Parenting and child care practices among Skilled Indian migrant families in The Netherlands

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1. Introduction

The Dutch statistics bureau published an article about the rapid growth of Indian migration to The Netherlands between 2012 and 2017 (CBS, 2019). The Influx of Indian migrants in 2012 was 3955 and in 2017 it doubled to 8630. 44% of these migrants were highly skilled migrants. 37% of the total migrants were family-migrators, presumably a large part of this can be linked to the trailing family that came along with the 40% high-skilled migrants.

Due to work opportunities, tax benefits and other welcoming arrangements, the Netherlands is an interesting country to move to for skilled migrants. With the so-called 'kennismigrantenvisum' (the high-skilled migrant visa), the migrants are able to live and work in the Netherlands with the necessary permits, a permission for their spouse to work in the Netherlands and they are likely to be eligible for a 30% tax advantage (Buers, Klaver, & Witkamp, 2018). Migrating to the Netherlands is a big and life-changing step, especially from a non-western country. The move of an employee affects not only their life, but the life of their family as well.

The high-skilled migrant visa in the Netherlands is created to attract brain-gain in order to benefit the Dutch economy. The research on high-skilled migrants is mostly focussed on the economic aspects and benefits of the migration for both the migrant and the receiving country (Cooke, 2008; Roodenburg, Euwals & Rele, 2003). The existing research on skilled migrants often only takes the participation in the workforce of the destination into account (Shinozaki, 2014).

However, little research is done on how the high-skilled migrant families live their day-to-day lives in the new country. Because of this we know little about the other factors in society that skilled migrants and their families participate in. There needs to be more research on the social side of the migration of skilled migrants. Highly skilled migrants who are accompanied by their families rely on networking to build community and mothers play a key role in building local social ties (Ryan & Mulholland,2014). The ways in which the joining family members participate in the Dutch society is overlooked in previous studies (Raffaetá, 2016; Shinozaki, 2014).

The life-paths of the high-skilled migrants and the struggle of spouses to participate in the labour market is represented in research (Kulu & Milewski, 2007; Kõu, Mulder & Bailey, 2017), but the family-life of expats is relatively unknown in comparison with the economic participation. Gaining more knowledge on this subject could benefit both the migrants and the host country, because there could be services provided to help high-skilled migrants in setting up and managing their home lives, which supports the cultural habituation and improves the circumstances to fully partake in society.

1.1 Problem definition

Because skilled migrants are very flexible with their living location, their children often are enrolled in international schools and are surrounded with expat culture. In order to know how these skilled migrants get involved and integrate in the Dutch society it is of value to know what happens in the family lives. Due to migration the families' environment changes which possibly leads to a change in parenting and child care practices as well.

The aim of this paper is to get a better understanding of the family life of the high-skilled Indian migrants in the Netherlands and what challenges they face raising their children abroad. The recommendations retrieved from this research will help in providing a more welcoming and supporting environment for the high-skilled migrant families in the Dutch society.

The main question for this paper is:

What do parenting and child care practices among skilled Indian migrants in The Netherlands entail?

The main question is supported by the following four sub-questions:

Raising children is the process of promoting and supporting the development of a child from infancy to adulthood (Raffaetà, 2016). This process is not only executed by the parents, the child often gets support in development from many different people they encounter. This can be relatives or a community, but also in school and in public space they get experiences that support their growth. To gain knowledge on the influence of other people than the migrant parents on the child rearing in the Netherlands, the following question is drawn up:

1. *What are the experiences of the Indian parents concerning social support in The Netherlands?*

Apart from the people the migrant parents get in contact with, there are the cultural values that surround parenting. The migrants have brought their home culture along and are confronted with the host culture in the Netherlands. There might be values and traditions that the parents are unfamiliar with that they would like to incorporate in their parenting. Or there might be values and traditions that they want to keep out of their children's lives. The following question focuses on the cultural aspects of parenting:

2. *In what way are the home culture and the Dutch culture involved with the parenting and childcare practices?*

There are special agencies and welcoming centres in the Netherlands that help high-skilled migrants settle down. They help with housing, banking and education, among other things. To get a more complete understanding of the high-skilled Indian parenting and the benefits and usage of these supporting options the following question is drawn:

3. *In what way do the Indian parents use Dutch support systems for raising their children in the Netherlands?*

1.2 Relevance

This paper will provide insight in the lives of high-skilled Indian migrants that focuses on the community aspects of their move instead of the economic values. This research will help give a better understanding of how high-skilled migrants fill in their lives in the Dutch society, especially on how they raise their children in the Dutch environment. Insights found in this analysis can be used to offer support to the high-skilled migrants in parenting in the Netherlands.

Most research on migration to the Netherlands is focused on refugees and labour migrants for low-skilled jobs (De Vroome & Van Tubergen, 2010; Bakker, Dagevos & Engbersen, 2017; Jennissen, 2011). The high-skilled migrants is a large group that enters the Dutch labour market. The majority of expats come from other European countries or the United States of America (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2019). It is of value to do research to the social side of these migrations from Asia to increase the knowledge of these human flows beyond just the economical tracks.

Research on family life of Indian skilled migrants is beneficial for both the academic world and the Dutch community because it will support understanding of migration practices and considerations. This knowledge can be used to facilitate programs on a better well-being of migrants which supports an increase of an all-round participation in society. Research on this could also provide new insights to the impact on the country of destination, the migrants and their social environment. The Dutch government can possibly use this information for evaluation on the policy of the high-skilled migrant visa and the offered support for the people that receive this visa.

In Human Geography the aim is to involve the context in order to understand a concept or situation better and to be able to place it in a wider framework. This paper aims to support a wider framework about high-skilled Indian migration by collecting information of their parenting in the Netherlands, in order to create more context for future understanding of this influential migration group. This paper will help provide insight in the potential adjustments that parents make and how they are supported or hindered by the geographic cultural context of The Netherlands.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Highly skilled migration

The definitions of the highly skilled vary, they have been proposed predominantly in the research fields economics and political science (Raffaetà, 2016; Cangià, Levitan, & Zittoun, 2018). In this paper the definition as stated by Weinar & Klekowski von Koppenfels (2020) is taken into account: "highly skilled migrants are those who qualify for highly skilled imigration schemes and are thus captured in data by specific immigration channels." The highly skilled migrants is a group that from a theoretical point of view is usually presented in terms of human capital of the individuals. People are assumed to move to labour markets whose requirements match their education and work experience, and where they expect to receive the most satisfying pay-off for their investment in human capital. This line of reasoning thus views migrants rather as economic agents but not as social agents (Kõu, van Wissen, van Dijk & Bailey, 2015). There has been an increase in the global competition for highly skilled migrants and their impact in maintaining the economic growth of developed countries. In EU countries, population ageing and decline in some regions has meant that many countries are dependent on foreign skilled labour both to innovate and to sustain their economies. Many of the skilled migrants come from low- and middle-income countries, often to work in the field of information technology (Bailey & Mulder, 2017) .

2.2 Family migration

The skilled migrants that have spouses and children do tend to bring their families with them to the countries they will work in, not only when they go there for a longer period of time, but also with short-stay experiences.

