On the Differential Attachments of Migrants from Central and Eastern Europe: A Typology of Labour Migration

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In this article we develop an empirically grounded typology of labour migration patterns among migrants from Central and Eastern Europe, based on two dimensions: attachment to the destination country and attachment to the country of origin. We conducted a survey ($N = 654$) among labour migrants in the Netherlands from Poland, Bulgaria and Romania. We found four migration patterns in our data: (i) circular migrants (mostly seasonal workers) with weak attachments to the country of destination, (ii) bi-nationals with strong attachments to both the home country and that of destination, (iii) footloose migrants with weak attachments to both the home and the destination country, and (iv) settlers with weak attachments to the home country. Our findings demonstrate the relevance to the debate on transnationalism and integration of distinguishing different migration patterns. Successful integration in Dutch society can go hand-in-hand with 'strong' as well as with 'weak' forms of transnationalism. The bi-national pattern shows a tendency to strong transnationalism, while the settlement pattern demonstrates less transnational involvement with the country of origin.

Keywords: Transnationalism; Integration; Labour Migration; Central and Eastern Europe; The Netherlands

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Introduction

The free movement of labour is one of the most tangible benefits of European integration. The EU enlargements of 2004 and 2007[1] brought this coveted freedom to the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe (hereafter CEE), by the successive lifting of restrictions to the territories and the majority of labour markets of the original EU member-states. Hundreds of thousands of migrants from Poland, Romania and Bulgaria went to Western European countries as a consequence (Black *et al.* 2010). These migration flows were partly a continuation of migration paths that had already been established before 2004 (Garapich 2008). After the collapse of communism, several Western European countries concluded bilateral treaties with countries such as Poland, Bulgaria and Romania to enable temporary labour migration. Germany had already concluded such a treaty with Poland in 1991, resulting in a quarter of a million Polish workers going to Germany for seasonal work in 2002. The UK drew up Seasonal Agricultural Workers Schemes (SAWS) with various CEE countries, so that tens of thousands of workers from Poland and other CEE countries could work temporarily in the UK (Castles 2006). The Netherlands also concluded such agreements. Moreover, considerable flows of irregular migration from Romania to Italy and Spain had already taken root by the eve of 2004 (Bleahu 2007; Sandu 2006).

However, this migration from CEE countries also involved substantial new migrant groups who did not follow in the footsteps of earlier labour migrants. A striking development was the large number of Poles who went to work in the UK, so that Germany was no longer the dominant destination country. In addition, the United States dropped from second to fifth place (Iglicka and Ziółek-Skrzypczak 2010) in terms of Poles' destination choices. Ireland, Norway and Sweden also opened their labour markets in May 2004 to nationals from the new EU member-states and became popular destination countries, especially for Polish labour migrants. In the years following these enlargements, more European countries opened their labour markets, and thus large groups of CEE labour migrants moved there. The Netherlands is one such country (Iglicka and Ziółek-Skrzypczak 2010). In 1998, around 5,000 work permits were issued in the Netherlands to labour migrants from CEE countries. Some ten years later, by a conservative estimate, 165,000 labour migrants from CEE states worked regularly in the Netherlands. The vast majority of migrants hailed from Poland, though there were also growing numbers of Bulgarians and Romanians (De Boom *et al.* 2010). However, the access of Romanians and Bulgarians to the Dutch labour market is restricted, as they still require a work permit in order to work legally.

Defining contemporary migration patterns from Central and Eastern Europe to Western Europe is a challenging enquiry. Are we just witnessing 'old' patterns of circular and settlement migration? Or are new patterns of 'liquid migration' also emerging (Engbersen *et al.* 2010; Grabowska-Lusinska and Okólski 2009)? The concept of liquid migration refers to the emergence of individualised migration patterns in which migrants try their luck in new and multiple countries of

destination, benefiting from open borders and labour markets. Liquid migration is also made possible by the individualisation of family relations in Central and Eastern Europe, so that migration patterns become less network-driven, with young migrants having fewer family responsibilities in the country of origin (Engbersen 2012). This new migration is more like transnational commuting than a migration which includes settlement in the country of destination, and raises new questions with regard to the integration of labour migrants in the host countries (Glorius *et al.* 2013).

In this article we develop an empirically grounded typology of labour migration patterns among CEE migrants in the Netherlands which enables us to answer two elementary questions. First, in what ways do current patterns of labour migration from CEE countries differ from traditional patterns such as temporary, circular and settlement migration? And second, to what extent are CEE labour migrants in the Netherlands attached both to their country of origin and to the host society? The second question relates to the interface between transnationalism and integration. We answer these questions using data from a survey among 654 labour migrants from Poland, Romania and Bulgaria residing in the Netherlands. The study was conducted in two big Dutch cities (Rotterdam and The Hague), and in smaller cities and several rural areas.

The first part of the paper builds up a theoretical framework by discussing recent typologies of labour migrants from Poland to West European countries (mainly the UK). From this discussion we construct a typology based on two dimensions: the degree of attachment to the home country and that to the destination country (cf. Carling and Hoelscher 2013). On the basis of these two dimensions we form a conceptual scheme in which we distinguish four ideal-typical patterns of migration. The second part of this paper presents the empirical findings. Here we analyse whether the two dimensions and the different patterns of migration are present in the Dutch data. We also analyse which types of labour migrant (in terms of age, gender, education, labour market position and family composition) are related to the different patterns of migration. The final part discusses the consequences of our findings for the debate on transnationalism and integration.

Conceptual Framework

A serious impediment to obtaining insight into contemporary migration from CEE countries is the fact that many migrants do not appear in the population statistics of West European countries. Many labour migrants do not register with the local authorities, and they are often underrepresented in national labour force surveys.[2] This is the case, for instance, in the Netherlands and the UK (Bauere *et al.* 2007; De Boom *et al.* 2010; Salt and Miller 2006). A recent study on the incorporation of contemporary CEE labour migrants in the Netherlands showed that 39 per cent of the 746 respondents were not officially registered and that almost 25 per cent did not know whether they were registered or not (De Boom *et al.* 2010). To gain further insight into the nature of contemporary migration patterns, it is important to draw

on sources other than national population statistics or labour force surveys because they overemphasise the documented reality and have little to say about the undocumented reality of CEE labour migration. Furthermore, they give little information about the motives and strategies of labour migrants.

