



Erasmus School of Social and Behavioural Sciences

Master: Governance of Migration and Diversity

**'The local turn' within the context of Intra-EU
mobility integration policies in the cases of
Amsterdam and Westland**

An assessment on migrants' skill level in the integration policy process

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1. Introduction

Whereas the highly politicized topic of migration has become increasingly ‘Europeanized’ in its governance over the last years, the question of migrant integration has increasingly turned to the local level (Glick-Schiller and Çağlar, 2009). The Schengen Agreement of 1985, and its enlargements in 2004 and 2007, facilitated free movement of people and goods across European member states. The decision to lift internal borders has remained the foundation of European corporation until today (Rijpma, 2016). ‘Action of persons (EU nationals or legally resident third-country nationals) undertaking their right to free movement by moving from one EU member State to another’ is defined as intra-EU mobility by the European Commission (2019). Persons using this right are accordingly referred to as *EU mobile citizens* (EC, 2019). Following the academic definition, this research will use the term *intra-EU migrants* to refer to EU nationals practising their right of free mobility within EU territory (Scholten & Van Ostaijen, 2018).

The principle of free movement and the subsequent increase in annually arriving intra-EU migrants in the Netherlands has raised new challenges for local governments. Although legally intra-EU migrants are not subject to integration obligations, studies show that integration issues specifically arise at the local level (Scholten & Van Ostaijen, 2018). The extent to which local authorities respond to sociological integration needs of intra-EU migrants however shows great diversity. In May 2015, the Dutch news outlet *Trouw* reported that 70 percent of the Dutch municipalities experience issues regarding the integration of their non-Dutch EU residents (Trouw, 2015; KIS, 2015). The study also revealed that merely 20 percent of the participating municipalities had actual policies in place targeted at intra-EU migrants. It is because of the striking gap between the increasing influx from European member states, the reported challenges on the local level and the argued relevance in academia for local level agency in integration policies, that this research has come about.

Not only do local implications of intra-EU movement vary within receiving countries, also incoming intra-EU migrants themselves are diversified on many levels, including countries of origin, household type, occupation and length of residence (Sert, 2018). This study aims to contribute to the literature by avoiding ethnic and national lenses, by instead paying attention to diversification of intra-EU migrants based on their socio-economic status.

Two Dutch municipalities with varying intra-EU migrant populations have been selected for the most dissimilar case study in this research. The Dutch municipalities of Westland (107.492 inhabitants) and Amsterdam (862.987 inhabitants) are selected as the dissimilar cases because of their diverse local integration policies for intra-EU migrants (CBS, 2018; OIS, 2019). Amsterdam predominantly focusses on language opportunities and information provision for high-skilled workers, whereas the local authorities of Westland primarily commit to the areas of housing, registration and information provision for labour migrants employed in Westlands' greenhouses (Noordhuizen & Razenberg, 2016; Bonjour et al., 2015).

The selected Dutch municipalities are particularly relevant for this research, because the municipalities do not only face a high influx of intra-EU migrants in which their numbers have doubled in the last ten years, they also have the largest number of high-skilled migrants (Amsterdam) and lower-skilled migrants (Westland) per 10.000 inhabitants in the Netherlands (Hitzert & Van Wijk, 2019; CBS, 2019; Flexwonen, 2016). This clear socio-economic diversity of intra-EU migrants between the municipalities, makes these cases pre-eminently suitable to address intra-EU migrants' diversity in the developing process of local integration policies for intra-EU migrants.

Hence, this study aims to contribute to the literature on intra-EU migrants' diversity and local integration governance by answering the following research question: *how do intra-EU immigrants' skill levels influence the process of developing local intra-EU migrant integration policies?*

This research is conducted by applying four theoretical perspectives on the policy process (Bekkers, Fenger & Scholten, 2017). By applying the rational, political, cultural and institutional perspective, these four theoretical perspectives provide the main theoretical framework in this research. All perspectives follow a different logic and prove yet complementary as the perspectives together can grasp the complexity of policy issues. Additionally, this theoretical framework enables the researcher to identify which aspects are present in the policy process and which perspectives provide most explanatory power.

The main method used in this research is congruence analysis. The theory driven method is utilized in this research to assess the relevance of theories in explaining the case of diverging integration policies and skill level. Predictions are deduced from the

theory, fitting the logic of each individual perspective. This method allows the evaluation of the absence or presence of congruence between the predictions and the empirical data.

The collected and analysed empirical data include policy documents, other relevant documents regarding the local policies for intra-EU migrants and semi-structured interviews with policy advisors employed at the selected municipalities. The analysis is structured as a direct content analysis in which the four theoretical perspectives provided explanatory mechanisms and indicators. The presence or absence of these indicators reflect the explanatory power of the perspective.

The thesis consists of eight chapters. The next chapter elaborates the academic literature on the local turn and the four perspectives on the policy process, followed by the research design chapter in which the methodology is discussed. Chapter four addresses relevant background information for the reader on the topics of intra-EU movement and national integration policies. The next two chapters entail the case study analyses for Amsterdam and Westland, followed by a comparison chapter and the conclusion in which the outcomes, limitations, proposals for further research and policy recommendations are discussed.