"The global shift to immigration policies that favour skilled immigrants have had a rather unintended consequence: an influx of spouses. Whereas the classic "organisational expatriate" was the purely temporary migrant and the spouse was indeed a "trailing spouse," often without the right to work, highly skilled immigrants nowadays can settle in countries that pursue skilled settlement migration programs that can cater also to the spouse. So there is less "trailing" and more "family reunification" all around the globe." -Weinar & Klekowski von Koppenfels, 2020

The migrant families often have different levels of integration in the country of destination, due to the contacts that they have in the host society (Cooke, 2008). Unlike the migrant parents, who are born and educated in the home society, the children commonly become involved members of the host society as they join the community by following education and taking part in the community in their day-to-day lives by playing with the other kids (Portes & Rivas, 2011).

Ryan and Mulholland (2014) explore how highly skilled migrant families access networks in their new environment in the United Kingdom. They state that the mothers play a key-role in the composition of social ties and the expansion of networks. Ryan and Mulholland differentiates between emotional, informational and instrumental support, companionship and socialising as the key points that these networks are for. Bergh & Plessis (2012) also affirm on the women playing vital roles in the process of socialization. As the men often work full time, they do build a

professional network with their colleagues and business contacts, for the social network it is mostly the women that create the contacts.

The dominant image of mobile professionals is that of flexible individuals who easily move between places with no set time frame in mind. There is a new interest formed in the mobile professionals that are joined by their family in the host country.   Cangià, Levitan & Zittoun (2017) point out the complexities that the skilled individuals and their families experience by migration. They explore the boundaries relating to different aspects of intimate life, as well as to the way people make sense of personal and family transformation across time. On the one hand moving to new destinations can be the occasion for living new experiences and meeting new cultures. On the other hand, personal transformation or a new event in family life allowed by the experience of migration, can affect the way individuals relate to diversity, and make sense of the distinctions between themselves and others (Cangià et al, 2017).

2.3 Life course approach
The life course approach has become a research paradigm in many areas of social sciences. According to this approach, an individual's life is composed of a series of transitions or life events, which are embedded in trajectories or careers that give them a distinct form and meaning (Marshall & Mueller, 2003). The life-course approach examines life trajectories of individuals with the aim of explaining their movements between various statuses and roles. While individual life events and patterns of life trajectories are the focus of empirical analysis, the wider objective is to explain and understand social change and social phenomena (Kulu & Milewski, 2007).

The approach shows interest in how individuals and groups organize their lives in relation to others, society and its institutions motivates lifecourse analyses of linking and, more specifically, practices and ideologies of synchronization. As with human geography more generally, this relational thrust has been accompanied and enriched by a consideration of space and place – specifically, sensitivity to the ways in which contingencies affect synchronization (Bailey, 2009). The life course approach is useful to collect richer accounts of gender relations, family relations, and social networks, and giving attention to sequence and temporal contingency (Bailey, 2009).

2.4 Linked lives
Kulu & Milewski (2007) express that in studies of internal and international migration opportunities in educational and occupational domains are considered major reasons why individuals decide to change their region or country of residence. These opportunities not only have an effect on the individuals, but also on the people they are connected with, also known as 'linked lives'. The term 'linked lives' refers to the interaction with and interdependence of social relationships, and thus to recognise the role of others in forming the life course trajectories and transitions of an individual (Elder, 1994).

The lives the high-skilled migrants are linked to are primarily that of their parents, spouses and children. In Indian culture family is considered the centre of social organisations and close

family ties are produced and maintained by and large through the extended or joint family system (Kõu, Mulder & Bailey, 2017). Indian parents play an important role in the lives of the (adult) children, they are heavily involved in the decisions they make. Parents often advise which field of study to choose, and are involved in the formation of relationships (Kõu, Mulder & Bailey, 2017).

 Linked lives are the lives that are connected with each other and therefore the behaviour of the members is of influence on the others. Research mainly views the wives as the subject of linked lives in the context of migration. Cooke (2008) states that women, and especially mothers of young children experience a sizable long-term decline in both labour-force participation and employment following family migration. These sorts of studies provide strong evidence that gendered roles are of primary importance in shaping family migration behaviour. However, the gender role perspective on linked lives does not directly link the consequences of family migration to the actual beliefs, values, relations and behaviours (Cooke, 2008).

Many Indian migrants view working abroad as a temporary life phase, and after that they will return to India to start a family and raise their children there (Kirk, Bal & Janssen 2017; Kõu et al. 2015). However, due to their high-skilled status it can be beneficial for them to stay in the Netherlands or another western country while raising a family. There are profitable tax schemes, high wages and the educational system and welfare is well developed.

2.5 Cultural Aspects
India is a nation characterized by cultural diversity and plurality at many levels. Heterogeneity is a prominent feature of social reality. In India, the family is a fundamental social institution that has a definitive influence on the lives of all its members. The family is central to all levels of social interaction (Tuli, 2012).

The cultural aspects of raising children can also be viewed through the lens of the life course approach. The life course approach can be used to understand the events (or transitions) and trajectories or careers in key life domains of education, employment, household and migration. The trajectories/careers evolve simultaneously, or parallel to each other, and are intertwined with one another (Kõu, van Wissen, van Dijk & Bailey, 2015).

The cultural background that the parents bring along from India and the 'new' culture that the migrants and their children get in touch with are influenced by the parenting approach. Apart from the Indian and Dutch culture, the high-skilled migrants get in contact with an international or expat culture, where they find themselves among a group of migrants with their own set of norms, values and general approach to life (Van Bakel, Gerritsen& Van Oudenhoven, 2014).

Although the traditional role of women as housewives is losing its place in Indian culture among the higher educated, perceptions of the different norms of combining professional career and family life for both genders still tend to remain (Kõu et al., 2015). In Dutch culture, many households have two (part-time) working parents , and children are sent to day-care (De Ruijter,

2004). This differs from the Indian way of upbringing, where the children are taken care of by the family-focussed society with the emphasis of motherly care. The Indian cultural idea of woman is in the role of a wife, mother or daughter, in service of the family or as a supporter of a man pursuing a just cause (Kirk, Bal & Janssen 2017). Dark (2008) states that the woman in the role of mother is idealised as protector of Indian culture and traditions.

Indian migrants found themselves distanced in culture from their parents, in India there would always be someone around, the social control was intense. In the Netherlands there is a lack of social control in the Dutch culture. This liminality in the Netherlands could be simultaneously liberating and isolating (Kirk, Bal & Janssen 2017). To have the freedom to raise children in the way one sees fit is liberating, but the lack of support by family and home community can cause feelings of isolation.

A main source to share the Indian culture is through food. The sharing of a dish and the richness in spices and cooking processes helps to connect to the Indian culture. Research has shown that the Indian migrants are not fond of the Dutch cuisine and they view it as a lack of care and individualistic to not have a shared cooking process and sharing of food with a big group (Kirk, Bal & Janssen 2017).