An important source may be found in small-scale qualitative studies or ethno-surveys (sometimes combined with findings from population statistics or labour force surveys). These studies are often based on a limited number of interviews, and are characterised by typology construction. Developing typologies alongside data analysis is an effective means of sparking the theoretical imagination during the research process. A discussion of current typologies can clarify our thinking on post-accession migration, and can advocate possible lines of inquiry and theoretical developments (Layder 1998; Ringer 1997). The typologies that we briefly describe below are both complementary and overlapping. What they share is an attempt to map out today's diversity in migration patterns. They are a first essential step toward developing a new theory on migration patterns.

A first relevant study is that by Düvell and Vogel (2006), in which they distinguish four types of migrant on the basis of 15 intensive face-to-face interviews with Polish labour migrants. This typology is based on two underlying dimensions: 'intended duration of stay' and 'family ties'. They distinguish:

- *Migrants oriented on returning*, who remain just briefly in the receiving countries and retain a strong focus on their own country.
- *Emigrants/immigrants who (wish to) settle* in the host country permanently or long-term for various reasons (work, marriage or lifestyle), and who maintain strong links with the host society. This migration motive may surface only over the course of time.
- *Transnational migrants* with a strong bi-national orientation. These migrants are oriented on both the country of origin and on the host society. This includes migrants who have worked for long periods in other countries in order to support family at home.
- *Global nomads* who live and work in diverse countries and who have a very international, cosmopolitan orientation. These migrants are highly mobile, moving from one country to another depending on work opportunities (cf. Bauman 1998).

A second typology is offered by Eade *et al.* (2006). This typology is mainly based on qualitative interviews with 50 Polish labour migrants selected through snowball sampling. The principal dimensions of their typology are 'perceived life chances and plans' and 'migration strategies'. They also distinguish four types—'storks', 'hamsters', 'searchers' and 'stayers':

- *Storks* are circular migrants who mostly work in low-wage occupations (catering, construction, domestic service, agriculture). Many are seasonal migrants.

- *Hamsters* are migrants who view their move as a one-off venture to accumulate enough capital to invest in Poland.
- *Searchers* are migrants who deliberately wish to keep their options open. This group consists predominantly of young, individualistic and ambitious migrants (intentional unpredictability).
- *Stayers* are migrants who have been living in the host society for some time and intend to remain there for good.

A third typology is that of Grabowska-Lusinska and Okólski (2009), based on the migration strategies of distinct groups of labour migrants. Here, 'migration strategy' is defined as a life orientation aimed at reaching certain goals. The empirical bases of this typology consist of several data sources: an ethno-survey in five local communities in Poland, the Polish Labour Force Survey, and a secondary analysis of small research projects throughout Europe. This typology, which builds further on the work of Düvell and Vogel (2006) and Eade *et al.* (2006), differentiates four types of migration strategy:

- *Seasonal circulation.* This strategy applies to seasonal migrants working in agriculture, catering, gastronomy and construction.
- *Settling down.* This strategy concerns migrants who settle permanently in the destination country. In most cases this involves medium-skilled and skilled workers in sectors such as ICT, pharmaceutics, biotechnology and financial services.
- *Long-term residence.* This strategy is characteristic of transnational labour migrants who remain for long periods in a destination country, but who retain strong links to the home country (partly due to the presence of family there). Here, too, it mainly concerns medium-skilled and skilled workers active in similar sectors to those settling down.
- *Unpredictable intentions.* This strategy applies to young singles or young couples, often well-educated, who temporarily reside in another country while retaining all options of remaining, returning or moving to another country. This group has few family obligations in the home country, and concerns skilled and highly skilled migrants active in a wide range of sectors.

A fourth typology has been defined by Trevena (2013). Based on 28 face-to-face in-depth interviews with Polish labour migrants in the UK, this typology is distinct from the others in that it exclusively pertains to the migration motives of highly skilled Polish university graduates working in London. This typology shows that, within a single category, large differences exist concerning not only age and life stage, but also migration motives. Trevena distinguishes three types of migrant.

- *Target earners*: aiming to accumulate large sums of money for the purpose of investing it in the home country.
- *Career-seekers*: wishing to develop their career abroad.

● *Drifters*: pursuing goals other than professional advancement or savings for investment; typical for the initial stages of migration. Their initial aim was to 'go somewhere else' and 'have a look around', and not to work systematically on developing a career. They have no problems with performing low-skilled jobs (e.g. cleaning or bartending).

The four typologies described are an attempt to come to grips with the new reality of migration as it has developed since the collapse of communism in 1989 and especially since the expansion of the EU in 2004 and 2007. These changes in migration pattern are not only of a quantitative nature, but also qualitative (compare also Favell 2008). On the one hand, classic patterns of seasonal and settlement migration are discernible. On the other, new fragmented patterns of transnational and 'footloose' migration seem to be emerging (cf. Snel *et al.* 2006; Vertovec 2009). These latter patterns relate to migrants who are rooted in the home country as well as in the destination country, and to migrants who act fairly independently because they are less bounded by family obligations or other commitments in either country. Young and highly skilled migrants with a migratory habitus of 'intentional unpredictability' seem to be over-represented within these migration patterns.

It is interesting to note that there is a clear family resemblance between these contemporary typologies and some classic typologies based on fieldwork done in developing countries (Chapman and Prothero 1983–84) and Mexico–US (Massey *et al.* 1997). These earlier typologies also showed a plurality of migration patterns from very temporary migration to permanent settlement. There are also substantial differences between these classic typologies and the new ones. Some contemporary patterns of migration are more individualised and less network-driven than those described in earlier work on forms of mobility in Africa and Asia or in Massey's work on migration patterns between Mexico and the US. It is also obvious that the disappearance of borders in the enlarged EU and the free mobility of labour have facilitated a diversity of migration patterns. By contrast, border control between the US and Mexico (especially after the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act) has seriously limited the opportunities of labour migrants to travel back and forth without constraints between these two countries. In this respect the contemporary European typologies of migration have more in common with that of Chapman and Prothero (1983–84), who have written primarily on reciprocal flows of people within Asian and African countries. The distinction they made between 'migration' (durable or permanent change of residence) and forms of 'mobility' (from commuting on a daily basis to circular migration for longer periods of time) is still useful for classifying East–West migration (cf. also Wallace and Stola 2001), which EU enlargement has significantly facilitated.

The different typologies of migration patterns after EU enlargement not only illustrate the consequences of changes in institutional contexts, but also show, as we understand it, that two basic dimensions are constructive. The first dimension is the

degree to which migrants are attached to their destination country. This attachment can be either weak or strong, and relates to socio-cultural, socio-economic and demographic factors such as a command of the national language, contacts with the native population, strong or weak labour market position, and cohabiting with a partner and children (or not) in the destination country.

The second dimension is the degree to which migrants remain attached to their country of origin. As with the first dimension, the nature of this attachment ranges from weak to strong, and to socio-cultural, socio-economic and demographic factors, indicators for which are economic investment plans, family ties and obligations, and a partner and children who still reside in the home country. By combining the two dimensions, of an attachment to the destination country (weak–strong) and an attachment to the home country (weak–strong), four combinations of ideal-types result. Nevertheless, the continuity of the two dimensions enables a range of intermediate forms. Figure 1 is an attempt to place these typologies of labour migrants in four quadrants. The career-seekers who are looking to further their career abroad cannot be located in any single quadrant, but may be placed in Quadrants B, C and D.

Figure 1 has mainly descriptive value; we should guard against a deterministic interpretation. We do not assume any one-sided causal relationship between specific attachments and migration patterns. Attachments to the destination and home country and migrants' aspirations and orientations are interdependent. Aside from the issue of the underlying dimensions, however, there is also the issue of the determinants of the different patterns of migration. Which migrants of which characteristics wind up predominantly in which quadrant? It seems obvious to
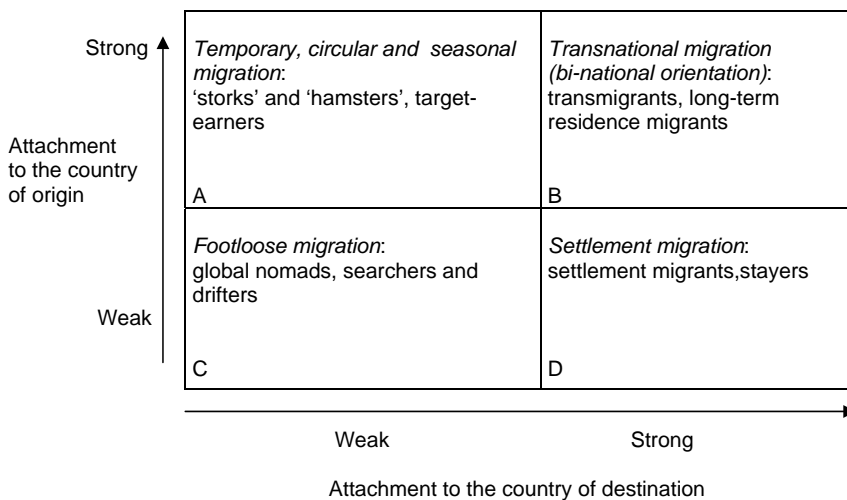

Figure 1. Different patterns of labour migration and types of Polish labour migrants after EU enlargement

assume that low-skilled migrants mainly end up in Quadrant A and the better-educated migrants in Quadrants B and D. They manage to attain a stable position in the destination country, thanks to their human capital. This generally concerns relatively successful labour migrants. Quadrant C seems particularly applicable to the highly skilled, whose specific competences allow them to choose their work place, and to young migrants who can and want to keep their options open. In the remainder of this paper we investigate to what extent this typology can be substantiated. We draw on Dutch data gathered from the perspective of a destination country, which enable us to investigate the extent to which the migration patterns resurface in larger-scale quantitative research.

The Dutch Study: Data and Methods

The survey examines the labour market position and incorporation of labour migrants from Poland, Bulgaria and Romania in the Netherlands. The survey was conducted between October 2009 and February 2011. We interviewed 654 CEE labour migrants in ten different Dutch municipalities, including two major cities (Rotterdam, The Hague), two middle-sized cities (Breda, Dordrecht) and several rural towns. These rural towns were mainly agricultural areas since many CEE labour migrants work in Dutch agriculture and horticulture. We used structured face-to-face interviews with 213 questions, including a few open ones, about issues such as the migration history of respondents, their labour market and housing position, incorporation in Dutch society, transnational activities and their future plans. The interviews were held in the mother-tongue of the respondents, for a duration of between one and two hours. We used native-speaking interviewers—mostly international students or graduates from the Erasmus University Rotterdam. They recruited respondents at places frequented by CEE labour migrants, like Polish shops, supermarkets in neighbourhoods in which CEE labour migrants live, and Internet forums. Respondents were also approached in the street by the interviewers upon hearing their mother-tongue or by identifying their national car number plates. A few respondents were found through the schools attended by their children. We emphasise the diversity of sources from which the respondents are selected. For instance, we were careful not to overuse certain locations. Respondents were also selected through snowball sampling. At the end of each interview, the respondents were asked whether they knew of fellow nationals who could be contacted.

In our view the survey has led to valid results. Sensitive questions on irregular work ('verbal contract') and on not having a valid work permit were answered without reservation. We learned, for example, that 41 per cent of the Bulgarians had a verbal contract and that 35 per cent of the Romanians and 65 per cent of the Bulgarians were residing in the Netherlands without a work permit. Moreover, the non-response to questions on remittances was low and respondents gave quite detailed figures about remittances they sent home.

As Table 1 shows, we are dealing with a heterogeneous group that includes both highly skilled and low-skilled respondents. The size of the Bulgarian group is proportionally large because we gave extra attention to this category for two reasons. Firstly, some of the municipalities that participated in the research were specifically concerned about unemployed and homeless Bulgarian nationals as well as about those working illegally. Our survey intended to find out whether these worries are justified. Secondly, we wanted to examine the labour market position of Bulgarians given the fact that this group, together with Romanian nationals, still require work permits in order to work in the Netherlands.[3]

Table 1. Respondents according to home country, gender, age, family status, education and occupational status (N = 654)

Home country	%
Poland	57.8
Romania	17.1
Bulgaria	25.4
Gender	
Male	57.1
Female	42.9
Age	
< 30	52.8
31−40	30.1
41−50	12.9
51+	4.3
Family status	
Married	33.8
With partner, not married	27.1
Single	30.0
Divorced	7.8
Widow/widower	0.9
Education	
None	0.3
Primary and secondary up to high school	12.3
High school	77.3
College/university	19.9
Occupational status	
Highly skilled	13.6
Semi-skilled	20.5
Low-skilled	30.0
Agricultural	29.8
Unemployed/'survival strategies'	6.1

Notes: Occupational status is based on Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992); see Ganzeboom and Treiman (1996). We define highly skilled workers as those in 'higher service', 'lower service', 'routine clerical/sales', 'small employers' or 'farmers/farm managers'. Semi-skilled workers are 'independent', 'manual foremen' or 'skilled manual'. We added the category 'survival strategies', including activities such as participating in special work schemes for the homeless—selling 'homeless newspapers' or street cleaning—or collecting old iron in the streets.

In the statistical analysis of the data, we proceeded in three distinct steps. In the first step we constructed the two dimensions that underlie the different typologies of CEE labour migrants, as summarised in Figure 1. This was done by means of two separate factor analyses, where the first measured the attachment to the destination country, and the second the attachment to the country of origin. Factor analysis makes it possible to measure 'latent' variables, i.e., variables that cannot be observed directly. With factor analysis, respondents' scores on the latent variables concerned are derived indirectly from a number of measurable variables that are believed to be indicators of the underlying factor. For example, 'attachment to the country of origin' cannot be measured directly. We are unlikely to obtain valid and comparable measurements if we simply asked each respondent 'What is your attachment to your country of origin?', but if we know how often respondents visit their country of origin, send remittances and so forth, factor analysis enables us to rank them.

In the second step in the analysis, the respondents were divided into clusters using the respondents' scores on the two factors mentioned. In cluster analysis, respondents who are relatively similar to each other in some specified respect—in this case, attachment to the destination country and attachment to the country of origin—are grouped into separate subgroups, based on the relative distance of their individual scores. This was done through a K-means cluster analysis (cf. Loyd 1982), in which the number of clusters (subgroups) was set at four, because of our theoretical expectation that four ideal-typical migration patterns exist. As a final step in the analysis, we examined whether cluster membership was related to individual migrant characteristics in certain systematic ways. This was done in the form of four separate binary logistic regression analyses. In each model the dependent variable was membership in a certain cluster (for example the cluster of 'circulars') versus non-membership (i.e. membership in one of the three other clusters).

Empirical Findings

Factor Analysis

In Figure 1 we brought together the results of several qualitative studies on the assumption that there are two dimensions that underlie the different types of migrant: attachment to the destination country and attachment to the country of origin. Table 2 presents the results of our attempt to measure these dimensions quantitatively using factor analysis. The factor 'attachment to the country of destination' was derived from 11 indicators. Seven indicators measure the *socio-cultural attachment* to the country of destination—the degree to which the respondent speaks Dutch, follows the Dutch news, has contact with Dutch people, has Dutch friends and participates in Dutch civil society (defined as the number of different types of civil organisation in the Netherlands of which the respondent is a member, such as churches, schools and sport clubs). The factor attachment to the

Table 2. Empirical measures of attachment to the countries of destination and of origin (factor loadings)

Attachment to country of destination	
Do you speak Dutch (0 = no; 3 = quite fluently)	0.80
Contact with native Dutch (1 = yes)	0.77
Number of Dutch friends	0.71
Speaks Dutch in free time (0 = never; 4 = quite often)	0.65
Follows Dutch news (0 = never; 4 = daily)	0.60
Dutch bank account	0.56
Speaks Dutch in the neighbourhood	0.51
Dutch fiscal number	0.50
Registered in Dutch population register	0.48
Membership in Dutch civil society (no. of types of organisation in which respondent participates)	0.46
Employment status (0 = unemployed, 1 = informal contract, 2 = temporary formal contract, 3 = permanent formal contract)	0.37
Eigenvalue	3.90
Variance explained (%)	35.00
Attachment to country of origin	
Number of weeks in country of origin per year	0.68
Remittances per year (log)	0.66
% income spent on remittances	0.66
Number of visits per year to country of origin (log)	0.64
Owns or rents housing in country of origin	0.34
Follows home-country news	0.33
Invests in country of origin	0.33
Number of monthly contacts with family/friends in country of origin	0.28
Eigenvalue	2.15
Variance explained (%)	27.00

country of destination also contained three binary indicators of *socio-economic attachment* (has a Dutch bank account or not, has a Dutch fiscal number or not, and is registered with the municipality) and one ordinal indicator measuring employment status (0 = unemployed, 1 = informal contract, 2 = temporary formal contract, 3 = permanent formal contract). All indicators load on one main factor that has a relatively high Eigenvalue of 3.9 and explains 35 per cent of the variance in the 11 indicators mentioned in Table 2.

'Attachment to the country of origin' was derived from eight indicators that all relate to the degree of *economic and cultural transnational activities* of the respondent: number of weeks spent in the home country per year, number of visits to the home country per year, absolute amount of remittances per year, percentage of income spent on remittances, the degree to which the respondent follows home-country news, owns or rents housing in the country of origin, invests in the country of origin, and the total number of monthly contacts with friends or family in the country of origin (by either telephone, e-mail, Skype or letter). The factor has a somewhat lower Eigenvalue of 2.15 and explains 27 per cent of the variance in the eight indicators mentioned.

Cluster Analysis

The next step in the analysis was to situate the respondents over the two dimensions using cluster analysis. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the respondents in this 'migration space'. Cluster membership is shown for each respondent. Respondents located at the upper end of both axes have the strongest tendencies towards the 'bi-national' pattern (strongly attached to both the home country and the country of destination). By contrast, respondents at the lower end of both axes have the strongest tendencies towards the 'footloose' pattern. It can be observed that there are also numerous respondents who tend more to the circular or the settlement type.

The distinction between the clusters, as well as the identification of cluster membership, should not be taken in absolute terms. There are many respondents who, despite their classification in a certain cluster, are relatively close to one or more of the other types. Furthermore, cluster membership is not based on an absolute and *a priori* definition of what type and level of attachments are necessary or sufficient to constitute a footloose migrant, settlement migrant, and so forth. Rather we have used a statistical, relative definition of the distinction between clusters and the allocation of cluster membership: a respondent belongs to a certain cluster if (s)he resembles the respondents with the strongest *tendencies* towards that type more than (s)he
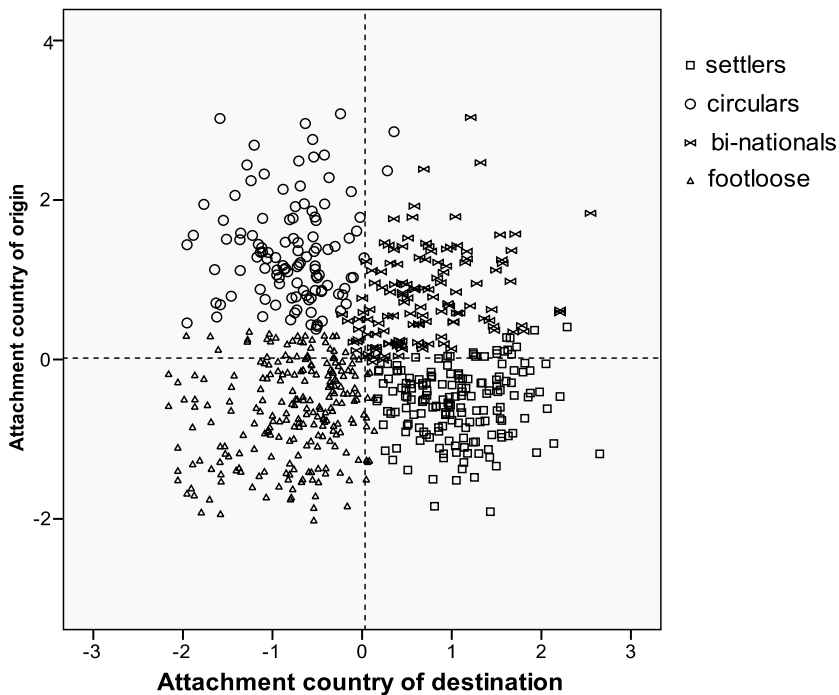
Figure 2. Attachment to the countries of destination and of origin by cluster membership

resembles the respondents with the strongest *tendencies* towards the other types. Having said that, we find 112 circular migrants, 126 bi-nationals, 233 footloose migrants and 169 settlers among our respondents (14 respondents were not classified because information was missing on one or more indicators from which the two attachment measures are derived).

Cross-sectionally, attachment to the country of destination seems to be independent of attachment to the home country. The bivariate correlation between the two types of attachment is more or less equal to zero. This confirms the outcomes of research on transnationalism and integration that shows that there is no (strong) relation between the transnational involvement of migrants and their integration in the host country (Snel *et al.* 2006; Van Bochove *et al.* 2010). Table 3 presents the

Table 3. Average degree of attachment to the country of destination and of origin by cluster

	Circulars (N = 112)	Bi-nationals (N = 126)	Footloose (N = 233)	Settlers (N = 169)
Attachment to country of destination				
Speaks Dutch (0 = no; 3 = quite fluently)	0.40	1.82	0.49	2.27
Has contact with native Dutch (%)	5.00	73.00	10.00	91.00
No. of Dutch friends	0.21	1.40	0.29	1.79
Speaks Dutch in free time (0 = never; 4 = very often)	1.71	3.08	1.91	3.52
Follows Dutch news (0 = never; 4 = daily)	1.57	2.61	1.44	2.52
Speaks Dutch in the neighbourhood (0 = never; 4 = very often)	2.67	3.69	2.76	3.78
Participation in Dutch civil society (membership of social organisations)	0.44	1.10	0.56	1.36
Dutch bank account (%)	47.00	85.00	52.00	92.00
Dutch fiscal number (%)	81.00	94.00	70.00	98.00
Employment status (0 = unemployed; 3 = formal permanent contract)	1.86	2.14	1.55	2.17
Registered in Dutch population register (%)	44.00	71.00	43.00	89.00
Attachment to country of origin				
No. of weeks per year in home country	8.03	6.11	2.14	2.99
Remittances per year in euros	5,495	3,011	889	599
% income spent on remittances (%)	43.00	21.00	7.00	3.00
No. of visits per year to country of origin	4.11	3.84	1.30	1.82
Owns or rents housing in country of origin (%)	72.00	56.00	39.00	34.00
Follows news about country of origin (0 = never; 4 = daily)	2.32	2.47	1.86	1.92
Invests in country of origin (%)	32.00	32.00	9.00	6.00
No. of monthly contacts with family/ friends in country of origin	74.96	83.70	51.46	82.03

average score by cluster for each indicator of attachment to the destination country and attachment to the country of origin. It turns out that there are substantial and significant differences between the clusters in terms of attachment to both the home and the destination country. The significance of these differences was tested using F-tests. This observation is highly relevant. With the statistical method used, it would always be possible to rank respondents with respect to their attachments, and to divide them into clusters. Yet, the average differences between the clusters are far from trivial; this confirms that there are substantial and real differences between migrants in terms of their attachments.

Those respondents whom we labelled as either 'circular' or 'footloose' have much weaker attachments to the country of destination—in other words, are less integrated in Dutch society—than those we labelled as 'bi-nationals' or 'settlers'. Circular and footloose migrants hardly speak any Dutch, have hardly any contact with native Dutch, hardly any Dutch friends and follow the Dutch news only superficially. Bi-nationals and settlers speak better Dutch, have more contacts with native Dutch and are better integrated in Dutch society. These indicators refer to *socio-cultural* aspects of integration, but circular and footloose migrants are also less integrated in a *socio-economic* sense than the bi-nationals and settlers among our respondents. They less often have a Dutch bank account and have a weaker labour market position (more often unemployed or working in temporary or informal arrangements) than the other two categories. The four categories do not differ that much with regard to having a fiscal number (required when working formally). However, they do differ in respect of being registered in the Dutch population register. Many circular and footloose migrants do not register, and are therefore systematically overlooked in studies based on the official population statistics.

When looking at the attachment to the home country, other categories group together. Both the circulars and the bi-nationals have much stronger attachments to the home country than the footloose and settlers. The circulars and bi-nationals transfer much larger sums of money—and a greater share of their income—back home. They also have more contact with friends and relatives at home, visit the home country more often, follow the news of the home country more intensively, and more often have investments or property in the home country. To sum up: both circular and footloose migrants are socio-culturally and socio-economically less integrated in Dutch society than the bi-nationals and the settlers. Furthermore, the footloose migrants and settlers are less involved in transnational activities than the circulars and bi-nationals (cf. Vertovec 2009). The circulars, for example, transfer on average € 5,494 per year to their home country and the bi-nationals € 3,011, while the footloose migrants and the settlers transfer respectively € 889 and € 599 per year.

Predicting Cluster Membership

As a final step in the analysis, we examined whether cluster membership was related to individual migrant characteristics in certain systematic ways. This was done with

four separate binary logistic regression analyses: each model compares members of the migrant category in question with all other respondents. The outcomes give us an impression of who the migrants belonging to the various categories are. The results of the regression analyses are presented in Table 4. Descriptive statistics of the dependent and independent variables are reported in Table 5.[4]

What are the characteristics of migrants belonging to the circular cluster? Firstly, there is a relationship with migration age: respondents who had started to migrate when they were relatively old are more likely to be circular migrants. Secondly, the distance to the country of origin may be of influence. With other variables held constant, Romanians—and especially Poles—are more likely to be circular migrants than Bulgarians. Thirdly, there is some evidence that patterns of circular migration are related to temporariness, even though there is simultaneous evidence that they may persist for a number of years. Circulars are less likely to say that they want to stay in the Netherlands for more than five years. At the same time, circulars do not say more often than respondents from the other categories that they will stay in the Netherlands for only a short period of time (between one and five years or less than a year). Likewise, there is no significant relation with the time since the (first) migration to the Netherlands. Circulars have not stayed in the Netherlands longer or shorter than the other respondents, although they may have been back to their home country more often and for longer periods of time. Fourthly, circulars are much more likely to have a partner in the country of origin, which triples the odds of membership in the circular cluster.

Bi-national migrants differ from the circulars. The chances of being a bi-national seem to increase with respondents' economic and cultural capital, and to decrease with the costs (of travel and time) of transnational activities. At least, we find that bi-nationals are more likely to be Poles than Bulgarians or Romanians, and to have completed at least high school. Bi-nationals also have significantly higher incomes than the other respondents, even with other variables (including education) held constant. Furthermore, the odds of being a 'bi-national' increase with the number of years that have passed since the onset of migration, and are also associated with intentions to stay in the Netherlands for at least one year. Finally, bi-nationals are somewhat less likely to have children (either in the country of origin or in the Netherlands).

Footloose migration is concentrated among migrants who started to migrate when they were still relatively young, and who have not been in the Netherlands for a long time. A short intended duration of stay (less than one year) also increases the likelihood of belonging to this cluster. Furthermore, respondents of this category are less uncertain about their residence intentions that other respondents. Footloose migrants are more likely to have relatively low levels of education (up to high school), although there is some evidence for a bifurcated pattern within the cluster: footloose migrants are significantly less likely to have completed high school, but they are not less likely to have completed college or university than other respondents. With regards to the footloose migrants, we did not find

Table 4. Determinants of cluster membership: four logistic regression models

	Circular		Bi-national		Footloose		Settler	
	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Migration age	0.06**	1.06	0.01	1.01	−0.04**	0.96	−0.01	0.99
Sex (1 = male)	0.2	1.23	0.14	1.16	0.03	1.03	−0.2	0.82
Bulgarian (ref)								
Polish	2.46**	11.73	0.79*	2.20	0.16	1.17	−1.79**	0.17
Romanian	1.23*	3.44	0.24	1.27	−0.73	0.48	−0.27	0.76
Time since (first) migration NL	0.09	1.10	0.19**	1.20	−0.53**	0.59	0.21**	1.24
Intends to stay <1 year (ref)								
Intends to stay 1–5 years	−0.04	0.96	0.94*	2.56	−0.61*	0.54	0.94	2.56
Intends to stay >5 years	−1.09**	0.34	0.87*	2.38	−1.09**	0.33	2.3**	9.98
Intends to stay 'Do not know'	−0.19	0.82	0.67	1.94	−0.73*	0.48	1.66**	5.28
Education up to high school (ref)								
High school	0.09	1.09	1.03*	2.79	−1.22**	0.29	1.13*	3.09
College/university	−0.73	0.48	1.1*	2.99	−0.8	0.45	1.25*	3.49
Income	−0.06	0.94	0.39**	1.48	−0.18	0.84	−0.28	0.75
Speaks Eng. qu. fluently (1 = yes)	−0.37	0.69	−0.19	0.83	−0.28	0.76	0.9**	2.45
Works in highly skilled profession	−1.35	0.26	−0.53	0.59	−0.86	0.42	0.97**	2.65
Allowed to work in NL	−1.1	0.33	−0.39	0.67	−0.8*	0.45	1.22**	3.40
Single (ref)								
Partner in country of origin	1.1**	3.00	0.1	1.11	−0.61**	0.54	−0.7*	0.50
Partner in NL	−0.32	0.73	0.34	1.41	−0.19	0.83	0.21	1.23
No. of children in country of origin	0.3	1.35	−0.4*	0.67	0.11	1.11	−0.15	0.86
No. of children in NL	−1.06	0.35	−0.65*	0.52	0.55*	1.74	0.61**	1.84
Constant	−4.7**	0.01	−4.5**	0.01	4.38**	80.01	−3.53**	0.03
Nagelkerke r-2	0.36		0.15		0.37		0.44	

Table 5. Descriptive statistics of the dependent and independent variables

	N	Min	Max	Average	SD
Circular	654	0	1	0.17	0.38
Bi-national	654	0	1	0.19	0.39
Footloose	654	0	1	0.36	0.48
Settler	654	0	1	0.26	0.44
Migration age	652	16.58	63.99	29.67	8.66
Sex (1 = male)	652	0	1	0.57	0.50
Polish	654	0	1	0.58	0.49
Romanian	654	0	1	0.17	0.38
Years since (first) migration NL	654	0.00	29.33	2.51	2.29
Intends to stay 1–5 years	651	0	1	0.23	0.42
Intends to stay > 5 years	651	0	1	0.31	0.46
Intends to stay 'Do not know'	651	0	1	0.28	0.45
High school	653	0	1	0.64	0.48
College/university	653	0	1	0.21	0.41
Monthly income (x € 1,000)	610	0.00	6.28	1.45	0.80
Speaks English quite fluently (1 = yes)	654	0	1	0.40	0.49
Works in high profession	654	0	1	0.14	0.34
Allowed to work in NL	654	0	1	0.73	0.45
Partner in country of origin	654	0	1	0.40	0.49
Partner in NL	654	0	1	0.39	0.49
No. of children in country of origin	654	0	4	0.31	0.71
No. of children in NL	654	0	4	0.15	0.49
Listwise N	602				

differences between migrants from the three countries of origin: Poles, Romanians and Bulgarians are just as likely to belong to this category. However, we found that not being allowed to work in the formal Dutch labour market—this goes for Bulgarians and Romanians without a work permit—increases the likelihood of membership in the footloose cluster. Finally, footloose migrants are less likely to have a partner in the country of origin, but are more likely to have children in the Netherlands.

Finally, as to the settlers among our respondents, it may be that a greater distance between the countries of origin and destination promotes settlement migration, with Bulgarian or Romanian respondents more likely to be settlers than Poles. As expected, settlers have been in the Netherlands for a relatively long period of time and they often intend to stay more than five years there (or they do not know yet for how long). Settlers also have significantly higher levels of education, more often speak English fluently, and work in highly skilled professions more often than other migrants. They are also more often allowed to work in the Netherlands (this goes by definition for Poles). Somewhat unexpectedly after all of this, the settlers among our respondents do not have higher incomes than other migrants. Finally, settlement migrants are less likely to have a partner in the country of origin and more likely to have children in the Netherlands, either with a Dutch partner or with a native partner they brought to the Netherlands.

Discussion: Migration Patterns in a Transnational Perspective

The aim of this article was to make sense of post-accession migration from Central and Eastern Europe on the one hand, and to explore the relationship between various labour migration patterns and integration in the destination country on the other. We assumed that East–West migration in Europe would show both relatively 'new' migration patterns (such as highly skilled 'global nomads' who act on a global labour market and drift from one country to another, or 'transmigrants' simultaneously living in various countries) and 'old' migration patterns (such as circular migration for seasonal work, or permanent settlement). To explore these migration patterns, we constructed a conceptual framework based on two dimensions: attachment to—or integration in—the destination country on the one hand and attachment to the country of origin on the other. In order to test our conceptual framework, we conducted an empirical survey (N = 654) among labour migrants in the Netherlands from Poland, Bulgaria and Romania.

The first step in our analysis was to construct and identify the two underlying dimensions. A factor analysis showed that we can indeed distinguish two factors that measure attachment to the destination and to the country of origin, and that these two factors are independent of each other. Secondly, we found four labour migration patterns in our data: (i) circular migrants (mostly seasonal workers), (ii) bi-nationals with strong attachments to both the home country and the country of destination, (iii) footloose migrants with weak attachments to both the home and the destination country, and (iv) settlers. Finally, we were able to explore what kinds of migrant belong to any of these four migration clusters.

Figure 3 summarises the regression results in an ideal-typical way. As we explained before, the distinction between the clusters and the identification of cluster membership should not be taken in absolute terms. Many respondents classified in a specific cluster are relatively close to one or more of the other types. Furthermore, information on nationality is only included if having a certain nationality is associated with cluster membership when other factors are held constant. Bulgarian migrants are over-represented among footloose migrants but this is because Bulgarians often lack a work permit and are often low-skilled. For this reason, 'being Bulgarian' is not mentioned in Quadrant C. We use the phrase 'being Polish' *et cetera* in order to emphasise that we refer to independent variables here and not to the distribution of migration types by nationality.

A first pattern we found was that of circular migration (Quadrant A). Respondents in this cluster were more Polish and, to a lesser extent, Romanian than Bulgarian. We presume that the distance to the home country increases the odds of being a circular migrant. Circular migrants often started to migrate at a later age. Furthermore, they more often have a partner at home and less often intend to stay in the Netherlands for a prolonged period of time (more than five years). We also saw that respondents belonging to this cluster are, on average, less integrated in Dutch society in both a socio-cultural sense (they hardly speak any Dutch, have few contacts with the native
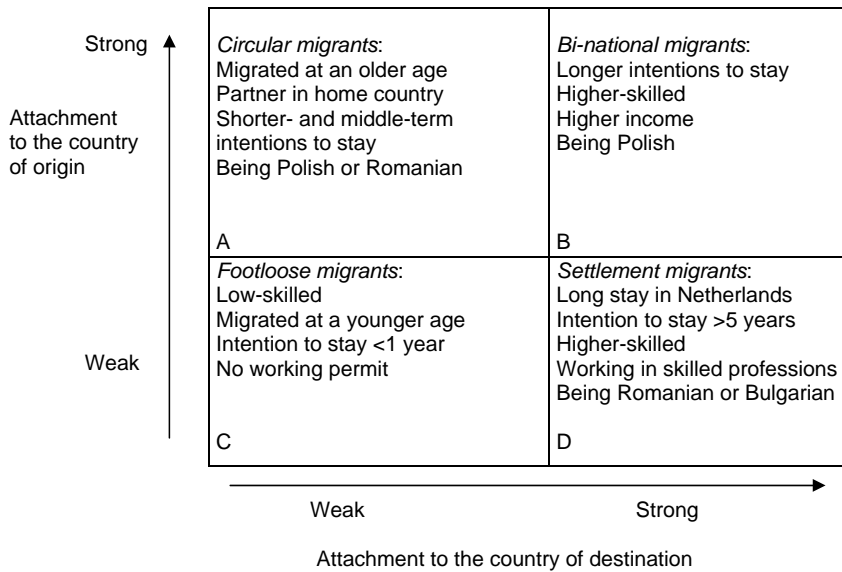
Figure 3 content (quadrant diagram):

Vertical axis: Attachment to the country of origin (Strong at top, Weak at bottom)
Horizontal axis: Attachment to the country of destination (Weak on left, Strong on right)

Quadrant A (top-left):
Circular migrants:
Migrated at an older age
Partner in home country
Shorter- and middle-term intentions to stay
Being Polish or Romanian

Quadrant B (top-right):
Bi-national migrants:
Longer intentions to stay
Higher-skilled
Higher income
Being Polish

Quadrant C (bottom-left):
Footloose migrants:
Low-skilled
Migrated at a younger age
Intention to stay <1 year
No working permit

Quadrant D (bottom-right):
Settlement migrants:
Long stay in Netherlands
Intention to stay >5 years
Higher-skilled
Working in skilled professions
Being Romanian or Bulgarian

Figure 3. Summary of regression results: main determinants of cluster membership

Dutch, and follow the Dutch news only superficially) and in a socio-economic sense (they have a rather weak labour market position and less often have a Dutch bank account than the other migrant categories, except for the footloose migrants).

The second migration pattern was labelled bi-national, since these migrants have strong attachments to both the home and the destination country (Quadrant B). This also shows that a strong attachment to the country of origin is not contrary to integration in the destination country. Bi-national migrants generally have longer intentions to stay in the Netherlands and are higher skilled than other migrants. Polish labour migrants are over-represented in this cluster. Furthermore we found that migrants in this cluster are on average better integrated in Dutch society, both socio-culturally and socio-economically. Besides that, like circular migrants, they also maintain strong attachments to the home country (in terms of having contact with friends and relatives in the home country, visiting the home country, sending remittances back home, and having property and other investments there). Their strong attachment to the home country is made possible by the relatively high income they earn.

The outcomes related to the third pattern (Quadrant C), footloose migration, were the most surprising. Here we expected highly skilled 'global nomads' (Düvell and Vogel 2006) and young, individualistic and ambitious 'searchers' (Eade *et al.* 2006). Instead we found two other categories: on the one hand, low-skilled labour migrants who are often not allowed to work in the Netherlands and, on the other, young labour migrants who had just started their career abroad doing low-skilled work. The footloose migrants appear to be the most marginal category among our respondents: they have weak attachments with the country of origin, but they are also less

integrated in Dutch society, both from a socio-cultural and a socio-economic perspective. They often do not speak Dutch, have few contacts with native Dutch, have hardly any Dutch friends and, of all the categories, have the weakest labour market position. They are often either unemployed or working informally. Furthermore, many footloose migrants do not intend to stay very long in the Netherlands.

The fourth and final migration pattern relates to those respondents who intend to stay in the Netherlands for a long time (more than five years) or permanently (Quadrant D). We have called them settlers. They are relatively often well-educated and work in highly skilled professions. They are also the most integrated category in a socio-cultural sense: they often speak Dutch quite fluently and use the Dutch language quite often, have contact with native Dutch and participate in Dutch civic society more often than all other migrant categories. Poles are relatively under-represented in this category. We specifically found quite a few highly educated Romanian 'knowledge migrants', working in highly skilled professions, who were well integrated in Dutch society.

Our findings demonstrate the relevance of distinguishing different labour migration patterns for the debate on transnationalism and integration. A general statistical analysis shows that there is no strong connection between attachment to the home country and attachment to the country of destination. However, it is crucial to go beyond a general analysis of labour migration and to distinguish different migration patterns. Such an analysis demonstrates that integration in Dutch society can go hand-in-hand with '*strong*' as well as with '*weak*' forms of transnationalism. The bi-national pattern shows a strong transnationalism that is partly made possible by the relatively high income levels of the bi-nationals, while the settlement pattern demonstrates less transnational involvement with the country of origin. Our analysis also reveals that the settlers have as many contacts with family and friends in the home country as the bi-nationals (82 versus 83 contacts per month). However, in respect of the settlers, we are clearly dealing with a much weaker form of transnationalism: settlers maintain contacts with their family and friends in their home country but their economic activities are quite limited. Three possible explanations for this pattern are: (i) the high costs of integration in Dutch society (especially on housing), (ii) limited economic necessities to send money back home and (iii) limited responsibilities for family members in the home country due to processes of individualisation. Family ties have become looser, not only in Western but also in Central and Eastern European societies (Ornacka and Szcepaniak-Wiecha 2005).

Our analysis had a cross-sectional basis. It is, however, important to explore how migrants' attachments and transnational involvements may change over the course of time. Figure 3 should therefore also be viewed in a *dynamic* perspective. Migrants may move from one quadrant to another. Footloose and circular migrants may become settlers or bi-nationals. Moreover, processes of family formation, for example, seem to be related to migration type. If migrants form a family they are more likely to settle, either in the country of origin or in the country of destination.

Footloose and bi-national orientations seem to be less attractive options for families. Future research could also examine the differences and similarities between migration types in more detail than has been done here. We have shown that there are substantial differences between clusters with respect to general levels of integration and transnational activities, yet such differences do not exist for all indicators. To conclude, it is crucial to study the migration careers of respondents longitudinally. In the coming period we hope to follow a substantial number of our respondents over time so as to acquire a better understanding of the dynamics of labour migration and integration patterns in an enlarged Europe without borders.

Acknowledgements

Notes

[1]   On 1 May 2004, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia (A-8) joined the EU, together with the two Mediterranean countries of Malta and Cyprus. Bulgaria and Romania acceded to the EU on 1 January 2007 (A-2).

[2]   There are various reasons for non-registration. First there is the temporary nature of labour migration, particularly seasonal work, meaning that migrants are not required to register. A second factor is that official registration is not relevant for many labour migrants staying longer than six months. They have found private accommodation through their employer or through their own efforts. Self-employed workers also often fail to register. Additionally, there are migrants who do reside legally in Western Europe, but who work illegally because they lack a work permit (this applies to many Romanians and Bulgarians).

[3]   Closer analysis reveals that the Bulgarian respondents are, to a great extent, native to three regions in Bulgaria—the capital city, Sofia, and two regions in the east of the country (Schumen and Varna). Schumen is a city of around 100,000 inhabitants in Bulgaria's interior. Varna, with 315,000 inhabitants, is the country's third city and is on the Black Sea coast. It is significant that the latter two regions are both Turkish-speaking. Many Bulgarian labour migrants in the Netherlands therefore speak Turkish, giving them easy access to the Turkish community in the Netherlands (cf. also Leerkes *et al.* 2007).

[4]   In order to prevent auto-correlation and tautology, we only used individual or household migrant characteristics which could be expected to have an influence on cluster membership, but which were not part of the definition of 'attachment to country of destination' or 'attachment to country of origin'. This distinction was not always clear-cut. For example, having children in the country of origin could be conceptualised as a predictor of cluster membership (probably in the form of a greater inclination to the circular or bi-national type), but could also be seen as an indicator of the attachment to the country of origin. In this case, it was eventually decided to use the number of (minor) children as a predictor rather than as an indicator because, analytically, one could have children somewhere without actually bothering much about them. Similar decisions were made with respect to the other independent variables we eventually used. It is not possible to estimate the effects of 'age', 'age of migration', and 'years passed since the onset of migration' simultaneously: each of these variables can be defined in terms of the two remaining variables (for example: age = age

of migration+years passed since the onset of migration). Therefore, one variable is redundant and only two variables can be included in the regression models. As 'age of migration' and 'years passed since the onset of migration' are more likely to impact on attachment to the country of origin and destination than 'age', we decided to exclude the latter variable from the analyses.

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