

Bringing the municipality Back In

Housing for labour migrants in Horst aan de Maas



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Preface

In front of you lies my master thesis about housing locations for labour migrants. When I started this research I had very little knowledge about the world of labour migration and their housing, an interesting world that I got to know during the research, through the people who deal with the subject on a daily basis. When designing my front page, I remembered a migrant worker I interviewed, who compared skewed living to a dovecote, where birds constantly arrive and leave. A few decades ago, Klein Orkest sang about the birds, which sometimes want to be in the West and sometimes in the East as well. This is widely accepted behaviour, but as soon as people have the same urge to move, it is mainly experienced as a nuisance. How strange is their behaviour really?

I would like to thank my mentor Pascal Beckers for introducing me to this interesting topic and sharing his knowledge about academic research and the world of labour migration. My thanks also go to Greetje Lep and Joep Janssen, who advised me and shared their network with me. Finally, I would like to thank my parents for their unconditional support. I have experienced this period as extremely instructive and I am happy that I can close this period by presenting this thesis to you. I hope you will enjoy reading it.

Colophon

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Abstract

Municipalities are struggling to facilitate a fair, safe and healthy working and living situation for migrant workers. Short-term labour migrants live in regular houses, which has a major impact on social cohesion and increases nuisance. The municipality of Horst aan de Maas wants to combat this so-called skewed housing and is considering building and operating its own housing project, but does not know how it can use its instruments to achieve their goals. There is a need for an in-depth study that provides a thorough and nuanced insight into what municipalities can do about this housing problem. In this master's thesis, I investigate how the municipality of Horst aan de Maas can use its policy instruments in order to initiate its own labour migrants housing project and combat skewed housing in regular homes. This possible approach is explained in a qualitative way, based on desktop research and stakeholder interviews. Different categorizations of policy instruments from the literature are combined to organise the results of this research in a comprehensive overview.

Key words: municipality, governance, policy instruments, housing, labour migrants

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1. Introduction

1.1. Issue

Migrant workers play a major role in the current Dutch economy (Heyma et al., 2018; Lekkerkerker & Pelzer, 2017). However, in the Netherlands, migrant workers are not always sure of a fair, safe and healthy work and living situation (Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten, 2020). There are many situations where the employer of migrant workers manages this well, but some cases have come to light where employers pushed the limits or even neglected and exploited their employees (ibid.). For instance, in 2021, various illegal living situations were found in the municipality of Horst aan de Maas (Burgemeester en wethouders Horst aan de Maas, 2022).

Some of the labour migrants in the Netherlands intend to settle for a longer period of time. They are often willing to integrate into the community and see their housing needs fulfilled in regular homes. However, there is also a group of labour migrants who intend to move back to their home country within a few months and have different housing needs. They do not mind sharing facilities or sometimes even rooms, if there is a lower price in return (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2013). They also intend to make minimal efforts to integrate and to be involved and do not feel responsible for the neighbourhood, as they want to leave after their working period (Kraal et al., 2006; Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2015, p.28). Due to a housing shortage, however, there are too few homes that meet these housing needs, which means that groups of labour migrants have to live temporarily in normal houses (Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten, 2020). This is known as 'skewed housing'. Such households consist of groups of workers who live together in cheap regular family homes without their partners or children. As a result of this remigration, household compositions are often subject to change. Neighbours of skewed households thus no longer recognize their neighbours. Skewed housing therefore has a major impact on social cohesion and can increase nuisance in local communities (Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten, 2020). The Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten (2020) investigated this skewed housing issue and stated that municipalities and provinces should be encouraged to provide more housing for migrant workers.

Despite the European character of labour migration and the regional character of housing, there is little cooperation between the different levels of government (Scholten & Ostaijen, 2018, p. 259). On the other hand, the power of local authorities is limited on many fronts by European and national legislation (Engbersen, 2013; Van Puymbroeck et al., 2011; Engbersen & Snel, 2012). Municipalities, provinces and the national government can cooperate to tackle the problem because they all have their own expertise and responsibilities.

There are voices to realise high-quality housing for short-stay labour migrants by municipalities themselves. Market conditions and financing would too often hinder the passage of projects (Lupi, 2013, p. 21). On the other hand, housing associations have been increasingly withdrawing from such initiatives to focus on their basic tasks (ibid.). If the municipality itself realises quality housing, more housing of higher quality could therefore be realised (Burgemeester en wethouders Horst aan de Maas, 2022). Horst aan de Maas, a rural municipality in Noord-Limburg (CBS, 2021), is one of the only municipalities that is considering such a project (Burgemeester en wethouders Horst aan de Maas, 2022).

However, it is still unclear to the municipality under what conditions this project can be started (ibid.). The alderman indicated in 2022 that research is necessary into ways in which the municipality can use its instruments to develop such a location and to solve skewed housing in the villages (ibid.).

1.2. Research aim and research question

The municipality of Horst aan de Maas is one of the only municipalities in the Netherlands to consider initiating its own housing project in order to solve skewed housing in regular houses. The aim of this research is to identify what the municipality of Horst aan de Maas can do in order to reach its goals. Municipalities have several policy instruments that they can use to make policy, think for instance of zoning plans or private law agreements. By suggesting possible municipal approaches, this study also encourages other municipalities to consider their role in tackling the housing problem of labour migrants. With an in-depth focus on the possibilities offered by the policy instruments, it is possible to gain insight into what municipalities can do about the housing problem in a thorough and nuanced way. In this context, particular attention is drawn to the way in which these instruments should be used and what strategy the municipality should adopt in this regard, according to different stakeholders. Such an overview is essential for the municipality to determine how best to tackle the shortage of quality housing for labour migrants.

The research question of this thesis is therefore:

In what way can the municipality of Horst aan de Maas use its policy instruments in order to develop its own housing location for labour migrants?

In order to fully answer the research question in this research, the following sub-questions are addressed:

- a. *What is the current housing situation of labour migrants in Horst aan de Maas and what are related challenges viewed by the municipality and other stakeholders involved?*
- b. *What are the policy ambitions of the municipality to enhance the housing situation of labour migrants and how do these resonate with different stakeholders involved?*
- c. *What policy instruments and implementation strategies does the municipality have to realise its policy ambitions and how are these perceived by stakeholders involved?*

1.3. Scientific relevance

It has long been thought that governments would take on a more neoliberal, facilitative, role, often described as the shift from governing to governance (Kooiman, 1993; Rhodes, 1997; Stoker, 1998; Pierre, 2000; Benz, 2004, Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2012; Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling, 2013; Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2012; Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, 2012). These researchers implied in their research that governments only use steering instruments (see also Van der Doelen, 1991). However, the municipality of Horst aan de Maas wants to take back its directing role. Such ideas of active governing run counter to the neoliberal idea of facilitative government that we have seen in recent decades. It seems to confirm other scholars who state that governments are increasingly taking back an active role (see Olsen et al., 2021; Zakhour & Metzger, 2018; Capano et al., 2015). In this research I analyse how the behaviour of the municipality of Horst aan de Maas relates to this scientific debate. This changing attitude may influence the municipal usage of instruments. If their governing role changes, is their usage of instruments then the same as was stressed by Van der Doelen (1991) and Lindén & Carlsson-Kanyama (2002), or does it need to be adapted? This case study makes a nuanced contribution to the scientific debate and the role of government.

Large housing shortages for migrant workers in the Netherlands cause skewed housing. Much (quantitative) research has already been done into labour migrants and their housing needs from a labour migrant perspective (see, for example, Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten, 2020; Bleker et al., 2020), but there is still little insight into how municipalities are struggling with these problems. This research provides a qualitative insight into how municipalities reason about labour migrant housing and how they think about using their planning instruments.

1.4. Societal relevance

The housing problems for migrant workers is a distressing issue that affects many people in the Netherlands. The shortage of qualitative housing causes skewed living, which provokes social cohesion and increases nuisance in local communities (Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten, 2020). Apart from that, these labour migrants compete on the housing market with other population groups who are already having difficulties to find a home (Bleker et al., 2020). Many employers try to make the best of it and provide good housing, but in some exceptional situations there is even exploitation and neglect of labour migrants (ibid.; Stuurgroep internationale werkgevers Limburg, 2020; Van der Craats & Reedijk, 2015; Dodde, 2022). The number of labour migrants in Noord-Limburg is expected to double before 2030, which will further increase the existing problems (Bleker et al., 2020; Etil, 2018).

Municipalities in the Netherlands are struggling with the housing problems of migrant workers. Some, including the municipality of Horst aan de Maas, have clear ambitions to tackle this problematic and unjust situation (Burgemeester en wethouders Horst aan de Maas, 2022; Deijkers, 2021; Misstanden arbeidsmigranten: tijd voor offensief gemeenten, 2021). Horst aan de Maas is now considering innovative solutions, but is being held back because it is unclear what the municipality can do and what the possible conditions are for implementing this policy (Burgemeester en wethouders Horst aan de Maas, 2022). This study removes that omission in a clear manner. This enables Horst aan de Maas to put together a well-considered approach to housing problems, which benefits migrant workers in precarious living situations.

This new governing approach extends beyond the housing problem in Horst aan de Maas, as the innovative approach of this municipality has the potential to inspire many other authorities. Taking into account the contextual differences that occur between municipalities, the results of this study are able to provide an inspiring overview of the available instruments for those municipalities as well. The exemplary function of the case in Horst aan de Maas can thus potentially improve the living and housing situation of many labour migrants, and therefore also the degree of nuisance, social cohesion in residential areas and the pressure on the housing market throughout the Netherlands.

2. Literature review

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework of this research, based on relevant theories from academic scholars. The conceptual model that is presented in this chapter will later on be used for the analysis of the retrieved data and the conclusion. First, I will give an introduction into the available information about labour migrants and housing for labour migrants in the Netherlands. After that, I explain the academic debate about the shifting role of governments towards governance. Following, I pay attention to the academic debate about policy choices and the policy arrangements theory that tries to explain this. For the analysis of this research, a distinction is necessary between the different policy types and instruments. To analyse this, I present the categorizations of Van der Doelen (1991) and Carlsson-Kanyama (2002). Finally, the policy arrangement theories and the categorizations are brought together in the conceptual model.

2.1. Housing of labour migrants

Labour migrants in the Netherlands are people from other countries who migrate to temporarily live in the Netherlands to work. In 2019, 767.751 labour migrants lived in the Netherlands (ABU & NBBU, 2021). Noord-Limburg is home to about 11 percent of this number, more than any other region. As the researchers base this on official CBS registration data, these numbers may be a lot higher if all non-registered labour migrants are included (Dagevos, 2011; Van der Heijden et al., 2013). In the Netherlands, migrant workers must register in the so-called RNI to obtain a citizen service number and to justify their employment (Inspectie SZW, 2019). Registration in the RNI ensures that exact residential addresses of labour migrants are not known (ibid.).

Housing needs of labour migrants depend largely on their intended length of stay (Engbersen, 2013; Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2013). According to them, housing needs of labour migrants can be distinguished in the following way:

- **Short-stay labour migrants** intend to settle as seasonal workers and then to remigrate (ibid.). They would mainly be looking for quickly accessible, cheap and safe housing with sober facilities to stay in for a few months (ibid.). They would not find it a problem to share facilities or sometimes even rooms, if prices are lower (ibid.).
- **Mid-stay labour migrants** stay in the Netherlands for a longer period of time, but still plan to remigrate (ibid.). They have a greater need for privacy and comfort and, depending on the costs, opt for higher quality housing (ibid.). Mid-stay labour migrants often settle in rooms, studios, small apartments and housing types as we also know them in student housing, as independent houses are often not available quickly (ibid.). Most mid-stay migrant workers have no objection to sharing facilities (ibid.).
- **Long-stay labour migrants** intend to settle permanently in the Netherlands (ibid.). Some come to the Netherlands with that wish, others decide this during their stay in the Netherlands (ibid.). It often involves couples or people who bring their families over. This permanent settlement makes them regular residents (with an international background). That is why their housing requirements correspond to regular independent housing (ibid.).

It should be noted, however, that many labour migrants are uncertain about their length of stay. This is characteristic of migration within EU countries (Strockmeijer, 2020; Engbersen, 2018; Bygnes & Erdal, 2017; Drinkwater & Garapich, 2015). Labour migrants often do not know in advance whether their stay will lead to temporary or permanent settlement (Bleker et al., 2020; Engbersen et al., 2012). As a result, housing issues become less predictable (Bleker et al., 2020). Nevertheless, in Noord-Limburg labour migrants mainly work in the logistics, agricultural and distribution sector, in which they generally work for shorter periods (Bleker et al., 2020; Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten, 2020). Strockmeijer et al. (2020) stated that labour migrants mainly work for shorter periods because of the personnel policy of companies and employment agencies, which factor in a high turnover for the purpose of cost reduction. These sectors are highly dependent on labour migrants. For instance, in

2015, labour migrants accounted for about 26.4% of all jobs in the Dutch agricultural sector (Heyma et al., 2018).

Many academics have studied the importance of the quality of life and housing of migrant workers (Arcury et al., 2012; Joyner et al., 2015; Hussen, 2020). In addition to work, their employers are often also responsible for their housing (Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten, 2020). Although it's often well arranged, researchers have found some cases of overcrowding, poorly maintained homes, lack of security, hygiene and privacy, which according to researchers, contribute to injustice (Arcury et al., 2012; Joyner et al., 2015; Berkhout et al., 2011). Inspectie SZW (2019) found that housing for migrant workers also forms a revenue model for their employers. In some cases, the landlords would charge more rent than was allowed by law (ibid.). Migrant workers without a social network or other alternatives are most dependent on their employer for housing and that they are therefore more susceptible to exploitation (Inspectie SZW, 2019; Snel et al., 2010). Losing a job also means losing your home, which makes being fired the main cause of homelessness among migrant workers (ibid.). The effect of this should not be underestimated because a very large proportion of labour migrants work with temporary contracts, even when they stay in the Netherlands for a longer period of time, which makes the availability of housing very insecure (Strockmeijer et al., 2017). A large part of labour migrants in the Netherlands appear to be very dissatisfied with the way in which they are housed (Cremers & Van den Tillaart, 2021; Snel et al., 2010).

According to some scholars, a more integral overarching policy could function as a bottom-line and improve the social and labour conditions of labour migrants (Warnes, 2002; Rijken & De Lange, 2018; Bruzelius & Seeleib-Kaiser, 2020). Since the Dutch Ministries of the Interior and Social Affairs have become responsible for overseeing the housing, labour market and registration areas, governance responses have had elements of both local horizontal and multiple level features (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2018). Still, housing of labour migrants in the Netherlands is primarily a municipal task, which promotes tailor-made measures (Hussen, 2020). Van Broekhoven and Louwes (2021) wrote a 'guideline' to help local authorities, with options and challenges for housing regulation, enforcement and implementation of initiatives. Van der Krabben & Wolff (2014) have already investigated whether vacant recreation parks in the Noord-Veluwe region can provide a solution for the shortage of short-stay homes. Lupi (2013) concluded that many housing plans fail in obtaining financing. Funding in particular would be a major obstacle for many dozens of initiatives (ibid.). However, this research took place during an economic crisis and it is possible that financing has become possible in many more cases today than during the beginning of the previous decade, as a result of the current housing shortage and strongly increased house prices.

Local residents living near housing would experience a lot of nuisance from migrant workers. It would be caused by thin-walled houses and the (illegal) letting per room, poor commitment to the neighbourhood due to their temporary stay, quarrels and acts of violence between labour migrants, excessive drinking, lack of privacy and therefore meeting in public space (Van Gestel et al., 2013; Garapich, 2011). These problems are mostly encountered in neighbourhoods which already have an accumulation of social issues. However, research in Rotterdam showed that the number of registered incidences of nuisance in Rotterdam districts is related to other neighbourhood characteristics such as the share of juveniles and

non-Western immigrants in the neighbourhood population and the share of privately rented dwellings, rather than with the share of mostly Central and Eastern European labour migrants in the district (Snel et al., 2019). They stated that it would be the perception of nuisance by neighbours that increases as soon as labour migrants from Central and Eastern European countries live in a neighbourhood, more than the nuisance itself (ibid.).

There is an ongoing social and political debate about the right form of housing for labour migrants. Employers and municipalities, as well as the Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten (2020), mainly see solutions in large locations with at least fifty beds outside residential areas. Critical voices state that by means of such objectives, local authorities mainly solve the problems of the local population (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2018) and leave problems of migrant workers untouched. Criticism of large-scale housing increased as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, which showed that the densely populated areas caused more exposure to health hazards for (labour) migrants (Fasani & Mazza, 2020). Another disadvantage of large housing locations outside the residential areas is that it makes the integration of labour migrants even more difficult. In such locations, migrant workers have little contact with the local population and segregation is reinforced (Musterd, 2020; Sabater, 2015). According to them, this would lead to disadvantaged and deprived neighbourhoods where social, economic and educational problems accumulate. Neighbouring residents would therefore also prefer small-scale locations (Hussen, 2020; Lupi, 2013).

2.2. Role of government

Many scholars have stated that governments would take on a more neoliberal, facilitative, role. They described this transition as the shift from governing to governance (Kooiman, 1993; Rhodes, 1997; Stoker, 1998; Pierre, 2000; Benz, 2004). This “new governance” would have supplanted the old governance model and would represent “a change in the nature of the meaning of government” (Bevir & Rhodes, 2003, p. 4). Governance would now be ‘dominated by networks, overlapping roles of political and societal actors, low institutionalisation, and a general blurring of bureaucratic demarcations’ (Koch, 2012). It refers to the interaction between the government and non-government actors (Bache & Flinders, 2004). The government would largely confine itself to creating the conditions within which private actors operate (Hoekstra, 2003). Authoritative measures and regulations would only slow down developments (Leishmann, 2015). We recognise this behaviour in the “new public management” ethos with its privatisation, outsourcing and deregulation (Jordana & Levi-Faur, 2004). Gerber (2016) did indeed find a growing influence of flexible private-law or incentive-based instruments as complements to more binding instruments. As a result of this, Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden (2004) argued, market players and societal actors would enhance their ability to deal with social problems. The Dutch government and scholars assumed that the creation of housing for migrant workers was mainly the responsibility of the employer (Snel et al., 2010; Klumpers, 2013). In order to improve their living situation, Geurtjens (2012) stated that housing associations should have an important role in creating housing for foreign employees, whereby the government could, if necessary, take additional incentive measures, such as setting minimum requirements with regard to housing.

This process was reinforced by the 2008 economic crisis, which showed that the large scale and interconnectedness of land-development projects in the Netherlands had created a vulnerable ‘tightly coupled system’ (Buitelaar et al., 2011). According to Buitelaar (2011), organic forms of urban land development, with open-ended plans, a greater role for smaller private actors and an enabling role for government, would therefore be better at adapting to changing circumstances. We recognize this enabling role in the recommendations of the Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten (2020) and Heyma et al. (2018), which stated that a steering and guiding municipality is needed in the case of housing for migrant workers, to facilitate and stimulate market initiatives to solve the shortages.

A very important nuance was brought to the attention by Borzel (1998), Benz (2004), Klijn (2008) and Capano et al. (2015), who all emphasised that there is no contraposition of “old government” and “new governance”. This dichotomy would imply that the function of government has changed radically, while mainly other aspects have been added without replacing the role of government. Government is only one component of any governance arrangement, as governance is a broader concept (Capano et al., 2015).

Some scholars have contradicted the shift towards more governance (Olsen et al., 2021; Zakhour & Metzger, 2018; Capano et al., 2015). While governments changed to adapt to complex and changing environments, they would still be in charge, in every governance mode (Capano et al., 2015). Governments would still divide the costs and benefits in a top-down way and leave interest groups in a reactive mode (Richardson, 2018). Heinrich et al. (2020) also stated that governments are still playing an important role in guaranteeing the minimal requirements of new projects. We see this reflected in the discussion about the role of the government in housing for migrant workers. Is another shift taking place?

2.3. Choice of instruments and policy arrangements

In the last century, explanations of government policy and the use of policy instruments were investigated by both economists and political scientists. Economists focused on market failures, which would be a justifiable reason for government intervention in the market. Decisions to intervene could thus be made with rational economical considerations (Breyer, 1979; Zeckhauser & Schaefer, 1986). At the same time, political scientists tried to develop theories that did not only encompass rational economic cost-benefit considerations. Political costs and benefits, such as in future election results or ideology, are also said to be very influential on politicians' choices (Balch, 1980, Salamon, 1981). The theories of both economists and political scientists thus present policy choices as a rational and technical consideration (Howlett, 2004). Expressing policy choices in terms of costs and benefits, early literature tended to divide policy choices into 'good pro-market choices' and 'bad non-market choices' (Woodside, 1986; Howlett, 2004). In this way, both movements oversimplified political decision-making processes and did not pay attention to contextual influences.

Later scholars paid more attention to context and the possibility of integrated policy mixes that combine instruments (Van Nispen & Ringeling, 1998; De Bruijn & Hufen, 1998; Bressers & O'Toole, 1998). Simple dichotomous and zero-sum notions of alternative instruments are, in their view, unrealistic (Howlett, 2004). They reasoned that both internal context (the integral mix of instruments) and external context (norms, institutional and political arrangements) influence instrumental choices and should therefore also be investigated (Minogue, 2002). Howlett (2004) also emphasised that a set of existing arrangements and preferences for instruments can influence choices made.

A theory that is able to include internal and external context in the analysis is the policy arrangements theory of Van Tatenhove et al. (2000). They based their theory on the idea of policy fields, which are constructed in terms of content and organisation. They call this development a policy arrangement. They not only describe the dynamics of policy making as the interplay of day-to-day interactions, but they also look out for macro-processes of social and political change (Arts & Van Tatenhove, 2004). Policy arrangements are subject to change due to innovative developments and political processes, but patterns, structures and rules can also institutionalise and stabilise policy (De Boer et al., 2007, p. 19).

The policy arrangements approach distinguishes four dimensions. They include both deep structures and interactive patterns (Van Tatenhove et al., 2000). Policy arrangements can influence one another. If a dimension changes, other dimensions can change accordingly (Lieverink, 2006). By analysing these dimensions, we can understand changes and stability in government housing policies (Driessen & Leroy, 2007, p. 199). The four dimensions are (De Boer et al., 2007):

1) Actors and coalitions: This dimension was brought to the fore early on by Sabatier (1988) with his Advocacy Coalition Framework. Actors can form coalitions that have common resources and/or interpretations with regard to a policy discourse in the context of a number of rules of the game (Arts & Van Tatenhove, 2002, p. 4). Coalitions can set goals based on perceived belief correspondence and pursue them via coordinated actions (Sabatier, 1998; Van Tatenhove et al., 2000; Matti & Sandström, 2013). In civil society, we see these coalitions reflected in lobbying organisations that make a concerted effort to

change resources, game rules and discourses so that policy change can be achieved (Klüver, 2011; Nelson & Yackee, 2012).

2) Resources: Resources determine whether actors can influence policy (Van Tatenhove et al., 2000, p. 60). This includes power to mobilise and deploy available resources and influence, and influence to who determines policy outcomes and how (Liefferink, 2006). Arts & Van Tatenhove (2004) believed that the notion of power had become an 'endangered species' in the field of public policy analysis. They tried to bring this concept of power back into policy analysis with the dimension of resources (ibid.). The importance of this dimension is confirmed by other studies. Whether actors have a large financial budget to promote their ideas, for example, is of great influence on policy (De Figueiredo Jr. & Edwards, 2007; Vreeland & Dreher, 2014).

3) Game rules: The rules of the game consist of informal and formal norms that determine how politics is conducted and how policy can be influenced (Van Tatenhove et al., 2000, p. 61). They establish opportunities and barriers for actors to act and in this way regulate actors' behaviour (ibid.; Van der Zouwen, 2006; Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004). Rules can be both formal and informal, and can be influential for both short and long periods of time (Van Leeuwen, 2010). Rules of the game also include the standards of the implementation process and routines of interaction (Liefferink, 2006).

4) Discourse(s): The discourses are influential ideas, views and opinions that are usually implicitly shared by a particular group (Arts & Van Tatenhove, 2002; Howlett 2004; Bressers & O'Toole, 2005). Discourse enables those who subscribe to it to interpret bits of information and put them together into coherent stories or accounts (Dryzek, 1997). By adopting or rejecting uncertainties or risks as constitutive elements, issues are framed (Szarka, 2004). Norms, values, definitions of problems and approaches to solutions etcetera, can have a major influence on policy discourse (Liefferink, 2006). Available knowledge also influences how people reason about social issues. New knowledge of the problem and the factors in a policy field, for example because of policy-oriented learning or new research, can have a major influence on this (Sabatier, 1988).

The policy arrangements approach has been useful to analyse (possible) changes of Dutch municipal governance before. Boonstra (2004) analysed the decision-making process through which several Dutch governments developed their rural policies. Van der Zouwen (2006, p. 227) used it to investigate the emergence of (multi-level) governance in more detail.

Van Leeuwen (2010) found that a focus on steering mechanisms was lacking in policy arrangement theory. The results, namely the development and use of multiple steering mechanisms in the policy domain, are said to receive too little attention. As a result, analyses were also unable to focus on whether political processes can be seen as steering or not (ibid.). Therefore, she proposed to add a fifth dimension of steering and compliance mechanisms, based on Rosenau's (1995) global governance framework (Van Leeuwen, 2010). In this thesis, I will address this aspect too in a more detailed and thorough manner, by making use of the combined categorisations of Van der Doelen (1991) and Lindén & Carlsson-Kanyama (2002), which will be further explained in the next paragraph.

2.4. Policy instruments

This research makes an inventory of which policy instruments the municipality of Horst aan de Maas has at its disposal to remedy the housing problems of migrant workers. Various theoretical frameworks can be used to organise and categorise these on the basis of their properties. In his research Frans van der Doelen (1991) sketched a clear picture of the types of policy instruments that governments have at their disposal. Van der Doelen (1991) also referred to policy instruments as 'management instruments' in his research. In doing so, he implies that governments steer, not row, in line with Osborne and Gaebler (1992). The research tests this theoretical framework on the basis of the instruments of the municipality of Horst aan de Maas.

	Stimulating	Repressive
Legal		
Economic		
Communicative		

Table 1: Categorising of steering instruments (Van der Doelen, 1991)

The distinction by Van der Doelen (1991) between stimulating and repressive instruments can be recognized in Bressers & Klok (2003), who distinguish indirect and direct measures. Indirect policy instruments influence behaviour, while government intervention with direct measures immediately shapes a new situation through its own facilities or production (ibid.). Stimulating instruments increase the behavioural alternatives of residents, so that there is often more support for them than with repressive measures (Jolink, 2009). This also includes measures that we have known as 'nudging' since the beginning of this century (Thaler & Sunstein, 2008). Repressive instruments can force behaviour (Van der Doelen, 1991) and reduce the behavioural alternatives, so that there is often less support for such measures (Jolink, 2009).

The three types of steering instruments are, according to Van der Doelen (1991), legal, economic and communicative instruments. Legal types are law-based measures, such as prohibitions and permissions, or a contractual agreement with individuals (Van der Doelen, 1991). Economical types are measures with which governments build in financial incentives to steer behaviour (ibid.). For example, with levies and subsidies, residents are influenced, either by force or on an optional basis, to adjust their behaviour (ibid.). Communicative types can persuade or inform others in order to influence their behaviour (ibid.). Think, for example, of providing information or propaganda.

Lindén & Carlsson-Kanyama (2002) provide an alternative classification. They do not distinguish between stimulating and repressive measures, but add an extra type of 'physical'. Physical improvements would aim to influence people's behaviour by facilitating the desired behaviour. For example, by more housing construction, which makes the housing market less crowded, it can become attractive for entrepreneurs to accommodate labour migrants in a qualitative way. Or by installing waste bins, the municipality ensures that people throw less waste into nature. The four types of instruments would often be used in different combinations to make policy more efficient (Helby et al., 1999).

The models of Van der Doelen (1991) and Lindén & Carlsson-Kanyama (2002) are combined in this study, with which I will be able to describe the 'usage of policy instruments' variable.

	Stimulating	Repressive
Legal		
Economic		
Communicative		
Physical		

Table 2: Categories of policy instruments in this research

2.5. Operationalisation

Usage of policy instruments is described as “The set of instruments actors use to achieve policy goals”. In more detail, Hand (2012) describes policy instruments as “methods of public action, implemented by policy actors to structure and influence collective action to achieve specific goals.” Policy instruments, based on the theories of Van der Doelen (1991) and Lindén & Carlsson-Kanyama (2002), consist of two forms (stimulating and repressive) and four types (legal, economical, communicative and physical).

- **Stimulating forms** mean optional participation for citizens (idem., p. 91). This form is conceptualised as "methods of public action, carried out by policy actors, that increase the behavioural alternatives of the target audience and try to influence their behaviour in a non-binding way to achieve specific goals".
- **Repressive forms** have binding participation because the government and not the citizens decide on its application (Van der Doelen, 1991). This form is conceptualised as "methods of public action, performed by policy actors, that narrow down the behavioural alternatives of the target audience and try to influence their behaviour in binding ways to achieve specific goals".
- **Legal types** can be used to steer social developments through law (Koopmans, 1970). This type is therefore conceptualised as 'Legal methods of public action, performed by policy actors, who seek to influence the behaviour of the target group in order to achieve specific goals'.
- **Economical types** can be used by governments to build in a financial incentive in order to steer social developments (Van der Doelen, 1991). This type is conceptualised as "methods of public action, carried out by policy actors, who try to influence the behaviour of the target group through the diffusion, production or consumption of money, services and goods in order to achieve specific goals".
- **Communicative types** can be used to inform or persuade residents (Van der Doelen, 1991; Katus & Volmer, 1991). This type is conceptualised as "methods of public action, carried out by policy actors, who, through the conscious transmission of a message, try to influence the behaviour of the target group in order to achieve specific goals".
- **Physical types** make the desired behaviour easier for the target group (Lindén & Carlsson-Kanyama, 2002). This type is conceptualised as 'methods of public action, carried out by policy actors, who try to influence the behaviour of the target group through changes in the spatial environment in order to achieve specific goals'.

The usage of all these policy instruments is influenced by four factors that are derived from policy arrangement theory, namely:

Actors and coalitions, which are, in line with Arts & Van Tatenhove (2002), defined as 'groups of actors that have common resources and/or interpretations with regard to a policy discourse in the context of a number of rules of the game';

Resources, which are, in line with Liefferink (2006), defined as 'power to mobilise and deploy available resources and influence, and influence to who determines policy outcomes and how';

Game rules, which are, in line with Arts & Van Tatenhove (2002), defined as '(in)formal norms that determine how politics is conducted and how policy can be influenced';

Discourses, which are defined by Van Tatenhove (2002), Howlett (2004), Bressers & O'Toole (2005) as 'influential ideas, views and opinions that are (implicitly) shared by a particular group'. The word 'influential' is however a vague concept. I will concretise this more by stating a definition which is inspired by Hajer (1995). Discourse is thus defined as: 'Ideas, views and opinions that are (implicitly) shared by a particular group that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities'.

2.6. Conceptual model

The way in which these policy instruments are used to make policy are influenced by the four dimensions of policy arrangements. Actors and coalitions, resources, game rules and discourses have a strong influence on government policy. They may prefer repressive or stimulating measures, or prefer the specific types, namely legal, economic, communicative or physical policy instruments. This causal relationship is illustrated in the conceptual model underneath.

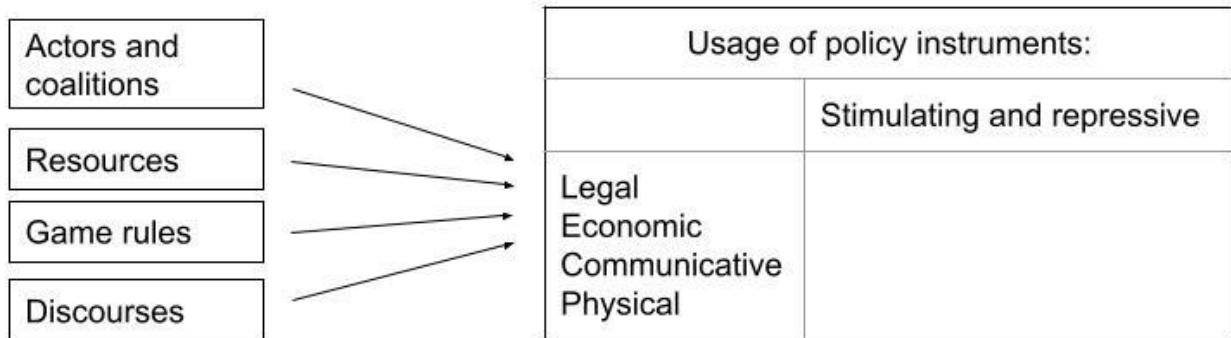


Image 1: Conceptual model

3. Methodology

In this chapter, I will elaborate upon the important methodological choices that had to be made in order to conduct this research. I pay attention to the research philosophy, the research strategy, the research questions, data collection and data analysis. Finally, I will discuss the limits of this research and explain how they were mitigated as much as possible.

Research philosophy

This research can roughly be classified in the constructivist research tradition. I aim to understand the interpretations and insights of social actors. That is no universal and value-free information. As a researcher I assume that social realities are a product of human intellect. Realities are apprehendable constructions, socially and experientially based (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This construct of reality can change as it becomes more or less informed (ibid.). For instance, by asking a government official about discourses or norms about the role of government, his construct of reality may differ from other official's views.

Qualitative approach

A thorough and nuanced insight into the properties, advantages and disadvantages of the available instruments was needed, so that officials and politicians of Horst aan de Maas could make a good assessment when making the policy with regard to labour migrant housing. In order to know in what way the municipality of Horst aan de Maas could use its policy instruments to start a project in the field of housing for labour migrants, more in-depth information was necessary. How could discourses, game rules, resources and coalitions have an influence on policy? This nuanced picture of policy arrangements and policy instruments could best be mapped out by qualitative, holistic research (Vennix, 2016, p. 195). This type of research is able to provide rich and detailed information. As I wrote earlier in this chapter, truth is a socially and experience-based construction. In order to create the most informed picture of reality and to draw conclusions from it, it was important to involve the insights and points of view of different actors. The dynamic and negotiated reality of all human actors in this case could best be explored with qualitative research

Abductive research

Using an abductive approach, this research found a middle ground between induction and deduction (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Unexplained data was analysed to arrive at new insights (ibid.). For instance, interpretations of actors or forms or types of policy instruments could be inventoried that were not apparent in the literature. The literature is supplemented with new empirical findings. This approach is in line with the qualitative character of this thesis and the research goal of making a thorough and nuanced addition to the scientific and societal debate.

Descriptive single case study

The research question is: *In what way can the municipality of Horst aan de Maas develop its own housing location and combat skewed housing by short-stay migrant workers?* I wanted to investigate and describe how the social discussion proceeds and identify the different perceptions of actors who take part in this discussion. I did not want to isolate the actors and the discussion itself from its natural context by generalising it, therefore a case study was a very suitable method for this thesis (Vennix, 2016, p. 192). A case study examines a

contemporary phenomenon in its context, where the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not evident, and where multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin, 1989, p. 23). This research method is suitable when phenomena, such as the municipal policy instruments and insights of stakeholders about this, have to be described as well and extensively as possible (ibid.).

Since the aim of this thesis is to investigate the available instruments of a municipality and formulate a possible approach, it is an exploratory study of the possibilities (Vennix, 2016, p. 193). In such a case, the analysis of one single case is sufficient (ibid.). In addition, the behaviour of the Horst aan de Maas municipality makes this municipality a unique case, as it, unlike other municipalities, wants to take the initiative itself. This single case is well worth documenting and analysing to demonstrate the unusual behaviour (Yin, 2003, p. 41; Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2004). The subject is an understudied phenomenon into which we can develop new insights (Langley & Abdallah, 2011). An intensive study of this single unit may help us understand broader patterns (Gerring, 2004). The research type used in this thesis is therefore a descriptive single case study.

Noord-Limburg has the highest number of labour migrants in the province, and the number has also grown the fastest, with an average annual growth of 20% in the period 2011-2018 (Bleker et al., 2020). It is estimated that in 2019 4,300 migrant workers were living in Horst aan de Maas, of which 1,350 registered and 3,950 unregistered (ibid.). This puts substantial pressure on housing in Horst aan de Maas. Horst aan de Maas is the only municipality in Noord-Limburg that is considering taking the initiative itself and setting up a housing location, making it a unique case in Limburg and in the rest of the Netherlands. For these reasons, Horst aan de Maas was chosen as the case in this study. The case in Horst aan de Maas will be presented in more detail in the next chapter.

3.1. Desk research

I carried out a content analysis of desk research in order to gain insight into the background of the case. The content analysis could partially answer sub-questions on the basis of facts, not the insights or opinions of stakeholders. In this way, existing material could be used to partially answer the research question (Vennix, 2016).

The first sub question, about the current housing situation in Horst aan de Maas, was answered using the report by Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten (2020), a policy document by Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken (2013), a regional policy document by Regio Venlo (2019) and the municipal policy document of Gemeente Horst aan de Maas (2019). The second sub question could partially be answered by mapping out the municipality's policy ambitions. This was done by examining the policy documents already mentioned above, and the coalition agreements of Gemeente Horst aan de Maas (2018; 2022), the proposal 'Please in my back Yard' by Werkgroep Huisvesting Arbeidskrachten (2020) and the council information letter by Burgemeester en wethouders Horst aan de Maas (2022). The third sub-question was also answered with the help of existing literature about the approach in other municipalities and inventories of municipal instruments. These were mapped, for example, by scholars such as Van Broekhoven & Louwes (2021).

Year	Description	Citation
2013	Policy document 'Ruimte voor arbeidsmigranten' by the Ministry of the Interior	Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties (2013)
2018	Coalition agreement of 2018	Gemeente Horst aan de Maas (2018)
2019	Policy document 'Beleid Arbeidsmigranten 2019'	Gemeente Horst aan de Maas (2019)
2019	Policy document 'Regionale Bouwsteen'	Regio Venlo (2019)
2020	Proposal 'Please in my back Yard' made by several companies and societal actors	Werkgroep Huisvesting Arbeidskrachten (2020)
2020	Report 'Geen tweederangsburgers' by the Roemer committee	Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten (2020)
2021	'Handreiking huisvesting van arbeidsmigranten' by Ministry of the Interior and Rho Adviseurs	Van Broekhoven & Louwes (2021)
2022	Municipality council information letter 'Voortgang programmatische aanpak arbeidsmigranten'	Burgemeester en wethouders Horst aan de Maas (2022)
2022	Coalition agreement of 2022	Gemeente Horst aan de Maas (2022)

Table 3: Documents that were included in the content analysis

3.2. Interviews

In order to generate new information about the context of municipal housing projects for migrant workers in Horst aan de Maas, I conducted interviews (Vennix, 2016). Policy arrangements have a major influence on policy (Van Tatenhove, Arts and Leroy, 2000). Subjects that are investigated in the interviews are actors, coalitions, available resources, norms and discourses in the policy context of Horst aan de Maas. In order to investigate this, semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted in this study. Face-to-face interviews are useful because they also allow indirect communication and information that people would rather not write down, but would like to tell. These factors are of great importance in qualitative analyses. The interview guides of these interviews can be found in the annexes.

These interviewees are recruited based on my judgement in collaboration with the thesis supervisors from within the municipality, which is also known as non-probability sampling. In order to increase reliability, I aimed to interview as many and diverse available sources as possible. Interviews with civil servants and politicians could create a picture of the policy arrangements in Horst aan de Maas and the status quo in the municipality. The interviews provided qualitative insight into how municipalities and stakeholders reason about labour migrant housing and how they think about using their planning instruments.

The questions in the interview guide were arranged based on the three sub questions of this research. For the interviews I worked with different types of actors who were interviewed on the basis of a questionnaire composed for them. The questionnaires differ, depending on the way in which actors deal with the problem and have different responsibilities with regard to these topics. I do not try to compare the answers between actors in a quantitative way, but try to create an overall picture of the insights of different actors in a qualitative way..

Several interviews were necessary in order to provide a well-informed overall picture of all stakeholders. These respondents had the function of informant (Vennix, 2016, p. 125). The following stakeholders are involved in the study:

31-05-2022	Civil servant of Horst aan de Maas
30-05-2022	Alderman of Horst aan de Maas
07-06-2022	Housing corporation
31-05-2022	Housing agency
03-06-2022	Housing agency
07-06-2022	Housing & employment agency
08-06-2022	Working group 'Housing labour migrants' (inhabitant)
30-05-2022	Village council (inhabitant)
01-06-2022	Advisory group of labour migrants in Noord-Limburg (labour migrants)

Table 4: Stakeholders that were interviewed for this thesis

3.3. Data analysis

In order to answer the research question, the results of the desk research and the interview are used to construct an overview of instruments that the Horst aan de Maas municipality can use to solve the housing problem of migrant workers. In order to answer the research questions, the data had to be analysed correctly. The analysis of the retrieved data took place as follows:

Transcription

Only if participants gave explicit permission to record the interviews, the interviews were recorded with the recording device on a mobile phone. These recordings were (manually) transcribed by myself and were put into the computer program ATLAS.ti. Clear transcripts usually contribute to a reliable and repeatable study, but for confidentiality of the respondents, these have not been made public. The recordings and transcripts were only shared with the thesis supervisors in order to monitor the quality of the research.

Coding process

The transcripts of the interviews were coded together with the information from the content analysis, using a display, according to Miles & Huberman (1994). The coding table can be found in the annex to this study. The ATLAS.ti program was used to guarantee a structural and clear coding process of the transcripts. First, I distinguished which sub-question and which subject was being discussed. All corresponding codes and mutual relationships between answers could then be mapped (Kenealy, 2012). In this way I could find out whether certain categories or patterns arose (Bleijenbergh, 2016). The passages that could contribute to answering the research question were selected and ordered, so that they form an integrated document consisting of all important fragments. The coding was done in an abductive way, using predefined codes, which could be modified during the process if the data could be better analysed in another way. In this way I was able to create a grounded analysis based on coherent theories and at the same time remain open to new findings.

Interpretation

The coded quotations could then be analysed, whereby different passages from the different sources were able to be compared with each other. This coding scheme formed the basis for a summary of the perceptions of involved actors about the current situation in Horst aan de Maas and about possibilities that the instruments offer the municipality. In doing so, the focus was not on extracting a single truth, or a 'best solution', from all the different insights, but rather mapping their variety. Conclusions could then be drawn from this overview (Bleijenbergh, 2016).

Evaluation

To create as complete a picture as possible, all respondents received the draft thesis before publication via email. They were invited to read it and make comments or additions where deemed necessary. Some respondents took advantage of this opportunity, allowing their additions to be included in the analysis.

3.4. Reliability, validity and ethics

Reliability

The reliability of any content analysis or interview strongly depends on the reliability of the chosen sources. During the analysis, arguments are made as clearly as possible as to why certain sources were involved in the content analysis and why certain respondents were involved in the interviews. I tried to involve all relevant stakeholders in the interviews in order to create a complete picture and to cross-check the collected information. This also applies to desk research, in which as many available policy documents and studies as possible were involved in the analysis. This multitude of sources made it possible to check whether the insights were compatible with the empirical data collection and whether discourse differences emerged between particular place and time contexts. By motivating the choice of used sources and also by clearly stating in the display which sources have been used, transparency of this research is promoted (Saunders et al., 2019, p. 114).

The reliability could have been influenced by the researcher, who could consciously or unconsciously influence the conclusion by interpreting data obtained from interviews and the content analysis. Interviews could also have been unconsciously disrupted by the formulation of questions (Vennix, 2016). This was prevented as much as possible by openly stating the questionnaire and analysis in the appendices for verification, but some loss of reliability cannot be excluded.

Nevertheless, the findings of this study cannot be viewed separately from the context of the study and the case study. The influence of, for example, time and place cannot be excluded and this must be taken into account when drawing conclusions.

Validity

The internal validity of this study was increased by using triangulation and a variety of sources (ibid.). The validity of the findings is usually significantly enhanced if the analyses and interpretations from the different sources agree (ibid.). The display by Miles & Huberman (1994) made it possible to check whether sources confirm or contradict each other.

By recording respondents' interviews and transcribing them afterwards, I was able to focus better on asking the right questions during the interviews (see also Brinkmann & Kvale, 2018). Another advantage of this is that I had time to properly transcribe interviews afterwards and pay attention to small details when re-listening, such as silences or hesitations of the respondent, which contributed to a more truthful analysis and interpretation.

In interviews in a single case study, all respondents should more or less have the same concrete idea of the case and municipal policy context. Two pilot interviews were conducted before the other actors were interviewed in order to improve the questions. This benefits internal validity, because it reduced the chance that respondents would misunderstand or construct an abstract idea incorrectly. Nevertheless, the use of only one case has negative consequences for the external validity. This is largely due to its limited generalizability. Due to the time- and place-specific context of this case, the conclusions of this case study are not universally generalizable. Cases with a similar context may have comparable results and conclusions. Think, for example, of rural municipalities in other parts of the Netherlands that

are struggling with similar housing problems. The limited generalizability was taken into account in the conclusion.

Ethical considerations

Some ethical considerations are important to mention explicitly here. Participation in the interviews was voluntary. Potential participants were provided with all essential information when they decided whether or not to participate. Interviewees were free to opt out at any point in time. Data that would enable identification of respondents was not collected, or anonymized, to guarantee a safe and confidential participation. Recordings of the interviews were only made if respondents explicitly agreed and were only shared confidentially with the thesis supervisors in order to guarantee the quality of this thesis. Afterwards, participants were invited to study the draft thesis in order to add any additions or comments, which were then incorporated into this version.

4. Case

It is estimated that 51,100 labour migrants currently work in the province of Limburg (Van der Meulen et al., 2022). In 2020, the number of migrant workers in Limburg mainly consisted of Poles (55%), Germans (8%), Romanians (8%) and Bulgarians (6%) (ibid.). 59% of the labour migrants in Limburg were male (ibid.). The number of labour migrants in Limburg is expected to increase by 3-4% annually until 2030 (ibid.). This can be explained by the strong increase in labour migrants in Noord Limburg. The number of labour migrants residing in Noord Limburg is expected to double between 2018 and 2030 (Bleker et al., 2020; Etil, 2018).

58% of the labour migrants in Limburg work through the temporary employment sector, a number that has increased by 18 percentage points since 2010. (Van der Meulen et al., 2022). A trend towards shorter stays is visible (ibid.). The group of labour migrants working in the province for a maximum of 4 months in particular is increasing: from 27% of the total number of labour migrants in Limburg in 2010 to 40% of them in 2020 (ibid.). This may be related to the growing proportion of workers working through temporary employment agencies. It can be assumed that the demand for short-stay housing will increase further as a result of shorter stays (ibid.). This is expected to cause the demand for housing to increase explosively.

4.1 Horst aan de Maas

This case study took place in the municipality of Horst aan de Maas. Horst aan de Maas is a rural municipality with 43,041 inhabitants in North Limburg. Its town hall is located in Horst, the largest town in the municipality. Due to its location, the municipality of Horst aan de Maas has a central function for the regional economy and houses many migrant workers. As one of the only ones in the Netherlands, the municipality is considering an active role in the local housing issue for migrant workers. These characteristics make Horst aan de Maas a very interesting topic for this descriptive case study.

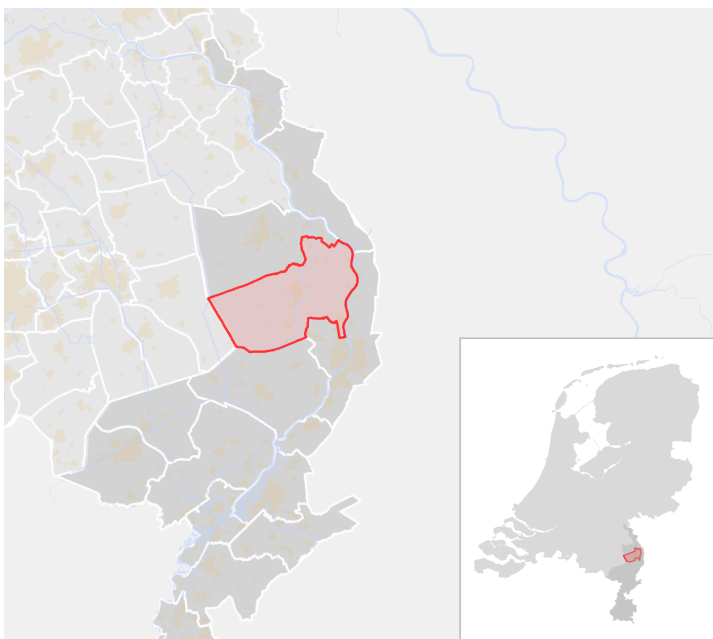


Image 2: Horst aan de Maas in Noord-Limburg and in the Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek & Topografische Dienst Kadaster, 2016)

Traditionally, the large agricultural sector was the source of jobs for which migrant workers came to Horst aan de Maas (Schmeets, 2019). A majority of them stayed, and in most cases still stay, on the farmer's premises. The last decades have been marked by the emergence of other sectors: industry and logistics. Due to its strategic location between Germany, Zuid-Limburg and the rest of the Netherlands, Trade Port West was opened in Venlo near Horst aan de Maas (Nieuwsblad Transport, 1994). This created a lot of extra employment, especially for low-skilled work, which resulted in a strong increase in the number of labour migrants. Unlike employees in the agricultural sector, it is not customary for workers to stay on the employer's premises. This caused a great demand for new housing options in Horst aan de Maas.

In North Limburg, the largest numbers of labour migrants work in the municipality of Horst aan de Maas and neighbouring municipalities of Venray and Venlo (Van der Meulen et al., 2022). Horst aan de Maas is placed in the top five of Limburg municipalities with the largest number of labour migrants (ibid.). A large group of migrant workers from Poland have built up a flourishing Polish community since their arrival (Schmeets, 2019). In January 2020, 2,675 labour migrants worked in the municipality of Horst aan de Maas (ibid.). It is striking, however, that this number has decreased by 5% since 2010, making the municipality an exception to the neighbouring municipalities, which all record growth figures (ibid.). An important caveat to these figures is that the share of labour migrants is not stable year-round. This number fluctuates depending on the demand for work. It can be assumed that the actual number of labour migrants living in Horst aan de Maas is considerably higher at other times of the year. In the agricultural sector, hardly any harvesting or planting takes place in the winter, which means that fewer workers are needed. The logistics sector operates all year round, but has some peak periods during for instance Black Friday and December.

The figures for living and working labour migrants differ greatly, because residential addresses of labour migrants are unknown if they are not registered in the Basisregistratie Personen (BRP) (ibid.). The number of migrant workers registered as residents has increased sharply in the past decade, despite fewer registrations of international employees working in the municipality. In Horst aan de Maas, 1,390 labour migrants were registered as residents in the Basisregistratie Personen in 2020 (ibid.). This number has increased by 15% annually since 2010, the largest increase in Limburg as a whole (ibid.).

In recent years, various illegal living situations of migrant workers have been found in the municipality (Burgemeester en wethouders Horst aan de Maas, 2022). This does not mean that there were necessarily degrading circumstances. It also includes living situations which are not allowed according to the local and national laws and rules. When asked, the police stated that it is not possible to provide insight into how many houses and labour migrants were involved in such situations because the systems do not register these cases separately (F. Vossen, personal communication, 29 August 2022).

4.2 Current policy framework

The Venlo Region has developed a regional policy document, 'Regionale bouwsteen', for housing of short-stay migrant workers in February 2019 (Gemeente Horst aan de Maas, 2019). Regional cooperation was kicked off with the Declaration of Kerkeböske in 2011, in which the municipalities emphasized the importance of migrant workers for the regional economy and stated that problems regarding housing and integration had to be solved in an integral way (Gemeente Beesel et al., 2011). Since 2013, the region has had a policy on housing for migrant workers. This policy tried to tackle distressing living situations and raise standards, but as the Regionale Bouwsteen writes, *"did not provide an adequate response to the great need for housing"* (Regio Venlo, 2019). This new note specifies criteria for when a location can be considered for short-stay housing, such as accessibility, parking, spatial appearance, integration into the landscape, a good living climate and support from the neighbourhood (Gemeente Horst aan de Maas, 2019). Also, no areas are specifically excluded in advance by the policy document, except for (large-scale) short stay in the middle of the residential area (ibid.). These general location criteria are not binding for municipal policies, to ensure that municipalities can draw up a local elaboration with their own starting points (ibid.). Nevertheless, Horst aan de Maas' 2019 policy memorandum also emphasises the importance of mutual coordination: "We are committed to ensuring that the municipalities in the region follow the same policy and that everyone takes responsibility" (Gemeente Horst aan de Maas, 2019).

The agreements from the coalition agreement concluded in 2018 were further elaborated and dealt with in the policy note 'Beleid Arbeidsmigranten 2019', that replaced the 'Beleidskader Huisvesting Arbeidsmigranten Horst aan de Maas 2010' (Gemeente Horst aan de Maas, 2019). For the following five years, the policy sets a maximum of two new large-scale initiatives to be built, each with a maximum of 400 beds (ibid.). Some of the requirements included in the current policy framework are that new large-scale housing locations are not permitted in or near residential areas, that the access to traffic must be in order, that there must be sufficient recreational opportunities in the area and that the location must not affect the residential and living environment of local residents. not affected to a great extent. The employers themselves are ultimately responsible for good housing for the necessary labour migrants, but the government provides preconditions (ibid.). According to the policy, peripheral zones are designated around industrial and agricultural areas, where new temporary housing is permitted, subject to fixed preconditions (ibid.). The policy note requires that all new housing locations must comply with the hallmark of Stichting Normering Flexwonen (SNF) (ibid.). Housing facilities should also provide single and maximum double bedrooms to ensure privacy, with adequate recreational facilities in and outside the building (ibid.). Management-related aspects, such as 24-hour managers, house rules, noise, litter, drugs/alcohol, (telephone) accessibility and a disaster plan must be included in the operating licence in accordance with policy (ibid.). On the other hand, large-scale short-stay housing in or near the residential areas should, according to this policy note, remain at all prohibited (ibid.). The number of migrant workers allowed to live in a house in the village was reduced from 10 to 4 people per house if they are not related to each other, with a maximum of 2 vehicles (ibid.). Families larger than four people are therefore allowed to live together in the same house. Since 2019, a maximum of 10 people per home has been allowed for homes in the outlying area (ibid.).

Since 2013, the umbrella zoning plan 'Housing for migrant workers' has been used, in which the options for housing are indicated for all areas in the municipality (Gemeente Horst aan de Maas, 2019). In April 2022, the Horst aan de Maas municipal council adopted this zoning plan, which concerned a further elaboration on the 2019 labour migrants policy. The plan stipulates that a maximum of four people may be accommodated per house (Burgemeester en wethouders Horst aan de Maas, 2022). In order to be able to arrange temporary housing, environmental permits with a term of ten years can be issued. After ten years, these housing locations have to be closed down, unless the entrepreneur can obtain a one-time extension of five years. This could count on criticism from a few residents, who found ten years too long to be able to intervene in time to address quality of life problems and demanded an interim evaluation, and from the agricultural and horticultural organisation LLTB, which thought that ten years are too short to be able to make the necessary investments (Hallo Horst aan de Maas, n.d.). According to the municipal executive, the zoning plan would prevent 'undesirable new spatial developments' (Burgemeester en wethouders Horst aan de Maas, 2022).

The Flexible Regional Intervention Team, abbreviated FRIT (Rijksoverheid, 2021) started recently in Horst aan de Maas. The main task of this pilot is the stronger enforcement of rules regarding housing and working conditions (Gemeente Bergen, n.d.). The team focuses on the totality of actors, such as employers, hirers, temporary workers, employment agencies and housing providers. The actors, including many neighbouring participating municipalities, the UWV, Tax Authorities, SVB, IND, Police and SZW Inspectorate, want to conduct more research into the problem, formulate an integrated joint approach and organise enforcement interventions where necessary (ibid.).

The municipality gives priority to improving existing housing before realising new housing (Burgemeester en wethouders Horst aan de Maas, 2022). In line with the idea behind the zoning plan, various illegal situations were terminated by the municipality at the end of 2021 (ibid.). Permits for new housing in Horst and Grubbenvorst and the expansion of existing housing provider Kafra were also refused (ibid.). The current policy in 'Beleid Arbeidsmigranten 2019' states that a maximum of two locations with a maximum of 400 beds may be realised. The municipality is still in talks with two housing providers to develop new large-scale housing locations. If those market parties proceed to realisation, there would be no room in the policy at all for a third accommodation location. In that case, the policy would have to be deviated from. One developer is currently considering developing at a different location outside the municipality. If this continues and the developer abandons development in the municipality of Horst aan de Maas, the officials will want to use the second option offered by the policy for their own municipal housing project.

Several policy developments are currently underway. For example, Decisio and Companen are conducting research into the housing of migrant workers in Horst aan de Maas. The municipality of Horst aan de Maas has also become a pilot municipality with regard to the Basic Registration of Persons, in which it will conduct experiments in order to register more migrant workers.

Stakeholders

The stakeholders most influenced by housing policy are the migrant workers themselves. Since 2009, Noord-Limburg has had an 'Advisory group labour migrants', with current and former labour migrants who live in the municipalities of Peel en Maas, Venray and Horst aan de Maas, which provides the municipalities with advice (Coesmans, 2021). Most members of this advisory committee have lived in the Netherlands for a longer period of time than the average labour migrant and maintain strong contacts with many other migrant workers. Within the municipality, both civil servants and an alderman are involved in shaping the policy on housing for labour migrants.

Several residents of Horst aan de Maas who are concerned with housing migrant workers have united in the Working Group Housing for Migrant Workers (SP Horst aan de Maas, 2022). In the spring of 2022, the working group conducted a survey among residents of the municipality to gauge their perceptions of labour migrants. They received 510 responses and incorporated this in their report 'Hoe denkt Horst aan de Maas over arbeidsmigranten' (Werkgroep Huisvesting Arbeidsmigranten, 2022). In addition to the working group, every village in Horst aan de Maas also has a village council, which represents the interests of the inhabitants in the name of the village.

Other stakeholders in housing policy for migrant workers are current commercial housing companies such as Kafra Housing and Work and Stay. The Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten (2020) also encouraged municipalities to actively involve housing associations in the realisation of new housing locations, which is why they are asked for a response from the municipal plans. Finally, employers of migrant workers, in particular employers in the agricultural and transport sectors, also have an interest when it comes to labour migrants and their housing.

5. Analysis

In this chapter I answer the sub-questions based on the content analysis. This chapter is divided into sub-questions and discusses the insights of various actors. An important point to note is that the interviews with the various actors are mainly aimed at collecting the multitude of opinions and insights. The interviewed actors are not representative and their answers are therefore also not. This should be taken into account when analysing the answers.

5.1. Current housing situation

Sub-question 1 of this study reads as follows: 'What is the current housing situation of labour migrants in Horst aan de Maas and what are related challenges viewed by the municipality and other stakeholders involved?'. When it comes to the current housing situation of migrant workers and the perceived challenges, two of the four dimensions of the policy arrangements approach (and of the conceptual model) emerge. This is first of all the discourse, with topics that come to the fore in the social debate. Which problems are mentioned by the different actors? Respondents also mention the behaviour of other important actors that contribute to the status quo. What roles do all actors currently play? All their comments are divided into the sections below. Secondly, we deal with the perceptions about the available resources on which the policy depends, which can be divided into expertise, budgets and power relations.

The sections of this paragraph are divided into several aspects of the current housing situation:

- Quantity of housing and migrants
- Quality of housing
- Dependence on employer
- Behaviour local residents
- Behaviour municipality
- Behaviour labour migrants
- Behaviour companies
- External factors
- Residual status quo definitions
- Expertise
- Budgets
- Power

Quantity of housing and migrants

All actors have seen an increase in the number of labour migrants in recent years. The manufacturing industry and logistics companies in the region have seen a rapid rise in the past decade. As a result, the number of labour migrants rose sharply and their presence shifted from seasonal to (almost) year-round. According to the municipal policy of 2019, this is the case: *“The need for labour migrants is expected to continue in any case until 2030. During this period, the potential labour force in North Limburg will decrease from approximately 212,300 to 198,900, whilst the amount of jobs is expected to remain increasing.”* What this policy document does underline is that future demand for workers can fluctuate greatly due to technological innovations and prosperity developments in the rest of the EU.

Partly due to the arrival of more labour migrants, all stakeholders perceive a shortage of short-stay housing for migrant workers. As a result, the supply of housing can no longer meet the demand. An employer states: *“We can still develop so many places, we can't get our hands on it.”* Employers cannot practise their profession when labour migrants cannot settle in the region and therefore use all possibilities they have to be able to accommodate staff. According to the council information letter: *“Market parties are continuously looking for opportunities to realise sufficient and good quality housing.”* Housing providers and the municipality indicate that they receive many more requests than they can meet.

A shortage of housing also means that there are few providers of housing on the housing market. The lack of competition disrupts the functioning of the market and gives the housing providers a dominant position vis-à-vis labour migrants and the municipality, according to a housing provider with a small company: *“I do not think you should want that as a government.”* Migrant workers say that they simply accept undesirable living conditions because there is no better alternative.

Some of the original residents of Horst aan de Maas are also affected by the shortage of housing for labour migrants, because part of the labour migrants are settling in regular rental housing and cheap owner-occupied housing. This reinforces the existing housing crisis on the regular housing market. Particularly in the larger villages of the municipality, Horst, Grubbenvorst and Sevenum, many social rented houses are concentrated in a few neighbourhoods. According to some residents, there is indeed support for new Dutch citizens in these neighbourhoods, but the concentration of labour migrants to this extent results in a loss of quality of life. Studies predicting that the number of migrant workers will double within a decade have caused a stir among residents. According to the alderman and an employer, there is good support for housing migrant workers in the village, but the number of migrant workers is what residents are concerned about. An employer talks about a housing location: *“It goes from 300 to 800 to 1000, as if there were no boundaries anymore.”* A resident outlines: *“I think we are slowly reaching the maximum number of labour migrants we have and maybe we should reconsider whether we need all of them.”* Another resident also states that the neighbourhood can no longer cope with a large-scale plan of 2500 to 3000 labour migrants and disputes the idea that Horst aan de Maas actually needs so many labour migrants.

Quality of housing

The current situation on the housing market, in which regular homes are bought up and

sublet to migrant workers, is recognized by many parties as problematic. This so-called skewed housing is a thorn in the side of the alderman. Because sometimes more than 4 labour migrants live per house, according to him, nuisance occurs in residential areas, such as parking problems and noise pollution. A resident explains why he finds the term "skewed living", which the alderman uses, distressing: *"Until now, this term has been used in the Netherlands mainly for people living in rented housing despite their income being too high for it. This term is now used for a situation that is exactly the opposite: the tenants - in this case migrant workers - pay way too much, especially when you consider their income!"*

In some cases, migrant workers are still housed in poor conditions. Migrant workers refer to old campsites, where spaces are rented out in a *"legal, semi-illegal or illegal manner"*. They talk about poor living conditions in houses that are overcrowded, with health risks and a lack of privacy. Problematic situations are occasionally encountered by enforcers. More common is a lack of facilities and conveniences, such as shops within cycling distance or football fields, which, according to the alderman, causes behaviour that bothers residents: *"If you do not have a pitch with trash cans nearby, they will go somewhere else and then leave their mess behind."*

Dependence on employer

Residents, labour migrants and the municipality identify the double dependence that labour migrants have in relation to their employer as the most problematic situation that should be stopped. According to them, the power relationship that arises when employers are also the landlords of migrant workers has unpleasant consequences. According to them, anyone who is fired would lose their shelter within a few days and be thrown out on the street. This risk creates a position of power that is disadvantageous for labour migrants, as a result of which they are more likely to accept poor housing conditions.

Housing companies and employers recognize the strong dependence of migrant workers on their employer in the past, but deny that this is still the case today: *"They can just continue to rent here."* Another housing provider says: *"In our company, it is simply the case that you do not have to leave the house at all.[...] You can continue to rent nowadays. [...] Although a deposit must be paid."*

Behaviour local residents

Many actors have seen a sharp decline in popular support for migrant housing initiatives in recent years. Since the number of large-scale settlements has increased sharply in the past decade, residents have become tougher in their approach to new projects in their own neighbourhood. A civil servant outlines: *"They think: 'We really have to kick the ass now or else it will get worse.'" Residents are concerned about the value of their homes and the quality of life in the neighbourhood, afraid of aspects like more litter. A group of very assertive and involved citizens often makes themselves heard in new initiatives. Some respondents mention signs on the side of the road with which rebellious residents agitate against migrant workers. This resistance has been very effective in stopping some new branches in recent years. A housing provider and the alderman also say that they understand the concerns of residents about the large scale of some projects.*

Entrepreneurs and civil servants think it is a shame that this attitude of residents does not take into account the positive aspects of labour migration. That is what they call the

importance of labour migrants for the regional economy. The hardened discussion would fuel an enemy image of us against them. As one civil servant puts it: *"They are just people, just like you and me."* Entrepreneurs who want to properly arrange housing for labour migrants and have well-developed plans are no longer given the benefit of the doubt by rebellious residents, she says.

The municipality and residents state that local residents are generally less critical of housing initiatives by local (agricultural) entrepreneurs. These locations, located on the premises of the company, are often on a smaller scale and the landlord has more frequent contact with the neighbours, making them approachable in the event of nuisance in an easily accessible manner. A resident says: *"I do not hear much about problems in the countryside."* The alderman recognizes this image: *"He would be the same strawberry grower or blueberry grower who is also at the football club or whom you meet in the pub, so certainly in the smaller villages people have known these people all their lives. If there is any nuisance, they speak to them much more easily. That is not the case with housing providers because they are often investors who are not from the same area."*

Also once large-scale housing is in place, the number of formal complaints from the neighbourhood seems to decrease rapidly. A housing provider tells about one of his locations: *"The whole village was in an uproar. After a year we heard nothing of that criticism anymore."* Another housing provider also saw a larger number of complaints in the development phase: *"When we had expansion plans, you saw that some neighbours, not everyone, also sent more complaints to the municipality in a manipulative way."* A resident recognizes that neighbours largely stop complaining when a location has been realised, but also nuances this immediately: *"Sometimes a housing provider listens to complaints and adjusts the original plans. But most of the time, [...] people notice that the municipality or a company does nothing with their complaints [...] At a certain point when you get the idea that it no longer helps, then they just stop. [...] A few diehards in the area mostly continue to make an effort, but their supporters drop out, causing the diehards to bow their heads despondently."*

Behaviour municipality

Residents and labour migrants feel that the municipality does little to maintain and as a result is perpetuating problematic situations. A resident snapped: *"Horst aan de Maas is a really bad enforcer. This is largely because they have too few civil servants, the municipality also admits this."*

Entrepreneurs view the attitude of the municipality differently. The municipality would leave everything too much to the entrepreneurs, such as choosing the precise location and generating support among the population. They believe that the municipality is too sensitive to the support of the population and have the feeling that they are on their own when they have objections. An employer, for example, describes: *"One citizen complains and then suddenly we all find it problematic, even the municipality."* According to these entrepreneurs, an unsteady attitude to maintain a clear vision and to realise projects that meet all requirements would encourage resistance from residents and make the realisation of projects even more difficult. For example, one housing provider explains: *"If the municipality stands by its cause and says that projects that comply with the policy may be started, then things will go well. If the municipality starts to doubt and hesitate, the neighbourhood will*

smell that, then you will have problems." A civil servant says: *"Of course we also want to maintain that social balance."* As a result, the government would occasionally find itself in a dilemma. In addition, requests made to the municipality would have to wait a long time for an answer and officials would focus too much on hard standards and rules, even if support has been created among the population for plans: *"There is land and the municipal executive is agreement, the chairmen of the parties in the municipal council agree, the municipality agrees, the village council says 'it doesn't sound bad', so you probably already have an agreement. Then one official comes and says 'You are not allowed to build because that does not meet the noise standards' which means it will take two more years. [...] You just have to make sure that it does meet the noise standards, you put a wall in front of it or whatever, just fix it! Everyone is in favour of the plans!"* According to an official, entrepreneurs also have a strong need for harmonised policy with other municipalities, while this often proves unfeasible in political practice.

The alderman adds that the difference in supply and demand for housing is largely due to municipal policy. Because the municipality wanted to create employment during the financial crisis, the construction of large industrial estates was encouraged. These industrial estates have largely caused the increase in the number of labour migrants. The alderman admits: *"I think we just misjudged that."*

Behaviour labour migrants

Many interviewees commented on the assumed length of stay of migrant workers. In its skewed housing policy, the municipality assumes that short-stay labour migrants are people who only stay in the Netherlands for a few months. However, according to the labour migrants I interviewed, this is only a very small group: *"You should not think in months, you have to think in years. [...] They are here for eight or nine months and go back in the winter months, which I call 'go on holiday in Poland'. They will come back in the spring."* According to them, migrant workers would change their address every three months in order to avoid mandatory administration at the municipality and therefore stay longer than three months. A housing provider says that this should not be exaggerated: *"The average length of stay was between 44 and 46 weeks."* According to an employer in the agricultural sector, his workers stay with him a little longer: *"After three years they have disappeared. Only 25% stay here."* According to the alderman, one sixth (16,67%) of all labour migrants have been registered in Horst aan de Maas for more than five years. A resident describes these stayers: *"Most people come here thinking: 'I come here to work for a short time, [...] but gradually they see that it is quite prosperous here.'" The Ministry of the Interior's guideline writes about this group: "Some people come to the Netherlands with that wish, others take up that plan during their stay in the Netherlands. This often involves couples or people bringing their families over."* As their intended length of stay changes, so does their housing demand. Those who stay longer in the Netherlands want more independent forms of living with more comfort and privacy.

A labour migrant expresses: *"I have experienced that people do not integrate much."* According to a resident, they would be reluctant in their contacts, not only with Horstenaren, but also among themselves. They would not show up at neighbourhood parties, so *"the integration is not going very smoothly."* Migrant workers object that it is also very difficult for them to integrate independently, especially when they live in large-scale housing locations: *"You cannot do anything with that."* In some cases, the lifestyle of short-stay migrant workers

causes nuisance to their environment. According to the alderman, this is particularly the case in houses where several migrant workers live together under one roof, and to a lesser extent in houses where families live. *"And yes, they will also occasionally have a barbecue where conversations turn too loud and they also watch the European Championship if Poland plays football, but that causes another kind of nuisance."* In Horst aan de Maas, according to the alderman, about half of the police capacity would be used for cases of nuisance caused in particular by short-staying labour migrants. However, the alderman immediately adds the nuance that this is because neighbours are more likely to call the police than when there is nuisance from other Dutch people. When there is noise nuisance, they can understand what is being said, and they can be addressed in a more accessible way.

A housing provider saw the labour migrants in Horst aan de Maas change in recent years: *"You used to see a bit more traditional labour migrants: low-educated, very low prosperity who came here by van. Nowadays I see younger people who speak English, who have had an education, who come here with their own car, often nicer cars than I drive, so to speak."* According to her, this would be because the sectors in which they work are becoming increasingly high-quality, such as healthcare and catering. This shift would lead to migrant workers also asking for increasingly high-quality housing.

On the other hand, the various stakeholders still recognize some 'traditional labour migrants', who primarily come to the Netherlands to earn as much money as possible. According to the Ministry of the Interior's guideline Room for Migrant Workers, many of them are willing to accept lower housing standards if this leads to cheaper housing. Migrant workers I interviewed see that some also try to ease the burden in regular owner-occupied and rental homes: *"You sometimes see that people also start sharing their home with other labour migrants."* This so-called 'skewed living' is also referred to in the same terms by the housing association and the alderman.

Behaviour companies

The municipality sees a great willingness among entrepreneurs to work on high-quality housing. The regional policy document by Regio Venlo (2019) shows that the number of requests has increased sharply in recent years. According to an official, these are largely of high quality: *"There are very nice housing plans, people really want to put money into them, they really want to work on good management."* An entrepreneur also proudly stated in his interview that his company has not used houses in the residential area for more than a decade now. A resident partly recognizes this willingness to work on quality: *"Most entrepreneurs try to do it right, [...] but there are a whole lot who do not and who use all the loopholes in order to arrange it badly. And they are regularly discovered."*

Yet there is also annoyance among the entrepreneurs. This attitude is also clearly recognizable in the comments made by entrepreneurs under the heading 'Behaviour municipality'. The municipality would be accused of not showing guts. Yet they would not have become more certain in recent years. On the contrary, according to an official: *"They are very happy that there is again a policy in a number of municipalities to create possibilities, and before that was not possible in every municipality."*

A civil servant states that there is sometimes too little understanding among entrepreneurs for the perceived nuisance that labour migrants can cause to other residents. They would often appeal to their complex manager, but as she puts it: *"You cannot solve everything with a manager."* According to her, there is insufficient understanding of what a housing location does to such an environment and what the entrepreneur must do to prevent nuisance.

According to a resident, companies would also benefit from sending labour migrants to their home countries for a few months every year. He explains that under Dutch labour law, migrant workers only get more employment rights if they work in the Netherlands for a longer period. An employer would then find it harder to sack its workers, for example. If workers go to their home country for a few months, they have to start again in phase 1 and so the employer does not suffer from all kinds of labour rights. The short stay of migrant workers would thus also be partly encouraged by the employers themselves, according to this resident.

External factors

The stakeholders see that in this file a number of external factors are causing the current status quo. The alderman underlines that international and national economic developments are increasing the demand for labour migrants: *"Our consumer behaviour determines that labour migrants will still be needed now, tomorrow and in ten years' time."* As a result, say the alderman, civil servants and residents, the housing shortage is a regional issue. The shortage of housing for labour migrants is a problem in large parts of Limburg and Noord Brabant. This shortage of cheap housing also means that residents in the housing market face even stronger competition with labour migrants, further increasing social tensions. The municipality is also partly dependent on national factors to solve the housing shortage. However, according to the alderman, new legislation based on the recommendations of the Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten (2020) will probably only be implemented in a few years' time. The current overheated housing market is also an important reason why the construction of flexible homes is taking a long time. An employee of a housing corporation summarises this dilemma: *"If you order them now, you will probably have them next year, maybe."*

Residual status quo definitions

A resident describes the broader socio-economic impact on the sector that migrant workers bring with them. Because new labour migrants in their home country have low labour standards, they are not activist enough to improve their position, he says. The wages, flex contracts and working conditions of the work do not improve as a result, which makes the jobs even more unattractive for the original inhabitants of the municipality of Horst. In this way, the demand for labour migrants is further strengthened and the position of labour migrants already present does not improve. Labour migrants also talk about a socio-economic dilemma that many labour migrants discover too late: when they decide to return to Poland after a few years of work in the Netherlands, according to labour migrants, they have a *"gap in their CV"* which would make it difficult to return to work there.

A housing provider sees that the housing market for labour migrants is increasingly dominated by a few large housing companies. According to this housing provider, there is a lack of healthy competition on the housing market, which disrupts the functioning of the

market, and this creates a very strong position of power over municipalities among the large housing providers.

Some stakeholders also mention the positive side effects of labour migrants in Horst aan de Maas. Several people mention the small village of Tienray, where the supermarket can remain open because many migrant workers do their shopping there. The alderman explains: *“That also affects the elderly who live in that village and who can therefore do their shopping in their own village. They can stay at home longer. So there are certainly opportunities for quality of life.”*

Expertise

Housing providers believe that the municipality has too little expertise to be able to develop and manage large-scale housing locations. A housing provider explains: *“The municipality has no knowledge at all, nor does it have the knowledge to recruit people for this, to maintain. They think it all means nothing. Good luck. I don't think they are competent to do this on their own.”* Commercial landlords have much more experience with housing migrant workers, according to an employer and housing provider: *“We are getting better with every project, and it is also becoming easier for us to find those locations.”* A labour migrant objects that there is not yet anyone who has experience with housing in the way that Horst aan de Maas wants to organise it. According to him, this new form of housing should also further promote integration, much more than other organisations such as housing associations and private landlords do: *“Corporations have a lot of experience with the economic aspect, but for the vision that the alderman has, that is really new, something new, nobody has experience with that yet.”*

Other criticism of the municipality's expertise focuses on its lacking knowledge of illegal housing locations. Some interviewed labour migrants doubt whether the municipality knows where labour migrants are housed under poor conditions. How can this be enforced if one does not know it? Yet there are also others who claim the opposite: *“I am sure that you can figure that out.”*

Matters such as the size of the housing location and the precise placement of the location have not yet been determined. Much still needs to be researched, the alderman also says: *“We do not know exactly yet, because we are now having discussions with partners.”* The municipality and the housing association also do not know how many houses are currently living in a crooked way, for example, a representative of a housing association says: *“You could filter on surnames, then you might get something out of the surnames, but it is not registered and it is simply not allowed.”*

Budgets

The alderman is positive about the budget required for the establishment of a housing location: *“I think the plan can be budget neutral in itself.”* According to a civil servant, however, it will cost a lot of money to set up a housing initiative: *“We should not be mistaken, it really involves quite a few millions.”* However, the municipality council has not yet reserved a budget for the implementation of a housing initiative, nor has it agreed in the 2022 coalition agreement, only for a project manager who further develops the plans. An official wonders whether there is sufficient political support to allocate huge budgets for the project in a financially difficult time for the municipality: *“We now have to watch our money very much*

and let many community facilities, for example, not go ahead, such as a sports hall or a new swimming pool, so there will also have to be considerable political conviction to invest your own resources in this." However, the alderman says that there is enough understanding for the ambitions: *"The first time the council information letter was discussed in the city council, there was support for it."* According to him, only a small minority in the municipality council would think that this is a matter for the companies and that the municipality should not get involved.

The integration of labour migrants also requires a budget. The Horst aan de Maas Municipality receives money from the WEB: Wet educatie en beroepsonderwijs (1996) to realise integration projects for labour migrants, such as language lessons. This amount is considerably lower than the amount that municipalities receive for other integrators, such as refugees. As the alderman sums it up: *"We have about 50 euros per person. You cannot do a lot of language courses for such amounts of money."* In addition, when calculating the subsidies, the national budget is based on 1 January, a time when there are far fewer labour migrants living in Horst aan de Maas than in the peak summer months. As a result, the municipality receives structurally less subsidy than the amount of labour migrants live in the summer months would need. The alderman also says that registrations could partly remedy this: *"As long as we have not registered people, we will not receive any extra money, but we will not register people here to get that money."* The alderman briefly summarises: *"Everything [...] related to integration is unaffordable for municipalities, [...] so I am completely dependent on whether we succeed in getting companies to take responsibility, or whether the national government takes responsibility".*

Power

To maintain the quality of life, the municipality and the housing association do not always seem to be in a position to intervene immediately. Migrant workers and residents are critical of this: *"If you have a tenant who is not behaving and Wonen Limburg wants to evict them from the rental home, it takes them five years before they have built up a file."* In addition, skewed living does not always involve illegal situations, but they are simply regarded as undesirable. In order to tackle skewed living in the neighbourhoods, the municipality is highly dependent on the landlords of the homes, such as companies, the housing association and private individuals. As homeowners, they have control over what happens in these homes. A civil servant emphasises the importance of cooperation as a result of this dependent position: *"If they do not want to focus on solving skewed housing, how should we as a municipality do that? [...] We do have to deal with a number of parties that have to participate, because we cannot solve it alone [...] Then you may have some situations based on enforcement that you can do something with because they are too spend a lot of time in a home or because it is not fireproof [...] while that is actually not the purpose of the project."*

With regard to the development of Greenport Venlo, the municipality has a subordinate position vis-à-vis the other municipalities and the province of Limburg. If the municipality of Horst aan de Maas were to strive to stop further development of Greenport in order to slow down the arrival of labour migrants, an official says, *"I think we will still have a battle there, in which the municipality will want something different than the province as the largest shareholder."* According to her, other participants in the development company are still divided about further development of the business park: *"When I talk to my colleagues there, who say: 'Yes, we understand, we should not just continue with this' but when I talk to the*

account manager of the development company, who is more concerned with the finances, who says 'It can not be possible that Horst will no longer facilitate logistics.'

Reflection on this subquestion

All stakeholders acknowledge that there is too little housing for migrant workers in Horst aan de Maas compared to the current demand for migrant workers on the labour market. Migrant workers largely depend on these companies to find housing. This shortage entails various consequences, such as a strengthened position of power for employers and housing providers. Some labour migrants live in regular homes that are sublet, which amplifies the housing crisis in the regular housing market. Residents, labour migrants and the municipality identify the double dependence that labour migrants have in relation to their employer as the most problematic situation. Incidentally, a striking finding of this study is that residents and municipalities are less critical of the housing quality and the dependence of labour migrants among employers in the agricultural sector, because their housing often leads to less nuisance for neighbours and because these entrepreneurs have more contact with their neighbours.

The number of large-scale housing locations has increased sharply in recent years to reduce the housing shortage, but this has caused resentment among residents. According to some residents, the maximum has been reached. People would be more lenient towards small-scale housing locations with local entrepreneurs, but all actors recognize that the sentiment of residents towards new large-scale locations is changing in the negative. The societal debate about housing is hardening and complicating employers' efforts to create more living space. Many actors have the feeling that they are not understood by others and therefore draw attention to the dilemmas with which they are struggling. A striking effect that follows from the analysis is that the number of complaints from local residents is concentrated around the housing development phase. Complaints from neighbours seem to decrease sharply once housing has been finalised.

Furthermore, many actors are very pessimistic about the resources available to the municipality. According to commercial parties, the municipality would have a lack of expertise. The availability of budgets raises questions to many actors. Remarkably, the alderman and civil servants differ on this. It remains to be seen whether the municipality has got sufficient available budgets in order to implement effective policies. The strong dependence on landlords of the homes, such as companies, the housing association and private individuals will also have consequences for the policy to be pursued and its implementation.

5.2. Policy ambitions

Sub-question 2 of this study reads as follows: 'What are the policy ambitions of the municipality to enhance the housing situation of labour migrants and how do these resonate with different stakeholders involved?'. In order to paint a good picture of the social debate that is being conducted in society about the policy to be pursued, the 'actors' dimension of the policy arrangements theory and the conceptual model is used. How do the various actors in the social debate think about the solutions and on what points do they differ from each other? In part, the discussion in the social debate can also be grouped under the dimension 'discourse'. The input that all actors had for this question can be broken down into the sections below. While many critiques and ideas focus on the general problem and how general solutions should be taken, the sections 'A new municipal housing location' and 'role' examine the plan of the alderman for a new housing location to be established. and how the different actors reason about this.

The sections of this chapter are:

- Quantity of housing and migrants
- Quality of housing
- Dependence on employer
- Integration
- Enforcement
- A new municipal housing location
- Role
- Residual ambition preferences

Quantity of housing and migrants

Entrepreneurs and civil servants find the shortage on the housing market problematic and therefore want more housing in Horst aan de Maas. Local entrepreneurs are said to be struggling with staff shortages because they cannot accommodate their staff: *“On average, we have three hundred people at work, and therefore I must also have three hundred beds.”* One housing provider states: *“We just need to really move this file.”* The alderman says that refusing to build additional housing can also have unpleasant side effects for the native population of Horst aan de Maas: *“If we don't do that, it will put extra pressure on the regular housing market.”* Nevertheless, the municipality decided in 2021 to refuse an application for the expansion of housing provider Kafra because the policy stipulates that only two new housing locations will be added.

On the other hand, there is also an increasingly loud call from residents to tackle the shortage by reducing employment for labour migrants in the region. An official sees that in recent years there has been political support for curbing economic growth: *“A reversal is underway.”* The coalition agreement of 2022 therefore states that Greenport Venlo must first *“comply with the agreements on proportional housing for labour migrants in the regional municipalities”* before further development takes place. This line of thinking was also previously considered by the alderman in the council information letter: *“In future economic choices, the needs and interests of the local labour market and society must also be taken into account.”* A critical resident would even like to have it investigated how the current number of labour migrants can be reduced: *“Perhaps we should also consider whether we need them all.”* According to him, by encouraging unemployed people already living in the Netherlands to work, fewer labour migrants would be needed and the influx of labour migrants could be limited. This was also agreed in the coalition agreement of 2018.

Quality of housing

In the council information letter, the municipality states that increasing the quality of existing housing is prioritised over adding additional housing. This is in line with the Regionale Bouwsteen, which emphasised the importance of high quality and even suggested that the North Limburg region should become a national leader in the field of housing quality. In the Regionale Bouwsteen, the municipalities ask themselves to at least meet the SNF standards, which is also included in the Migrant Workers Policy from 2019 and was advised by the Roemer committee. A housing provider also encourages the municipality to oblige all housing providers to meet the standards of the Roemer Committee. The 2018 coalition agreement already stated that the municipality was considering introducing this obligation. The alderman now prefers to go a little further: *“As far as I'm concerned, that should be even more. I prefer that people can choose, for example, whether they can sit in a single room, that facilities are accessible and approachable and that privacy is guaranteed.”* A labour migrant likes that recreational and commercial facilities are not forgotten in order to increase the quality of living: *“It has everything to do with facilities.”* These homes should, according to the alderman, be situated in a park-like environment, not close to each other. A labour migrant summarises his position: *“If you treat people like all other residents of the municipality of Horst, you have come a long way.”*

Dependence on employer

The alderman has set himself the goal of making housing for employees independent of the employers. Those who are fired should, according to him, be able to continue renting for at

least a few weeks. Migrant workers and residents see this as an important progress. The municipality would be a party that *"stands above all those employers."* As another migrant worker says: *"It makes this project more stable for the people or more social."* A representative of the housing corporation is optimistic about this ambition: *"I don't see why that couldn't happen."*

The strong dependence on employees was already mentioned in the 2013 policy document *'Ruimte voor Arbeidsmigranten'* and in the 2018 coalition agreement. At that time, however, the current plans to remove the double dependency were not yet taken into account. Instead of initiating a special municipality-owned housing location, the situation should be enhanced through good cooperation with entrepreneurs: *"Municipalities that want to avoid double dependence, work together with demonstrably bona fide entrepreneurs."* By formulating preconditions for permits, companies should guarantee their staff an acceptable period of time to be able to look for a new home after dismissal. As I mentioned in the previous sub-question, housing providers claim that there is no dependence on their companies (anymore). Migrant workers could also continue to rent after dismissal. They also argue that further disconnection with a new project of the municipality would be unnecessary.

It is also striking that the double dependence on the employer is less problematic for many residents and politicians when it concerns labour migrants in the agricultural sector. In this sector, people often live in small-scale locations on the farmer's property. A resident says: *"The general opinion in the working group is that this is seen as less serious."* According to him, this would mainly be because the employers in this case are locally rooted residents, who have known their neighbours for years. The regional policy document *'Regionale bouwsteen'* is also less critical of the double dependence among agricultural entrepreneurs: *"In these times of a shortage of labour migrants, it is more likely that housing on one's own farm has a positive effect. After all, the labour migrants have quickly found another employer if they are not satisfied with the accommodation and/or the employer."*

Integration

Some labour migrants have different norms and values than the majority of Dutch people have. This difference can create friction. The alderman states: *"That means that you then have to think about social integration."* With regard to integration, the municipality and residents make a distinction between short-term and long-term migrant workers. In their view, the long-term resident international employee should really integrate, especially by learning Dutch. Being able to communicate well is important, says one resident: *"Not only for the quality of life, but also for safety. During their work in the field, for example, they can misunderstand something and this can lead to accidents [...] It doesn't have to be education at an academic level, it can also be simple."*

The municipality and local residents are a bit more lenient for short-term labour migrants, says the alderman: *"We will really not bother you with knowing the whole Wilhelmus."* A resident also understands this: *"I can imagine that people who have only been here for three months will not learn Dutch."* In their view, however, Dutch norms and values should be transferred to short-stay labour migrants in order to maintain the quality of life for other residents. For example, one official says: *"Don't all go out on the bike path in the dark with a hood on, but do it in a different way, so that you startle fewer people."* The alderman also mentions a few issues: *"How do we deal with an LGBTQI community here, how do we deal*

with each other in traffic here, how do we deal with neighbours here? [...] I am not asking them to accept it, but they do have to act on it." The alderman believes it is important that labour migrants act according to the norms that are customary in Dutch culture. This is not always automatically the case due to a difference in standards and values. The alderman also sees differences in the medical field between labour migrants and original residents of Horst aan de Maas: *"Here we are used to dealing with general practitioner care, primary care in a certain way [...] They are much more used to self-care there. to get antibiotics right away. Perhaps people are more likely to be resistant to antibiotics. Is our healthcare system geared to that? How do we start a conversation with people about vaccination? People look at the government a bit differently there, so if the government has a campaign in Dutch, that does not mean that every Polish migrant worker will be vaccinated."*

Eastern European norms and values can explain the behaviour of Eastern European migrant workers. Horst aan de Maas's Migrant Worker Policy from 2019 takes this into account: *"In Poland, for example, it is very common for people to welcome each other into the house if the situation calls for it."* This would make people more inclined to live in the house with more people than is allowed in Horst aan de Maas. It is often not clear to migrant workers that this is prohibited and the rules must therefore be actively made clear to migrant workers.

A labour migrant remarks that some short-stay labour migrants would also like to be much more involved in what is happening in the village community and its immediate surroundings: *"There is a lack of information about what is happening on the other side of the fence."* By reminding each other of upcoming football matches, films being shown in the cinema, but also announcements of special events such as fairs and carnivals, migrant workers could more often take a step to integrate themselves. Other labour migrants qualify this statement by stating that this is mainly the case for a limited group of labour migrants and for cheap activities in the immediate vicinity.

Enforcement

Enforcement is mentioned by many actors as the most important point of attention for the new housing location. For example, the representative of the housing corporation explains: *"If people only stay that short, you have so many changes, then there are some quality of life problems lurking, so you really have to pay close attention to that."* According to her, it would require a permanent place with a caretaker. A labour migrant gives an example of an enforcement issue: *"What do you do with someone who after two days has lost his job and has no income?"* A resident also asks for *"a good manager who ensures that it remains tidy."* In addition, the maximum period of residence in the accommodation should also be properly enforced: *"Otherwise there will be no flow and the system will clog."* A resident wants enforcement to be worked out well in advance: *"That has to be in order, because otherwise you are carrying water to the sea."* According to the Regionale bouwsteen, *"management should be given a place in the integrated approach."* The requirement for a permanent manager is also included in the Migrant Workers Policy of 2019. A migrant worker says he has more confidence in a municipal enforcer than in entrepreneurs.

A resident wants the registration in the Personal Records Database (BRP) of all resident labour migrants to be properly arranged, in all housing locations and certainly in the new location of the municipality. This requires the cooperation of housing providers and employers. The alderman explains: *"We want people to simply be registered. You only need*

to register if you stay four months or longer.” This wish is also in line with the Regionale bouwsteen and the current Migrant Worker Policy from 2019. However, a resident says that this should be extended to all labour migrants: *“If you want to enforce, you also have to know where the people are [...] and if people are not registered and you see them somewhere, then you almost certainly know that it is an illegal situation, because they are not registered.”* Another resident agrees with this view.

According to a labour migrant, the housing location to be built could also improve living conditions in other places. He argues, for example, that labour migrants who are housed in poor housing conditions can more easily be evicted and can find an alternative in the new location: *“After all, the municipality must be able to offer something different.”* In addition, according to a resident, this project would give the municipality the opportunity to be even stricter against other housing locations, with substandard quality: *“People who earn extra well from migrant workers and who do not adhere to anything. [...] You have to deal with those people.”* However, according to another resident, this requires a higher budget for enforcement. The Migrant Workers Policy from 2019 confirms this: *“It is important that permits and the conditions attached to them are checked in the coming period. There is currently insufficient capacity for this. Before 2019, only very occasional checks have been carried out.”* The council information letter states that *“several illegal situations have already been ended by the municipality in the second half of 2021 and that [...] the municipality will continue with enforcement where housing is not in order.”* The lack of enforcement was and still is a thorn in the side of a housing provider: *“I can guarantee that many migrant workers live illegally in Horst aan de Maas, more than we know. I have no problem with that, because those people have to sleep somewhere, but you know, if you have a big mouth, you should start with enforcement first.”*

A new municipal housing location

A resident refers to the *'Please in my back Yard'* (sic) plan from Werkgroep Huisvesting Arbeidskrachten (2020). In this plan, various employers' organisations, housing providers, contractors, a housing corporation, a broker and a trade union have drawn up to develop a *'Groenwijk'* somewhere in West-Friesland. This should become an energy-neutral housing location of 450 residential units with all primary facilities and a manager on site. More than 2000 migrant workers could find a home in this area. This neighbourhood should be built for a period of 30 years by developers who are not employers to avoid double dependence on migrant workers. The union would also have its own office on the site. According to the resident, the plan was a source of inspiration for him to advise the municipality to develop a large-scale housing location: *“Only when we as a working group put forward that idea and fleshed it out with an example of a project elsewhere, including in a consultation with the responsible aldermen of Peel and Maas and Horst aan de Maas, did views on how to proceed with the housing of labour migrants tilt.”* He is reasonably positive about the plans: *“If they were to copy this plan, there would also be snags, but then I would like to approach it positively.”*

The report 'No second-class citizens' by the Roemer committee is also said to have provided an important impetus to improve the quality of housing for labour migrants. The report discusses, among other things, improving quality standards and separating living and working. For governments and entrepreneurs, the report was an important dot on the horizon with ambitions to improve the situation of labour migrants. For example, a housing provider

and employer explains: *"We ensure that we set the new standard in all our new buildings and that it is already Roemer-proof."* The alderman calls his plan for a new housing location an 'example project'. According to him, the quality of living and living should be the best of all housing locations in the Netherlands.

The alderman hopes that the municipality will be able to tackle the so-called skewed living in the neighbourhoods by starting this housing location. By removing temporary housing from the neighbourhoods, the municipality hopes to increase the enjoyment of living in the neighbourhood as well. This is also an important incentive for the housing association to think along. In many locations where the corporation rents houses, there is nuisance caused by skewed housing. A representative of the housing corporation explains: *"We feel very responsible for the quality of life there."* Regular homes that are no longer used as short-stay housing could be sold to the housing corporation, a representative of the housing corporation suggested: *"If we have other social housing around it, then we just have to sit down at the table to see if we can start taking those homes back into social rent or start taking them back into social rent and just start renting out."* According to her, this can increase the enjoyment of living in the neighbourhood again.

According to a labour migrant, it is most pleasant to live in locations with a small scale. According to her, people would prefer not to live in large-scale locations because of crowds and nuisance. Other labour migrants also say they have more confidence in small locations where it is quiet for both tenants and local residents. For example, someone confidently says: *"I know that everyone, if they have that option, choose smaller ones."* A resident too does not want massive housing: *"It will just be a new village, do we want that?"* However, a representative of the housing corporation also says that exploitation is more easily achieved when more homes are located together. The alderman acknowledges this split: *"Fifty is too little to have supervision 24 hours a day, seven days a week, for example, but eight hundred is perhaps so large that it is no longer manageable. There will be a standard somewhere in between what the best size is."*

According to the municipal policy of 2019, locations of private housing providers are established for ten years, after which an extension can be given for five years. Companies like to do that, explains a representative of the housing corporation: *"A flexible home now has a lifespan of thirty years. [...] In that case, it is always preferable for us to leave it for fifteen years, because then you only have to move once to get to those thirty years. If such a house remains for ten years, you have to move it twice."* An official predicts that the new location to be set up with higher quality standards will not be profitable at all within ten years: *"Then we will more likely reach fifteen to twenty years."* According to her, there is political support for extending the term for the location if it can be demonstrated with a business case that this leads to better quality. A civil servant is critical of this attitude: *"It is a bit strange that we first have to discover for ourselves that ten years is not possible, but we still impose it on others. That means that the rest should also have the opportunity to stay for longer periods."* Residents also understand that the housing location would have to be established for a longer period of time, someone says: *"If you make it 30 years, I would also think that is reasonable, as long as you guarantee all those other requirements."*

An exact location for the housing is not yet in the picture. An official says that politicians think it is appropriate to develop short-stay housing in the outlying area, because in this way fewer

neighbours experience nuisance from neighbours who stay short. The alderman says: *"We must ensure that the enjoyment of living is guaranteed."* This attitude is in line with the 2018 coalition agreement and the Regionale bouwsteen. Tourist zones in the outskirts of the municipality, where according to current policy no labour migrants are allowed to live, would also be an option, according to the alderman. A resident is satisfied that attention is being paid to the quality of life in the village, but also has doubts about a location far away from the village, because this can cause and reinforce segregation. According to him, the village and the labour migrants should benefit from each other through mutual exchange. A labour migrant thinks that labour migrants themselves do not actually want to live in locations in the countryside: *"I think that for an extra €50 per month, people would rather live in a residential area and really in a village than a place 10 kilometres from a village."* According to an official, if the location also provides space for residential emergency responders and status holders, the chance that this will be met: *"I can imagine [...] that we say well it should perhaps be at the core."* A representative of the housing corporation adds that in that case fewer facilities would be needed because existing facilities, such as existing supermarkets and public transport, can be used. This would be in line with the Ministry of the Interior's guide to Migrant Workers, which advises municipalities not to shy away from large-scale housing locations in or near the cores: *"By realising housing that meets physical and social quality requirements and by paying sufficient attention to management, nuisance and complaints can be prevented."*

Migrant workers hope that the new housing to be built will be cheaper than the current housing supply in the neighbourhoods. If entrepreneurs organise housing, the rent would be more expensive because they strive for profit, according to them this would not be necessary with a municipal landlord. According to them, the cheap offer of alternative housing is the best way to convince migrant workers to stop living in a crooked way.

The alderman wants to use any profits made from the new housing project for more integration projects: *"For example, for language education for the labour migrant who wants to stay for a longer period of time."* A housing provider tempers expectations about the income that can be generated from the rental: *"Their assumption is that it is such a huge money machine, I think the municipality is really misjudging [...] All projects that the municipality does are all over budget. And this wouldn't be above budget? You know, stop it. They do not stand a chance."* Another housing provider also says: *"Imagine that they get a permit for ten years, then I can already tell them: that business case will not make it."* A housing provider explains: *"With permits of 10 years, our company is still running at a loss. [...] For us, the turning point is at 12.6 years."* A representative of a housing association also thinks it will be difficult, but sees that some calculations can be made to make the project financially feasible. Realising more beds or granting the permit for thirty years instead of ten years would make it easier to earn back the investment, she argues. Then the building could also be erected in a permanent way instead of temporary buildings. And if housing providers can do it, then the municipality can too: *"It is possible, because it is happening now. A housekeeper does that too. So it is possible."*

Both the officials and the alderman hope for financial support from other governments for their project. If several municipalities develop locations together in a joint initiative, they hope, there will be more opportunities for financial support from the province of Limburg. However, an official also says that the reality is more unruly: *"So far, the region is not so*

eager to join this." The alderman and civil servants therefore hope to be able to designate their project as a national pilot project, in order to request financial support from the Ministry of the Interior. The possibilities for this still have to be worked out in a business plan.

Migrant workers and professionals note that the municipality still has a lot of things to work out, which, according to them, could become difficult. Organising integration projects in housing and organising management would cost a lot of time and capacity. It would require focus and a lot of attention, says a housing provider: *"The fact that we can now talk well with our neighbours, that takes a lot and that also requires things outside office hours."* An employer adds: *"People think very simply about these kinds of things, but it is not simple. [...] It is a profession."* A representative of the housing corporation explains that good management is very important but also difficult: *"Of course those employers have a point if they make that, because that is really a challenge."*

Various actors propose linking opportunities: issues that could be solved simultaneously with the realisation of the housing location. These proposals are often not decisive for the progress of the project for the actors, but they believe that they would improve the project. For example, a resident, a labour migrant and a representative of the housing corporation propose that urgent people who are not labour migrants, such as residents during a divorce, also be given the opportunity to settle in the housing location for a short period of time. According to them, this would also be better for the support of local residents. Another labour migrant is sceptical about mixing different target groups: *"I can't imagine anything. It will definitely go wrong."* A resident also predicts challenges to realise this: *"You have to keep homes free for that. I think that's fine and I agree with that, but [...] that could cause problems from an operational point of view."* A resident also proposes to adopt a number of spearheads from the policy plan *'Please in my Back Yard'* from Werkgroep Huisvesting Arbeidskrachten (2020). Following on from this plan, he would like a labour union to have a permanent office at the housing location, to make migrant workers aware of their rights and options. He also believes that the housing should last for at least 30 years, in order to make sustainable use of building materials. The spaces should be arranged in such a way that the housing can also be converted to serve other functions, such as student housing or homes for the elderly. According to this resident, the location could also become energy-neutral. The alderman sees several linking opportunities with regard to the health of migrant workers. Programs for more sports and exercise, against obesity and smoking and a general practice for internationals could be linked to the *'campus'* that the new accommodation location should become.

Role

The alderman believes that the municipality should contribute to solving the housing shortage for labour migrants: *"We have organised that there is a huge demand on the labour market, but too little supply. Then we also have to ensure that we deal with the associated social problems, such as housing, for example."* Whether that responsibility also includes technical matters surrounding the accommodation, such as the economic operation or maintenance of the building, the alderman answered as follows: *"As far as I am concerned, we do as much as possible ourselves, because then you can influence the more. But it is quite possible that someone else will eventually take over the exploitation. [...] If others are much better at that and do it more efficiently, then my principled opinion must be less important than the practical feasibility."* This directive would represent a break in the trend.

The Migrant Workers Policy of 2019, for example, states: *“Employers are themselves responsible for good housing for the necessary labour migrants.”* A civil servant partly disagrees with the alderman: *“I think that we should create the preconditions, so that we should have a policy to realise the housing, [...] but primarily I think that the employer himself is responsible for the physical housing. [...] At a certain point you have to leave it to market parties again.”* That is also the attitude as expressed in the Ministry of the Interior's guideline *'Ruimte voor Arbeidsmigranten'* from 2013. Most commercial parties also fundamentally disagree with the alderman about the role of the municipality. For example, one housing provider explains: *“You are going to do something that market parties have experience with and what they can do more efficiently. [...] You have to do it together, the part from the employer is important, the housing provider can also play a role in this.”* Another housing provider says: *“I think that as a government you have to choose how much you want to intervene, but that you should at least try to let the market do its job as well as possible.”* However, she also understands the municipality: *“We just need to really move this file, nobody has done it yet, and if this brings relief, then so be it. I can also imagine that the municipality of Horst aan de Maas also thinks 'Let us try an unorthodox approach.”* Another employer replies laconically: *“Everyone thinks it's a gold mine. [...] You know, that revenue model, you can have it from me. [...] I will be the first customer to accommodate the migrant workers at your place. [...] If I don't have beds, I can't give people work. That's the only reason I'm doing this.”* Also according to residents and labour migrants, the municipality is not a logical party, but according to them housing would be better outsourced to a housing corporation. For example, one resident says: *“They have to help determine how things will be and also keep control over that, but leave the implementation to the housing corporation.”* After all, corporations such as Wonen Limburg would have experienced staff who *“already do a lot of maintenance and management of buildings, including complexes.”* The housing association is certainly willing to work together for such a project: *“We could be an excellent partner in doing this together, we have experience in setting up flex housing, we are already doing that, not yet on such a large scale. large scale as it is now being asked, but those experiences are there. So we would just like to discuss that with the municipality.”* The willingness of the housing association would increase further if regular homes where short-stay labour migrants still live could also be added to the housing association's real estate portfolio. Involving housing associations was also an emphatic advice from the Aanjaagteam Bescherming Arbeidsmigranten (2020): *“Housing associations can be an important party in solving the housing problem for labour migrants.”* Despite the fact that a housing provider finds the municipality's ambitions too ambitious and thinks that the municipality should play a lesser role, she approves of them: *“I think that the problem for which this plan must be a solution is there. So it's good and courageous and visionary to do something about it instead of just saying it's a difficult problem.”*

According to a labour migrant, the municipality is in a better position than housing companies and housing associations to regulate the social side of housing, such as integration projects. An official also sees a role for the municipality here: *“We also facilitate this with the 10,000 Languages plan, with which we try to increase the level of communication among international employees.”* According to her, employers could do a little more to encourage employees to integrate: *“I don't want to say that they are not trying at the moment, but sometimes they see too little of their own role in it. [...] You can accomplish a lot more if migrant workers are able to do that course partially during working hours. People often work long days and are less inclined to pick this up in their free hours.”*

The 2019 Migrant Workers Policy also mentions the wish to make employers and housing providers jointly responsible for housing. One resident actually thinks that all entrepreneurs who make a financial profit thanks to labour migrants should also bear (financial) responsibility for their integration, for example by providing language lessons during working hours. This wish was also previously included in the Migrant Workers Policy of 2019. A housing provider sees a stimulating role for himself and says that he is organising a barbecue for the neighbourhood: *"Let's meet each other, so that people get to know each other and then pick each other up themselves."*

An official adds that the municipality also has a role in creating support: *"It is up to the government to better explain that without labour migrants there is less local and regional employment."* An employer wholeheartedly agrees with this: *"Pull up, don't sit back and do something. [...] You have to draw attention to the best practices."* In the past, however, this responsibility was viewed differently, as the 2018 coalition agreement wrote: *"Primary that duty lies with the entrepreneur."* and wrote the Regionale bouwsteen: *"The responsibility for the environmental dialogue lies with the initiator."*

Like the village council and neighbourhood committees, the Advisory group for migrant workers hopes to be able to provide advice on the further development of the housing location: *"It is the objective of the Advisory group."* Nevertheless, the chairman of a village council says: *"Do not drop problems with the village council for a solution. We do not want to engage in politics."* However, according to the chairman, the village council could act as an intermediary. The Labor Migrants working group also sees a role for itself, albeit a little less in an advisory capacity: *"I find the advisory role a bit heavy, no, I think more in the commentary role."* A housing provider also wants to think about involvement in the project: *"We could of course take up some management with our company. [...] I find it interesting, so if they want to hear my opinion, I'm happy to come."*

A resident hopes that the housing location to be established will have a regional effect: *"If you want to have support from the population, it is a condition [...] that it is not only realised in Horst, but in several places, so that spread is achieved."* Another resident also wishes to realise new housing projects regionally or even nationally. An official refers back to 2014, when the North Limburg region signed the 'Declaration of Kerkeböske'. This was a discussion paper in which the region agreed, among other things, to work on cooperation and a positive image for labour migrants: *"Resources were deployed for that, campaigns were launched, and at a certain point it got bogged down again."* The regional approach was a leading element of the Regionale bouwsteen, the coalition agreement of 2018 and the Policy on Migrant Workers from 2019. For example, the latter wants within five years: *"intensified cooperation between the municipality, entrepreneurs, temporary employment agencies, police, housing associations and welfare foundations."* The cooperation with other municipalities has so far only been partly realised due to insufficient interest. The alderman sees lacking ambition in some regional municipalities: *"The municipalities of Venlo and the smaller municipalities still have a lot of steps to take."* This reticence also inhibits the ambitions in Horst aan de Maas, we read in the Migrant Workers Policy from 2019: *"Where we see that our neighbouring municipalities want to set a maximum number of locations and beds, we cannot allow an excessive expansion of housing facilities."* According to the policy document, other municipalities in the region around Greenport should provide more new housing locations. This wish became concrete in the council information letter, in which the

alderman stated that he would stop expanding the Klaver 4 business park until regional agreements had been made about the housing of migrant workers. In 2022, it was agreed in the coalition agreement to *“comply with the agreements on proportional housing for migrant workers across the municipalities in the Greenport region.”*

The alderman also sees a role for the national government, which would take too long to introduce new legislation. It would take too long before the recommendations of the Booster Team are also converted into concrete laws. The national government would also provide too few budgets to organise integration effectively.

Residual ambition preferences

There are doubts among migrant workers about the application procedure that migrant workers should complete to be allowed to live in a home: *“I think you will get a lot more demand than supply. [...] If you advertise it, you get the whole of the Netherlands here.”* However, another labour migrant thinks that the supply of housing at the municipality will be difficult to find: *“I think the municipality is the last thing you think of when you think of housing.”*

A resident adds that the construction of new homes for migrant workers should be accompanied by housing plans for regular housing, including social housing: *“It is necessary that you also have a plan for the population of Horst aan de Maas, so that people see that build them not only for migrant workers, but also for their own population.”* These homes would also contribute to housing for long-stay migrant workers. According to a resident, the new homes should be spread over all villages, including the small villages. The wish for an accompanying policy with more regular housing was also previously recorded in the Migrant Workers Policy of 2019.

A housing provider would like to see more emphasis on what good experiences there are already with housing locations, in order to allay concerns among other residents: *“You have to be in the media with that, there are no complaints!”* The housing provider proposes to invite residents from other villages where housing has already been built to share their experiences at residents' evenings. In this way it could be shown that it is not that bad in practice. In its 2019 Migrant Worker Policy, the municipality also states that it wants to focus on: *“improving the image, providing insight into who the person behind the migrant is [...] and showing why welcoming labour migrants is important.”*

Reflection on this subquestion

In the societal debate, there is a dividing line between, on the one hand, actors who want to adapt the supply of houses to the demand, by building more houses, and on the other hand, actors who want to adapt the demand to the supply of houses, by curbing the economic growth in the region. Thanks in part to the Roemer Committee, the municipality and the region of Venlo have decided to strongly improve the quality of housing, which for the time being has priority over adding new houses.

Another discussion in the social debate is about the double dependence of labour migrants on their employer. Many actors agree that this situation must be ended. In the previous decade this problem was already mentioned by the municipality, only then more emphasis was placed on cooperation with employers, where some actors now emphasise more active

government intervention. Some housing providers argue that there is no double dependency on their company, which would make government intervention unnecessary.

Many actors are asking the municipality to focus on the integration of long-stay labour migrants and strict enforcement of the rules for both labour migrants and landlords. A labour migrant puts it succinctly: if you end housing, you must have other alternatives. The alderman is considering initiating a single housing location in which the municipality itself has as much control as possible of the realisation, operation and management. This would create more living space without the residents being dependent on their employer. This could help to tackle skewed living in the neighbourhood, because residents there could be offered an alternative location. Residents and civil servants, however, find it more logical that a housing corporation and not the municipality should realise such housing. According to them, it is not part of the task of the municipality. Housing providers believe that they are the right actors to build and rent out homes. They doubt whether the municipality will be able to solve the problems effectively and efficiently. Although all actors hope for broad regional cooperation to jointly tackle the problems and implement such an initiative on a regional scale, the chances of success seem very small. According to the alderman and officials, there is little willingness from regional municipalities to realise such locations for housing.

5.3. Policy instruments and implementation strategies

Sub-question 2 of this study reads as follows: 'What policy instruments and implementation strategies does the municipality have to realise its policy ambitions and how are these perceived by stakeholders involved?'. The perceptions of the actors about the policy instruments at the disposal of the municipality are set out in a few sections. The categorisations used in this paragraph to present the policy instruments are based on the combined categorisations from Van der Doelen (1991) and Lindén & Carlsson-Kanyama (2002), as was discussed in the literature review. First of all, the chapter opens with the headings laws and norms, which can be grouped under 'rules of the game' within the policy arrangement approach. The paragraph ends with a section on desired implementation strategies. The visions of the different actors on how the policy should be implemented is the last part of the 'actors' dimension.

The sections of this paragraph are:

- Laws
- Norms
- Legal policy instruments
- Economic policy instruments
- Communicative policy instruments
- Physical policy instruments
- Stimulating and repressive policy instruments
- Implementation strategies

Laws

One of the game rules within which all actors must act are the law and the procedures imposed by law. The municipality is highly dependent on the possibilities and instruments it has through these laws. For example, the right of interested parties to object to the Raad van State after the zoning plan procedure is an important reason for the municipality to ensure proper coordination with, for example, neighbours. Such procedures can delay projects for years. It is an important reason why the municipality chooses to seek a lot of coordination with the neighbourhood when new plans are made. However, the many consultations with the neighbourhood have a delaying effect on the new housing plans.

The Wet ruimtelijke ordening (2008), Bor: Besluit omgevingsrecht (2022), Wet algemene bepalingen omgevingsrecht (2010) and the Crisis- en herstelwet (2021) are determining factors when it comes to realising housing. These laws determine the rules with which municipalities can grant environmental permits and exploitation permits for non-planned deviations. Under the Crisis- en herstelwet (2021) it has become possible to deviate from the zoning plan for 15 years instead of 10 years if a location has no residential destination. Since then, the procedure has also been shortened from 26 weeks to 8 weeks to speed up the process. Many housing locations make use of these schemes. Since 2013, municipalities have also been able to make more temporary letting possible under the Leegstandswet (2018). Via this Leegstandswet (2018), the municipality may set additional conditions in the permit that must be granted for temporary letting, for example the maximum rent and conditions in the area of livability that help prevent nuisance. However, no additional conditions may be set for houses for sale.

The Huisvestingswet 2014 (2022) offers legal options for taking enforcement action against illegal situations and nuisance. The Bouwbesluit 2012 (2022) also sets out the various requirements that are set for the building. However, this mainly concerns the prevention of illegal and dangerous situations. The law and the decree are exhaustive, so municipalities cannot require quality labels, such as SNF, for housing locations.

The Wet gemeentelijke basisadministratie persoonsgegevens (2014) stipulated the obligations of longer-staying labour migrants to register. The Ministry of the Interior's policy document 'Ruimte voor Arbeidsmigranten' wrote about this: *"Everyone who stays in the Netherlands for at least two-thirds of six months (in practice: four months) is obliged to register in the municipal database."* The Wet basisregistratie personen (2022) replaced this act and has since made it possible to also register persons staying for a shorter period of time.

The Algemene Plaatselijke Verordening (APV) can be used by the municipal council to reduce nuisance-causing behaviour in the public space. The municipal council can also include special ordinances in this, such as in the field of room rental and overnight accommodation. Matters such as an obligation for a night register can be realised in this way or as a condition for an environmental permit. In the Migrant Workers Policy of 2019, the municipality states that keeping a night register via the operating permit will become mandatory (Gemeente Horst aan de Maas, 2019).

Norms

A number of ethical standards also play an important role in the design of the housing policy and the implementation strategy that is used. For example, there is an ethical argument to set up very extensive consultation procedures for neighbours, according to an official: *"If we do not take our residents seriously, the city council will not adopt a zoning plan to make that realisation possible."* In addition, the municipality cannot make exceptions for certain groups that are looking for housing: after all, labour migrants in principle have the same rights and opportunities as other home seekers. Even if residents already have certain user rights in the zoning plan, it is considered undesirable to still tamper with these rights, even if the municipality actually deems the use undesirable: *"Once you have established that something is permitted, it is very difficult to prohibit it. [...] That is very inconvenient, then you have to make a preparatory decision stating that you still want to stop unwanted spatial developments despite the fact that it meets the standards that others have to meet."*

According to an official, it is quite possible that the new housing location does not have to meet the requirements of the 2019 Migrant Workers Policy: *"Maybe we can't make it pay off within 10 years at all, maybe it should be 15 or 20 years to make it viable."* The alderman also keeps options open to adjust the policy: *"We have to revise the policy, but that doesn't mean we can do everything bigger. But it is something that we will discuss with the city council."* The alderman has promised the city council that all initiatives that deviate from the existing policy will be shared with the city council for approval.

Legal policy instruments

The municipality can guarantee the quality of housing in a number of legal ways. The municipality has the option of setting specific requirements for housing according to planning or private law. The Ministry of the Interior's policy document 'Ruimte for Migrant Workers' writes about this: *"The zoning plan and the housing ordinance in particular offer municipalities the opportunity to define forms of housing and to indicate where certain forms are and are not allowed."* A difference between housing and accommodation can also be indicated herein in order to regulate temporary or dependent occupancy. According to the council information letter of 2022, the zoning plan is currently *"used by the municipality to legally anchor the policy for labour migrants and to prevent undesirable new spatial developments."* Many things such as housing types, quotas for housing units and permit requirements can be laid down in housing regulations. The ministry states: *"With permits, the municipality can regulate where dependent habitation exists and attach conditions, for example regarding management, to the granting of a permit."* On the basis of the Huisvestingswet 2014 (2022), municipalities can, for example, impose a permit requirement for housing stock management. This prevents the division of regular residential houses into rentable rooms. The municipality is currently making use of mandatory operating permits. All housing providers who do not have an operating permit, had until 1-7-2022 to stop or legalise their housing by still meeting the requirements for the permit. For the new housing location to be established, the municipality could agree in the operating permit what responsibilities each party has, the alderman explains: *"We will have to work with an agreement with the initiator, but the final decision rests with the municipality."* The Ministry of the Interior's guideline advises municipalities against obliging initiators to comply with SNF standards. After all, according to the municipality, one may not set more far-reaching requirements than the standards from the Building Decree. Minimum usable area or privacy standards could still be made mandatory through the standards framework. By arranging

such matters in a private-law agreement, not all norms have to be laid down in planning. An official suggests: *“What you consider important as a municipality should simply be recorded with the corporations so that they can then manage it on your behalf.”* Another official adds: *“If you are the initiator, you can determine it all by yourself.”*

A representative of a housing association wants a more rigorous policy with regard to housing in regular residential areas: *“It must be made unattractive or even prohibited for those homes to be used as transition homes.”* One resident thinks that more conditions should be included in the zoning plan in any case: *“That instrument should be used much more emphatically in order not to allow it. If you later take care of the management of the housing by the municipality, you must also make sure that no others can come up and compete in that market. [...] You have to be able to eliminate those who do not have such good intentions.”* However, setting additional conditions for existing housing is not possible in all cases, according to an official: *“If a market party is already allowed to do something directly, if there is already a destination for something somewhere, and it simply adheres to the policy framework and the umbrella zoning plan, then we cannot lay down additional requirements.”* A housing provider does not want strict rules at all: *“Keep some bandwidth, don't pour everything in concrete, but indicate a direction, so that you still have some room for interpretation. Look for space for pilots.”* Another housing provider does need clear guidance in the zoning plan: *“You just have to say 'Listen carefully: strategically and looking forward to the future, that is a location for housing, that is a location for housing, that is a location and that is a location. Period. [...] One for Pietje and one for Jantje, and everyone else does not have to ask for anything in the upcoming ten years because we will not do that.' [...] Why do they make entrepreneurs do all those investigations and permit applications if they are not allowing to build it anyway?”*

Under the Huisvestingswet, a college of mayor and aldermen can impose administrative fines in the event of illegal occupancy. For example, the Ministry of the Interior writes: *“This is the case, among other things, when the main activity in the home consists of running a guest house.”* Even if, for example, there is degradation or situations where health or safety are at stake, it is also possible for a board to close a house and thus remove the business model for entrepreneurs.

Economic policy instruments

Strict enforcement and the corresponding handing out of fines to illegal housing situations can also be seen as an economic measure, as entrepreneurs in such a case are financially incentivized to behave properly. The municipality can also provide subsidies to encourage entrepreneurs to make positive changes in their business. For example, an official says that the municipality of Horst aan de Maas makes agreements with companies about social integration, talent development and more permanent employment contracts for employees, for which these companies receive a financial contribution from the municipality. Nevertheless, the alderman says that he prefers to get rid of individual subsidies for matters such as integration: *“We have 2000 people living in Horst aan de Maas, 1000 of whom have lived here longer than five years. I am done with teaching 30 or 40 people Dutch every year with a small subsidy. You have to programmatically ensure that everyone takes the first steps.”*

When initiating the new housing location, the municipality could possibly facilitate with the financing, an official imagines. With an active land policy, the municipality can make land suitable for new developments and use the difference in value between the purchased land and the land ready for construction to make the project financially possible or to pay for integration projects.

Communicative policy instruments

According to a resident, communication should be central when initiating the new housing initiative. The municipality, like other initiators, should organise good environmental discussions, according to him: *"If you involve the residents in a small-scale way from the start, it is best to talk with residents. [...] It could be an instrument to see if you can create support there."* The alderman also hopes to convince residents with good communication: *"I am more into convincing. [...] It is extremely important that you take such a neighbourhood with you and tell why you are going to do this and that a social interest is served."* For the alderman, communication can also be a means of co-producing the location in conjunction with the neighbourhood: *"As far as I'm concerned, we also involve local residents in what it will look like. Maybe we shouldn't put it in the existing building block at all, but in completely different places, so that people find it better situated and we then have to follow a longer procedure because a zoning change is not enough for us and we would have to buy land elsewhere."*

The same resident also suggests that the municipality can put pressure on companies to improve working conditions at large companies: *"If those companies find it important that the relationship with the municipality is good, then you can also exert pressure there."*

In its 2019 Migrant Worker Policy, the municipality also emphasises the importance of communicative instruments to encourage new residents to register themselves in the Personal Records Database, because *"the labour migrant is then better informed about the advantages of registration, such as the option to register for a rental home and the assignment of a DigiD."*

Physical policy instruments

Building and operating housing locations is a physical intervention that the municipality can take to improve the living conditions of migrant workers. However, a civil servant is not in favour of this: *"I think construction and exploitation are up to market parties. Then I think: 'How then?' Is our municipal messenger going to be the administrator there? I don't think that's the intention."*

Another physical instrument with which the municipality takes action is the working visit. Such visits are more accessible for migrant workers to register as residents of the municipality and offer the municipality an opportunity to check working conditions. An official says: *"Companies then no longer have to pay tourist tax for their staff, but they must meet the criteria."* The municipality of Horst aan de Maas is still experimenting with working visits, says an official: *"We are working on a project between care institutions, Rabobank and employers to see how we can ensure that everything goes well at the intake, because it is sometimes difficult for the people who are here temporarily to get a bank account and meet the requirements for health care."*

Stimulating and repressive policy instruments

The municipality can entice companies to realise higher quality homes. For example, an official suggests that companies will ask the municipality for permission to leave housing locations for longer: *"If you want even higher quality facilities, then ten years will indeed not be enough."* Entrepreneurs like such schemes: *"If I get a permit for twenty years, then I can also make a larger investment."* Another entrepreneur also hopes for room for pilots to be able to experiment. A resident hopes that stimulating instruments will work, but fears that this will not prove effective for everyone: *"You have to get it down the throats of entrepreneurs and you can do that best by using connecting means, but there are good and bad entrepreneurs, and you have to tackle the bad ones anyway, otherwise they undermine the mentality of the rest."* Entrepreneurs consider some repressive policy instruments, such as the zoning plan, to be unavoidable because they are required by law. An entrepreneur also sees the advantages of hard zoning plans that have been developed for the long term, because they provide clarity about the (im)possibilities: *"Now I just do something and I hear afterwards whether it is allowed or not."* Another entrepreneur wants a flexible policy: *"Keep some bandwidth, don't cast everything in concrete. Give direction, but keep some room for interpretation."*

The municipality will have to rely on stimulating policy instruments to tackle skewed living in the neighbourhood, an official thinks: *"You have to look at what you can achieve on the basis of collaboration and we as a municipality do not rent out homes ourselves, so we cannot achieve that ourselves."* According to a labour migrant, the higher quality and lower rent of a new housing location would also automatically encourage other labour migrants to stop living skewed without having to use repressive policy instruments, such as bans or fines. Another migrant worker thinks that this does not work because people would prefer to live in the village, even with higher rents. In particular, through stricter enforcement, fines and prohibitions on illegal cases, one could be moved to end abuses, says a representative of the housing corporation: *"Then this construction will in any case no longer be so interesting for the owners of those homes."* One means that is used for this is the obligation to have an operating permit with binding requirements for the habitation.

Some residents as well as labour migrants indicate that the ultimate approach should consist of a combination of stimulating and repressive policy instruments. One resident, for example, says: *"I think you just have to do it integrally together. You don't have to make that distinction."*

Implementation strategies

An investigation is currently being conducted to determine how many cases there are of skewed living in Horst aan de Maas. A labour migrant thinks such a study is a good idea: *"You first have to make the problem visible. The municipality must have a register somewhere of the amount of homes or places where someone stays."* Still, a labour migrant wonders whether that research will succeed, because some of the labour migrants do not register in the Basisregistratie Personen: *"You cannot walk by every house and say 'Hello, are you not registered here yet? [...] Some also live black with families in small rooms. [...] You won't find them'"* Another migrant worker recommends contacting ward leaders: *"Some ward leaders know it all. [...] I walked through a neighbourhood a few weeks ago [...] and was sent from one place to another."* An overview of the number of houses where skewed

housing takes place can help the municipality to determine the scale of the housing location and contact with locally rooted labour migrants can help to find these locations.

The financial investments required for the project pose a challenge, according to an official: *"We have not set aside money for the realisation of the initiative at the moment,"* said one official, *"it will take quite a bit of political conviction."* The alderman states: *"I think that the plan in itself can be budget neutral, but everything that comes afterwards, regarding integration and so on, is priceless."* An official hopes to start the project together with the region: *"Then I think we have a good chance of getting funds from the province as well. [...] We could perhaps designate it as a pilot project for the central government and perhaps financing can also take place in this way. But that also needs to be sorted out, it is all part of the business plan."*

Dealing with the neighbourhood will also require strategy. The alderman is cautiously positive: *"In the example project it helps that we [...] want to make a hundred regular houses available [...] You show that you are solving a problem and taking responsibility."* A housing provider advises the municipality to share positive practical experiences of other existing housing locations with residents at the start of the new project: *"Invite neighbourhoods with housing locations for a meeting and ask 'How is the collaboration going? How does that work?'"* The Ministry of the Interior and the Regionale bouwsteen also ask administrators to stand up for labour migrants: *"It is up to administrators and employers, among other things, to contribute to making a different voice heard: labour migrants are indispensable for the Dutch economy."* A resident hopes that the municipality will adopt an open attitude in its discussions with the neighbourhood: *"You have to involve people from the very beginning and it could well be that the first group you start with will say 'we don't want that.'"*

Remarkably, the ministry recommended a different approach in 2013: *"Involve local residents at an early stage, [...] but present the housing locations once chosen as a given."* Another resident also hopes that residents will be involved before the plans are final. A resident adds: *"Inhabitants should be able to determine the size of the location and the carrying capacity in the neighbourhood."* The alderman explains: *"As far as I'm concerned, we will involve local residents in the question of what it will look like. Perhaps we shouldn't put it in the existing building block at all, but in completely different places, so that people find it better situated and we then have to follow a longer procedure because a zoning change is not enough for us and we would have to buy land elsewhere. [...] I hope that eventually we can have a discussion about what is the best scale for such a facility. For example, fifty beds is not enough to have permanent supervision, but eight hundred may be so large that it is no longer manageable. There will be a standard somewhere in between what the best size is."*

The alderman hopes that, thanks to such a discussion, consensus can be reached about the best number of beds for a location, so that he can present the arguments for this to the neighbourhood: *"Then I dare to enter into a conversation with the neighbourhood and say: 'Yes, I understand that you will have a location with four hundred beds instead of maybe four separate locations with a hundred beds, because we just think that's a better number.'" By properly involving residents in such choices, the alderman also hopes to accommodate neighbours to prevent them from objecting to the procedures for zoning plans and permits. A resident advises the municipality to start the project with a small-scale location: *"I certainly wouldn't start with four hundred beds in one go. Just let it start with an acceptable size. It is also a habituation process. If there are fifty migrant workers living somewhere, neighbours**

will have no problem with it if they become a hundred, but if four hundred come immediately, everyone will revolt."

The size of the housing location and the number of years for which the location will receive a permit is subject to municipal policy. However, according to the alderman, this can be deviated from if the city council is properly involved, says the alderman: *"That is an agreement we made with the city council: if we deviate from it, we will go back to the city council."* The alderman expects such a meeting with the city council to take place in September or October and will respect the decision of the city council: *"If a majority of the municipality council says 'No, we should not do that as a municipality', then we will properly opt out."* Nevertheless, the alderman does not expect any unexpected obstacles: *"The first time the RIB was discussed, there was support for it, but the municipal council does expect us [...] that we consider the interests of the neighbourhood, nature and the environment in our consideration of interests."*

For the realisation of a new housing location, a destination will have to be designated in the zoning plan, or a permit will be required to be able to deviate from the destination. In addition, an operating licence will have to be issued stating who will be the operator and whether further agreements have been made about the location. A housing provider remarks: *"You should not have the idea that you get 100% support, that does not exist."* During such proceedings there is a risk that interested parties will lodge an objection with the administrative court. The alderman relied on that possibility: *"They have that right. [...] even if we designed with them. [...] The moment you make that effort, we have not been able to take away your concern or have not weighed your interests properly and it is good that an independent person makes a statement about this."*

According to a housing provider, regular contact with the neighbourhood also yields a lot after the location has been realised: *"You cultivate understanding, you also create a moment for them to let off steam, and you just stay sharp."* The Migrant Workers Policy of 2019 previously wrote about such a consultation structure for existing locations: *"between relevant parties such as the police, housing associations, the Advisory group for labour migrants, service point and residents."*

Reflection on this subquestion

Interestingly, many actors expect a guiding role from the municipality. Entrepreneurs, too, now expect the municipality to come up with a clear vision that creates clear frameworks for the coming years. In particular, many actors assume that the municipality will use legal policy instruments to achieve its goals for more and better housing. This is partly because various policy instruments, such as a zoning plan, are mandatory and therefore unavoidable. Here we see the effect of the rules of the game on the perceived possibilities. All actors, including entrepreneurs, emphasise the importance of strict enforcement of the (existing) rules. In their view, this is the best way to prevent mala fide landlords or migrant workers from misbehaving. Legal policy instruments have the advantage that they create a level playing field, rules that everyone must adhere to are also attractive to protect 'good' entrepreneurs against their competitors who 'misbehave'. The alderman also hopes to be able to make a strong contribution to solving social problems with physical interventions, such as placing sports fields and possibly even his own housing location. Communicative and economic

policy instruments mostly have a supporting function in order to strengthen the influence of the policy.

Stakeholders have different ideas about how these policy instruments should be used. On the one hand, we mainly find entrepreneurs who hope for incentives. Some entrepreneurs state that they can realise higher quality housing if they receive permission from the municipality to leave their homes for longer. This measure can also count on the support of the interviewed residents. In order to banish skewed housing in regular residential areas, the municipality will mainly have to rely on stimulating policy instruments, because the home owners have a strong legal position. We also find migrant workers, residents and some entrepreneurs as well, who hope that the municipality will intervene strongly to tackle the offenders who are not susceptible to temptation.

Many of the actors interviewed consider the provision of information about the problems and the financial consequences of taking solutions an important element which should be examined before taking action. A striking advice from migrant workers was to include locally rooted labour migrants in such research, as they would have much knowledge about local housing locations and labour migrants who live in the area. Also, including local residents is considered to be positive and important when implementing the policies and initiating new housing locations. Through collaboration and communication, trust in the plans and in each other can arise. Both the residents and the alderman hope that this will also be the case with the development of these plans. However, actors and policy documents are not unambiguous about the extent to which communication and information about housing locations also means co-deciding about how this should be done.

6. Conclusion

6.1. Concluding remarks

The aim of this research is to identify what the municipality of Horst aan de Maas can do in order to tackle the shortage of high-level quality housing for labour migrants. I have collected a multitude of opinions and insights in order to provide insight into the societal debate about housing for labour migrants. The interviewed actors are not representative and their answers are therefore also not. This should be taken into account when reading the conclusions. In this chapter, I will reflect on the answers for the main question in order to discuss the most important aspects. The following main question was used in this study: *In what way can the municipality of Horst aan de Maas use its policy instruments in order to develop its own housing location for labour migrants?*

Without repeating what was summarised in the concluding sections of the analysis paragraphs, I can state that there is a lively societal debate in Horst aan de Maas about migrant workers and how all actors should deal with them. What stands out is the high level of commitment to the subject by many of the actors interviewed. There is a great willingness to think about policy together with the municipality and to help them implement it. All interviewed actors also made recommendations on how the municipality should relate to this and how the municipality should shape its policy. For example, one migrant worker suggests asking other migrant workers for help in identifying illegal housing locations. This enthusiastic attitude may also explain why many residents and labour migrants expect a thorough participatory process when shaping policy. Alderman Bouten has proclaimed ambitious plans to tackle the issues of skewed housing and the housing shortage. However, there still seem to be major challenges to realise this. For instance, various actors have doubts about the capacity and budgets that would be needed to bring this project to fruition. The future will show how this will work out in practice

Van Tatenhove et al.'s (2000) policy-arrangement theory has fundamentally proven very useful in approaching and describing policy developments from multiple perspectives. However, I do concur with earlier findings by Van Leeuwen (2010) that a focus on available instruments is missing, while this can explain a significant part of behaviour and policy choices. By using the categorisations of Van der Doelen (1991) and Lindén & Carlsson-Kanyama (2002), this omission was successfully overcome. The results of the analysis, however, show that Van der Doelen's (1991) categorisation of policy instruments is a simplification of reality. Many policy instruments are at the intersection of different categories. Imposing fines on entrepreneurs, for instance, is a policy instrument which can be seen as both legal and economic. This vague division is also particularly evident in the categorisation between repressive and stimulating instruments. Not all instruments can necessarily be classified in one of these two categories. A zoning plan, for instance, can leave either a lot or very little room for entrepreneurs' own interpretation, depending on how strict all norms are. Rather than separated categories, there seems to be a continuum, in which measures can be repressive or stimulating to a greater or lesser extent.

As expected, the goals of Horst aan de Maas seem to imply that the municipality will take on a more active role than it had in recent decades. The alderman and civil servants feel responsible for realizing and facilitating solutions that solve societal problems and they no longer look only at entrepreneurs for this. It thus confirms the theories of Olsen et al. (2021),

Zakhour & Metzger (2018) and Capano et al. (2015): the municipality is being brought 'Back In'. However, this is the case up to a certain level. This attitude still can be met with a lot of resistance, from entrepreneurs in the current housing market, residents and also officials in the municipal organisation. The alderman himself also states that it is conceivable that the exploitation will probably be left to other parties if that benefits the feasibility. The discussion about the right division of roles will create interesting dynamics in the future changes to existing policies and expansion of budgets that are necessary to initiate and fund this active stance.

6.2. Reflection

The use of a single case study design may be a target of criticism, as it might have not accommodated scientific values of external validity and generalisability. However, this study does not attempt to create a completely representative overall picture of all municipalities in the Netherlands. There are few places in the Netherlands where the problems are so acute and where the municipality has such a distinct view on how to tackle them. I am very satisfied with the choice of Horst aan de Maas as a case study for this research. The case was very suitable for providing insights about the covered issues. The research question was formulated in collaboration with municipality officials. It was challenging to formulate a research question that was both socially and scientifically relevant. In the end, a middle ground was found in this by drafting several sub-questions, each of which had its own type of relevance. This research is precisely about mapping this peculiarity and emphasising what consequences this could have for the societal-political debate. However, one could criticise that the conclusions about the increasingly active role of the government should not be generalised for the whole of the Netherlands, as this municipality could be seen as an outlier.

As I wrote earlier, this study used a non-probability sampling method for the recruitment of respondents because of its cost- and time-effectivity. However, this method also has drawbacks that can lead to bias of the research. People who did not meet the profile were not included in this research, which did not make the research easily accessible. Therefore, I cannot tell how well represented the population was. This makes the research results difficult to generalise. The proposed list of respondents was supplemented with thanks to critical advice from the thesis supervisor and municipal officials in Horst aan de Maas in order to reduce respondent omissions and bias and by doing so include all points of view and insights. The aim was not to make statements representative of the population in the municipality, but to take stock of the different arguments in the social debate. Still, the low number of interviews may be mired in criticism. When interpreting the results, the incompleteness of the actors to be interviewed must be taken into account. The Advisory group for labour migrants turned out to be mainly a group of labour migrants who had been living in the Netherlands for a longer period of time. After all, short-stay labour migrants have not been in the Netherlands long enough to participate in an advisory body for a long time. The participants in the Advisory group for labour migrants were not representative of short stay migrant workers. It is also striking that the answers from labour migrants I interviewed are often the same as the answers from residents, possibly because they have also been staying in Horst aan de Maas for a longer period of time. The insights of the short-stay labour migrant can deviate from this and are therefore not included in the study. Another category that was missing are the private landlords who currently rent houses in residential neighbourhoods to migrant workers. The municipality is highly dependent on the cooperation of these entrepreneurs for the implementation of its policy against skewed housing. In this study I conducted interviews with three housing providers, but they said that they no longer had regular housing in the villages. As a result, the insights of the specific group of entrepreneurs that are important for solving the problem did not become clear in the end. In order to map out how much nuisance is experienced by skewed living and how much police capacity this requires, I was advised to contact the police. However, no information has yet been supplied. Following an official Woo-request, the police stated that they had no information available to back up previous statements that the police did. These omissions should be taken into account when interpreting the results.

As I tried to make the construct of reality as complete as possible in order to answer the research questions, I collected information from various stakeholders who had their own perspectives. These observations were however also strongly influenced by my frame of reference, which always tends to create an omission between reality and the researcher's interpretations and findings (Blaikie, 2000, p. 120). This has been taken into account in the analysis and inference of this thesis. Also, the choice of terms for the interview questions had a substantive influence on the answers that respondents gave. In the first interviews, I used the terms '*mandatory or non-mandatory participation*' to indicate whether measures were stimulative or repressive. However, the concept turned out to be a confusing concept for the interviewees. They thought of citizen participation instead of repressiveness, and therefore their answers could not be used for the analysis. Also '*societal challenges*' was a confusing concept, it mainly reminded actors of society and discussions about the quality of life of neighbours. This may have steered interviewees too much towards answers about the lack of support, while there may also be completely other challenges, such as rising house prices, the housing shortage or long-term procedures at the municipality due to insufficient capacity. Both concepts were adapted in the subsequent interviews to create more clarity and useful data.

A personal learning point was the coding of all retrieved data. Some codes were worded too broadly, making them unclear and counting very many citations. To solve this, in line with the abductive form of this study, an alternative coding scheme was created. As a result, some texts had to be recoded. In the end, this led to an orderly set of codings.

6.3. Recommendations for further research

It would be interesting to conduct a large-scale representative study of skewed housing in residential areas, to find out to what extent skewed housing actually takes place and especially how this is experienced by local residents. A migrant worker said during an interview that he could very easily come into contact with migrant workers and that the number of illegal housing locations is underestimated by the municipality. It would be interesting to investigate the extent to which his claim is correct by means of field research in order to map the scale of the problem. The assumption that skewed housing leads to nuisance was, among other things, an important reason for the municipality to combat skewed housing and start its own housing location. In this study, however, this assumption could not be confirmed by representative scientific studies, but only by policy documents. This thesis was not large and representative enough to make statements about this. An extensive and in-depth investigation can provide more insight into skewed living and the importance of intervention.

During the interviews it appeared that there was a lot of discussion about the nature and intentions of labour migrants. Does the short-stay migrant worker, as Engbersen (2013) and Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties (2013) assumed, even exist? How long do labour migrants really stay, and do they come back in the following year(s)? Many labour migrants come to work in Western Europe with the intention of staying for a short period of time, but then stay longer, which still makes them long-stay labour migrants. Such changes can affect their housing needs and their will to integrate, but are the housing market and municipal policy geared to these changes? Further research on the nature of labour migration in the Netherlands, the length of stay and practical research on how governments can respond to this behaviour is recommended.

Many issues such as budget and power seem to argue against a new housing location to be established by the municipality, but the alderman is determined to achieve his goals. That is why the case of Horst aan de Maas may be an interesting topic for leadership theories. If the further elaboration of the policy becomes known, these theories may explain why the policy could or could not be implemented.

A striking conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis is that the number of complaints from local residents is mainly concentrated around the development phase of new housing locations. Once the development has been successful and a housing location has been realised, the number of complaints appears to decrease considerably. The actors interviewed have different explanations as to why this would be the case. It would be interesting to qualitatively map this behaviour in order to explain the nature of complaints in an in-depth manner.

As mentioned in the main conclusion, it is likely that there is no hard distinction between repressive and incentive measures. Rather, there seems to be a continuum, in which measures can be repressive or stimulating to a greater or lesser extent. It would be interesting to examine in follow-up research whether such a categorization can better explain the multitude of policy instruments.

If we zoom out and look at the broader picture, the discussion about the role of the municipality is a striking development in society. After years in which the government

seemed to be making a withdrawal, people are now thinking again about an active government that tries to solve social problems itself. The discussion in the Horst aan de Maas municipality about housing seems to be an omen of this shift. It would be interesting to investigate whether this is indeed a broader movement throughout the Netherlands. Will we see more active government in the future?

6.4. Recommendations for praxis

First of all, it is striking that there is indeed support among many actors, including entrepreneurs, for a more active government. In any case, it is hoped that the government will shape clear frameworks that create clear long-term expectations for all market players. However, there seems to be little support for a new housing location in which the municipality itself takes on all responsibilities. According to many interviewed actors, a form of cooperation, in which a housing corporation or companies, for example, takes care of the operation, is more obvious. The further elaboration in collaboration with, among others, the housing association Wonen Limburg can show whether this can lead to a successful policy. The municipality should consider entering into talks with Wonen Limburg on how this can be given concrete shape. Several alternatives to municipal management are conceivable. For example, one housing provider suggests exploring a variant where local residents could share in the profits made by the company as shareholders, in order to create more public support. In order to preserve market incentives, the municipality could also look at initiating a private company owned by a foundation with idealistic purposes. Profits would then not have to be distributed to entrepreneurs, but could flow back to integration projects, for instance. In such a foundation, different stakeholders could also sit on the board to make balanced assessments of interests. In addition to discussions with partners, a feasibility study could help the municipality further explore the possibility of such variants.

It was striking that all actors did not object to an extension of the exploitation licence duration if it was matched by qualitative improvements. However, one resident added that in his opinion, such an exception should only apply to housing managed by the municipality or a housing corporation. Currently, legal limits do not allow for a longer licence duration than 15 years, but this is currently being reconsidered by the national government. The municipality could consider lobbying to enable extension of permit periods and make use of it once this is made possible. When it comes to realising new housing for migrant workers, some residents note that the increase of homes should be combined with more regular housing construction, so that the local population gets the feeling it also benefits from the policy. They believe this would lead to more support for the realisation of new locations. Since many regular building plans are being developed in Horst aan de Maas, this could be achieved relatively easily by including those developments in the communication on migrant worker housing.

Many actors emphasise the importance of communication in the further realisation of the housing location, but the interviews already show that different actors think differently about the further implementation of that communication. A few residents and also the alderman hope for co-creation, in which the residents are partly allowed to determine how housing is designed, while the Ministry of the Interior and housing providers argue in favour of presenting housing locations once chosen as a given. Otherwise, they said, the government would not be steadfast enough to withstand criticism from citizens. They especially emphasise the importance of clear communication in the sense of extensive information provision, so that local residents are not taken by surprise. The municipality would do well to determine in the preliminary stage which way of communication and citizen participation they want to use in the process. This can then be clearly communicated, in order to prevent false expectations from being aroused.

The interviews show that many municipalities are struggling with their role in creating more housing for labour migrants. According to the interviewees, smaller municipalities in Noord

Limburg in particular are not able to develop policies on housing for labour migrants and to take initiatives. Sharing information about the problem and information about what municipalities (can) do to solve them can contribute to more knowledge, understanding and awareness of the urgency of the problem. The province of Limburg or regional consultative bodies could take responsibility for this in order to better get an effective approach off the ground in the smaller municipalities.

A migrant worker stated that illegal housing sites are not as easily discovered, but that many prominent labour migrants with prominent roles within the community and a large network of acquaintances may be able to make a difference here. Their good contacts with other migrant workers in the municipality could potentially be an access to detect and enforce illegal housing situations much more effectively. One interviewed migrant worker gave the impression that he would be happy to help the municipality with identifying problematic housing locations. It would be interesting to experiment with this practice in a pilot. This new way of enforcement could involve cooperation with the Flexible Regional Intervention Team in order to address similar issues with all relevant partners in an integrated way.

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Annex I: Interview guide municipality

Introduction

Hello, I'm Joep Baltussen, Master's student Spatial Planning at Radboud University Nijmegen. Thank you for your interest in participating in this survey. In this interview I inventory the insights of involved stakeholders in Horst aan de Maas about social challenges with regard to labour migrants and their housing. You will remain anonymous in this survey, your personal information will not be disclosed. In order to properly transcribe and interpret your answers, I would like to ask for your permission to record the interview. The recordings are only listened to by my thesis supervisors and me. The interview will last a maximum of one hour. For the usefulness of the results, I would like to ask you to answer clearly and concretely. Do you have any further questions before we start?

Perceptions about societal challenges related to housing of labour migrants

1. What societal challenges in relation to labour migrants do you think are there in Horst aan de Maas?
2. Do you think there is a connection between the challenges you just mentioned and housing for short-stay migrant workers? How exactly?
3. Are there other challenges in Horst aan de Maas related to housing for short-stay labour migrants?
4. Which challenges should, according to you, be prioritised?

Policy ambitions

5. In your opinion, should the challenges you mentioned in questions 1 and 3 be addressed by the municipality? Why?

In the RIB of 2/1/2022, the Municipal Executive writes that it wants to prevent short-stay stays in regular housing by realising two large-scale locations for a maximum of 400 beds. In practice, however, it would be difficult to find a location where all the conditions can be met and where there is sufficient support.

6. Can you explain that further? Which conditions could not be met?
7. Who has insufficient support and why?

The Municipal Executive writes in the RIB of 2/1/2022 that it wants to start an example project in which the municipality itself realises a large-scale housing location.

8. Could you describe these plans in more detail?
9. What is the effect of such a project on the planning capacity of the municipality?
10. What would be the concrete role of the municipality in this project, and what would the municipality leave to partners such as employers, temporary employment agencies and housing corporations?
11. You write that you would have to deviate from the policy for the realisation of the example project. What would this policy change mean?

Policy instruments and implementation strategy

12. Where are you now in the process of developing your plans? For example, do you already have a location in mind?
13. To what extent does the realisation of the plans depend on your own budget and to what extent are you dependent on national and provincial financial contributions?
14. Which policy instruments do you think the municipality should use to realise the example project?

Legal - economical - communicative - physical

15. The proposed approach has binding participation: there are rules that everyone must adhere to. An alternative is non-binding participation, for example a facilitating role with, for example, subsidies. In your opinion, should the municipality adopt an approach with binding or non-binding participation for actors?
16. To what extent is there support for the plans in your city council? To what extent is this related to the use of certain policy instruments?
17. How have other stakeholders (housing companies, housing corporations, employers, local residents, labour migrants) reacted to these ambitions and the proposed approach so far?

Closure

Is there anything else you would like to say before closing the investigation? If not, I would like to thank you for your time and interest in participating in this study. If you have any questions or comments afterwards, I would like to hear from you by telephone or e-mail.

Annex II: Interview guide inhabitants

Introduction

Hello, I'm Joep Baltussen, Master's student Spatial Planning at Radboud University Nijmegen. Thank you for your interest in participating in this survey. In this interview I inventory the insights of involved stakeholders in Horst aan de Maas about social challenges with regard to labour migrants and their housing. You will remain anonymous in this survey, your personal information will not be disclosed. In order to properly transcribe and interpret your answers, I would like to ask for your permission to record the interview. The recordings are only listened to by my thesis supervisors and me. The interview will last a maximum of one hour. For the usefulness of the results, I would like to ask you to answer clearly and concretely. Do you have any further questions before we start?

Perceptions about societal challenges in relation to housing for migrant workers

1. What societal challenges in relation to labour migrants do you think are there in Horst aan de Maas?
2. Do you think there is a connection between the challenges you just mentioned and housing for short-stay migrant workers? How exactly?
3. Are there other challenges in Horst aan de Maas related to housing for short-stay labour migrants?
4. (In what way) Is the village currently experiencing nuisance due to the current housing of migrant workers?
5. Which challenges should, according to you, be prioritised?

Perceptions about municipal policy ambitions

In the RIB of 2/1/2022, the Municipal Executive writes that they want to prevent short-stay stays in regular housing by realising two large-scale locations for a maximum of 400 beds. In practice, however, it would be difficult to find a location where all the conditions can be met and where there is sufficient support.

6. To what extent do you recognize that?

The Municipal Executive writes in the RIB of 2/1/2022 that it wants to start an example project in which the municipality itself realises a large-scale housing location. In this way, the municipality would free up regular homes for the housing market, could also offer space to other residential urgent needs, be able to better activate partners to participate and gain insight into the expected investments and yields of such projects.

7. Do you agree with these ambitions? Why?

Perceptions about municipal policy instruments and implementation strategy

The municipality first wants to find out the amount of regular homes in which short-stay migrant workers live before it determines how big the new housing location will be and where it will be. The municipality is in discussion with partners about what they can mean, but as far as the alderman is concerned, the municipality is doing as much as possible itself. It could be that the exploitation is ultimately done by someone other than the municipality, such as a housing association or a company. This can be arranged in an operating permit.

8. What do you think of this strategy? Why?
9. The proposed approach has binding participation: there are rules that everyone must adhere to. An alternative is non-binding participation, for example a facilitating role with, for example, subsidies. In your opinion, should the municipality adopt an approach with binding or non-binding participation for actors?
10. Do you think these plans will be efficient and effective in achieving the goals? Why?
11. Would you suggest an alternative approach? What would this one look like?
12. Would you like to be involved in policy development to share your ideas about this and represent your interests in the municipality? If so, how?

Closure

Is there anything else you would like to say before the interview closes? If not, I would like to thank you for your time and interest in participating in this study. If you have any questions or comments afterwards, I would like to hear from you by telephone or e-mail.

Annex III: Interview guide professionals

Introductie

Hello, I'm Joep Baltussen, Master's student Spatial Planning at Radboud University Nijmegen. Thank you for your interest in participating in this survey. In this interview I inventory the insights of involved stakeholders in Horst aan de Maas about social challenges with regard to labour migrants and their housing. You will remain anonymous in this survey, your personal information will not be disclosed. In order to properly transcribe and interpret your answers, I would like to ask for your permission to record the interview. The recordings are only listened to by my thesis supervisors and me. The interview will last a maximum of one hour. For the usefulness of the results, I would like to ask you to answer clearly and concretely. Do you have any further questions before we start?

1. What societal challenges in relation to labour migrants do you think are there in Horst aan de Maas?
2. Which challenges should, according to you, be prioritised?

In the RIB of 2/1/2022, the Municipal Executive writes that they want to prevent short-stay stays in regular housing by realising two large-scale locations for a maximum of 400 beds. In practice, however, it would be difficult to find a location where all the conditions can be met and where there is sufficient support.

3. To what extent do you recognize that?

The Municipal Executive writes in the RIB of 2/1/2022 that it wants to start an example project in which the municipality itself realises a large-scale housing location. In this way, the municipality would free up regular homes for the housing market, could also offer space to other residential urgent needs, be able to better activate partners to participate and gain insight into the expected investments and yields of such projects.

4. Do you agree with these ambitions? Why?
5. Do you think these plans will be efficient and effective in achieving the goals? Why?
6. The proposed approach has binding participation: there are rules that everyone must adhere to. An alternative is non-binding participation, for example a facilitating role with, for example, subsidies. In your opinion, should the municipality adopt an approach with binding or non-binding participation for actors?
7. What do you think should be the role of your organisation in meeting the outlined challenges and achieving the ambitions?

Is there anything else you would like to say before the interview closes? If not, I would like to thank you for your time and interest in participating in this study. If you have any questions or comments afterwards, I would like to hear from you by telephone or e-mail.

Annex IV: Interview guide labour migrants

Introduction

Hello, I'm Joep Baltussen, Master's student Spatial Planning at Radboud University Nijmegen. Thank you for your interest in participating in this survey. In this interview I inventory the insights of involved stakeholders in Horst aan de Maas about social challenges with regard to labour migrants and their housing. You will remain anonymous in this survey, your personal information will not be disclosed. In order to properly transcribe and interpret your answers, I would like to ask for your permission to record the interview. The recordings are only listened to by my thesis supervisors and me. The interview will last a maximum of one hour. For the usefulness of the results, I would like to ask you to answer clearly and concretely. Do you have any further questions before we start?

1. How long have you been working and living in the Netherlands and where do you work?

Perceptions about societal challenges in relation to housing of labour migrants

2. Is it currently difficult to find housing for migrant workers? Do you see a difference between labour migrants who work in the Netherlands for a shorter or longer period of time?

In recent years, some housing units have been discovered in Horst aan de Maas that did not meet all the requirements.

3. Do you have experience with housing companies in North Limburg?
4. Do you have experiences with housing that did not meet all the requirements?
5. Have you had your own experience with nuisance in your accommodation?

Percepties over gemeentelijke beleidsambities

The municipality does not want labour migrants who work in the Netherlands for less than three months to live in ordinary houses in the neighbourhood. Because they only live in the Netherlands for a short time, according to the municipality, they integrate less and that often causes more nuisance for local residents. To solve this problem, the municipality wants to set up a location that has been specially set up for labour migrants who come to work in Horst aan de Maas for a short period of time.

6. Do you agree with these ambitions? Why?

Percepties over gemeentelijke beleidsinstrumenten en implementatiestrategie

The municipality first wants to find out the amount of regular homes in which short-stay migrant workers live before it determines how big the new housing location will be and where it will be. The municipality is in discussion with partners about what they can mean, but as far as the alderman is concerned, the municipality is doing as much as possible itself. It could be that the exploitation is ultimately done by someone other than the municipality, such as a housing association or a company. This can be arranged in an operating permit.

7. What do you think of the municipality doing this and not a company?
8. Do you think this project can effectively solve the problems of migrant workers? If yes which one?
9. Are you in favour of small locations with fewer migrant workers, but also with fewer facilities, or more in favour of large locations with more migrant workers, but also with more facilities?
10. What kind of facilities do labour migrants who come to work in the Netherlands for a few months need?
11. What requirements do you think a good manager should meet for a location?

The municipality does not yet know where this location could be located.

12. What is important for the location of the housing? For example, if it is outside the village, what should be considered?
13. What else should the municipality consider when realising this project?
14. Would you like to be involved in policy development to share your ideas about this and represent your interests in the municipality? If so, how?
15. Should migrant workers in general also be involved in the development of these ideas and if so how?

Is there anything else you would like to say before the interview closes? If not, I would like to thank you for your time and interest in participating in this study. If you have any questions or comments afterwards, I would like to hear from you by telephone or e-mail.

Annex V: Coding schemes

Subquestion	Concept	Aspect	Indicator
What is the current housing situation of labour migrants in Horst aan de Maas and what are related challenges viewed by the municipality and other stakeholders involved?	Discourse	Status quo definitions	Amount of labour migrants
			Quantity of housing
			Quality of housing
			Dependence on employer
			Behaviour local residents
			Behaviour labour migrants
			Behaviour municipality
			Behaviour housing company
			External factors
			Residual status quo definitions
Resources		Budgets	Budgets
		Expertise	Expertise
		Power	Power

Subquestion	Concept	Aspect	Indicator
What are the policy ambitions of the municipality to enhance the housing situation of labour migrants and how do these resonate with different stakeholders involved?	Discourse	Suggested solutions	Suggested solutions
			Size, duration and location
	Actors	Ambition preferences	Quantity of housing and migrants
			Quality of housing
			Dependence on employer
			Integration
			Finances
			Workforce
			Enforcement
			Regional cooperation
			Linking opportunities
Residual ambition preferences			
	Role preferences	Role	

Subquestion	Concept	Aspect	Indicator
What policy instruments and implementation strategies does the municipality have to realise its policy ambitions and how are these perceived by stakeholders involved?	Game rules	Laws	Laws
		Norms	Norms
	Forms of policy instruments	Legal instruments	Legal instruments
		Economic instruments	Economic instruments
		Communicative instruments	Communicative instruments
	Bindingness of policy instruments	Physical instruments	Physical instruments
		Stimulating instruments	Stimulating instruments
		Repressive instruments	Repressive instruments
	Actors	Implementation strategies	Implementation strategies