2. Theoretical Framework

Within the academic community of migration there is a growing interest in the local dimension of integration governance (Zapata-Barrero, Caponio and Scholten, 2017). The 'local turn' emphasizes the agency of cities and regions in actively shaping their own agendas and policy strategies on matters of integration and diversity, which give cities a self-confident and self-reliant character (Zapata-Barrero et al., 2017; Schiller, 2015). Undoubtedly, the growing interest in the local dimension has led to a rapid increase in research about local integration policies (Alexander, 2017; Penninx, 2009; Caponio and Borkert, 2010; Dekker, Emilsson, Krieger and Scholten, 2015). The 'local turn' in migration studies is a clear reflection of the criticism that emerged in response to the academic focus on national models of migration. Yet, the growing interest in local aspects of integration has not only resulted in an increase in academic research, but it also provides an alternative to the limitations of 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2003).

On the European level, we can observe that local authorities are indeed playing an active role in integration governance. The agency of cities has been recognized by the

European Union and is manifested through networks of European municipalities and research initiatives, including EUROCITIES and CLIP (Caponio and Borkert, 2010; Hackett, 2017).

Empirical research on the 'local turn' is often based on cross-country comparisons, between major European cities (Zapata-Barrero et al., 2017; Dekker et al., 2015), or between iconic cities within the same national context (Scholten et al., 2018). Despite the relevance of the evidence that is produced through this research on governance of integration policies, the focus on large cities also excludes much of the local governance which takes place at smaller contexts within European member states.

Therefore this research builds on the existing literature on local governance of migration by assessing two cases of local governance within the same national context. Moreover, the research adds a new, multi-angle component to the existing body of literature. The four perspectives on the policy process are applied to analyse the policy process for local integration policies for intra-EU migrants (Bekkers et al, 2017). This new contribution provides insight in the complexity of developing local immigrant integration policy from diverging angles.

2.1. Four Theoretical Perspectives on the Policy Process

The four theoretical perspectives as outlined by Bekkers, Fenger and Scholten (2017) offer different explanations for the policy process. The rational, political, cultural and institutional perspective depart from different conceptual lenses and therefore are able to offer complementary insights in reconstructing the policy process (Bekkers et al., 2017). By applying these perspectives to the research question of this study, the perspectives can provide an insight into the complex relations within intra-EU mobility policymaking from various angles.

The rational, political, cultural and institutional perspectives are utilized to explain the independent variable, high and low-skilled intra-EU migrants in the municipalities of Amsterdam and Westland. For each perspective an expectation has been formulated based on the underlying assumptions of the theoretical perspective. By applying the method of congruence analysis, the formulated predictions go beyond the usage of traditional hypotheses as the congruence analysis provides a deeper understanding of the theories by constructing more detailed expectations based on the theoretical logic. The

expectations could be confirmed fully, partially or not at all depending on the empirical presence of the perspective's indicators in the analysis.

2.1.1. Rational Perspective

The first perspective which is outlined by Bekkers, Fenger and Scholten (2017) is the rational approach. It has been considered the most traditional one out of the four, as it is based on the assumption that more knowledge produces better results. The rational perspective addresses policy making as an effective way of problem solving (Bekkers et al., 2017). It is believed that knowledge, preferably scientific knowledge, plays a key role in the policy process, as it provides instruments to measure problems. Because of this measurability, problems can be identified, and 'perfect' solutions can be found as every step of the policy cycle is followed (Bekkers et al., 2017; Howlett, Ramesh and Perl, 2009). Although the rational approach offers an objective view on the policy process, the notion of bounded rationality acknowledges the limits of time, knowledge and capacity that policy makers deal with (Simon, 1961).

The key role of knowledge is selected as the main principle of the rational perspective. This focus point is chosen because it enables analysis of the perceived objective knowledge about skill level in the policy process. In this respect, policy change is approached through two different types of feedback mechanisms. Single loop learning involves adjustments of existing policy instruments or the introduction of new policy instruments to reach to stated policy goal. Double loop learning involves an adjustment of the policy goal itself (Bekkers et al., 2017).

Expectations

Within the logic of the rational perspective it is assumed that knowledge produces better results or even perfect policy solutions. Therefore, the municipalities are expected to be aware of the differentiated skill level of the intra-EU migrants residing in the municipality. Additionally, indicators of a key role of knowledge in the policy process for intra-EU migrants' policies are expected to be found. These include the use of cost-benefit analysis in the decision-making process, a key role of research or knowledge institutes in policymaking and policy change through the process of single- and double loop learning.

2.1.2. Political Perspective

Contrary to the rationalist perspective, the political approach is concerned with power struggles between different actors. It assumes that actors are interdependent on one another and are mainly trying to strategically impose their interests and values in policymaking process (Bekkers et al., 2017). Because of the interdependencies and unequal distribution of resources among actors, conflict and power are perceived as the strategic reality in which the policy process takes place.

Regarding policy change, the political perspective indicates that policy adjustment is more likely to occur through ‘powering’ of certain actor’s interests and resources than through ‘proven knowledge’ or ‘puzzling’. However, policies do also change because of knowledge claims which are made by certain actors, according to their interests (Bekkers et al., 2017).

For the purpose of this research the Advocacy Coalition framework from Sabatier (1998) is applied. This framework is chosen because it enables analysis of different groups of actors and contrasting policy beliefs in the policy process. Advocacy coalitions are groups of actors sharing a set of core values and problem perceptions. The groups of actors hold different positions within the policy subsystem. Sabatier defines a subsystem as ‘actors from a variety of public and private organisations that are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue’ (Sabatier, 1998). Among these actors are policymakers, NGO’s, politicians, but also advisory councils and media actors.

Advocacy coalitions are characterized by ‘shared policy beliefs’. Sabatier (1998) distinguishes three different aspects of shared beliefs. First, the secondary aspects involve the chosen instruments to achieve certain goals; second the policy core refers to specific policy values; and lastly deep core refers to (implicit) fundamental values. Policy learning is most likely to occur in secondary aspects and within certain coalition groups, rather than between coalitions (Sabatier, 1998).

Expectations

Advocacy coalitions are expected to shape the policy process for intra-EU migrants. More specifically, coalitions are expected to be found in which actors share values and interests about high or low-skilled intra-EU migrants, at least at the policy core level. In this respect, policy change is primarily expected to occur within one advocacy coalition by adjustment of

secondary aspects to achieve the shared value or goal for either high or low-skilled intra-EU migrants.

2.1.3. Cultural Perspective

The cultural perspective is different from the previous approaches in an essential way. This perspective bares the assumption that the way in which we perceive the world around us is socially constructed (Bekkers et al., 2017). Therefore, the actors within the policy process are part of a process of creating a social reality through their communication and interaction. In the light of culturalism, policy making is a process of integrating diverging ideas about policies and issues into a shared understanding, regardless of the factual context (Bekkers et al., 2017). Within the process of interaction of multiple actors, the use of language, frames and symbols are important facets in reaching the essential shared understanding for policies.

This research utilizes Rein and Schön's (1993) application of the cultural perspective. This involves an analysis of policy problem framing. Rein and Schön's theory reveals how actors make decisions based on social constructions and narratives. Successful framing processes are characterized by dramatization of the issue and accordance with societal values, by for instance using visually attractive presentation or using experts to support the frame (Rein and Schön, 1993). Framing can play a significant role in shaping shared interpretations and understandings. Therefore, framing can contribute to the decision-making process (Rein and Schön, 1993). Several scholars indicate today's inevitable relation between framing and policymaking, referring to the 'pertinent' nature and 'legitimate' function of frames in policy contexts (Schrover and Schinkel, 2013). Non-incremental policy change implies a complete shift of frames, because the policy change alters the underlying perceptions and normative prescriptions (Bekkers et al., 2017).

Expectations

Following the logic of the cultural perspective, the municipalities are expected to have constructed diverging policy frames for policy problems of high and low-skilled intra-EU migrants. In order to overcome policy controversies the usage of policy frames are expected, consisting of a causal, coherent and normative story, supported by facts, experts and a

visually attractive presentation. Policy change is expected to coincide with a shift of the policy frame regarding high and low-skilled intra-EU migrants' policy issues.

2.1.4. Institutional Perspective

Unlike the political and the cultural perspective which have emphasized the role of individual actors to shape the direction of the policy process through social interaction, the institutional approach focusses on institutional structures. Institutions are described as the 'formal and informal rules that affect or even guide actors' (Bekkers et al., 2017). It is assumed that institutions control and direct the content of the policy processes. This perspective provides a useful framework in identifying rules that constrain and enable actors' behavior.

Historical institutionalism is chosen as the main institutionalist theory, because it adds the notion of temporality to the policy process. According to Thelen (1999) actors' constraints and abilities in policy processes are closely connected to institutional path-dependency. This implies that change is constrained by past policy lanes, in which only incremental change within existing pathways is likely to occur. Additionally, policymakers tend to reinforce the existing institutional path, as they adopt their behavior according to the logic of the institutions (Thelen, 1999). Institutions also form barriers to policy learning because the interest of perpetuation, survival of the institution, may trump the interest of policy learning.

The principle of path-dependency is closely intertwined with the processes of negative and positive feedback. Negative feedback is aimed at promoting stability and institutional perpetuation by countering or ignoring challenges and keeping a limited number of actors involved, called policy monopolists (Bekkers et al., 2017). Policy learning then is limited to minor, gradual changes. Positive feedback describes the processes which increase the likelihood of policy change. In this respect, non-incremental policy change occurs when the status-quo, or so-called policy monopolists are challenged by positive feedback. Image manipulation is a positive feedback strategy which challenges the dominant policy image by media attention, events or new claims and evidence (Bekkers et al., 2017).

Expectations

Because the institutional perspective emphasizes institutional constraints and path-dependency, it is expected that the policies for intra-EU migrants are predominantly shaped by negative and positive feedback processes in which different policy paths are followed for high and low-skilled intra-EU migrants. Incremental changes and policy monopoly actors reflect negative feedback, whereas non-incremental change, the involvement of an increasing number of actors and image manipulation indicate positive feedback.

3. Research Design

3.1. Operationalization

This research examines *how the intra-EU immigrants' skill levels influence the process of developing local intra-EU migrant integration policies?*

The dependent variables in this research are the integration policies for intra-EU migrants in the cases of Amsterdam and Westland. The independent variable entails the high and low-skilled intra-EU migrants in the municipalities of Amsterdam and Westland.

A few terms require to be conceptualised for the purpose of clarification of the research. First, the term *integration* conceptualizes that what happens after immigration: 'conceiving practical steps in a longer process which invariably includes the projection of both deep social change for the country concerned and of fundamental continuity between the past and some idealized social endpoint' (Favell, 2010). Integration measurements include policies on law and order, anti-discrimination, public housing, legal and social protection, language and cultural orientation courses, creation of structures for immigrant organizations, funding for minorities in deprived areas and citizenship and residence-based rights (Favell, 2010).

Intra-EU migrants are defined as persons holding citizenship from one of the European Union member states that use their right of free movement within EU territory to reside in another EU country. In this thesis intra-EU migrants exclude Dutch citizens using their right of free movement within the EU, since this research is focused on the local context in the Netherlands. The terms *EU-citizens* and *intra-EU workers* are applied of synonyms for *intra-EU migrants*.

The term *high-skilled worker* refers to a person who executes work for which higher education, specialized experiences or training is required. It is characterized by higher wages than low-skilled jobs. Expats are typically considered high-skilled workers.

A *low-skilled worker* is defined as a person who executes work for which little or no specific degrees or specialized trainings are required. *Low-skilled labour* is generally low paid.

In this research the difference between high and low-skilled workers is operationalised by income and occupational categories. To determine the skill level based on occupation, the occupational class scheme by Erickson, Goldthorpe and Portocacero (1979) is applied. The highest categories correspond with high-skilled labour and the lower segments of the classification indicate low-skilled labour (see table 1). For instance, low income and an occupational classification in the last categories (e.g. VIIa) characterize low-skilled workers, whereas a classification II and high incomes indicate high-skilled workers. Because students generally do not possess either a high skilled job or high income (yet), they do not fall in the category of high-skilled workers.

Table 1: *Categorical scheme of occupation* (source: Erickson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero, 1979)

I	Higher-grade professionals, administrators and officials; managers in large industrial establishments, large proprietors
II	Lower-grade professionals, administrators and officials; higher-grade technicians; managers in small business and industrial establishments; supervisors of non-manual employees
III	Routine non-manual employees in administration and commerce; sales personnel; other rank-and-file service workers
IVa	Small proprietors, artisans with employees
IVb	Small proprietors, artisans without employees
V/VI	Lower-grade technicians; supervisors of manual workers; skilled manual workers
VIIa	Semi- and unskilled manual workers (not in agriculture)
VIIb	Agricultural workers

3.2. Methods

In this section the methodology of the research is discussed. The information resources for this study can be divided into two categories, policy and other relevant documents and interviews. This combination is specifically chosen because the types of sources are expected to complement each other. Whereas (policy) documents can be more detailed

and specific about certain views and measures, interviews offer insights in the policy process that goes beyond the written reality of policymaking.

3.2.1. Data collection

The initial stage of the data collection is selecting the right documents based on an online key word search. Policy documents are found by the search of the words 'migration', 'integration' and 'movement', within the website of the municipalities as well as in an online search engine. A close reading indicated whether the documents are relevant for intra-EU migrants and hence selected for the analysis. The second stage of the document selection is applied by the snowballing method. References made in previously selected documents or by the interviewees provide new traces to follow up on. Relevant documents for this study are not merely limited to official policy documents, also reports from debates in the city council can be selected, as well as policy evaluations and media reports. In the end, the most relevant documents for this research are selected for the analysis.

Also, the interviewees are selected through the snowball sampling. Policymakers who are referenced to in policy documents or who are the actual writers of policy documents are considered relevant interviewees for the research. Approaching the interviewees is done through channels of emailing and phone calls.

The interviews with policy advisors have a semi-structured format, in which the indicators of the explanatory scheme provide the guideline. A semi-structured approach is preferred over a structured interview technique, because this format allows for a certain amount of flexibility during the interview in which questions can be formulated differently according to what is most appropriate in the interview (Matthews and Ross, 2014). Overall two interviews have been conducted, representing each study case. For the purpose of privacy of the interviewees it is not specified who participated in the interviews.

3.2.2. Congruence analysis

Congruence analysis is selected as the key method in this research, as it entails 'an approach that focuses on drawing inferences from the (non-)congruence of concrete observations with specified predictions from abstract theories to the relevance or relative strength of these theories for explaining/understanding the cases under study' (Blatter

and Blume 2008). Therefore, congruence analysis is a theoretically driven method in which matches, or mismatches are ought to be found between observations and drawn expectations deduced from the theory. This method is particularly suitable for this study since the research design involves a multiplicity of theories as well as potential observations, which are imperatives for congruence analysis (Blatter and Blume, 2008).

Based on the four perspectives (Bekkers et al., 2017) a set of predictions is deduced by the researcher from the four competing, yet coherent theories. Hence, 'ideal' expectations are generated from each perspective, indicating how the process should occur in the cases according to the core elements of the perspectives. Subsequently, the predictions are evaluated by concrete observations. Ultimately, the absence or presence of congruence between the multiplicity of deduced predictions and observations enable the researcher to draw inferences about the 'relevance of theories to explain the case' (Blatter and Blume, 2008).

3.2.3. Direct content analysis

The collected data from the interviews and the selection of relevant documents are analysed through a qualitative content analysis. The deductive approach of directed content analysis is chosen, because of the use of a pre-fixed scheme based on research or theory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This type of data analysis is hence based on a deductive scheme designed before the research, predicting which explanatory mechanisms should be found.

The coding scheme applied in this research is deduced from the four theoretical perspectives on the policy process (Bekkers et al., 2017). The explanatory mechanisms are divided by indicators, smaller segments of each perspective, followed by their description, which should allow for explanation of the skill level of intra-EU migrants in the case studies. The extent of explanatory power of each perspective is then measured by the presence (Y) of absence (N) of the indicators of the explanatory mechanisms in the case studies. Yet, a complementary result of a combination of several theoretical perspectives is likely to occur.

Table 2: *Explanatory Scheme*

	Explanatory mechanism	Indicators	Description	(Y/N)
RATIONAL	Key role of knowledge	Availability of adequate knowledge	The available knowledge within the municipality about the skill level of the intra-EU migrants residing in the municipality, including facts and figures.	
		Cost-benefit analysis	Basing policy decisions on the identified benefits as well as the associated costs.	
		Key role research/knowledge institutes	Research findings about diverging skill levels are determinants for policy making.	
		Single loop learning	Adjustments of existing policy instruments or introduction of new policy instruments to reach the stated policy goal.	
		Double loop learning	Adjustment of the policy goal itself.	
POLITICAL	Advocacy coalitions	Group(s) of actors across organisations	Coalition of different actors engaged in the policy process of high or low-skilled intra-EU migrants.	
		Shared policy beliefs among actors	Sharing specific policy values or fundamental values about high or low-skilled intra-EU migrants to achieve certain policy goals.	
		Policy change in secondary aspects	Policy change only occurs by adjusting the instruments to achieve the policy goals within one advocacy coalition.	
CULTURAL	Framing	Causal story for persuasion	Casual and coherent stories with clear arguments to create shared understandings and interpretations about high or low-skilled intra-EU migrants.	
		Dramatization	Policy framing supported by a catchy presentation or facts, numbers and references to experts.	
		Policy change as frame shift	A shift in policy framing alters the underlying perceived policy problems and prescriptions.	
INSTITUTIONAL	Path dependency & negative feedback	Policy monopolists	The ability of certain actors to maintain a dominant image of the policy problem which is based on vested interests while keeping a limited number of actors involved.	
		Incremental changes	Small and gradual adjustments, that follow the existing policy path.	
	Positive feedback	Image manipulation	Challenging the dominant policy image with events, new claims and evidence.	
		Increasing no. of actors involved	More and more actors become involved in the policy making process.	
		Non-incremental changes	Radical changes that pressure and challenge the established institutions to change.	

3.3. Case Study

This research involves a most dissimilar case study in which two cases are analysed within the same national context. The Netherlands has been selected as the national context because Dutch society experiences an annual increase in influx of EU-nationals. Currently six percent of the Dutch inhabitants are originally from other EU member states (figure 1). In 2017, the inflow of intra-EU migrants has become the largest annual immigration group settling in the Netherlands (CBS, 2018).

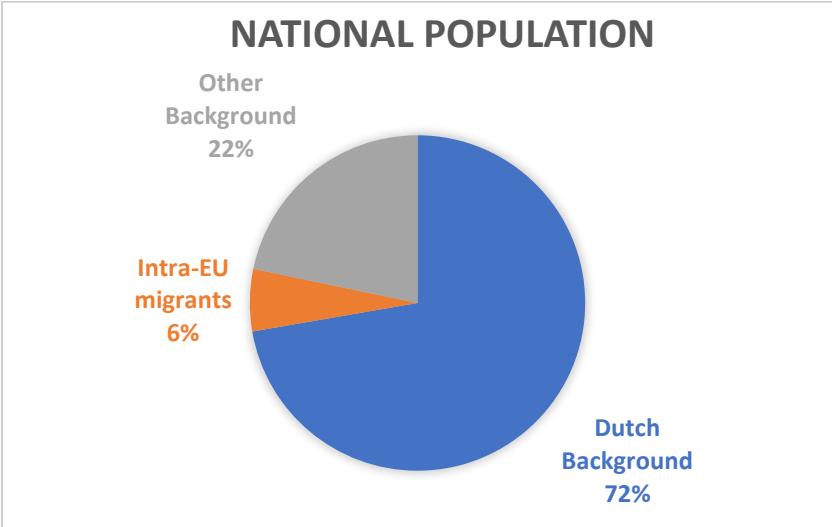


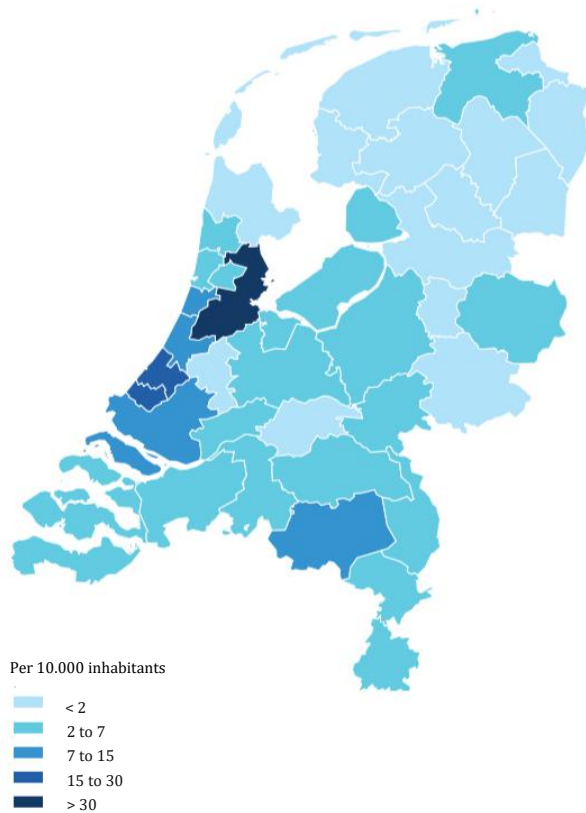
Figure 1: Population of the Netherlands based on residents' origin.

The municipalities of Amsterdam and Westland are selected based on their dissimilar integration policies for intra-EU migrants and the significant influx and socio-economic diversity of intra-EU migrants. Whereas the local authorities of Amsterdam particularly commit to language opportunities and information provision for high-skilled workers and collaboration with migrant and volunteer organisation, Westland's focus areas are primarily directed at housing, registration and information provision for labour migrants in the municipality (Noordhuizen & Razenberg, 2016; Bonjour et al., 2015).

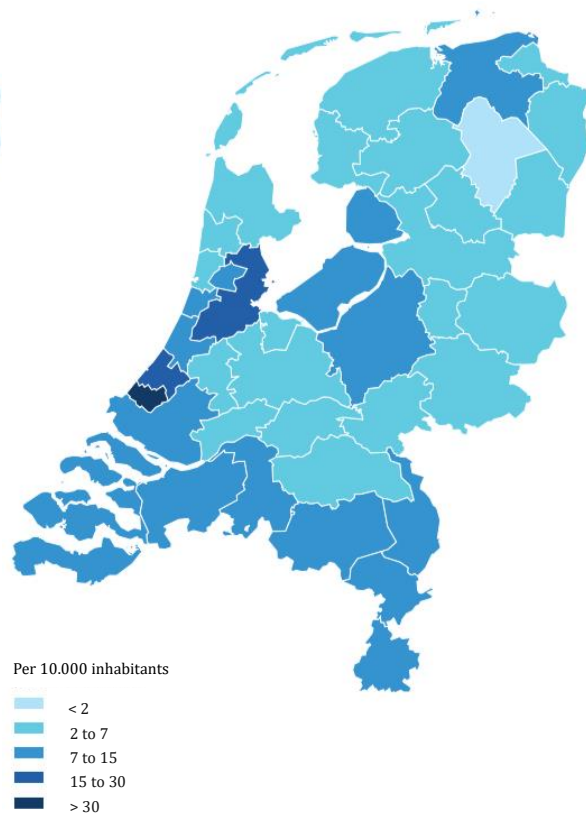
Not only do the cases differ in integration policies, the two municipalities also have distinct populations of intra-EU migrants in terms of skill level. The Amsterdam region is home to the largest group of foreign high-skilled workers (per 10.000 inhabitants) in the Netherlands, yet Westland has the largest share of low-skilled migrant workers in the country (Hitzert & Van Wijk, 2019). The high number of respectively high and lower

skilled workers in Amsterdam and Westland is reflected in the maps (1 & 2) by the dark blue colour.

Map 1: *High-skilled migrants per statistical region (COROP)*, source: Hitzert & Van Wijk, 2019



Map 2: *Lower-skilled migrants per statistical region (COROP)*, source: Hitzert & Van Wijk, 2019



High-skilled migrant workers in Amsterdam generally find employment in the trade sector or in specialized business services (Hitzert & van Wijk, 2019). The occupation groups fall within the highest three segments of the occupation qualification (Erickson et al., 1979). The average income of intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam is significantly higher than the Dutch national average of 35.000 euros (CBS, 2018) and city’s average of 36.800 euros (OIS, 2018). Especially the income of EU-citizens from West- and Northern European countries is high, with an average of around 50.000 euros. They constitute half of the city’s intra-EU migrants. Southern and Eastern Europeans earn an average of 41.143 and 33.260 euros respectively (OIS, 2018).

The percentage of low-income households among intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam is 18 percent, which is three percent less than the national percentage. The low-income households are calculated along the city’s income threshold for poverty reduction

facilities, which is set at 130 percent of the national 'legal social minimum' (OIS, 2018). Although a group of low-income intra-EU households is present in Amsterdam, the average income and occupations of intra-EU migrants indicate the large share of high-skilled workers among intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam (Razenberg, 2015).

In Westland, intra-EU migrants generally find low-skilled employment in the greenhouse agricultural sector of which the Westland's economy depends (FD, 2019). According to documents from the local authorities, between 10.000 and 12.500 jobs in the local greenhouse sector are fulfilled by labour migrants (Rijneveen, 2017; Westland municipality, 2013). With the exemption of labour migrants taking higher positions within the sector such as manager functions, the majority of intra-EU employment in Westland involves low-skilled labour (Cremers, 2018).

Research from Engbersen and colleagues (2011) found that none of the researched labour migrants in Westland were employed in highest segments of the labour market. Over 90 percent of the studied labour migrants in Westland fall within the lower segment categories of the occupation classification (VI, VIIa, VIIb), which indicates low-skilled employment. Especially agricultural workers are highly represented (77%) in the case study (Engbersen et al., 2011). This fits the trend that is characterized by Polish workers who leave their agricultural region in Poland which faces socio-economic challenges and find (temporary) employment in Dutch agricultural regions (Sleutjes, Korte & Ooijevaar, 2016).

The over-representation of the lowest categories within the occupational qualification scheme corresponds with low income of intra-EU migrants in Westland. Most labour migrants earn a salary around the minimum wage or even less, since the rent for housing was often deduced from the workers' wages (Engbersen et al., 2011). With the introduction of a new law against scheme arrangements for evading in 2015 (WAS), the wage deductions are no longer permitted (Kremer, 2017). Nevertheless, labour migrants pay for their housing in a tight housing market, while the greenhouse labour remains low paid.

Overall, most intra-EU migrants in Westland are (temporarily) employed in greenhouse horticulture, executing relatively low-skilled and low paid jobs. The remarkable variety in skill level of intra-EU migrants between the cases of Westland and Amsterdam is particularly suitable for this research, as it enables examination of the role of the immigrants' diverging skill level in the process of local integration governance.

3.4. Ethical Considerations

This section discussed the ethical considerations that have been taken into account throughout the research process. The considerations primarily address accuracy concerning the interviews and the retrieved data accordingly.

3.4.1. Informed consent

Informed consent is an essential part of the ethics in qualitative research. Researchers have the responsibility to inform their participants in advance about the conducted research and its objective, the role of the participant and how the data and results will be used and published (Sanjari et al., 2014). For the interviews in this research the *informed consent form* by Erasmus University is filled out and signed by thesis supervisor prior the start of the interviews. When the interviews took place, the interviewees were informed about the necessary information about the research and their participation in a written and verbal way. Again, the standard agreement of *informed consent* by the Erasmus University is used for this instance.

3.4.2. Throughout the interview

The risks on generating an unpleasant experience for the interviewees is perceived as little as the conversation topic is connected to the professional jobs of the participants. However, a good experience for both the interviewee and the researcher is desirable. Therefore, empathy will be foremost characteristic that I wish to show as an interviewer. Listening qualities are essential in conducting interviews as it can fuel the comfort of the interviewee and build a connection between the interviewer and the interviewee.

3.4.3. Confidentiality and anonymity

From the gathered information, only the data that is closely related to the research question is used. To endorse confidentiality the collected data is only be used for the purpose of this research (Sanjari et al., 2014). Additionally, the conversations with the interviewees will be given specific codes during the process of analysis to anonymize the participating policymakers. The interviewees are similarly treated anonymously in the end product of the thesis, the policymakers from Amsterdam and Westland are respectively referred to as 'Policy Advisor I' and 'Policy Advisor II'.

4. Background: integration policies intra-EU migrants

This chapter addresses the regulatory framework in which intra-EU integration policies are embedded at European and national level. For a better understanding of the dynamics of local integration policies for intra-EU migrants, the legacy of past immigrant integration policies in the Netherlands is assessed as well as the right of free movement in the EU, the principle of non-discrimination and the challenges that arise on the local level accordingly.

4.1. European Framework: Free movement of people between EU member states

On the 14th of June 1985 the *Schengen Agreement* was signed by the European member states, in which the member states decided to lift the internal borders, enabling free movement of persons and goods between EU member states. The scope of intra-EU migration expanded considerably after the EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007, adding twelve European countries from Central, Eastern and Mediterranean Europe to the European Union, including the Czech Republic, Poland, Estonia and Bulgaria (EC, 2008).

Alongside the monetary union of the euro, the principle of free movement has turned into the cornerstone of the European project to date (Rijpma, 2016). The significance of the free mobility principle in the EU is reflected in a strong legal framework for intra-EU migrants holding EU citizenship (Collett, 2013). In this respect, a person is considered an EU citizen when citizenship is held from one of the EU member states. Consequently, third-country nationals migrating from one EU member state to another is excluded from these rights.

EU nationals derive the right to move and reside freely within EU territory from their European citizenship. The right of residence can only be withdrawn in specific circumstances, such as matters of public security and loss of financial autonomy (Collett, 2013). Whereas third-country nationals need to qualify for a series of requirements in order to obtain a residence permit, EU citizens derive the right to move freely within EU territory directly from their citizenship.

Furthermore, the principles of the non-discrimination by nationality and equal treatment apply. This means that EU nationals enjoy similar rights as well as obligations as the national population of the country in which they reside (Zelano, 2018). The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union forbids discrimination based on nationality. Citizens of European member states are hence protected against discrimination on

grounds of nationality perceived from a legal perspective. The non-discrimination principle places EU nationals in an advantageous position compared to migrants from non-EU countries (Collett, 2013).

For local policymaking this principle implies that intra-EU migrants are not subject to integration policies, at least not in any formal obliged process. This principle embodies a discrepancy between the formulated right of non-discrimination on the one hand and the practical reality of local governance issues and sociological needs of intra-EU migrants on the other (Scholten & Van Ostaijen, 2018; Collett, 2013). Hence, the fact that local authorities have to deal with newcomers from EU states in all its diversities, combined with the special status of intra-EU migrants stressing that these migrants should be treated equal to national citizens, generates challenges for local governments.

4.2. National policy background

Not only the European regulations affect the room for manoeuvre of local authorities, also the legacy of Dutch national integration policies limit the playing field in which local policymakers operate. National policies for incoming migrants in the Netherlands is historically based on low-skilled workers. In the 1960s and 1970s Dutch companies actively recruited foreign workers in order to resolve labour shortages (Nationaal Archief, 1974). Workers from around the Mediterranean moved to the Netherlands to fill the gap in the Dutch labour market. After initial denial of labour migrants' settlement, the Dutch government embraced minority emancipation as the main policy approach throughout the 1980s (Nationaal Archief, 1974; SCP, 1995). 'Integration while retaining one's own cultural identity' was the premise for the group specific policy direction (SCP, 1995).

Integration policies targeting specific ethnic or national groups have been widely criticized in the decades after its implementation in the 1980s (Vasta, 2007). Currently the policy direction has shifted towards the complete opposite trend in which the formulation of policies for specific group is prohibited and a generic approach is pursued. The former minister of Interior and Royal Affairs introduced this policy shift in 2011 in a letter to the Dutch Parliament stating that the group specific approach has failed to create new unity in Dutch society (Donner, 2011). The premise of the new policy is that it is 'not someone's background that counts, but the future'. The implications of this policy shift are substantial. Integration policy is no longer characterized by specific policies and target

groups but consists rather of generic measurements on the grounds of responsibility of those parties concerned (Donner, 2011).

This decision at the national level implies that local governments are not able to draw integration policies specifically aimed at intra-EU migrants, since that would imply a group specific approach. This means that despite the relatively large influx of intra-EU migrants in Dutch municipalities, the local authorities do not draw comprehensive policy frameworks for intra-EU migrants. Local policies for intra-EU migrants therefore tend to be encapsulated in generic measurements or policies targeted at socio-economic differences between citizens.

5. Amsterdam

One of the municipalities with encapsulated policies for intra-EU migrants is Amsterdam. With 854.047 inhabitants, Amsterdam is the largest municipality in the Netherlands (CBS, 2018). The city is situated in the province of North-Holland. The intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam make up for around 10 percent of the city's total population

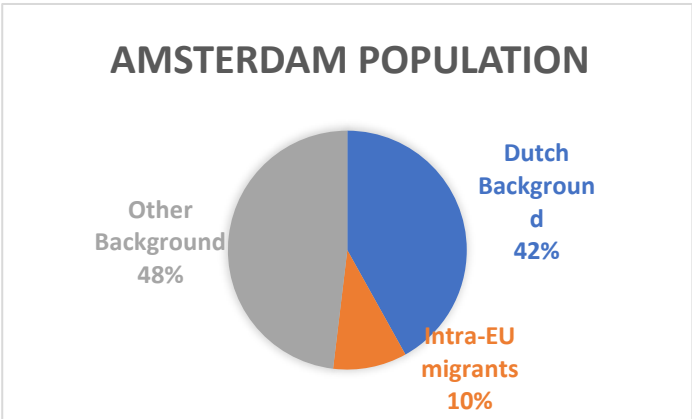


Figure 2: Population of Amsterdam based on residents' origin, source: CBS, 2018.

(figure 2; CBS, 2018; IOS, 2018). All EU member states are represented in the Amsterdam, although Western and Southern European states provide the largest groups of intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam.

Generally, Amsterdam has a diverse population in terms of countries of origin. There are around 180 different nationalities to be found within the municipality (Razenberg & Noordhuizen 2016). The diversity is related the city's large history of immigration. Yet since the 16th century immigrants have considerably contributed to Amsterdam's urban economy and identity (Van Gils & