycle described by De Haas (2010). The majority of today’s Polish labour migrants coming to North-Limburg are no longer primarily motivated by the search of a new life, a contrast with earlier waves of Polish migrants.

	Total (n=114)		Motive: New life (n=45)		Motive: earn money (n=55)		Motive: other (n=14)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Length of stay (Polish migrants)								
< 4 months	21	36,8%	1	4,7%	17	81%	3	14,2%
4 months – 1 year	10	17,5%	1	10%	8	80%	1	10%
1 – 5 year	21	36,8%	9	42,8%	9	42,8%	0	14,2%
> 5 year	5	8,7%	4	80%	1	20%	3	0%

Table 5.7: Relation between migration motive and duration of stay in North-Limburg for Polish participants

How are motives related to intentions?

It is assumed that motivations do effect someone's intentions, this was already visible in table 5.3. To find out more about the differences between those that indicate that they are in North-Limburg to build a new life and those that state that they want to earn money to spend in the country of origin another more detailed t-test was applied. Table 5.8 shows differences in intentions at arrival in North-Limburg.

Intentions at arrival	Mean: To build a new life (n=45)	Mean: To earn money to spend at home (n=55)	t	Sig.
< 4 months	0,110	0,460	4,537	<0,000
4 months- 1 year	0,220	0,220	0,040	0,968
1 year - 5 year	0,300	0,120	-2,361	0,021
> 5 year	0,150	0,060	-1,666	0,099
Don't know	0,220	0,150	-0,964	0,337

Table 5.8: T-test; relation between migration motive and intentions at arrival (a dummy is created that merges variable "> 5 years" and "permanent")

As expected, a large difference can be found in the intention to stay for the shortest time that was asked for; people that are here to earn money to spend abroad are more often intending to leave within 4 months, compared to those in search of a new life. There is no significant difference within the part that is intending to stay between 4 months or 1 year. For all the intentions above 1 year a majority can be found within the group that is here to build a new life. This is only significant below 5% level for the part intending to stay 1-5 year, probably as a result of the low number of participants within the highest categories (for instance non of the target-earners is intending to stay permanent). There is no difference regarding the part that is unsure about its intentions.

Intentions during surveying	To build a new life (n=45)	To earn money to spend at home (n=55)	t	Sig.
< 4 months	0,070	0,260	3,056	0,003
4 months- 1 year	0,110	0,150	0,590	0,556
1 year - 5 year	0,200	0,180	-0,257	0,798
> 5 year	0,350	0,070	-3,520	0,001
Don't know	0,280	0,340	0,622	0,535

Table 5.9: T-test; relation between migration motive and intentions during surveying (a dummy is created that merges variable "> 5 years" and "permanent")

Asked for the intentions at the moment of surveying the same pattern can be found: the motive to build a new life is correlated to the intention to stay longer, significant differences can be found in the part intending to stay less than 4 months, and the parts > 5 year. Again, no significant differences can be found for the answer "don't know".

Based on the disparities found regarding their intentions, it can be concluded that those that are here to build a new life, in general arrive with intentions to stay for a longer time, compared to those that are here to earn money. Within both groups, the majority answers “don’t know”, asked for their most recent intentions.

The earlier conclusion that Poles act differently than non-Poles makes it interesting to look at the results of Q9 (Why are you working in North-Limburg, and not somewhere else?) again, in search of differences between Polish and non-Polish migrants’ responds regarding their motivation to come to North-Limburg. In this case a t-test is not very reliable, because of the low number of observations at certain answer options. The different percentages do provide some insights, as seen in table 5.10.

Q9 Why are you working in North-Limburg, and not somewhere else?			
	Total population (n=114)	Polish origin (n=57)	Non-Polish origin (n=57)
1 I followed friends/family that work in N-Limburg too	21%	19%	23%
2 I found an all-inclusive job	34%	23%	44%
3 I know N-Limburg, because I worked here before	17%	21%	12%
4 found a vacancy/job offer in my country of origin	32%	33%	30%
5 friends in home country recommended N-Limburg to me	21%	21%	21%
6 I have found a place to live in N-Limburg	19%	16%	23%
7 Other/I don't work in N-Limburg	6%	5%	7%

Table 5.10: Differences between Polish and non-Polish participants regarding the reasons to come to North-Limburg

Again it is visible that for a large part of the total labour migrant population a job was the most important reason to come to North-Limburg, using all-inclusive packages or through a regular vacancy of job offer. Although there is a certain amount of overlap, friends and family play a role too. One out of five respondents state that they followed friends or family that were already working in North-Limburg, or who recommended them to visit this area in their home country (or both). There are two differences between Polish and non-Polish migrants, a larger group of those with a Polish background has worked in North-Limburg before, while the latter group more often uses an all-inclusive job. That could be a result of less strong networks, and a sign that for a part of the Polish population Limburg is more familiar territory.

At this point non-Polish labour migrants coming to North-Limburg are building on the pioneer work done by earlier Polish migrants, for instance by using ‘their’ migration industry with an interest in the continuation of migration to North-Limburg (from travel and housing agents to labour recruiters and employers). As there is not (yet) a large network of friends or family, all-inclusive packages are an attractive alternative to establish the first connections. That could suggest that these non-Polish groups are in an earlier phase of migration as described by de Haas (2010) compared to Poles, a conclusion that also matches the declining inflow coming out of Poland compared to the fast rising flow from other countries. However, whether it is through family connections, connections build on earlier experience, or an all-inclusive offer from an employment agency, a substantial part of the popularity of North-Limburg can be found in the fact that this area has a history of migration coming from

Poland, and thus has networks and an immigration infrastructure and culture that makes it an attractive destination for other labour migrants too. De Haas also explains that low-skilled migrants are more often depending on social capital and networks, not only in the choice for a destination, but also regarding settlement (2010). He uses this dependence to explain the clustering of this groups in specific regions, something that is clearly visible in the Netherlands too with large clusters in for instance Horst aan de Maas.

As the Haas further explains, there are several reinforcing feedback effects that encourage settlement at a new location (2010, p.22). This is also visible in the fact that migrants living in one region often come from the same village or region too, a system that is as well a consequence of deliberate recruitment policies as well as chain migration build on migration systems (2010, p.28). In case of the survey held for this study, relatively large groups are coming from Silesia in Poland. Although in recent years most Poles come with the idea to earn money in a short time, the existing migrant population and the migration infrastructure does affect their intentions and has made a longer stay than intended more attractive compared to non-Polish migrants. Compared to other nationalities, during their stay Poles are much more often mentioning increased intentions compared to those when they arrived (see part 5.4.2). This could be caused by the encouraging effects of the well-established Polish migration infrastructure.

Concluding, CEE labour migrants that move to North-Limburg are motivated by the substantial chance to find a relatively well-paid, low-accessible job. Although almost all of them arrive to earn more money, there are differences in the purposes of these extra earnings; a part wants to spend it in the country of origin, a slightly smaller part wants to use it to build a new life outside the country of origin.

The motivation to earn money to spend back home is larger among Polish migrants compared to those coming from other CEE-countries. A reason can be found in the fact that the North-Limburgian labour market is even more accessible for migrants from Poland, thanks to existing networks build on earlier (seasonal) experience from mainly Polish pioneers working in North-Limburg before. Today there is a well-established migration infrastructure enabling short term migration from Poland to the Netherlands. As well as short term migration, this infrastructure makes a long term stay also more accessible. The longer history of Poles migrating to North-Limburg is also the reason that, despite today's migrants from Poland are more oriented on short-stay migration, Poles are over-represented among CEE-migrants that decided to settle in North-Limburg somewhere during the past decade. One possible explanation is that Poles used to come with other intentions than today, thanks to smaller differences in unemployment and wage levels between the Netherlands and Poland. Another could be the life cycle referred to in part 2.4, that plays a role and makes that when time pasts a part of any non-incidentual migrant flow shall probably consider settling. This explains how Poles are over-represented among the settlers registered in the local BRP, as well as within the target-earners that are mostly here with no settling intentions at all. At this moment non-Polish migrants more often arrive looking for a new life abroad, with intentions to stay for a longer time compared to Poles.

This could mean that during the coming years, thanks to the work of today's pioneers from countries like Bulgaria, Estonia or Hungary, North-Limburg is getting more and more attractive for these groups as well. There are still substantial economical differences between the new sending CEE-countries and the Netherlands, and migration and settling are getting more attractive thanks to the migration infrastructure build on earlier (Polish) migration. They might enter the phase called cumulative causation as described by the Haas (2010). So in the near future, the local BRP will probably also contain larger amounts of non-Poles that did decide to settle.

In general, those that are coming with the motive to earn money to spend somewhere else arrive with lower intentions to stay, a large part intends to leave within four months. Those that are considering a new life abroad are arriving with the intention to stay for a longer time. This suggests that if you would be able to find out what motivated the migration of an individual migrant, you would be able to make a statement regarding his/her intentions.

Nevertheless, despite the relation between motivation to migrate and intentions to stay, within both motives the majority is unsure regarding their intentions. This is rather surprising, apparently there is something that makes people with short term intentions hesitate about returning, as well as something that makes people with long term intentions hesitate about settling. Although this could be linked to the different types of migrants and their intentions within both categories, in the next part this research tries to find patterns within the transforming intentions.

5.4.2 Intentions regarding the length of stay

As concluded in part 5.4.1, intentions are partly built on the motivation with which a migrant leaves his/her country. Table 5.8 and 5.9 showed how the motive to build a new life is more often combined with the intention to stay for a longer time, while those with a motive to earn money to spend in their country of origin are intending to stay for a short period. But these intentions at arrival do not automatically match someone's behaviour in North-Limburg. As written in part 2, intentions can and probably will change during the stay abroad. Another aspect that undermines the conclusion that based on someone's motive you can predict her/his intentions can be found in Engbersens typology. Within the target-earners you can find the circular migrants that theoretically arrive with clear, short-term intentions, and the footloose migrants, with no clear intentions at all. Within those in search of a new life you find the bi-nationals, linked to mid-term intentions, next to the settlers with long term or even permanent settling intentions. This part shall try to find out if the fluidity in intentions is confirmed by the survey, and if or not patterns can be found in the way a migrants intentions transform over time, in order to answer sub-question 2.

During the survey, labour migrants were asked about their intentions regarding the duration of their stay in North-Limburg when they arrived here, and their intentions at the moment of surveying. As seen in figure 5.3 intentions are not static, intentions transform during ones stay in North-Limburg.

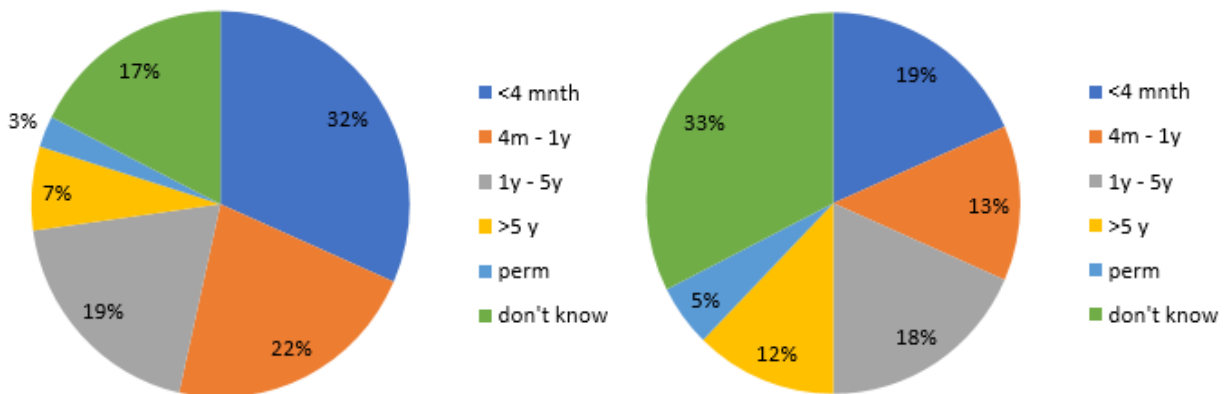


Figure 5.3: Intentions at arrival (left) and intentions during surveying (right)

The changes in intentions have been placed in a cross-table (figure 5.4), in search of fixed patterns. In general, a substantial part of the population changes its intentions during its stay in North-Limburg. Out of the total population almost a quarter decides to stay for a longer period (24%), a comparable part starts to doubt and is no longer sure about their exact intentions (23%).

Intentions at arrival	<4 mnth	4m - 1y	1y - 5y	>5 y	perm	don't know	
Intentions during survey							
<4 mnth	17	3	0	0	0	1	21
4m - 1y	6	5	0	0	1	3	15
1y - 5y	2	6	10	0	0	3	21
>5 y	2	3	3	5	0	1	14
perm	0	1	4	0	0	1	6
don't know	9	7	5	3	2	11	37
	36	25	22	8	3	20	114

Trend	N	%
Increased	27	23,7
Declined	4	3,5
Unchanged	48	42,1
Concrete intentions changed to 'don't know'	26	22,8
'Don't know' changed to concrete intentions	9	7,9

Figure 5.4: Cross-table presenting differences intentions at arrival and during surveying.

Again it is clear that intentions are fluid, 58% did change his/her intentions during their stay. The coloring in figure 5.4 is used to expose five trends within this fluidity. In general, it can be concluded that only a very small percentage lowered its intentions. This is remarkable, because with stable intentions you would expect that, after spending some time in North-Limburg, the majority of the respondents had lower intentions compared with the moment of arrival. For instance, if you would ask about the intentions of a person arriving with intentions to stay for a year, 9 months later he/she would intend to stay for only 3 months, assuming that intentions are completely stable. This is obviously not the case, on average 24% increased their intentions, 23% of the population arrived with concrete intentions but now isn't sure anymore. During the survey almost a third of all respondents doesn't know for how long they will stay in North-Limburg, almost twice as much hesitaters as at the moment of arrival.

Nevertheless, the largest group within all the different boxes is the group that arrived with the intentions to stay for only 4 months and still had the same intentions during surveying (17 persons). This could suggest that there is indeed a group that does behave as 'classic' circular short-stay labour migrants, but perhaps they just have to spend more time in North-Limburg before doubt will strike. These 17 persons represent less than 50% of the total group that arrived with intentions to stay for only 4 months or less, the majority has increased their intentions or isn't sure anymore. Another substantial group within the cross-table is the group that is unchanged in its intentions to stay between 1 and 5 year. Of course it is possible that this group also extended their intentions, for instance from 2 year to 4 year.

All in all, it is confirmed that intentions are fluid, as Engbersen (2014) suggested they often change over time. Although in general it can be stated that in case of changes, the intended duration of stay rather increases than decreases over time, a large part starts to doubt; at the moment of surveying almost 1/3 of the population simply is not sure about its intentions anymore. Even those that are in North-Limburg longer than 5 years are not sure about the permanency of residence. Exemplary, out of this small group containing 6 individuals, 2 persons state that they want to stay more than 5 years, 2 still don't know, and one even is thinking about leaving within one year. It must be stated that this person also intended to stay for a maximum of 1 year when he/she arrived (more than 5 years ago). Only one person

out this group is now intending to stay permanent, and even he/she wrote down (at question 15) that he/she wants to go home “when I’m old”. Another person, unsure about his/her intentions, at this same question wrote down that “one day I go back home”.

In 2017, the municipalities of Horst aan de Maas and Peel en Maas introduced a project called “Twijfelaars over de streep”, roughly translatable in “Hesitators crossing the line”. This project was designed and implemented by Grzegorz Czerwinski. This project focuses specifically on the group of doubters among the labor migrants, a group that also includes a significant proportion of the survey’s respondents. A number of sessions have been used here to successfully remove doubts from participants in order to help them make an informed decision about whether to settle in North-Limburg or not. This includes all kinds of topics, from emotional issues to applicable legislation and the migrants rights and obligations. Goal is not particularly to persuade people to settle, in the end some of the participants decide not to settle but to return to their country of origin. Goal of the project is to provide information and share experiences, in order to make a well motivated and substantiated decision.

During a conversation with Grzegorz, the cause of the large group of hesitators was discussed. He points out that doubt is something normal, the more options you have, the harder it is to make a choice. After every choice new doubts arise, when someone makes the decision and decides to settle down, a person is again faced with all kinds of choices: “where am I going to live, how do I arrange practical matters regarding insurance, benefits, taxes, I have to learn the language, what to do with my family or children?” Doubt itself can also be a conscious choice at such moments, especially now that a stay in the Netherlands is increasingly facilitated and you as a labor migrant are less forced to make a choice. This description matches the intentional unpredictability mentioned by Engbersen (2013).

Grzegorz states that doubt is not necessarily bad, everyone sometimes doubts. But when it comes to the choice of settling or not, doubt is a disadvantage. “Doubters do not participate, both in the Netherlands and in their home country. You end up in a split between two countries”. Doubt prevents people from taking steps; “their diplomas lose value over time, people get older, but you are laying the foundations of your life between 20 and 30 years. If you start too late, you suddenly discover that you have no connections, then it is often very late.” He also mentions the influence of doubts on integration, and vice versa. This matches the conclusion of other studies that the intention to settle is closely associated with the efforts taken on integration and language learning (Wacher & Fleischmann, 2015; Geurts & Lubbers, 2017). According to Grzegorz, living in a large-scale, temporary residence location among other labor migrants does not help to remove doubts; life in the Netherlands is now possible without meaningful contacts with Dutch society. This while precisely those social contacts turned out to be very important in building an existence. With taking a decision, the motivation to integrate increases (see also Wachter & Fleischmann, 2015), and so does the chance of success moments that underline the choice; participation is possible, and settlement is a feasible card. The more integrated migrants feel in the receiving country, the less they feel like returning (White, 2011, p.221). Settlement does not mean that you will have to completely cut off the ties with family in the country of origin, so the fear of making a decision is not always justified. Hence the projects chosen motto: “The Netherlands our second home, maybe until the end of our lives”. This motto seems to fit nicely with the bi-

national migrant described by Engbersen who, in contrast to the footloose migrant, has a strong bond with both the country of origin and the Netherlands.

So if you would ask a labour migrant for his or her intentions today, there is a big chance that these will be different after a couple of months, intentions are a snapshot that evolve depending on the circumstances. During the surveying 10% of the respondents replied that they want to stay more than 5 years or even permanent, but the odds that all of them are still here in 2024 are not very large. Otherwise, of all those that say that their stay in North-Limburg will be temporary, a part will still be here in 2024, perhaps at that time still with the intention to leave the following year. Labour migrants themselves seem to be aware of this, almost 1 out of every 3 respondents say that they are not sure about what his/her intentions are during the filling in of the survey. As seen in part 5.4.1 these doubts are unrelated to the migration motive. Conclusions regarding the dynamics of migration drawn by Engbersen et al. (2014) and Gijsberts & Lubbers (2015) as explained in part 2 are thus endorsed by the results of this study's survey.

These dynamics cannot be delineated in fixed patterns, even if these predictions are based on data build on pronounced intentions or BRP registrations. As there are several variables out of which it can be expected that they could help predict if somebody would extend their intended duration of stay in North-Limburg (motivation to migrate, intentions at arrival, all-inn package, country of origin), in a series of t-tests only one turned out to be significant at a 5% level: the more time a labour migrant has spend in North-Limburg, the larger the chance that she/he is intending to stay longer compared with her/his intentions during arrival. This is off course not really a surprising result.

Looking for differences between the group that is unsure about its intentions and those that did make a (provisional?) decision again a series of t-tests is applied. At question 9 (Why are you working in North-Limburg, and not somewhere else?) at two questions significant disparities can be found. Answer three (I know North-Limburg because I've worked here before) is selected less often ($t(112) = -2,19$; $p = 0,031$), answer 6 (I have found a place to live in North-Limburg) more often ($t(112) = 2,64$; $p = 0,010$) (see annex 5.3). Four survey questions (14, 15, 16 and 19) are most suited in exploring the needs and interests of the participants, one could for instance expect that people that are in doubt are in need of something that could maybe persuade them to make a decision. None of the differences found were actually significant. The same can be stated regarding the length of stay; within all 4 categories there is a substantial share of people that are in doubt. Although participants that are unsure about their intentions do give slightly lower grades for housing, work and social life, the differences found are not significant at a 5% level.

Predicting the length of stay in advance thus turned out to be very challenging. And even if you could predict them, one day later they could be different again. In the survey the participants are asked about the length of their stay in North-Limburg since their arrival. It might be possible to find determinant variables for the length of stay retrospectively. As explained in part 3.6 logistic regression models can be applied to find out if it is possible to link variables to a higher or lower chance for a specific feature. In this case the migrants' answers regarding their motives and priorities are used to determine the probability that a person is in North-Limburg for a specific time in proportion with the reference category.

Table 5.11 presents the results of a multiple logistic regression, in which the time of stay in North-Limburg is being predicted in three models. First model contains only control variables that were found in part 2, and in the descriptive analysis. In model 2 the answers provided at question 9 are added, model three also contains answers provided at question 14. Based on the level of significance it is possible to find out what model gives the best fitting log odds. At question 14 the last answer option ('other/nothing') is left out, only five respondents selected this option which is too few to use to calculate trustworthy odds ratio's (Bryman & Cramer, 2003). A multiple logistic regression is used because of the non-dichotomous dependent; the variable "time of stay in North-Limburg since first arrival" is reduced to three categories, being less than 4 months (n=43), 4 months to 1 year (n=31), and more than 1 year (n=40). Reference category is the group that is in North-Limburg less than 4 months. Based on the results of the descriptive analysis in part 5.3 and the conclusions in part 5.4.1 it is estimated that age (loosely related to the life cycle), nationality and migration motive do play a role in the intended time of stay, that's why these are used as control variable in model 1. The variable "what is your country of origin" is made into a binary variable, with a group that is Polish and a group that is non-Polish.

	model 1		model 2		model 3	
	4m - 1y in NL	> 1 y in NL	4m - 1y in NL	> 1 y in NL	4m - 1y in NL	> 1 y in NL
Time of stay in North-Limburg	Exp (b)	Exp (b)	Exp (b)	Exp (b)	Exp (b)	Exp (b)
age	1,034	1,115***	1,016	1,096**	1,035	1,137***
non-Polish nationality	1,664	0,399*	1,746	0,369	1,812	0,366
motive: to build a new life	1,832	3,786**	2,073	5,357**	2,469	4,563**
Q9: Why are you working in N-Limburg						
I followed friends that are working in N-Limburg too			0,527	1,051	0,383	0,936
I found an all inclusive migration package			0,45	0,244**	0,311	0,132**
I know Limburg worked here before			0,935	0,839	0,913	1,179
I found a vacancy/job offer			0,863	1,339	0,495	0,627
Friends/family in home country recommended N-Limburg			0,491	0,196**	0,358	0,129**
I have a place to live in N-Limburg			0,684	4,817**	0,789	5,267**
Q14: What is most important to stay in N-L						
I have a good place to live					3,255*	4,058*
I can earn enough money					0,993	0,322*
I have a good job					3,276	5,683**
I enjoy my life					0,365	1,521
I have friends/family in N-Limburg					2,102	2,713

Table 5.11: multiple logistic regression; odds-ratio's for the time of stay in North-Limburg since arrival, compared to "less than 4 months" significant levels: * = <10%, ** = <5%, *** = <1% (see annex 5.4)

Model 1 shows that these three factors indeed lead to significant differences, but only between those that are in North-Limburg for more than 1 year and those that are here for less than 4 months. At first age plays a role; the higher a migrants age, the higher the chances are that he/she is in North-Limburg for more than a year, compared with the chance

that he/she is in North-Limburg for less than 4 months. According to model 1 non-Polish migrants are less likely to be in North-Limburg for more than a year. Surprisingly, although not significant at 5% level, this is opposite for the group that is here between 4 months and 1 year, a conclusion that matches the results in table 5.1. Third control variable is regarded to the motive; someone who is here with the motive to build a new life is significantly more likely to be in North-Limburg for more than a year instead of being here for 4 months. Based on the log-odds it can be stated that chances are 3,7 times as high.

In model 2 the motive expressed at question 9 is added to the regression. Again, significant differences can only be found between the group that is here for less than 4 months and those in North-Limburg for more than a year. First significant difference can be found at those that migrated on an all-inclusive package. This way of migration gives a much lower chance that someone is here for more than 4 months or more than a year. The same can be stated for migrants that are motivated to come to North-Limburg because friends or family in their home country recommended this region. This could suggest that North-Limburg is recommended as a place for short term migration instead of a place of settlement. There is a significantly higher chance that persons that selected North-Limburg because they have a place to live here are in North-Limburg for more than a year.

Model 3 also contains the results of question 14, in which migrants are asked what is most important for them to stay in North-Limburg. As explained in part 2 it is expected that motives to migrate are linked to intentions to stay, something that should result in a longer period in North-Limburg for those that are here to build a new life, and thus are less often interested in for instance earning money. This model shows the same significant disparities as model 2 regarding the control variables and the answers provided at question 9. With every added year of life the chance of a stay more than 1 year grows with 14% compared to a stay less than 4 months. A non-Polish background is no longer significant, although the direction of the trend is still visible, suggesting that there is a higher chance that Poles are in North-Limburg less than 4 months or more than 1 year. The group within has a higher (not significant) chance of being from non-Polish origin. Again there is a strong connection between all-inclusive package and short stay migration, changes that an all-inclusive migrant is still in North-Limburg after 1 year are 7,5 times as low compared to the chance that he/she is here for less than 4 months. A recommendation of friends or family is also leading to a lower chance for a long term stay, and having a place to live in North-Limburg in this model leads to a chance for a stay more than 1 year 5,3 as high compared to a stay less than 4 months. Looking at results of question 14 the same is visible; having a good place to live gives a significant higher chance to stay for more than 4 months, and even a higher chance than a stay for one year (4 times as high as the chance that someone with a good place to live is in the region for less than 4 months). Another significant aspect that leads to a higher chance for a stay more than 4 months is having a good job; this leads to a chance for a stay more than 1 year 5,6 times as large as a stay for less than 4 months. Interesting is that the chance to earn more money is not related to a longer stay. The chances that someone mentions "I can earn enough money" as an important reason to stay is 3,1 times as low for those that are here longer than 1 year.

This regression gives some useful clues to explain what leads to a longer stay in North-Limburg; unsurprisingly age plays a positive role, possibly also as an effect of the lifecycle position. A significant role of nationality can not be found, this might be caused by the fact that Poles are over-represented within the group that is here the longest and the group that

is here the shortest (table 5.1). Migration motive also is significantly influential; as expected the motive to search a new life leads to a higher chance of a longer period of stay. All-inclusive migration leads to a higher chance of being in North-Limburg for less than 4 months, such as getting a recommendation from friends or family. Based on these regressions, having a good place to live gives a much higher chance for a longer stay. The same can be stated for having a good job. Interesting is the reduced value of earning more money; chances are over three times as high that a person that is here less than 4 months mentions this option as important reason of stay.

Concluding, it can be stated that some of the findings in part 2 are confirmed. There is a higher chance that those migrating using an all-inclusive package, without a fixed place to live, without a good job, and primarily motivated because they can earn enough money are here for less than 4 months. Otherwise, those that arrived with the motive to build a new life indeed intended to stay for a longer period, and are more interested in quality-of-life related issues. Still, it must be stated that several of the disparities found are only significant between those in the region for less than 4 months and those here more than 1 year. The group in between hardly shows any significant results, the trends found are sometimes colliding, for instance regarding nationality or 'enjoying life'. This suggests that there is no stable line or trend within intentions to stay or time in the Netherlands since arrival. Parts of the population do act according to their type, but within these categories too people change their intentions and differ regarding their priorities. Although several institutions like the CBS (2019b: *"60% of labour migrants leaves within 6 years"*) and the SCP (2018: *"Lots of Polish migrants stay in the Netherlands"*) tried to predict migrants future behavior, in reality it looks to be virtually impossible to make concrete statements regarding the future transformations in the expected duration of their stay in the Netherlands. As White concludes, describing Polish migration to the UK, many migrants have open-ended plans (2011, p.221). They are involved in a constant process of making comparative decisions about how long to stay, based on their individual livelihoods.

5.4.3 Policy to affect the attractiveness of North-Limburg for CEE labour migrants

As discussed in the theoretical framework, there are several factors that can make a region an attractive destination for migrants. Based on regional-specific pull-factors found in part 4.4 it is concluded that three aspects make North-Limburg more attractive compared with other regions. Firstly, the dominant motivator is an economic factor: the availability of low accessible work with which a labour migrant can earn more money than in his home country. As it is specifically the economic profile that makes North-Limburg an attractive location for CEE-labour migrants, the role of local policy seems to be obvious. When logistical and agricultural sectors are being stimulated, the need for migrants willing to fulfill the jobs within these sectors shall probably also grow. Workers coming from CEE countries have proven to be looking for destinations with low-demanding vacancies in which they can earn more money compared to their homeland. So an easy conclusion would be “the more easy accessible vacancies, the more attractive North-Limburg is for CEE labour migrants”.

Secondly, as the existence of networks and the migration industry play an important role in the attractiveness of North-Limburg a second role for policymakers is related to this aspect. By securing and/or further strengthening of the close ties between sending countries and North-Limburg potential migrants shall consider this region as a potential destination before they consider migrating to regions that are completely unknown to them.

A third aspect is the facilitation of the (all-inclusive) migration industry, that is depending on the local government, for instance in receiving the necessary licenses for housing locations. Differences between municipalities within North-Limburg show the potential impact of local policy; Bergen does not allow large scale housing locations managed by employment agencies, while for other municipalities those are actually an important pillar of the labour migration policy. Simplified one could conclude that this makes Bergen less attractive; for migrants looking for a place to live, for the migration industry that want to house the persons whose migration they are organizing or at which they focus their services, and for logistic or agricultural companies that need a stable amount of migrant workers. So facilitation of the migration industry is another method that can be used by policy makers to steer migration in the direction they want.

This evaluation suggest that there are three topics that policymakers can use to steer migration to their region. This is of course to simplistic, as seen in part 2 migration is way too complex just to regard it as a push-pull model. In reality, migration is not something that can be controlled completely, let alone that it could be turned on or off whenever it suits. East-West migration within the EU takes place in a framework that is unprecedented, it cannot be regulated or controlled by entrance policies now labour can move freely across the continent (Kurekova, 2011). Other authors too point out that Europe is confronted with a new kind of labour market dynamics, thanks to the rise of transnational, educated migrants instead of more traditional south-north migration (Verwiebe et al. 2014, p.133); it is no longer the local labour market that shapes the career of the migrant, it is the migrant that shapes his career by moving to an area that offers the best opportunities and the highest quality of life. With Europe’s open borders, border policies no longer can be used to control CEE-migrants movements, if they don’t like being somewhere they will move further (Faggian et al., 2012). Traditional push factors driving potential migrants out of their home

country to North-Limburg are becoming less significant thanks to more economic opportunities in European sending countries, and rising competition from other European countries in need of workers. More regions are becoming an interesting destinations thanks to shrinking populations and thus, rising unemployment rates. Even in most sending countries unemployment rates today are very low or declining fast (Eurostat, 2019). That means that the first pillar behind the success of North-Limburg is crumbling away.

The second one, the positive role of networks, is also not guaranteeing an endless flow of migrants. De Haas describes the process of cumulative causation just as one phase of the migration process, that is followed by a decline of numbers when negative feedback mechanisms start to work (2010, p.1607). An example of a negative feedback mechanism shows how the positive role of networks can also transform in a negative factor; Snel et al. describe how migrant networks discouraged potential migrants to come to the Netherlands, this played an important role in the decline of migration from Morocco to the Netherlands (2013). The result of the multiple logistic regression model used in part 5.4.2 hints at another negative role of networks, in which family and friends seem to recommend North-Limburg as a suitable destination, but in particular for short term migration. Networks can also be overoptimistic about their own migration, giving others unrealistic expectations regarding their own future stay abroad. Networks play positive and negative roles, as can be seen in mixed reviews that are posted on internet; positive and negative experiences are shared online.

Another development found in part 5.4.1 is the rise of all-inclusive packages offered by the migration industry. This is the reason to select North-Limburg as a destination that today is most often being mentioned in the survey (table 5.10). All-inclusive migration can be linked to a time of stay below 4 months since arrival (table 5.11). In particular non-Polish migrants are here using an all-inclusive package, a group that more often turned out to be interested in a new life outside their country of origin (table 5.3). This might suggest that even those that are looking for a life abroad are not all well-prepared and informed migrants that are already confident that their next destination is their new permanent home. It also could mean that in particular well-prepared migrants use these short during packages as a first preview, to find out what the region has to offer for those in search of a new life. There are no doubts that the extensive migration industry does play a large role in the popularity of North-Limburg among labor migrants, but it is not so clear if their interests are the same as those from the local policymakers. Together with the unprecedented, new framework of inter-European migration, the migration industry has changed too. This change can be described as a shift from a model of state-regulated labour migration and mediation to a model of private and comprehensive management of the workforce, aimed at maximizing the short-term utilization of labour (Andrijasevic & Sacchetto, 2017, p.68). These authors describe how the diversification of temporary work agencies has changed them from intermediaries between capital and labour to a new form of enterprises, from recruitment to managing their jobs and housing. Due to the involvement in the “entirety of the migration process”, employment agencies are much more capable of steering migration than the traditional government (2017, p.55). In another article they discuss the shift from labour migration to multinational labour mobility. Mobile labour is a market actor instead of an effect of the state policies, migrants themselves shape and direct flows making use of institutionalized pathways created by the migration industry (Andrijasevic & Sacchetto,

2016, p.223). In these decisions, national policies don't really play a role, thanks to the open borders and the abolishment of work permits. Facilitation of the (all-inclusive) migration industry is not a way to control or steer migration. It looks like migration is a fact of life, migrants and the migration industry decide if, when and how they move to North-Limburg, whether local policymakers like it or not.

This offers policy makers with a serious challenge. Although voters can be attracted to policy makers that offer simple and effective "solutions", in practice steering migration flows is often a combination of trial and error and adjustment to surprising and ever changing circumstances. Looking back in history, external factors turned out to be the real steering forces (Boswell, 2011). Within this study migration is presented as a self-reinforcing process, but this doesn't mean that after it is started, it will only grow. Migration decisions are always made on a comparative basis (White, 2011, p.221). As found out in part 2 and confirmed in part 5.4.2, providing basic housing and a chance to earn some money in a low-skilled job are no longer sufficient, migrants can select a place that offers the best chance for a high quality of life. Migrants often arrive with high expectations about their stay abroad and shall act if they don't appreciate their lives (Torunczyk-Ruiz, 2008, p.32).

Thus, in order to stay attractive as a destination, policymakers shall have to do what they can to make the region more attractive as a good place to live, based on variables that are hard to measure, such as career opportunities and a good atmosphere. Here they can learn from places that are involved in "the race for talent", now that low-skilled migrants might become just as scarce as the higher-skilled. It is up to the potential place of destination to convince migrants that their region offers this quality. If they succeed, the news gets spread and the networks keep on playing their positive role. A useful method to compensate for the lack of North-Limburgian attractiveness for those in search of development opportunities that were discovered in part 4.4 might be place-marketing in which regional specific qualities are being highlighted (Niedomysl, 2004). Niedomysl explains that on the long term, industries shall see the advantage of locating there where their employees prefer to live, leading to increased importance of what he refers to as 'place attractiveness' (2004, p.1993). Place marketing can thus work as a lubricant in someone's migration decisions. Limburg has some experience in promoting the region, not only for high-skilled workers (www.kenniswerkersinlimburg.nl; "Limburg; you would just live there!"), but also for tourists (www.vvvl limburg.nl; Limburg; love for life!). Both are campaigns that promote the innovative spirit, green and open landscape, cultural offer, small, family-friendly towns and societal togetherness. According to the OECD, next to its job offer Limburg is a safe and healthy region with high life satisfaction (OECD, 2019b). These are strong points that Limburg could use to persuade migrants to extend their intentions. North-Limburg, as a regional center, has a combination of both jobs and people-climate that might be very attractive for potential settlers (Andersen at al., 2010, p.1605). It is up to the local policymakers to inform migrants about the possibilities and opportunities in North-Limburg to motivate them to keep on coming to North-Limburg. Dax & Fisher, looking at ways to making rural area's more attractive in order to battle shrinkage, mention the importance of 'framing', in which the regional well-being should be emphasized instead of competing with urban growth-regions (2018). On the long term, The local BRP from Horst aan de Maas shows a substantial amount of families with children coming from CEE-countries, a very desirable category of migrants that works as a magnet for other young families (Niedomysl, 2004; Florida, 2005). Apparently they have

found a reason to settle, it might be very interesting to find out what motivated them, what are their long term plans, and what they expect from their policymakers. So, looking at this sub-question, what role does local policy play in the migrants decision to migrate to the labour region North-Limburg? Maybe this is the same role as a job-owner that tries to lure customers to its store: advertise, promote, create happy customers and make sure that the expectations are being met by offering a high quality of life.

5.4.4 Policy to affect the duration of stay of CEE labour migrants

Intentions are fluid, and not so easy to expose or explain, let alone to predict them. In part 5.4.2 it was concluded that although intentions only offer a snapshot, over time a substantial group increases its intended duration of stay in North-Limburg. But during surveying about one third state that it is still not sure about the further duration of their stay. Pronounced intentions can (and probably will) change over time. Nevertheless, they offer an insight in what variables shape these intentions, temporary or not. Based on the results of part 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 we can conclude that together with the motive to build a new life, a persons intentions regarding the duration of stay are elongated. It was expected that a growing part of this group will become interested in other aspects than low-skilled work alone, something that was confirmed in part 5.4.3. Otherwise, a person that is intending to stay longer is more often motivated to invest in integration and personal development (Wachter & Fleischmann, 2015).

Intentions to stay longer are probably based on the local opportunities to improve the migrants quality of life, compared to these opportunities at other locations. As concluded in part 5.4.3, policymakers shall have to find out what labour migrants are searching regarding this life quality, and what their region is missing. The following part tries to find out if there are specific aspects that are frequently being mentioned and could influence the duration of stay of the North-Limburgian labour migrant population.

During the survey participants were asked what would make them stay longer in North-Limburg, table 5.9 shows how often the 114 participants chose a specific answer option:

Q16 What would be important for you to make you stay longer in North-Limburg?		
	N	Percentage
Better salary	49	43%
Fixed contract/more hours	51	45%
Better housing	24	21%
More friends/family living in North-Limburg too	34	30%
More/better contact with Dutch inhabitants	18	16%
Chance to follow education or better career opportunities	43	38%
Other/nothing	7	6%

Table 5.14: Responses at question 16

A first conclusion seems to be that migrants see a lot of room for improvement in their jobs. They would appreciate a higher salary, or a better contract. This is also confirmed by the results of the regression model in table 5.11; there is a larger chance that he/she with a good job is in North-Limburg for more than a year. A relatively small group mentions housing, in general migrants in North-Limburg seem to be satisfied with their homes. For 38% the chance to follow education or better career opportunities would be a reason to consider a longer stay in North-Limburg. This is not related to the intended length of stay, nationality or the motivation to migrate; all these aspects were tested using a t-test in search of significant differences without results. It was expected that this is typically an aspect that

is interesting for those that came with the intention to stay for a longer time, or already did spend some time in North-Limburg (see part 3.5). Apparently, this is not true, there are no significant differences between those with or without long-stay intentions or earlier experiences in North-Limburg, regarding their interest in education or career opportunities.

In search of needs that do affect the time of stay in North-Limburg again a multiple logistic regression is being applied. Two models are created to find out if the answers provided at question 16 (What could make you stay longer in North-Limburg?) can be used to predict the odds of a certain time of stay in this region. This way it can be found out if it is possible to link variables to a higher or lower chance for a long stay in this region, these could be interesting for policymakers that want to retain labour migrants in their region. In this case the migrants' answers regarding the reasons that could make him/her extend their stay are linked to the duration of their stay in North-Limburg thus far. This way it is possible to test the assumption that for those that are here for a longer amount of time, quality of life related issues like education are getting more important.

Table 5.15 presents the results of a multiple logistic regression model, in which the odds-ratio's for a certain time of stay in North-Limburg are being predicted. Again, the variable "time of stay in North-Limburg since first arrival" is reduced to three categories: less than 4 months, 4 months to 1 year, and more than 1 year. Reference category is the group that is in North-Limburg less than 4 months. Alike table 5.11, age, nationality and migration motive are being used as control variables.

	model 1		model 2	
	4m - 1y in NL	> 1 y in NL	4m - 1y in NL	> 1 y in NL
Time of stay in N-Limburg since arrival	Exp (b)	Exp (b)	Exp (b)	Exp (b)
age	1.034	1,115***	1.041	1,118***
non-Polish nationality	1.664	0,399*	1.944	0,381*
motive: to build a new life	1.832	3,786**	1.522	3,893**
Q16: What could make you stay longer in North-Limburg?				
A better salary			0.904	0.666
A fixed contract/more hours			0.685	1.048
Better housing			0.716	1.197
More friends/family in North-Limburg			0.437	0.599
More/better contact with the Dutch			1.243	2.735
Chance to follow education/better career opportunities			0.626	0.891

Table 5.15: multiple logistic regression; odds-ratio's for the time of stay in North-Limburg since arrival, compared to "less than 4 months". Significant levels: * = <10%, ** = <5%, *** = <1% (see annex 5.5)

Model 1 was treated before, this is the same model as used in table 5.11. Model 2 confirms the findings presented in table 5.14, there is no variable that can be used to create odds

ratio's that are significant for both predicting if a person is here for 4 months to 1 year or more than one year. Actually the only variable that is linked to a positive odds-ratio is more contact with the Dutch population, although a significance level of 10% is just not being met. In other words, the specific needs of migrants, expressed at question 16, are not useful to predict the time of stay in North-Limburg. This is another sign that priorities and needs are not directly linked to the time of stay since arrival.

Based on the regression models in part 5.4.2, having a good place to live, and having a good job, leads to a higher chance for a longer stay. Over time, earning more money became less important. The chances that someone mentions "I can earn enough money" as an important reason to stay are over 3 times as low for those that are here longer than 1 year, compared to a labour migrant that is in North-Limburg for less than 4 months. It is not clear if someone becomes happier with his/her housing and job if he/she is in North-Limburg for a longer time, or if migrants that are happy with job and housing are more likely to stay for a longer time.

Out of the control variables in the same regression model, the migration motive turned out to be a good predictor in estimating someones time in North-Limburg since arrival. In search of variables that can be used by policymakers to predict if a labour migrant shall still be in their region after some time, it thus is interesting to find ways to predict a migration motive. At this time, nobody asks migrants about their motive, it could be useful to find a way to give more insight in the motives of labour migrants. At that way, policymakers could for instance focus their integration policies at those with long term plans, and ignore that part that is not interested in a new life in North-Limburg.

In order to find out what is important for both groups found in part 5.4.1 based on their migration motive, question 14 (What is most important in your plan to stay in North-Limburg?) and 15 (What would be the most important reason to leave North-Limburg?) could provide a better insight in what migrants expect from North-Limburg. In search of specific reasons that could make a migrant make extend his intentions question 16 (What could make you stay longer in North-Limburg?) is added. Control variables are nationality and intentions, bot variables are converted into dichotomous variables based on question 1 "what is your country of origin", and question 13 "how long do you plan to stay in North-Limburg now". The different regression models in table 5.16 present the relative probability that a person that gave a specific answer to one of the survey's questions belongs to the group "I came to North-Limburg to build a new life". In this case binominal logistic regression is used to test the existence of disparities between this group compared to the group that came to North-Limburg motivated to earn money to spend in the country of origin. Because it is assumed that those that are here to celebrate their holidays, having fun or visit friends are not interested in building a new life, this group is merged with those that are here to earn money to spend abroad.

I came to build a new life	model 1		model 2		model 3		Model 4	
	Exp (b)	Sig	Exp (b)	Sig	Exp (b)	Sig	Exp (b)	Sig
Non-Polish origin	4,390	0,001	4,431	0,001	3,938	0,012	5,080	0,007
Intentions to stay > 1 year	3,725	0,003	2,747	0,037	2,800	0,049	3,156	0,054
Reason to stay in N-Limburg:								
I have a good place to live			0,513	0,160	0,437	0,124	0,317	0,064
I can earn enough money			1,313	0,565	1,477	0,454	2,161	0,187
I have a good job			1,220	0,705	1,159	0,791	1,692	0,416
I enjoy my life			3,214	0,026	4,042	0,019	5,934	0,009
I have friends/family in N-Limburg			1,450	0,460	1,803	0,309	2,495	0,177
Reason to leave N-Limburg:								
If I would have no place to live					0,911	0,871	1,040	0,952
If I can earn more money elsewhere					0,916	0,880	1,113	0,875
If I can get a better job elsewhere					1,370	0,594	2,424	0,201
If I don't enjoy my life					0,423	0,134	0,440	0,211
If I miss friends/family					0,304	0,081	0,402	0,208
If I don't feel at home					6,469	0,012	8,242	0,012
Q16: What could make you stay longer in North-Limburg?								
A better salary							0,713	0,586
A fixed contract/more hours							0,288	0,052
Better housing							0,199	0,038
More friends/family in North-Limburg							0,293	0,063
More/better contact with the Dutch							0,319	0,164
Chance to follow education/better career opportunities							0,742	0,650
Constant							0,257	0,059

Table 5.16 Binary regression; odds ratio's and significance levels for migration motive (see annex 5.6)

Model one only contains the variables “intentions to stay longer than 1 year” and “non-Polish background”. Both are linked to a higher chance to have the migration motive “I came to build a new life”, as already found out in part 2 and 5.3. Based on model 1 it can be concluded that there is a significant difference: a person from a non-Polish country has a 3,7 larger chance to arrive in North-Limburg with the motive to build a new life. Chances that someone who wants to stay for more than a year are 4,4 times as large, compared to a labour migrant that is here to earn money to spend at home.

More interesting is the significant difference in model 2; labour migrants that mention “I have a good life” as an important reason to stay here, are probably here to build a new life instead of to earn money to spend in their country of origin. In model three reasons that migrants refer to as most important in leaving North-Limburg are added. A significant disparity below 5% is found at one variable; there is a chance 6,5 as large that labour migrants that state that they would leave North-Limburg because they won't feel at home are here in search of a new life, compared to those that are here to earn money to spend in their country of origin. Apparently, those with the motive to earn money to spend back

home are not here to enjoy their life, or to feel at home. They are willing to give up some life quality in order to earn money. A conclusion that is in line with this studies findings in part 2 regarding the most suited policy measures.

Model four does add one significant variable at 5% level and 2 at 10% level. The first one is related to better housing (a migrant that mentions that he/she would extend his/her stay if he/she would find better housing is 5 times as small when he/she migrated in search of a new life, compared with a migrant that migrated to earn money to spend in the country of origin). Similar levels are found among those that would like to have a better contract or more hours, and those that would like to have more friends and family living in the region. In general, although not always significant, all answer options at question 16 are linked to lower changes that a labour migrants migrated with the motive to build a new life. That would suggest that it takes more efforts to convince a target-earner to stay in the region for a longer time compared with someone who is here to build a new life. So although they are prepared to give up life quality for a while, this group is regarding this as a temporary deterioration. Table 5.15 suggests that over time, these disparities between needs do become smaller, or even disappear, all migrants are becoming more demanding over time. Although this model is not directly useful to predict if somebody is still in North-Limburg after a certain amount of time, it proves that the migration motive does play a substantial role in ones needs and priorities.

A last interesting aspect out of which it was expected that they would be related to longer intentions of labour migrants is their grading, and the motivations regarding their grades. At question 18 migrants were asked to rate three aspects of their stay, and at question 19 they were asked to substantiate their grades. A logical assumption would be that those with higher grades are more likely to stay for a longer time. To find differences between migrants with long intentions and migrants with low-term intentions regarding their answers at question 18 and 19 another t-test was done, results can be found in table 5.16. Persons that are not sure about their intentions are left out.

	Mean; Intentions to stay < 1 year (n=36)	Mean; Intentions to stay > 1 year (n=41)	t	Sig.
Grade work	5,79	7,12	-3,39	0,001
Grade housing	6,35	6,90	-1,45	0,152
Grade social life	6,40	7,59	-2,78	0,008
I have a good place to live in N-Limburg	0,22	0,32	-0,93	0,358
I can earn enough money in N-Limburg	0,50	0,20	2,90	0,005
I can find a good job in N-Limburg	0,06	0,20	-1,89	0,063
I enjoy my life in N-Limburg	0,28	0,59	-2,83	0,006
I have friends/family live in N-Limburg too	0,17	0,29	-1,32	0,197

Table 5.17: T-test; relation between intentions to stay more or less than 1 year and grades and substantiation

Again it is visible that at a number of variables there are indeed significant differences between both categories answers. On average, the group intending to stay for more than a year gives a substantial higher rating for both their work (7,1 vs 5,7) and their social life (7,6 vs 6,4). There are no significant differences regarding the grade for housing, just as there are no significant differences in how many persons within each group named his/her place to live as an important motivation for his/her grading. Within the motivation for the grades given at question 18, "I can earn enough money" and "I enjoy my life in North-Limburg" are both significantly different for both groups at a level well below 5%. Looking at the differences in average means, it is obvious that the group with long-term intentions is more concerned about the quality of life, while the other group's main care seems to be earning enough money. They don't like their job, looking at the provided grades, but they do like the money and aren't interested in a good job. The group intending to stay longer than a year is more interested in having friends and family around, and having a good job, although at these variables differences between both groups are not significant at a 5% level of significance.

Concluding, migrants in North-Limburg have different needs and priorities that, according to the multiple regression are not significantly linked to the length of stay thus far. Regarding aspects of importance there seems to be a difference within the total population connected to the intended duration of stay: the longer the intended duration of stay, the more important are quality of life related issues. In other words, someone who is here intending to stay for a short period is less demanding than someone with long-term intentions to stay. As both groups are here to earn more money, labour migrants intending to stay less than a year are willing to do this with a less quality job, and have lower interests in quality of their life in North-Limburg. This is in line with findings of Gijbets et al., who conclude that after a

period of stay migrants get less satisfied with their low-paid jobs, as they get used to Dutch price levels and start to realize that they are still not earning a lot (2015, p.62).

If this conclusion is linked to the earlier observation that intentions are fluid, again the same can be stated for the needs of labour migrants, and their priorities. During the time a labour migrant spends in North-Limburg, his/her intentions can change, together with his/her needs. This offers a challenge for policy makers that are trying to please labour migrants and try to convince them to stay within their region. They shall have to organize a fluid package of measures that is capable of moving along together with the transforming needs and interests of labour migrants. A combination of a specific job, housing location and life-quality that is accepted by one labour migrant might be unacceptable for the other. And after a period of time, together with transformed intentions and a different stage at the lifecycle, exactly the same situation might lead to a completely different judgment for both.

Again, policy makers that want to influence the intentions regarding the duration of stay within North-Limburg don't have too much options. One person is in need of low accessible jobs, another wants a high quality job. Needs and interests and priorities are transforming, and are influenced by the time of stay in North-Limburg, migration motive, and a wide range of individual and external factors. When discussing hierarchies of factors promoting return, individual characteristics are often decisive, and should not be ignored (White, 2011, p. 201). As White concludes, migrants base decisions on their individual and family livelihoods (2011, p.221). Simplified, migration decisions are build on constant (irrational) comparisons about (imagined) life here and there. So, what can policymakers do to meet their needs if they can't predict what the needs of individual migrants are? According to table 5.16 motives do play a large role, that would suggest that you can ask somebody about his/her motives, a simple solution. But, unfortunately, motives too are able to transform over time, thanks to positive or negative experiences and/or changing needs and interest build on ones lifecycle stadium. Here the project of Grzegorz, focused at hesitating migrants might offer a solution. He links doubts to changing motives and thus needs. He explained that migrants need information and often are not really prepared for their trip to North-Limburg. During their stay they might discover that they shall have to take some steps to organize a longer stay. As seen in table 5.16, one's migration motive does indeed play a large role in a migrants needs and priorities. Instead of searching for migrants that extended their intentions and maybe would like to settle it might be better to wait for them to find the municipality. Of course, this is only possible if migrants know that the municipality is the place where they can find the information that they need at that point of their stay. If a person concludes that he/she wants to follow education, at that moment she/he shall have to have access to information regarding the local opportunities. If somebody wants to make steps at the housing market, information regarding his/her options, rights and obligations have to be available. Looking at the large amount of doubters, information is very welcome, labour migrants are apparently unaware of how and where to find this information. As concluded in part 5.4.4 North-Limburg potentially offers a high quality of life, that transcends low-skilled jobs and large scale housing. For those that want to take the steps to improve their quality of life, all necessary information about the possibilities and opportunities that North-Limburg has to offer shall have to be available.

5.4.5 Diverse migration patterns; differentiated policy

As concluded in part 5.4.3 and 5.4.4 politicians do not have instruments to turn migration on or off. The motivation to come to North-Limburg is based on the local economic profile, influenced by positive and negative information from networks and refined and shaped by the migration industry. With more options for today's labour migrants and decreasing necessity to migrate thanks to smaller economic differences between sending and receiving countries, North-Limburg can't keep relying on the mechanisms that made it so popular among earlier Polish migrants. Today's migrants want more than a basic house and a simple job in order to settle somewhere. In part 5.4.3 it was discovered that there are methods that can be used to present the region as a suitable destination for labor migrants, methods that are also used by regions (like Limburg) that want to attract high-skilled migrants or tourists. They apply active region-branding, presenting the region as a place where people can find a high quality of life and opportunities to develop yourself as needs and priorities evolve. Part of a high quality of life is incorporation in society, an aspect where civil society plays a larger role than local policy (Castles, 2014, p.292). As discussed, although for a part of the population all-inclusive packages with low-skilled jobs and large scale housing are a solution, it is questionable if these lead to incorporation. This type of migration leads to a lower change to a long term stay as was shown using a multiple regression model.

Regional branding might influence the motive to select North-Limburg as a destination, in part 5.4.4 experiences turned out to be decisive in extending ones stay. Again diversity is shown, specific needs could not be found using multiple regression. A study looking at typologies and terms used in the migration debate concluded that states should be very careful in using categories of migrants, these are often a social construction reflecting a simplified perception of the world. Even the term 'high-skilled' and 'low-skilled' are often very questionable, and related to the job somebody is working in instead of his/her education level or competences and experiences (De Haas et al., 2014, p.20-21). Different migrants have different needs at different phases of their migration process and life cycle. This asks for a differentiated policy, that takes the different positions regarding the life cycle in account (Kremer et al., 2012, p.27). Specifically targeted information shall probably miss its goal, for instance integration courses for persons that move further to another country after a short time. Kremer et al. thus advocate a policy focused at monitoring, motivating, encouraging and stimulating instead of selecting, forcing and imposing. In order to fulfill this task, three conditions are important:

For a municipality insight in the local migrant population is essential, without knowing the numbers and the composition of the local migrant population it is impossible to design a policy that suits the regional situation (Van Ostaijen et al, 2015; Engbersen, 2012). As concluded in part 4.3, as a consequence of non-resident registration, there is nobody who knows how many migrants there are in North-Limburg, and where they can be found. This also makes it very difficult to create a regional profile, or to find out if certain types of migrants are over-represented. There are examples of municipalities that introduced a system in which all migrants are being registered as residents, including their place of residence. That way it becomes possible to say how many migrants there are living within a municipality, and in what kind of housing they live.

The constant changes within the diverse population and the wide range of goals, needs and priorities of labor migrants that are constantly transforming ask for a wide range of information that is available whenever it is needed by the migrants. Somebody who enters the region with the intention to stay less than four months is probably not directly interested in information regarding the region's cultural offer, or possibilities to send your children to local schools. If the same person changes her/his intentions and starts to consider a longer stay, these topics do become interesting. At this point, she/he should have access to the related information. This asks for a very extensive and easy accessible source where all sorts of information are bundled. This should be information regarding registration, housing, legal standards on housing, collective agreements for temporary jobs, recognition of diplomas, memberships of local sports clubs, integration and language schools, and so on. This could be a website or an information desk, that is well-known among all migrants that are entering the region.

The combination of better insights in the population thanks to better registration, and a well-informed migrant community that is aware of their rights and obligations makes it easier to enforce that rules are followed (McGauran et al, 2016). Non-registered migrants are easy targets for exploitation, and if they are unaware of their rights it is unlikely that they go to the authorities themselves in case of an offense. New, diverse groups are coming to North-Limburg, potentially these groups are important fulfilling the pioneer role for other potential migrants coming from their (increasingly diverse) countries. Likewise, as intentions are fluid, individuals within this group could develop the intention to settle in North-Limburg for a longer time. If North-Limburg succeeds, the networks that guaranteed a steady flow of migrants shall do their work: the word gets spread. A recent example in which the Polish ambassador complained about exploitation of Polish labour migrants in the Netherlands should be prevented. Online recruitment movies placed on YouTube by employers or employment agencies sometimes sketch an over-romantic picture, and are badly received by disappointed migrants. The all-inclusive packages are an understudied subject, but this practically barrier-free migration that is now drawing growing groups of migrants to North-Limburg creates a large group that has some familiarity with this region. If they appreciate their stay they might return, and inform other potential migrants about their positive experiences.

6 Conclusions and recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

Goal of this study was to answer the next question:

What are the migration motives and staying intentions of CEE labour migrants working or residing in the labour region North-Limburg, and what role can local policies play in making the region more attractive for a long term stay?

This study has shown that it is practically impossible to give one all-embracing answer that could be applied on the total population. Individual migrants are very diverse regarding their motives, intentions, needs and priorities. Several researchers attempted to capture their diversity in typologies, descriptions or statistical data, some of them more successful than others. Although Engbersens' 2013 study turned out to be very useful in bringing some order in the diverse population, his 2014 study acknowledges that persons are constantly moving between all four types. The typology maybe should not be seen as a strict categorization, when looking at the distribution of the respondents in his "migration space" it can be seen that there is quite a bit of overlap between the four types (Engbersen, 2013, p.970). This study confirms his findings regarding the diversity and fluidity of migration motives and intentions, there is no strict line between the four categories. Based on the survey's results, labour migrants in North-Limburg too form a very diverse group that is very hard to define or demarcate. Migration motive, nationality, time in North-Limburg since arrival, and intentions pronounced at arrival and at the moment of surveying all do play a role in determining if a migrant is still in North-Limburg after some time and what his/her priorities and needs are. But every statement regarding labour migrants is a generalization that can be countered with an exception, even the term "labour migrant" turned out to be an undefined generalization itself.

Transforming types and fluid intentions

The diversity among migrants' motives to come to North-Limburg combined with their fluid intentions regarding their duration of stay confronts policy makers with a challenge: how to create a policy that takes all these different needs and desires in account? As Engbersen concludes, differential migration patterns ask for differentiated migration policies, that take regional differences into account (2011, p.104). In part 4 it was discovered that there are some regional-specific aspects that do affect the types of migrants that are coming to North-Limburg. Migration to this region is rather low-risk and doesn't take much preparations. That makes it popular among persons in search of a new life and those that want to earn some fast money. This leads to a regional composition that is not automatically comparable with the average, national composition. Besides the conclusion that migrants are a diverse group, the regional-specific characteristics of the North-Limburgian labour migrant population shows that policy makers should take in account that specific subgroups of migrants are often drawn to specific regions. Again a suggestion that local policy makers shall have to be aware of the diversity of the people that they are talking about.

In this research it turned out to be difficult to locate variables that could be used to predict if or not somebody decides to extend its intentions. In part 5.4.1 two profiles are constructed, based on the assumption that the motive to earn money to spend in the country of origin would be related to short-stay intentions, and the motive to search for a new life abroad to longer ones. These motives turned out to be linked to intentions to stay, but within both two groups different types can be placed, and after some time in North-Limburg a large part of the population within both groups starts to have doubts regarding their intentions. An issue that makes things even more complicated is that people are not fixed within one typology, during one's life cycle it is for instance possible to evolve from a circular migrant, become a bi-national and turn out to be a settler (Engbersen, 2014, p.10). A crosstable confirmed that among North-Limburgian labour migrants intentions evolve too, a substantial part of the surveyed migrants planned to stay longer than intended at their arrival.

In part 5.4.2 intentions turned out to be just as volatile. Although in the research model the four types can be linked to specific intentions, the survey shows that intentions offer a snapshot that changes over time. Regarding intentions, according to the statistical analyses, best predictor is a migrants' migration motive. Unsurprisingly, people that arrive in search of a new life pronounce the intention to stay for a longer period compared to the target earners. In general, although within the transforming intentions a substantial part decides to stay longer than intended, a majority starts to doubt and isn't sure any more during surveying. This can be sincere doubt, based on a lack of preparation and information regarding a long term stay in North-Limburg. It also can be intended unpredictability, leaving all options open and taking a wait-and-see approach. Because of the relation between intentions and integration, this attitude might lead to an integration backlog when people after some time do decide to stay (Wachter & Fleischmann, 2015).

Based on historical ties and a migration infrastructure build by and on Polish pioneers, until recently mostly Polish migrants decided to settle and to get registered as resident of Horst aan de Maas, but in the near future it can be expected that other nationalities will follow their example as these groups seem to be entering the cumulative causation phase as described by De Haas in his migration systems theory (2010).

Migration Policy; need for diversification and incorporation

Next to describing motives and intentions from CEE labour migrants the goal of this study is to explore the impact of policy. Although it turned out that policymakers can't control migration, there are some findings that they can use to make the region more attractive as a destination, and as place of settlement. As Castles writes, the dynamics that make it so hard for policy makers to manage migration in the end shall lead to settlement by a proportion of the group (2014, p.292). As seen in part 5.4.2, after a migrant spends some time in his/her new destination region, desires and priorities will move closer towards the desires of regular inhabitants or skilled migrants; a high quality of life and opportunities to have a career and develop yourself. Although a first priority for all migrants is work, people do want to make upwards steps regarding housing market, labour market and the social ladder. In other, simple words, migrants want to have a fair, equal chance to build a nice life.

Asked for reasons that could improve the quality of life and make migrants extend their time in North-Limburg, no specific point could be found. Again, generalization is impossible, well-being is highly personal and very hard to measure (Faggian et al, 2011, p.164). Policy differentiation is needed, but just the differentiation short- and long stay is not enough to match all types and the individuals within them and make statements about their needs. The same can be stated for integration, a process that is directly related to those constantly changing intentions (Wachter & Fleischmann, 2015). Someone who enters as a circular migrant with short term intentions is not interested in learning the language, but maybe after some time she/he decides to stay longer, turning in a bi-national, and starts thinking about learning Dutch (Geurts & Lubbers, 2016). For one person most important might be access to flexible, temporary housing and the availability of easy accessible jobs. The other person might actually need the exact opposite: the possibility to move from a flexible housing location to a regular home, and the opportunity to move upward from a temporary, low-skilled job to a fixed contract and a job that matches his/her educational level. Bolt et al. refer to these different needs at different phases of the assimilation process to the “hierarchy of acceptability”; what is suitable today might be unacceptable in a later phase (2010, p.182).

With a lot of hesitating migrants in North-Limburg that are not sure about their intentions, constant monitoring and informing about needs, wishes and priorities offers the best solution to prevent an unbridgeable backlog at the moment that someone does decide to stay for a longer time. It takes information to make a motivated choice. As concluded in part 5.4.5 informed migrants are also more aware of the consequences of registration and their rights and obligations during their stay. This way they can contribute to enforcement of the rules themselves, leading to better experiences and positive recommendations that could persuade other potential migrants to come to North-Limburg.

To answer this study’s main question, what measures can be taken by local policy makers to make the region more attractive as a long term migration destination for CEE labour migrants? Try to offer a high quality of life, incorporate labour migrants in the regular society, and give them a fair chance to make a career at the labour and housing market. As stated by Castles, policies designed to keep migrants in the status of temporary mobile workers make it likely that if settlement will take place, it will be under discriminatory conditions (2014, p.271). As explained, networks function as a medium for both negative and positive advertisement for North-Limburg, so if migrants conclude that there is no fair chance of upwards mobility they shall leave and try to find opportunities somewhere else. This asks for incorporation into society, in which civil society itself plays a large role. Maybe this is where the most important role of policymakers can be found: make current inhabitants aware of the newcomers, and inform them about what Engbersen calls “structural temporality” (2012, p.118) of a part of the group. The North-Limburgian inhabitants maybe shall have to understand that CEE labour migrants are an indispensable part of their society.

At this moment there is no definition of labour migrants, ideally this should not be necessary at all; labour migrants shall have to be seen as regular inhabitants, categorization should be avoided (De Haas et al., 2014). Ideally, there should not be a specific labour migrant policy, every part of the regular policy should be “labour migrant proof” and able to incorporate a

diverse group with unknown or unsure intentions. Likewise, the need to optimize the quality of life is not unique for (skilled or unskilled) labour migrants. Migration shall keep continuing, employers and employment agencies are trying to find new sources what could mean that future inhabitants are confronted with even more diverse migrants with different backgrounds, intentions and priorities. Enforcement of the rules and standards is essential in preventing exploitation and ensuring a quality stay in North-Limburg, that could persuade labour migrants to stay longer, return or even settle. If they are convinced that North-Limburg offers fair and equal opportunities to build a quality life, then it can be expected that in the future a proportion of the labour migrants shall keep on settling in this region.

6.2 Recommendations for further research

As explained in the final conclusion, this study had a very broad, exploratory character, what made it difficult to come with targeted policy recommendations. The inclusion of all different types of CEE labour migrants led to the conclusion that CEE labour migrants have diverse motives, intentions and desires. Although this is something that policymakers should realize, it doesn't present concrete measures. As found out in this study, it is difficult to make statements about "the labour migrants", for future researchers it might be good to choose a specific subgroup within this very large and diverse group as a topic of research. For instance, a survey among migrants that live together at a large scale housing location could help getting a better insight in specific needs of this subgroup. Another interesting part of the population is the group that is not sure about their intentions; what makes them hesitate? And what do they want or need?

Another way to specify the recommendations asks for a different research approach. For instance, this study could not find specific variables that cause a migrant to be interested in education or career-opportunities. Another approach, in which migrants are surveyed that did take the step to follow education or training, could help create a typology of persons that want to develop themselves. The same can be stated about housing: by contacting the group that register for regular housing provided by the housing corporation it might be better possible to find shared characteristics. This could lead to more specific and focused policy recommendations.

Lots of studies about migrants consider integration, but a large part of the population is not (yet) interested in integration, because they are not (yet) sure if they want to stay in their new place of destination or not. Within this group there is a part that after some time does decide to settle, but that does not follow any integration program during this time in the Netherlands. Of course there are differences between EU labor migration and other forms of migration. Looking at the Dutch political landscape, refugees and asylum seekers are often presented as "fortune hunters", that do not have a lot of added value and are a burden to society, a large contrast with the way labor migrants are presented. Where other migrants are forced to integrate, labor migrants have to take steps themselves. The scale and impact

of the latter group seems to be much larger in North-Limburg, what makes some form of societal incorporation maybe even more important. Personally, I believe it is strange that labour migration is not a part of the political discussions regarding the advantages and disadvantages of migration.

Some studies that focus at the economic position of migrants show signs of a group that is structurally caught in a net of low-paid, flexible jobs (Berkhout et al., 2011). It is questionable if the low paid, temporary staffing jobs do function as a stepping stone into regular jobs (Friberg, 2016, p.86). Although housing is getting more institutionalized, labour migrants are vulnerable for exploitation, and often living in temporary locations hired from their employer or employment agency (McGauran et al., 2016; Lupi & Visser, 2015). As stated by Andrijasevic & Sacchetto, there is a knowledge gap, regarding whether this mobile labour is best understood in terms of opportunities for workers and businesses, or in terms of social dumping and a race to the bottom (2016)

Labour migration is a constant transforming and comprehensive process, during the internship it became clear that a lot of aspects are related to this topic. This goes from schools that are confronted with migrants children, housing, participation and integration, registration, permits and law enforcement, poverty, etc. All of these could and maybe should be topics for an independent study. Constant developments ask for new policies, and regulation that is recently introduced is already outdated within months. The rise of all-inclusive packages is a topic that is hardly studied, while it is a fast growing sector, focused at short-stay migration and housing in remote, large scale locations where there is hardly any interaction with natives. It would be interesting to find out what are the consequences regarding integration and appreciation, both from their inhabitants and those living around them.

If there is one conclusion that this study confirms, it is that labour migration is a very dynamic and fluid phenomenon, transforming while you are studying it. The diversity and transformative character of today's migration flows ask for longitudinal and repeated monitoring (Engbersen, 2013, p.120). Kremer et al refer to the possibilities of involving employers in monitoring the needs of labour migrants (2012, p.31). Thanks to their often daily contacts they are capable of longitudinal monitoring, and thus able to monitor changes in their desires and priorities. It might be good to find out how employers could be involved, without invading the migrants privacy or making them depending on their employers.

6.3 Reflection

An important lesson learned relates to the survey design. Due to the expectation that it would take a giant amount of time to find enough persons that would be willing to fill in the survey, during the design my focus was too much focused on compactness and the easiness to answer my questions. Although the process of surveying indeed took a lot of time, looking back it was surprisingly easy to find persons that wanted to help me out. In several cases persons were eager to provide their opinion, I think that an extended survey could have been an option, particularly with more questions about their needs and priorities and the way these have changed over time. In order to keep the survey limited to 1 double printed page, I deleted some questions that, looking back, would have been very helpful. Other questions would have been more easy to process, if I would have asked them just a little differently. Now my survey design was too much focused at a statistical analysis, when this analysis did not deliver the results that I hoped for they were not all as suitable as expected in advance.

Questions that, looking back, would have been interesting are related to the attachment to both sending and receiving country, in order to find out if the typology created by Engbersen can be found at a regional scale too. Other potential questions are focused at the impact of local policies, for instance what migrants expect from the municipality. With this study's survey it is difficult to find out what role a municipality can or should play, what is also a consequence of the broad scope of this study. A better focused survey (for instance focused at housing or integration) would probably have resulted in more focused recommendations.

Working with SPSS was very informative, but I am not sure if this program is most suited for the type of exploratory research with a relatively small group of participants compared to the wide range of questions. Although significant, several results would maybe have been stronger with a larger sample. After weeks of struggling with numerous different models I believe it takes some experience with statistical analysis to understand how a survey could be designed in such a way that statistic analysis gives the most reliable results. For instance, not all my questions were suitable for making dummies, and in some cases it would be better to ask for a specific date instead of using closed categories. My statistical analyses in this study do have their added value, but if I had to redo my complete research with today's knowledge, I would have made some different choices. On the other hand, the experiences with regression modeling have made me much more critical when reading other studies that do apply these methods too. Although a regression looks like a quantitative, irrefutable truth, the researcher has a lot of influence regarding design and interpretation of the final results.

It was a very interesting topic, I touched a lot of interesting aspects related to CEE labor migration. Looking back, with a better demarcated research question I would have needed less words and time to complete my thesis. But, on the other hand, the diversity and complexity of this subject demand a researcher that is aware of all the different angles that are possible. Browsing through the available literature, a lot of different, sometimes colliding conclusions are drawn. In order to put these in perspective it is very useful to understand all different angles that are possible.

I have found out that labor migration is a topic that confronts policy makers with difficult decisions. Migration is a hot topic, most political parties are focused at limiting the amount migrants to protect our national customs. People can remember 2015, when Europe was confronted with a “migration crisis”, and a “tsunami” of refugees. Looking at the current ratios between Middle Eastern or African refugees and CEE migrants there are signs that the latter group is much larger, and less integrated. But, labour migrants are treated as if they form a completely different category, a group that we all need and thus should be encouraged to come to our region and ideally settle permanently. I am afraid that in the near future society might start to question the size and necessity of these flows, I think it is strange that there is not really a political discussion about the desirability of these substantial international flows of workers. During my internship most discussions regarding labour migrants concerned practical issues such as housing or recognizing their foreign diplomas. The ideological discussion was missing, while Limburg is a region in which political parties known for their anti-migration programs often score relatively well. The current situation, in which large groups are housed together, working in low-paid jobs, and often not involved in any integration process, raises several questions to say the least. The suggestion that this group shall leave again after robotization makes their contribution no longer needed reminds about the guestworkers, a group that didn’t leave, and lead to discussions about what some referred to as a failed experiment leading to a multicultural drama. I would find it interesting to read a study that tries to find out if Dutch voters agree with the distinction between unwanted “fortune-hunters” and labour migrants from CEE countries.

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8 Annexes

Annex 3.1: the survey in Simple English

Motives to come to, and intentions to stay in North-Limburg. All reactions are anonymous and only used for this study, your reactions are not shared with other parties. You can skip any question that you do not want to answer.

1. What Country and Region are you from? C: _____ /R: _____

2. Do you work for an Employment agency?

- Yes No

3. Do you have a Dutch Citizen Service Number (BSN)?

- No
 Yes, I got it from my employer
 Yes, I got it from my Employment Agency
 Yes, I got it at the municipality's Town Hall
 Yes, but I don't know where I got it from
 I don't know if I have a BSN

4. Do you have a job?

- No
 Yes, I have a job in North-Limburg
 Yes, I have a job in the Netherlands but outside North-Limburg
 Yes, I have a job outside the Netherlands

5. Why do you work outside your own country of origin?

- To earn money that I can use in my country of origin
 To build a new life outside my country of origin
 Other: _____

6. Is this the first time that you are working outside your country of origin?

- Yes
 No, I worked in North-Limburg before
 No, I worked in the Netherlands before, but outside North-Limburg
 No, I worked in another country before
 No, every year I work a short period outside my country of origin

7. How long are you working in North-Limburg since your first arrival in the Netherlands?

- Less than 4 months
 Between 4 months and 1 year
 Between 1 year and 5 years
 More than 5 years

8. What is your age? _____

9. Why are you working in North-Limburg, and not somewhere else?

- I followed friends/family that are working in North Limburg too
 I found an "all-inclusive job" to North-Limburg from an Employment Agency
 I know North-Limburg because I have worked here before
 I found a job offer/vacancy in North-Limburg
 Friends/family in my home country recommended me to go work in North-Limburg
 I have found a place to live in/close to North-Limburg
 Other: _____



North-Limburg



10. Is your house/apartment in North-Limburg?
- Yes, in: _____
 - No, I live in the Netherlands but outside North-Limburg
 - No, I live in Germany/Belgium
11. In what kind of house/apartment do you live?
- I rent a house/apartment (Public housing, for example WonenLimburg/Antares/WoonWenz)
 - I rent a house/apartment (Private owner)
 - I own a house/apartment that I bought myself
 - I live on a holiday park
 - I live in a house/apartment from my employer
 - I live in a house/apartment from my Employment Agency
 - Other: _____
see other side
12. How long did you plan to stay in North-Limburg, when you **first arrived** in North-Limburg?
- Less than 4 months
 - Between 4 months and 1 year
 - More than 1 year
 - More than 5 years
 - Permanent
 - I didn't know
13. How long do you plan to stay in North-Limburg **now**?
- Less than 4 months
 - Between 4 months and 1 year
 - More than 1 year
 - More than 5 years
 - Permanent
 - I don't know
14. What is most important in your plans to stay in North-Limburg? (skip this question if you don't want to stay)
- I have a good place to live close to my work
 - I can earn more money than in my country of origin
 - I can find a good job (for example nice work, fixed contract, enough working hours, career opportunities)
 - I enjoy my life in North-Limburg
 - I have friends and/or family that live in North-Limburg too
 - Other: _____
15. What would be the most important reason to leave North-Limburg?
- If I don't have a good place to live
 - If I can earn more money somewhere else
 - If I can find a job with better perspective (for example nice work, fixed contract, more hours, career opportunities)
 - If I don't enjoy my life in North-Limburg
 - If I miss my friends and/or family
 - If I don't feel at home here
 - Other: _____
16. What would be most important for you to make you stay longer in North-Limburg?
- Better salary
 - A fixed contract/more hours of work
 - Better housing
 - More friends and family living in North-Limburg too
 - More/better contact with Dutch inhabitants
 - Chance to follow education or better career opportunities

Other: _____

17. If you would leave North-Limburg, then where would you go to?

- My country of origin
- Somewhere else in the Netherlands
- Another country

18. Between 1 (very bad) and 10 (super!), how would you rate your stay in North-Limburg?

Work

Housing Social live

19. What is most important in your grades at question 18?

- I have a good place to live in/close to North-Limburg
- I can earn enough money in North-Limburg
- I can find a good job (for example nice work, fixed contract, enough hours, career opportunities)
- I enjoy my life in North-Limburg
- I have friends and/or family live in North-Limburg too
- Other: _____

Do you have any remarks or suggestions?

Thanks for your help! If you want to make a chance at winning the price, or want to have the results of this study, you can leave me your e-mail address:

Your E-mail address: _____

You can also send me an e-mail at

Johan.Baas@student.ru.nl

Annex 4.1

An overview of the reactions per question (n (total) = 114)

1. What Country and Region are you from?

Poland	57
Bulgaria	12
Romania	24
Hungary	8
Slovakia	6
Czech Rep.	0
Slovenia	1
Estonia	4
Latvia	0
Lituania	2

2. Do you work for an Employment agency?

Yes	94
No	20

3. Do you have a Dutch Citizen Service Number (BSN)?

4. Do you have a job?

no	0
yes in n-Limburg	95
yes in NL outside N-Limburg	18
outside NL	1

no	0
yes employer	12
yes employ agency	28
yes at town hall	53
yes, dont know where i got it	17
i don't know if i have one	4

5. Why do you work outside your own country of origin?

to earn money that I can use in my country of origin	55
To build a new life outside my country of origin	45
other	14

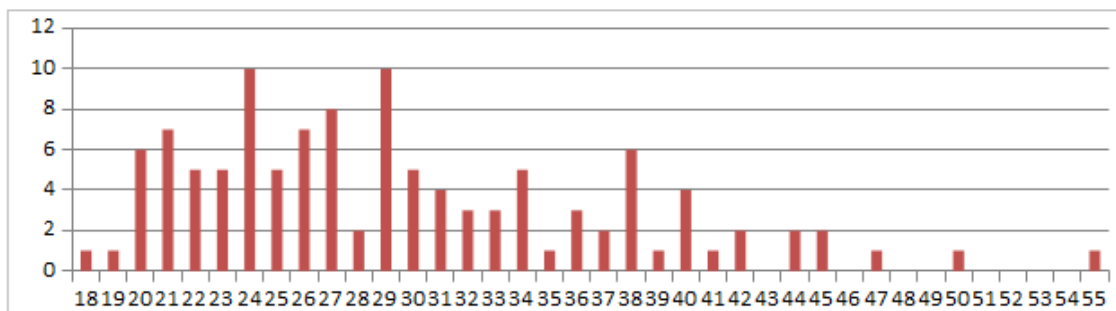
6. Is this the first time that you are working outside your country of origin?

yes	38
no in N-Limburg before	15
no In NL but outside N-Limburg	19
No, in other country before	22
no every year short period	20

7. How long are you working in North-Limburg since your first arrival in the Netherlands?

<4 mnd	43
4m - 1y	31
1y - 5y	34
>5 year	6

8. What is your age?



9. Why are you working in North-Limburg, and not somewhere else?

I followed friends that are working in N-Limburg too	24
I found all inclusive	39
I know limburg worked here before	19
I found a vacancy/job offer	35
Friends in home country recommended N-Limburg	24
I have a place to live in N-Limburg	20
Other/I don't work in N-Limburg	15

10. Is your house/apartment in North-Limburg?

yes	95
no in NL outside N-Limburg	11
no in Germany/belgium	8

public rent	7
private rent	19
own house	0
holiday park	16
house from employer	16
house from agency	55
other	1

11. In what kind of house/apartment do you live?

12. How long did you plan to stay in North-Limburg, when you **first arrived** in North-Limburg?

<4 mnth	36
4m - 1y	25
1y - 5y	22
>5 y	8
permanent	3
didn't know	20

13. How long do you plan to stay in North-Limburg **now**?

<4 mnth	21
4m - 1y	15
1y - 5y	21
>5 y	14
perm	6
don't know	37

14. What is most important in your plans to stay in North-Limburg? (skip this question if you don't want to stay)

I have a good place to live	40
I can earn more money	68
I have a good job	29
I enjoy my life in N-Limburg	37
I have friends/family in N-Limburg	35
Other	5

15. What would be the most important reason to leave North-Limburg?

If I have no place to live	29
If I can earn more money elsewhere	28
If I can find a better job elsewhere	32
If I don't enjoy life	27
If I miss friends/family	24
If I don't feel at home	18
other (a.o. old, end of contract)	14

16. What would be most important for you to make you stay longer in North-Limburg?

Better salary	42
A fixed contract/more hours	46
Better housing	23
More friends/family	31
More contact with Dutch	16
Chance to follow education/better career opp	38
Other/nothing	

17. If you would leave North-Limburg, then where would you go to?

To my country of origin	40
Somewhere in the Netherlands	42
To another country	15
I don't know	17

18. Between 1 (very bad) and 10 (super!), how would you rate your stay in North-Limburg?

work	6,45
housing	6,42
stay	6,94

19. What is most important in your grades at question 18?

good place to live	29
earn enough money	39
good job	15
enjoy life	51
friends/family	27
other/not happy	15

Annex 5.1

Group Statistics					
	non-Polish	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Motivation to migrate	Non-Polish	57	1,81	,639	,085
	Polish	57	1,49	,710	,094

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
Motivation to migrate	Equal variances assumed	2,727	,101	2,495	112	,014	,316	,127	,065	,567
	Equal variances not assumed			2,495	110,778	,014	,316	,127	,065	,567

Annex 5.2

Group Statistics					
	NonPoland	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
to earn money to spend abroad	0	57	,61	,491	,065
	1	57	,33	,476	,063

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
to earn money to	Equal variances assumed	1,321	,253	3,100	112	,002	,281	,091	,101	,460

spend abroad	Equal variances not assumed			3,100	111,884	,002	,281	,091	,101	,460
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Annex 5.3

	Intentions now "don't know"	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
V9_1	0	78	,19	,40	,04
	1	36	,25	,44	,07
V9_2	0	78	,33	,47	,05
	1	36	,33	,48	,08
V9_3	0	78	,22	,42	,05
	1	36	,06	,23	,04
V9_4	0	78	,31	,46	,05
	1	36	,33	,48	,08
V9_5	0	78	,18	,39	,04
	1	36	,28	,45	,08
V9_6	0	78	,13	,34	,04
	1	36	,33	,48	,08

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances				t-test for Equality of Means				
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2- tailed)	Mean Differen ce	Std. Error Differen ce	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
V9_1	equal	1,82	,180	-,70	112,00	,487	-,06	,08	-,22	,11
	not-equal			-,67	62,31	,504	-,06	,09	-,23	,11
V9_2	equal	,00	1,000	,00	112,00	1,000	,00	,10	-,19	,19
	not-equal			,00	67,69	1,000	,00	,10	-,19	,19
V9_3	equal	26,84	,000	2,19	112,00	,031	,16	,07	,02	,31
	not-equal			2,67	107,82	,009	,16	,06	,04	,28
V9_4	equal	,28	,598	-,27	112,00	,787	-,03	,09	-,21	,16
	not-equal			-,27	66,41	,789	-,03	,10	-,22	,16
V9_5	equal	5,11	,026	-1,19	112,00	,235	-,10	,08	-,26	,06
	not-equal			-1,12	59,26	,265	-,10	,09	-,27	,08
V9_6	equal	23,58	,000	-2,64	112,00	,010	-,21	,08	-,36	-,05
	not-equal			-2,32	51,61	,024	-,21	,09	-,38	-,03

Annex 4.1

Case Processing Summary

		N	Marginal Percentage
verblijfd	<4 maanden in NL	43	37,7%
	4m - 1y in NL	31	27,2%
	> 1y in NL	40	35,1%
Valid		114	100,0%
Missing		1	
Total		115	
Subpopulation		113 ^a	

a. The dependent variable has only one value observed in 112 (99,1%) subpopulations.

Model Fitting Information

Model	Model Fitting Criteria	Likelihood Ratio Tests		
	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	246,986			
Final	177,053	69,934	28	,000

Pseudo R-Square

Cox and Snell	,459
Nagelkerke	,517
McFadden	,282

Likelihood Ratio Tests

Effect	Model Fitting Criteria	Likelihood Ratio Tests		
	-2 Log Likelihood of Reduced Model	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept	182,248	5,196	2	,074
age	185,725	8,673	2	,013
NonPoland	182,650	5,597	2	,061
To build a new life	181,216	4,164	2	,125
V9_1	179,039	1,986	2	,370
V9_2	183,689	6,636	2	,036
V9_3	177,129	,076	2	,963
V9_4	178,025	,973	2	,615

V9_5	183,826	6,773	2	,034
V9_6	183,827	6,775	2	,034
I have a good place to live	182,646	5,593	2	,061
I can earn enough money	180,836	3,784	2	,151
I have a good job	182,270	5,218	2	,074
I enjoy my life	180,894	3,841	2	,147
I have friends/family in N-Limburg	178,954	1,901	2	,386

The chi-square statistic is the difference in -2 log-likelihoods between the final model and a reduced model. The reduced model is formed by omitting an effect from the final model. The null hypothesis is that all parameters of that effect are 0.

Parameter Estimates

verblijfD ^a	B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
							Lower Bound	Upper Bound
4Intercept	-1,463	1,636	,800	1	,371			
age	,035	,045	,608	1	,436	1,035	,949	1,130
NonPoland	,594	,628	,894	1	,344	1,812	,529	6,209
To build a new life	,904	,685	1,741	1	,187	2,469	,645	9,449
V9_1	-,959	,757	1,604	1	,205	,383	,087	1,691
V9_2	-1,168	,722	2,616	1	,106	,311	,076	1,281
V9_3	-,091	,788	,013	1	,908	,913	,195	4,275
V9_4	-,703	,729	,931	1	,335	,495	,119	2,065
V9_5	-1,027	,701	2,145	1	,143	,358	,091	1,415
V9_6	-,237	,844	,079	1	,779	,789	,151	4,129
I have a good place to live	1,180	,604	3,814	1	,051	3,255	,996	10,642
I can earn enough money	-,007	,614	,000	1	,991	,993	,298	3,311
I have a good job	1,187	,774	2,352	1	,125	3,276	,719	14,926
I enjoy my life	-1,008	,743	1,844	1	,174	,365	,085	1,564
I have friends/family in N-Limburg	,743	,728	1,041	1	,307	2,102	,505	8,760
>Intercept	-3,968	1,830	4,704	1	,030			
age	,128	,048	7,021	1	,008	1,137	1,034	1,250
NonPoland	-1,006	,690	2,126	1	,145	,366	,095	1,414
To build a new life	1,518	,807	3,540	1	,060	4,563	,939	22,183
V9_1	-,066	,768	,008	1	,931	,936	,208	4,211
V9_2	-2,023	,865	5,469	1	,019	,132	,024	,721
V9_3	,165	,896	,034	1	,854	1,179	,204	6,834
V9_4	-,467	,758	,381	1	,537	,627	,142	2,766
V9_5	-2,045	,870	5,521	1	,019	,129	,024	,712
V9_6	1,661	,809	4,216	1	,040	5,267	1,078	25,725

I have a good place to live	1,401	,724	3,743	1	,053	4,058	,982	16,771
I can earn enough money	-1,132	,658	2,959	1	,085	,322	,089	1,171
I have a good job	1,737	,820	4,489	1	,034	5,683	1,139	28,356
I enjoy my life	,420	,795	,279	1	,597	1,521	,321	7,222
I have friends/family in N-Limburg	,998	,785	1,618	1	,203	2,713	,583	12,634

a. The reference category is: <4 maanden in NL.

Annex 5.5

Case Processing Summary

		N	Marginal Percentage
verblijfD	<4 maanden in NL	43	37,7%
	4m - 1y in NL	31	27,2%
	> 1y in NL	40	35,1%
Valid		114	100,0%
Missing		1	
Total		115	
Subpopulation		113 ^a	

a. The dependent variable has only one value observed in 112 (99,1%) subpopulations.

Model Fitting Information

Model	Model Fitting Criteria		Likelihood Ratio Tests		
	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	
Intercept Only	246,986				
Final	193,926	53,060	30	,006	

Pseudo R-Square

Cox and Snell	,372
Nagelkerke	,420
McFadden	,214

Parameter Estimates

verblijfD ^a	B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
							Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Intercept	-1,778	1,180	2,271	1	,132			

4m - 1y	age	,033	,038	,759	1	,383	1,034	,959	1,115
in NL	NonPoland	,509	,538	,895	1	,344	1,664	,579	4,778
	To build a new life	,605	,544	1,240	1	,265	1,832	,631	5,318
> 1y in NL	Intercept	-3,423	1,152	8,835	1	,003			
	age	,109	,036	8,958	1	,003	1,115	1,038	1,198
	NonPoland	-,918	,544	2,850	1	,091	,399	,138	1,159
	To build a new life	1,331	,562	5,601	1	,018	3,786	1,257	11,401

a. The reference category is: <4 maanden in NL.

Parameter Estimates

verblijfD ^a		B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
								Lower Bound	Upper Bound
4m - 1y	Intercept	-1,325	1,277	1,077	1	,299			
in NL	age	,040	,039	1,042	1	,307	1,041	,964	1,124
	NonPoland	,665	,576	1,333	1	,248	1,944	,629	6,007
	To build a new life	,420	,573	,537	1	,464	1,522	,495	4,682
	V16_1	-,101	,522	,037	1	,847	,904	,325	2,514
	V16_2	-,379	,533	,505	1	,477	,685	,241	1,946
	V16_3	-,334	,638	,274	1	,600	,716	,205	2,501
	V16_4	-,828	,639	1,679	1	,195	,437	,125	1,529
	V16_5	,217	,785	,077	1	,782	1,243	,267	5,784
> 1y in NL	Intercept	-3,329	1,263	6,947	1	,008			
	age	,111	,037	8,866	1	,003	1,118	1,039	1,202
	NonPoland	-,964	,581	2,753	1	,097	,381	,122	1,191
	To build a new life	1,359	,593	5,248	1	,022	3,893	1,217	12,454
	V16_1	-,407	,532	,587	1	,444	,666	,235	1,887
	V16_2	,047	,556	,007	1	,933	1,048	,352	3,115
	V16_3	,180	,614	,086	1	,770	1,197	,359	3,988
	V16_4	-,513	,607	,714	1	,398	,599	,182	1,968
	V16_5	1,006	,740	1,851	1	,174	2,735	,642	11,657
	V16_6	-,115	,531	,047	1	,829	,891	,315	2,522

a. The reference category is: <4 maanden in NL.

Annex 5.6

Case Processing Summary

Unweighted Cases ^a		N	Percent
Selected Cases	Included in Analysis	114	99,1
	Missing Cases	1	,9
	Total	115	100,0
Unselected Cases		0	,0
Total		115	100,0

a. If weight is in effect, see classification table for the total number of cases.

Dependent Variable Encoding

Original Value	Internal Value
To earn money to spend in my country of origin	0
To build a new life	1

Block 0: Beginning Block

Classification Table^{a,b}

	Observed		Predicted		Percentage Co
			To earn money to spend in my country of origin	To build a new life	
Step 0	To build a new life	To earn money to spend in my country of origin	68	0	1
		To build a new life	46	0	
Overall Percentage					

a. Constant is included in the model.

b. The cut value is ,500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 0	Constant	-,391	,191	4,192	1	,041	,676

Variables not in the Equation

		Score	df	Sig.	
Step 0	Variables	NonPoland	11,808	1	,001
		IntStay_long	8,798	1	,003
Overall Statistics		20,240	2	,000	

Block 1: Method = Enter

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	21,503	2	,000
	Block	21,503	2	,000
	Model	21,503	2	,000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	132,263 ^a	,172	,232

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 4 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Classification Table^a

		Predicted		Percentage Co
		To earn money to spend in my country of origin	To build a new life	
Step 1	To build a new life	63	5	
	To earn money to spend in my country of origin			
	To build a new life	30	16	
Overall Percentage				

a. The cut value is ,500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 ^a	NonPoland	1,479	,433	11,644	1	,001	4,390
	IntStay_long	1,315	,441	8,907	1	,003	3,725
	Constant	-1,681	,388	18,748	1	,000	,186

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: NonPoland, IntStay_long.

Block 2: Method = Enter

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	10,675	5	,058
	Block	10,675	5	,058
	Model	32,178	7	,000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	121,588 ^a	,246	,332

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 4 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Classification Table^a

Observed	Predicted	To build a new life		Percentage Co	
		To earn money to spend in my country of origin	To build a new life		
Step 1	To build a new life	To earn money to spend in my country of origin	55	13	
		To build a new life	17	29	
Overall Percentage					

a. The cut value is ,500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(
Step 1 ^a	NonPoland	1,489	,462	10,372	1	,001	4
	IntStay_long	1,011	,483	4,371	1	,037	2
	I have a good place to live	-,667	,474	1,978	1	,160	
	I can earn enough money	,272	,473	,331	1	,565	1
	I have a good job	,199	,526	,143	1	,705	1
	I enjoy my life	1,168	,526	4,934	1	,026	3
	I have friends/family in N-Limburg	,372	,503	,547	1	,460	1
	Constant	-2,097	,573	13,419	1	,000	

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: I have a good place to live, I can earn enough money, I have a good job, I enjoy my life, I have friends/family in N-Limburg.

Block 3: Method = Enter

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	10,174	6	,118
	Block	10,174	6	,118
	Model	42,351	13	,000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	111,414 ^a	,310	,419

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Classification Table^a

	Observed	Predicted		Percentage Co	
		To earn money to spend in my country of origin	To build a new life		
Step 1	To build a new life	To earn money to spend in my country of origin	61	7	
		To build a new life	15	31	
	Overall Percentage				

a. The cut value is ,500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(
Step 1 ^a	NonPoland	1,371	,546	6,295	1	,012	3
	IntStay_long	1,029	,523	3,879	1	,049	2
	I have a good place to live	-,828	,538	2,369	1	,124	
	I can earn enough money	,390	,521	,560	1	,454	1
	I have a good job	,148	,557	,070	1	,791	1
	I enjoy my life	1,397	,596	5,484	1	,019	4
	I have friends/family in N-Limburg	,590	,579	1,037	1	,309	1
	No place to live	-,094	,575	,027	1	,871	
	More money elsewhere	-,088	,583	,023	1	,880	
	Better job elsewhere	,315	,591	,284	1	,594	1
	If I don't enjoy life	-,860	,574	2,245	1	,134	
	If I miss friends/family	-1,192	,684	3,036	1	,081	
	If I don't feel at home	1,867	,739	6,378	1	,012	6
	Constant	-2,036	,642	10,063	1	,002	

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: No place to live, More money elsewhere, Better job elsewhere, If I don't enjoy life, If I miss friends/family, If I don't feel at home.

Block 4: Method = Enter

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	12,750	6	,047
	Block	12,750	6	,047
	Model	55,101	19	,000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	98,664 ^a	,383	,518

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 5 because parameter estimates changed by less than ,001.

Classification Table^a

		Predicted			Percentage Correctly Classified
		To earn money to spend in my country of origin	To build a new life	To build a new life	
Step 1	To build a new life	61	7		
	To earn money to spend in my country of origin	15	31		
Overall Percentage					

a. The cut value is ,500

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 ^a	NonPoland	1,625	,605	7,207	1	,007	5,000
	IntStay_long	1,149	,597	3,707	1	,054	3,200
	I have a good place to live	-1,149	,621	3,418	1	,064	0,300
	I can earn enough money	,771	,585	1,738	1	,187	2,100
	I have a good job	,526	,646	,662	1	,416	1,700
	I enjoy my life	1,781	,685	6,764	1	,009	5,900
	I have friends/family in N-Limburg	,914	,677	1,821	1	,177	2,500
	No place to live	,039	,642	,004	1	,952	1,100
	More money elsewhere	,107	,679	,025	1	,875	1,200
	Better job elsewhere	,885	,692	1,637	1	,201	2,400
	If I don't enjoy life	-,822	,657	1,566	1	,211	0,500
	If I miss friends/family	-,911	,722	1,589	1	,208	0,500
	If I don't feel at home	2,109	,844	6,241	1	,012	8,200
	V16_1	-,338	,620	,297	1	,586	0,700

V16_2	-1,244	,640	3,776	1	,052
V16_3	-1,617	,778	4,315	1	,038
V16_4	-1,228	,661	3,450	1	,063
V16_5	-1,141	,820	1,937	1	,164
V16_6	-,298	,657	,206	1	,650
Constant	-1,359	,721	3,556	1	,059

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: V16_1, V16_2, V16_3, V16_4, V16_5, V16_6.