Another important aspect of the Indian family culture is the focus on providing opportunities for the children and the central concern on conduct (Tuli, 2012). Indian parents view education as an important aspect, as diploma's enhance the opportunities for work and respect in society. It is common practice to help and support children in their growth and development by focussing on school and extracurricular activities (Donner, 2018). A widespread belief is the duty of parents to provide children with a divergent variety of inputs and experiences at an early age. This is coupled with the belief that the parents need to provide the children with a drafted direction for their development (Tuli, 2012).

2.6 Child Care Division India
Child rearing in India is a joint task, grandparents often take care of the children while the parents are at work (if the mother does not stop working after having children). Children in India grow up in a network of multiple interactions with members from within and outside the family. Despite the pivotal role played by mothers in the lives of their children, the raising of children has often been a shared experience with family, friends and others in the neighborhood (Tuli, 2012).

The high-skilled migrants often have spouses that are also engaged in higher education that are willing to join the workforce. Childcare can form a challenge now with the lack of families living close by. It could be that by the migration of the high-skilled individual and one's family a trigger is set for migration of linked lives, such as their parents. There are known cases of grandparents that migrate in order to take care of their grandchildren (Cooke, 2008).

To better understand the processes underlying highly skilled migration, it should be viewed as a part of an integral system of previous and future life course events of the migrants

and their significant others. Family members should be seen as an important factor in shaping the migration decisions of an individual (Kõu, Mulder & Bailey, 2017).

2.7 Child Care Division Netherlands

Changes in the composition of households – especially the growing number of dual earners and singles – are often assumed to be associated with an increase in domestic outsourcing. In The Netherlands the composition of households has changed significantly over the past decades. The relative number of dual-earner and single households has increased (De Ruijter,2004). There has been an increase in the use of daycare for children that can be viewed as indicative of a shift in societal values concerning childcare. In general parents are more inclined to hire childcare. Households with two working parents face time pressure when trying to combine family with work responsibilities, and singles have to carry the household and external tasks alone (De Ruijter, 2004).

In The Netherlands is the outsourcing of childcare divided into different types of services. The most common forms of child care services are day-care centres, often linked to schools, nannies, and small scale day-care by a single carer, often hosted in the house of the carer (Rijksoverheid, 2020). At the day-care centres there are children of a wide range of ages together in a group. The small scale host parents often have just one to four children to take care of, that they accommodate in their own homes. Nannies provide their services in the homes of the children.

Informal childcare in The Netherlands is often performed by the grandparents. Households without a grandmother are at a disadvantage because grandmothers are the network members who are most likely to take care of children (Van Dijk & Siegers,1996).

Parents often have arrangements with the grandparents where they will take care of the children for a set amount of moments in a week or a month. However, it is not common to have family as full time caretakers of the children for all the hours the parents are not able to accommodate (Verhoef, Tammelin, May., Rönkä & Roeters, 2016). Other family members are involved in the care of children but in general not on a regular basis (Van wel & Klein, 2006; Verhoef et al., 2016; Van Dijk & Siegers,1996).

2.8 Support programmes

In the Netherlands the high-skilled migrants are not actively supported by the government in their immigration process, the employer is expected to help them with the paperwork and be their reference to the IND (the immigration service) (Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, 2019). There are several welcoming centres, some are linked to cities such as Amsterdam, Utrecht and The Hague (IWCN 2020; IWCUR 2020; IN Amsterdam 2020). These welcoming centres are set up to help high-skilled migrants to settle in the Netherlands, they have contact with special agencies to help with providing housing, banking, health and education for the skilled migrants. There are options to follow Dutch courses and get help with the cultural accumulation and social integration, but this is not mandatory for the high-skilled migrants. Again, this freedom can be liberating, but also creates ground for culture shock, misunderstanding and isolation (Kirk & Bal, 2019).
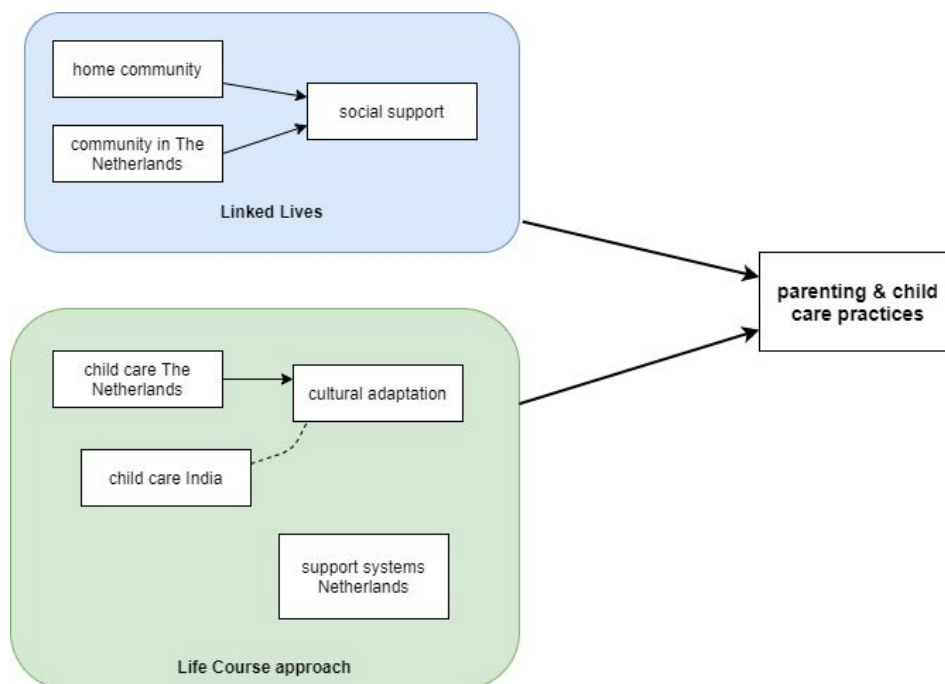
3.Conceptual Model

Figure 1: conceptual model parenting and child care practices.

The model consists of the two main approaches that form the lens that is used to view the parenting and child care practices among the Indian skilled migrant families. The home community and the communities that the families participate in in The Netherlands forms the social support for the families. These social relationships with the lives they are linked with are of importance for forming the life course trajectories and transitions of the individuals (Elder, 1994).

The child care practices that are common in The Netherlands are of influence on the cultural adaptation of the Indian families. However, the child care practices that they know from their home culture are not to be forgotten in the way that the families organize their lives in relation to others and society. The support systems in The Netherlands should be taken into account as they are part of the environment where the lifecourse of the families as a group and as an individual is shaped. Together, the aspects that are envisioned in the linked lives and the life course approach will lead to a better understanding of the parenting and child care practices among Indian skilled migrant families in The Netherlands.

4. Methodology

4.1 Qualitative research

Qualitative research is a method used for in-depth studies that refers to meanings, definitions, concepts and descriptions of things. The goal is the understanding of the viewpoint of the subject (Mason, 2017). By doing so it seeks to contribute to a better understanding of social realities and to draw attention to processes, meaning patterns and structural features. Those remain closed to non-participants, but are also, as a rule, not consciously known by actors caught up in their unquestioned daily routine.

Qualitative research, with its precise and 'thick' descriptions, does not simply depict reality, nor does it practise exoticism for its own sake. It rather makes use of the unusual or the deviant and unexpected as a source of insight and a mirror whose reflection makes the unknown perceptible in the known, and the known perceptible in the unknown, thereby opening up further possibilities for (self-) recognition (Hopf, 2004) .

With the use of interviews the perspective of the high-skilled Indian parents on their unique situation can be accessed. A semi-structured interview fits the research best because there are a few topics that need to be discussed in order to get answers on the sub-questions.
Semi-structured interviews offer the opportunity to prepare questions and follow a general line in the conversation. However, in semi-structured interviews there is room to expand beyond the set questions and explore more of the narrative of the subject that might lead to new insights (Mason, 2017).

The interviews are held online, via video call as at the time of the research there are restrictions to meet up in person due to the spread of COVID-19. The benefits of online interviews is that the moment of interview can be better fitted to the participant and there is no restriction on the location of the interview. The participant can be in a well-known environment and this is beneficial for the comfort of the participant. The disadvantage of holding interviews at a distance is that it is harder to observe the body language and other non-verbal communication of the participant (Hopf, 2004).

4.2 Participants

In order to learn more about the family life of highly skilled Indian migrants, the aim for the data collection is to get 15 interviews with skilled Indian mothers that are raising their families in The Netherlands. The focus is on women as they are in most cases the linked movers, and women are underrepresented in the migrant research (Cooke, 2008). To get the stories of the women in these skilled migrant situations is of interest for this research as traditionally the women are more involved in the care of the children.

Initial contact with the Indian mothers is made through International schools in Utrecht and Amstelveen, as well as online via Facebook groups and through the website https://icinnl.nl/

(Indian help center in Netherlands). The contact with the schools did not lead to any interviews, but the contact with the Indian help centre did. Most of the participants are found in the Facebook groups for Indian expats, where a flyer was posted to get in contact. There was not much of a snowball effect in this project, even though the flyer was sent in different whatsapp groups after contact with women through Facebook. Only two participants were contacted through other participants.

Table 1: characteristics of the participants

1 Sania	Occupation: seeking employment Age child(ren): 4 years old Duration stay NL: short term Day-care: no	8 Ananya	Occupation: housewife Age child(ren): 4 & 1 years old Duration stay NL: short term Day-care: no
2 Munira	Occupation: housewife Age child(ren): 1 year old Duration stay NL: unknown Day-care: no	9 Kavita	Occupation: employed Age child(ren): 2 Duration stay NL: short term Day-care: no
3 Ankita	Occupation: employed Age child(ren): 6 years old Duration stay NL: long term Day-care: no	10 Rajathi	Occupation: housewife Age child(ren): 4 & 7 years old Duration stay NL: short term Day-care: no
4 Deepti	Occupation: employed Age child(ren): 10 & 0 years old Duration stay NL: long term Day-care: no	11 Varsha	Occupation: employed Age child(ren): 0 & 5 years old Duration stay NL: long term Day-care: yes
5 Leela	Occupation: housewife Age child(ren): 1 year old Duration stay NL: unknown Day-care: no	12 Nupur	Occupation: employed Age child(ren): 5 years old Duration stay NL: long term Day-care: yes
6 Sheetal	Occupation: seeking employment Age child(ren): 4 years old Duration stay NL: long term Day-care: yes	13 Harshita	Occupation: employed Age child(ren): 8 & 13 years old Duration stay NL: long term Day-care: yes
7 Tejal	Occupation: seeking employment Age child(ren): 7 & 4 years old Duration stay NL: long term Day-care: no	14 Binita	Occupation: employed Age child(ren): 4 years old Duration stay NL: long term Day-care: yes

Table 1 is an overview over the characteristics from the participants. The names that are used are all pseudonyms. The age of the children gives an impression of the structure of the family, as well as an indication of participation in school. The duration of stay in The Netherlands is divided into long term, short term and unknown. This is the indication that the women stated themselves. Long term is described as more than five years, short term is described as less

than five years. Some families had no clear vision for their stay and therefore stated unknown length of stay.

4.3 The interviews

The interviews with the participants are held online, over a (video) call on the social media platform of preference of the participants. There have been calls on Skype, Facebook and Whatsapp. In total there are 14 interviews with Indian mothers and one interview with the president of a foundation that integrates Indian expatriates in The Netherlands. A copy of the interview guide is added in the appendix.

The online interviews were favourable for the participants as the scheduling was very flexible. Interviews took place at all different times of the day between 08:00 and 22:00. In some cases there were technical difficulties which resulted in a decreased quality of sound. This was of negative influence on the conversation as it felt less natural for the participants to have to repeat answers. In one case the topic of conversation triggered negative emotions with the participant and the conversation was paused for a moment in order to give the participant some rest. The distance through the screen between the interviewer and the participant made it difficult to pick up on clues such as body language and intonation.

4.4 Data processing

The interviews are coded in NVivo, with a coding guide that is developed beforehand. In an open semi-structured interview the important text passages are not always found in the direct context of the question that was asked; the aspects that the interviewer introduces are frequently only taken up later in more explicit form, or else they turn up (again) in response to a different question within a quite different context (Hopf, 2004, p.255). Therefore all interviews are processed two to three times in order to make sure the coding guides are followed properly. The Coding guide is added to the appendix. The coding guide that was developed beforehand did get expanded during the first round of processing, as there was information shared in the interviews that was not included in the initial coding guide. After the first processing of the interviews the coding guide did not get altered for the next two sessions.

5. Analysis

5.1 Going to The Netherlands

The families had varied intentions for going to The Netherlands. Most families were not completely sure about the duration of their stay in The Netherlands, only seven women stated that they settled down for a longer period of time. One of the main reasons was that their children were in Dutch primary and secondary education and they wanted to give them a stable environment to develop themselves and really get adapted to the Dutch life. One woman stated as a disclaimer that if it was needed for the family, they would go back to India to take care of them.

"(…) we bought a house here so we are planning on staying here for a longer term. Almost until she finishes her graduation I think. But if we want to go back earlier we will go home, because we have our parents in India."

Other women pointed out that they are here for the international experience, they do not have a desire to stay in The Netherlands for a longer period of time. These women can be divided in two groups. One group described themselves as economic migrants, they follow the opportunities in the professional lives of one or both spouses and do not focus on the location of that opportunity. Some of them already lived outside India for other work projects and are now in The Netherlands. They fit the classic description of the flexible individuals that do not experience boundaries in location or time frame to build up a life (Cangià et al., 2017).

The other group sees living in Europe as an opportunity to experience a new culture and explore new places. They do not plan on searching for other opportunities away from India and take this moment as a chance to experience life outside their known environment. Many Indian migrants view working abroad as a temporary life phase, and after that they will return to India to start a family and raise their children there (Kõu et al. 2015). The families that deliberately came to The Netherlands for a short term stay all have small children that did not attend school yet, they felt like this was the best moment to travel and when the child starts education they wanted to be back in India.

"Yeah, so that's the only reason we wanted to come here, to see a new place and see how does it look like to probably be in the Europe, and travel all over Europe and in two or three years we will probably go back"

These different approaches to moving abroad are in line with the life-course approach where the aim is to explain and understand social change and social phenomena on the basis of individual life events, and patterns of life trajectories (Kulu & Milewski, 2007).

5.2 Settling in The Netherlands

To get settled in The Netherlands most families were not provided with settling services from the employers, only two families were set up with housing and schooling for the children. The other families did not seek help by agencies other than for housing. In the case of housing, the

families had contact with agencies, but did not always get a house with that help. When they searched for something online they did contact an agency to help them get the wanted house, they did contact the agencies because they did not understand the procedures in The Netherlands and with the language barrier they felt safer by using an extern party to close deals. There were only two families that got help with settling from the husband's employer. They had help with filing the paperwork, finding housing and schools for the children. The contact with the school went via an online interview so the parents could see where the children would be going to.

"the company provided all (…) our, our travel related help, so including the school interviews for here, so from India we have talked to the schools. Because that was a very important decision for the kids and that happened all before we landed here via my husband's company."

Most families got in Indian expat Facebook groups where they were able to connect with others and ask for help if necessary. In general these were questions about finding Indian stores to buy the products that they cannot find in other shops. Two women stated that they arrived in neighbourhoods with very friendly neighbours that told them to reach out if they ever needed help. At first one mother thought that they said it just to be polite, but the neighbours regularly checked in with them and they were very touched by this experience.

"I really don't feel like I need an agency because I am blessed with a very helpful neighbourhood. I mean, they don't just tell, they really do things for you. Many times when I ask, they just say oh we'll do that."

The first period of settling in The Netherlands was in most cases less supported by the employer than at first was expected. The women did not view this as a significant problem that they faced, as they reached out to the internet with questions. They found sufficient support there at first.

Box 1: Daily life

There are some differences between the daily lives of the mothers that do have a job and the ones that do not work. Almost all mothers have a degree in higher education and most of them do want to work, but they experience difficulties applying for jobs in The Netherlands. Therefore there are mothers that do have the ambition to work but have to stay home and take care of the children. Others choose to stay home and see it as their job to be a homemaker and provide the care for their children. In the four cases where both parents work full time the children are sent to day-care, the parents do not have nannies or family to care for the children when the parents are out. The parental care for the children comes mostly from the mothers, as the fathers have full time jobs and often have to travel.

The general routine for the mothers is to take care of household chores, they spend a lot of time preparing traditional food and getting the products for that. Besides household chores they take care of the children and try to stay in contact with the family. They feel a pressure with these tasks, in India they shared these with family or they were able to afford household assistance that they are missing out on in The Netherlands. Some of the mothers are very happy with their lives as a housewife and are very proud of how they are managing a family abroad. Others experience a sense of being stuck and struggle with their sense of belonging and homesickness.

5.3 Social connection with the Dutch
On the topic of finding social connection after migrating, there is a significant difference between the mothers that do have a job in The Netherlands and the mothers that stay at home. The mothers that do work feel more connected with the Dutch people and they state that they have very nice colleagues that help them out a lot and that they find the Dutch people friendly and helpful. The women that do not have work and therefore take care of the children by day point out that they feel a lack of social connection. The women struggle with this and experience a sense of being out of place and a desire to go back to India. This has a negative effect on the mental well-being of the mothers and they experience the tasks of housework and childcare as exhausting and feel a lack of fulfillment by staying in the house.

"In a typical scenario the husband goes to work so he goes to the office all day, he makes social contacts with people outside of his family. The kid goes to school and also makes friends in school. It is the woman who at first may not be able to find a job because that is quite difficult. She is the one that is going to struggle because how do you make social contacts in a country if you do not know anybody and it is not like you are meeting people up at the Albert Heijn."

"Ehm, I would say, being new to this place, I don't have so much contacts and I don't really have a social life. I was bound to experience a lot of homesickness."

Some women pointed out that they did have good contact with their neighbours, they were told they can always ask for help and they greet each other in the street. But it is not the connection

they hoped it would be in the neighbourhood. It is not the level of community that they are used to in India as they do feel a barrier to get a deeper relationship with the neighbours.

"And neighbours also, everyone talks, smiles with us. So you know, everything is fine. So that way, they're also good. Nothing, like, but there's no personal relation with any Dutch people. Like not, they come to our home or we go to their home. Nothing like that. But then, hi, hello, is okay."

There is one mother who does have an excellent relationship with her neighbours, she works from home so she does not meet a lot of colleagues, but she feels very connected with her neighbourhood.

" In my experience, yeah, my experience has been very different from my other Indian friends. So they, my neighbourhood is very friendly, they talk to each other, they help each other and they share. Which means they lend things to you. Ehm, they will, it will be a simple garden tool to a trailer, you know. Ehh, they offer to pick your kid up as they're going. They lend you things without any expectations. (….) We are very lucky, other friends of mine always tell me you're so lucky with the sweet neighbours, we struggle with this and that, so I really am blessed."

The social connections with the Dutch people vary between the mothers, and the majority express an absence of community feeling in the Dutch society, which they would like to have increased.

5.4 Indian community
The connection with Indian community differs between the families. Some are actively involved in Indian communities, both online and offline and others are only following some Indian expat Facebook groups. There are a couple of organizations that are facilitating opportunities for Indians to find community and connections in The Netherlands.

"(..)basically it's like welcoming the new people and making them comfortable with the environment and the place and getting introduced to people and socializing and you feel at home the moment you meet people and socialize with them. You feel confident about the place you stay and you feel the fact that you are okay. We have few well known faces or like reach out, make sure to let people that feel you okay. And you don't feel that you are alone or left alone, stranded in a new country."

The women reported that they do like the Facebook groups and the opportunities for meet-ups. Online they find connections with likeminded people and they can ask for help.

"We are part of the online conversation, like people have questions about food or the schools for kids, in the group we do talk about that. Or like the festivals that are celebrated, or where you get this stuff. These kinds of conversations happen in these groups."

The Indian culture knows a lot of festivals and many of those are celebrated in The Netherlands. Most families attend festivals in order to keep in touch with friends and make more social connections, as well as an opportunity to expose their children to an important part of Indian culture.

"And when there are Indian festivals, then also we try to meet up and celebrate that festival so that our kids have some knowledge of the culture and about the way, how we celebrate the festival. But if we celebrate it alone then kids don't know much about it. But then when we are in a group, mostly the festivals are supposed to be like that, celebrating together. So we try to show them, like, this is the way how we celebrate and have fun."

The families mostly find the Indian community in The Netherlands online and some families participate in meet-ups and festivals regularly. But there are also families that do not pursue an active participation in the Indian community. They feel more connected with an international community and feel like they should not focus too much on the Indian community as they are in a different country and have the opportunity to interact with others. But to teach their children about their background they do take part in some celebrations.

" I just have 2 or 3 families that I interact with because when I moved to this country it was a conscious decision that I not to, ehh, venture into our own community because we need to understand the country. So in the first 3 years, we did not attend to, so India has a lot of festivals and they're all celebrated in the Netherlands. But we did not go to any of them. But when my daughter grew, I think last year was the first time, and we thought maybe she should know her roots."

"We did not really seek out the Indian community in particular. When my husband started it was more a deliberate choice, you also become a bit more, it is really hard to describe, but while we do want to have that exposure for our daughter which at least she is picking up the language you can also get into this mindset where everybody is so Indian because they are away from India and that starts bothering you a bit."

The connection with the Indian community in The Netherlands differs a lot between the families, some found a social circle that they connect with and find support with. Others are passive in the interaction, but do feel like they want to get more connected with the community and the last group does not feel like actively connecting with the Indian community, because they want to experience life outside their home culture.

Box 2: Family

"there is always someone in the family to take care of the children. It goes away with the children. This ancient thinking of our ancestors, attachment has to be there with children and the family."

The women all talked about their families as an important part of their daily lives. Almost all women had daily contact with their families over the phone or via video-call. They also made sure that the children spoke to their grandparents at least once a week, but they prefer more contact with the grandparents. They state that the family in India is very involved with the lives of the family in The Netherlands and that they stay over as often as possible. All the interviewed families try to go to India at least once a year to visit relatives and stay with family.

There is one mother that got the opportunity to work in The Netherlands for six months and she left her child with her parents for over a year before she got her to The Netherlands because of a more permanent stay. The support of the family is very important for the Indian expats and they express that they miss the intense and easy contact with family.

5.5 Gentle Parenting

Most women stated that they pursue 'gentle parenting'. This style is focused on helping the children and explaining to them why things are asked from them. Gentle parenting is not something they all have experienced in their own upbringing and they point out that it is sometimes still difficult to find their own way of parenting. They refer to their Asian upbringing in order to explain that they do a lot of things for the children and give them much assistance.

"If I want her to do something, then instead of forcing her to do it, I am explaining her what are the pros and cons of that thing and then she can choose what she wants to choose."

An example that illustrates the close bond between parents and their children is that in Indian culture the whole family co-sleeps in the same room, often in the same bed. The children and the parents co-sleep together and it differs until what age this happens. Sometimes children go to another room by the age of five or six, but it can be at any age really, often it is between eleven and fourteen. There is not a guideline for this, it is just the circumstances of the family.

 "I think like putting a child in a different room is a very weird concept for us. We would never do that. Like letting a child sleep in their own bedroom. I think I slept with my parents until I was 12 years old. And even only because my sister was born."

The mothers with younger children try to go with the flow, they do have an outline for the planning of the day but they are open to changing situations.

It's go with the flow. Although as a mother of two, I plan many but you're to deal with mood swings, you're to deal, you know other activities. They tend to miss deadlines. And I'm still fine with it. They are after all kids, they should have their own lives and time to learn."

The parents are making sure the children have all the opportunities to learn and provide care and assistance in as many ways as possible. This is a key factor in Indian family culture and is also represented by the migrant families (Tuli, 2012).

Box 3: Infant care

There were two mothers that had a child during their period of living in the Netherlands and both had a different approach for the moment of birth of the baby and the first period after delivery. One mother stayed in The Netherlands and her parents came over to support her in the last weeks of her pregnancy and the first months with the child. When her parents had to leave the country the grandmother on the husband's side joined for three months to help take care of the family in The Netherlands.

   The other mother decided to go back to her family in India for the last period of the pregnancy and the first months after the delivery. She wanted to have her child in a familiar environment where she would get support of the people she has a close bond with.

5.6 Parenting influences

Several of the mothers stated that they have a different approach and are not typical Indian parents, because they are less strict and see every day as a different day. Only one woman described her parenting style as following the ancient roots of how she was brought up in Asia. So the general idea is that in India the parenting is more strict than in The Netherlands and the parents are more controlling over the children. This can be related to the family-centred culture where parents are in service of their children (Kirk, Bal & Janssen 2017)

Most women did describe that their parenting was a mix of what they learned from their own mother, which leads back to the importance of family and community, Indian culture and the Dutch culture that they are involved with. They spoke of the focus on a schedule for the day as an important part of parenting and how the Dutch are very strict on the sleeping schedule.

They observed that Dutch children go to bed very early in comparison to children in India and the mothers did like that and incorporated it in their routines. They also noticed that Dutch parents are very focussed on independence and letting the children figure things out themselves. This is something that most parents admired and incorporated in their own parenting.

"but then my husband says you know, she needs to learn to fight her own battles. She needs to fight back, and she will not learn herself as we keep on helping her, so let her learn herself. Let her get the push. You know moms are very protective about the kids, but I am learning now with the Dutch parents here, you know. You need to let the kid go."

One of the families hired a babysitter for the children, not to take care of the children when the parents are out, but to learn more about the Dutch practices among children. They are staying

long-term in The Netherlands and they want to learn more about the Dutch upbringing so they have her around to play with the children and tell them more about how she was raised and what other Dutch kids usually do.

5.7 Involvement education

Another important point of the Indian parenting practices is the focus on studying. They are very actively involved in the education of the children. They take time with the younger children that do not go to school or the playschool to make sure they are actively learning something daily.

"He is free to do so the time he wants to play or… But yes in a day for one or two hours I try that he learns something new."

"I don't know how they do in Dutch culture because I really have minimum Dutch friends, but for her there is everyday study time. Where she has to do write, read or paint. Like then she really has to do things, yes. Like writing alphabet, reading a book, she has to sit and do it from 5 to 6, so every day at least an hour for the reading and writing."

The women stated that the schooling is much more relaxed in The Netherlands. They were surprised that in primary school there is no homework and in the first two groups the children do not 'learn'. On the one hand they find it a positive experience that there is not much pressure put on the young children and that a significant part of the curriculum is focused on playing, discovering and exercise instead of intensive testing.

"Like my daughter can write her name and a little. But they already write cursive and are doing additions. They can read. My daughter cannot read, haha. Because she will start that in group 3. So I, if I have to compare I only see good things because I don't want a stressful childhood. I only want a happy child."

Some mothers do express their concern on the system in primary education, because when they compare their children with others of their age they feel like they are behind on some subjects. They are worried that their children are getting a disadvantage in the future, but this changes when they go to secondary education. One mother had two children, one in primary and one in secondary and she said the following:

"But yeah, all of that is a very good thing, but still I feel little. Because compared to other countries the pressure is really really low, so it needs a bit of balance, so they won't feel that other kids are ahead of me. 'they know everything that I don't know yet'. That kind of a thing. So that is something I see in the primary. (…) So I see that middelbaar, they're having, the pressure... It is not pressure I would say but the volume, the requirement is really equivalent to any other countries, but in the primary it is very differen. Sometimes I am a little worries about my younger one..."

Box 4: Education System

The education system in The Netherlands is very different from the system that the parents are used to. In The Netherlands at the level of secondary school the education is divided into three levels that lead to different educational paths. The system is confusing for the families and they do not know how to choose in order to give their children the best opportunities. They want to help their kids achieve as high as possible in their schooling and feel pressure to choose the right schools in order to open up chances for the children.

To contribute to the development of the children most parents have the children do extra activities after school. All children older than five have had swimming lessons and most children are in at least one other sports activity. Other popular activities for the children to join was the Indian classical singing and Indian classical dance. The women put the children in these classes to teach them more about their cultural background and to give them more opportunities in an all-round development.

"They should do a little bit of everything and then one thing that they know, okay this is what I am going to do. And okay you go pursue that, but along with that there has to be one or two games that they play, they should know reasonably what is going on in the school and probably they should be able to learn a musical instrument so they have the chance to experience a lot."

The importance of education and the high encouraging of learning and improving themselves is brought from the Indian culture (Donner, 2018). The experiences with Dutch education are mostly positive, although the mothers do find the education system of secondary education confusing.

5.8 Food practices
The families did have different approaches and opinions on the care of the children and they observed different traits in the Dutch culture that they appreciated and disliked. When it comes to care the Indian parents are focussed on supporting their children in the best way they can and providing all that the child needs.

One of the important aspects of childcare for the families was food. The process of preparing and sharing food is an important part of Indian culture (Kirk, Bal & Janssen 2017). All of the families hold on to the Indian food culture. This comes with some challenges when the children are out of the family home with lunchtime. The families are used to a warm lunch and in The Netherlands it is custom to eat a sandwich for lunch. At most day-cares and schools there are no facilities for warm food provided and the parents are asked to give the children bread or cut vegetables in their lunchboxes.

"Food is always such a big deal because of course over here lunchtime is just a sandwich but most other cultures, not only Indian, other cultures prefer giving kids a warm meal. They feel it is more nutritious but also substantial."

The women point out that they do understand that it is a difference and that the schools and day-cares have guidelines for what the children can bring, but they experience difficulties in how they provide a meal for their children that they find is nutritious and sufficient for their child's needs. One of the mothers found a day-care that did provide warm organic meals for lunch and she was very enthusiastic about it, it was the reason she chose to let her child go there.

"So my experience was that they are not providing and they don't let me provide. So that is a challenge for me. when I asked other Indian parents they say it is the same. They say we can't give them the food, so we decided that we will give the food from our side, if they not provide it that is okay, but our children should eat."

Food is an important part of the family life for them and the options that are provided or allowed for the children at school or day-care often do not hold up to the standards that the Indian parents hold. This is something that the parents do struggle with, and at home they often keep the Indian food practices.

5.9 Continence training

A common new experience for the parents at the Dutch day-care is the continence training that is expected by the age of two. The children are usually not trained until the age of four or five, but for the Dutch day-care and schools it is requested that the children have the continence training by the age of two. The mothers had mixed feelings about this, some preferred the early training and others were not fond of the timing and the outside pressure on their parenting practices. One of the mothers found help in the community by an Indian woman to help her with the continence training of her child in order to be able to send her to a day-care.

"I have a lot of Indian friends here and they were very helpful with the getting the family here. (…)So I was not sure she was able to go to a day-care because she was also not potty trained which was a must here. In our culture it is around 5 that they learn it. But then I found some Indian ladies who just started to do something and then I just used to drop her there."

The help from the Indian community made it possible for the family to send the child to day-care. This is an example of the help and care that is provided by the community formed in The Netherlands.

5.10 Support systems in The Netherlands

The families experienced support with the child care and parenting from several parties. The online community, family and neighbourhood are the most important informal factors. The formal support is mostly gained from the schools that the children attend. They made the parents aware of possibilities for (health)care and development support. At some schools there were language classes and parenting workshops available for the parents, as well as weekly coffee mornings for parents to present the opportunity to speak Dutch with other parents.

Only one of the mothers with young children spoke about the GGD. This is the Dutch public healthcare centre where children between the ages of zero and four are monitored. Parents can contact the GGD with all the questions they have regarding childcare. The woman points out that she was not aware of the care from the GGD before she had her baby in The Netherlands and that many other families in her environment are not aware of these possibilities. Two other women spoke out on healthcare in The Netherlands and how they did not understand the system at first. They got help from friends and neighbours with getting medical help, but they stated that they preferred to be supported by the government on information on this topic.

"So it was quite helpful for me but I know that many of my friends who don't know there is something called GGD. Because they came when their kids were one or two years, so there is no way that they integrated into the system. (...) So probably when they give a visa for kids, they see the age of the kid and they can give the information: please get in contact with the GGD. It is just that the information is there but there are no directions to the information. they are not routed in a correct way."

Box 5: Language

The language barrier is an important point that the women struggle with raising their families in The Netherlands. Most formal documents are only provided in Dutch and the communication in schools and at day-cares are often only Dutch-based. Because it is not required for the skilled migrants to learn Dutch for their skilled migrant visa, there is less guidance and support to learn Dutch from the government. This has a big influence on the family life, as the children often do learn Dutch because they follow Dutch education. The parents are not able to help with schoolwork and feel less involved in their children's lives and education.

The women pointed out that they would prefer to be better informed by the municipality or the government, in terms of registering for necessary facilities like education and formal child-care as well as more guidance in the healthcare system. The official practices are not accessible enough for the families as official documents are only available in Dutch and they are insecure about filling it out rightly.

"So the first thing is, there should be a place where you can go to get assistance and where they tell you the requirements."

"People will be scared to translate, oh am I right, am I filling the right thing here, or can somebody help me, or why is this in this language, can't this be in English. Those things get pretty difficult. That is one botheration. When they are doing it in their own language, they should have an option to, you know, when you're not a native citizen, the government could actually give a form in English. That is what I find."

In the urban areas in The Netherlands there are welcoming centres for expats dedicated to assisting them, however, none of the participants in this project have been in contact with these centres. They do research online if they have questions but they do not contact these centres as

they do not believe in the worth of these agencies. They prefer to get help in their known community, in the online groups, with neighbours or colleagues.

"Even, this is just, okay, there are a couple of poor welcoming centres that they mention. Of course, if you see that IAmexpats, there is a website where you see some houses information related to renting houses are in the cities around Amsterdam and Rotterdam.I really don't think that this is so effective. I really don't believe that is effective."

Overall, most of the families are quite pleased with their experiences in The Netherlands and they do know where to get support. Some do point out that they would prefer to get more involved in the Dutch society and get more contact with locals. They experience difficulties with finding those connections and feeling like a part of the Dutch society.

"I see that dutch people, local people are not so much involved. Expats are involved, but the locals do not. I see that Dutch people are not so much interested in connecting, that I see. I think it is important. Because if somebody, if you are accepting in your country it is important that you make contact with them, that you involve them in the culture and the society and that you make them part of the society."

The official Dutch support systems for expatriates like the welcoming centres and other agencies were rarely used by the families. To get help regarding the children most mothers found sufficient information at the schools or in their own built communities. There is a wish to get more connected with the Dutch people, to be more involved in the Dutch society.

6. Discussion and Conclusions

The aim of this paper is to learn more about the family life of Indian skilled migrant families and their experiences with raising their children in The Netherlands. This is a broad topic and therefore this research cannot be exhaustive. The focus on social, cultural and supportive aspects of their experiences formed a framework to an understanding of the family migration. The following recommendations are made to supplement the needed information to gain a better understanding of the family life of Indian skilled migrants in The Netherlands.

Future research
The experiences from the families in this research were variated and the families all had unique aspects in their situations. Almost all of the women had followed higher education and were willing to work in The Netherlands. It is a common experience for them to struggle participating in the labour force at the level that they are qualified to. It is strongly encouraged that there will be more research conducted on the topic of work possibilities for linked movers in The Netherlands.

The social connections of the families have been discussed in this project but there is a need to do further research on the relations that are formed by the skilled migrants and the communities they interact with. The connection between the skilled migrants and the Dutch locals is a topic that needs to be addressed in further research as it is of importance to gain a better understanding of the participation in the Dutch society. Attention must be given to the impact of long-term and short-term migrants and their connection to and participation in Dutch society.

The families expressed the need for better guidance with official necessities, such as documentation, healthcare and application for childcare and school. As well as language inclusion on official documents, as they are only available in Dutch. With the skilled migrant visa the people are not required to take Dutch integration classes, which is beneficial for the required documentation but they do miss out on information. It is recommended that the Dutch government investigate the possibilities of assisting the skilled migrants in the documentation processes that are required for both parents and children, especially regarding the health and growth of children. The language barrier is a topic that came up in all interviews, moving to a different country often brings the challenge of dealing with another language.

Conclusions
India is a very diverse nation and the skilled migrants with the Indian background are very diverse as well. Part of the families do view their period in The Netherlands as a temporary life phase and will return to India to develop the next phase for their family. However, a significant group of families envisions a long term stay in The Netherlands. These life courses differ greatly, but all are affected by the way they organize their lives in relation to the Dutch society and institutions.

Overall the online social connection plays a substantial role in the linked lives of the skilled migrant families in The Netherlands. The women use it to contact their home communities and to form new relationships in The Netherlands. The online relationship with family and the home community make up a significant part of the social network of the families. The connections that are formed in The Netherlands are also formed online, especially with other Indian expatriates. The offline social connection tends to vary a lot, factors in this are the location -urban or rural- and if the women have a job or not. The families get new connections in the country of destination, and as members of the linked lives are influenced by the behaviour of the new links. The parents are influenced by the Dutch linked lives mainly in the neighbourhood and at school and day-care. They observe and learn habits from other parents or child carers which they either apply or do not accept in their own household.

From a cultural perspective the parents are mainly influenced by their Indian background in their child care practices. They follow the Indian food practices and attach great value to this as an aspect of their daily life. Practices of synchronization with the Dutch society are most visible in the context of education. The parents are focused on providing opportunities for their children and the parents experience difficulties helping the children keep up with Dutch children, but they view the less strict approach in Dutch education as positive. The families are surrounded with an environment where they are able to create their own parenting style by incorporating the strategies that they like from the practices that they observe in their home culture and the Dutch culture. On the one hand the parents experience freedom by these opportunities and on the other hand it is challenging as they do not have the level of support that they are used to from their home community.

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8. Appendix

1. Interview Guide

Explain the subject, the importance of the participant and the recording procedure.

Opening questions
-Thank you very much for having me. Can you tell me something about yourself?
>*Tell me something about your family?*
-Could you describe a typical in your household?
>*Who are around, what do you do, what do the children do? How do you divide chores?*
-Who else take care of your children?
>*Are there family members, neighbours, people from a community, nannies or daycare?*

Key questions
-How did you experience your first week with your children in The Netherlands?
>*Were there cultural norms that you were not aware of? How did you deal with that?*
-What are your experiences with the Dutch support systems that are offered to skilled migrants?
-Could you tell me something about the agencies that you approached for living in The Netherlands?
>*Did you use any, have you consulted more?*
>*Are you still in contact with them?*
>*Was the company involved?*
>*Did you have any requests for your children?*
>*What kind of neighbourhood were you looking for to live with the children?*
-Do you still use agencies?
>*What do you use them for and why did you choose for this one?*
-Did you have any negative experience with the agencies and support systems?
>*How did you deal with those situations?*
-What do you think should be improved in the Dutch support systems to help the family better to settle down in the Netherlands?
-Could you tell me about your first experiences with schools in The Netherlands?
>*Were there cultural norms that you were not aware of? How did you deal with that?*
>*Did you find any other problems? How did you deal with those?*
>*What do you seek for in a school?*
-Could you tell me something about your first experiences with daycare?
>*How did you choose for the day care group, what do you seek for in a daycare?*
>*How did you feel about bringing your child to daycare?*
-Could you give an example of any recent experiences with daycare?
>*Were there things that surprised you about daycare in the Netherlands?*
>*Have you had any other negative experiences with childcare?*
-Could you tell me something about your experiences with the Indian community in the Netherlands?
>*Are you involved in any Indian communities in The Netherlands?*
>*Could you tell me more about the activities you participate in in these communities?*

-What are you looking for in these communities?
-Do you meet up with other parents in the communities?
>*Could you tell me about some recent experiences with those meetups?*
-What is the role of the Indian community for your children?
>*Do you involve them in the community?*
>*What would you like to share with them from these communities?*
-What kind of parenting style do you use?
>*And what parenting styles do you see around you?*
-What do you think are typical Dutch parenting techniques?
>*How do you think about the differences with your own parenting techniques?*
-Could you give an example of what you noticed about Dutch parenting?
-*Is there anything you dislike about Dutch parenting culture?*
-*Could you share an experience with Dutch parents you did not like?*
-What role do you think the school plays in changing parenting techniques?
>*could you give an example of things that changed because of the children going to school?*
>*Have you had other experiences that changed your parenting techniques?*

 -How is culture involved in your parenting?
>*Could you give some examples of how you involve Indian culture in your family life?*
>*What are Indian values that you want to share with your children?*
-Could you give some examples about typical Dutch culture that you see regarding childcare?
>*How do you think that differs from Indian culture and how do you think about those differences?*
-What are other typical things do you see in Dutch culture regarding children?
>*cycling, daycare, playdates, sports, languages, school, swimming lessons*
>*How do you think about those things?*
>*Could you give an example of what you participate in with your children?*
-Could you tell me more about your experiences with play-dates of your kids?
>*What are examples of play dates that they do?*
-How do you experience the Dutch culture in your day to day lives?
>*what was the last time you were surprised about something that turned out to be typically Dutch?*
-How do you want to involve Dutch culture in your family?
>*Why/why not*
>*could you give some examples of Dutch values you want to teach your children?*
>*Why do you think that is important?*
-What are your plans for the future? Are you planning on staying in the Netherlands? And do you want your children to stay in the Netherlands?
>*What are your other plans?*

Ending question
-Are there any other anecdotes you would like to share?

Thank you very much for your time and sharing your story.

2. Coding guide

The nodes and the sub-nodes that are used in Nvivo to categorize the quotes.

Child care	-activities children -child care practices -day-care -home care -parenting style
Community	-community in The Netherlands -Indian community -social connection
Culture	-Dutch culture -Dutch parenting traits -Indian culture
Education	-contact with the school -education system -factors in a school
Language	
Linked lives	-family profile -migration plans
Support systems	-agencies -government support -healthcare -school -support programmes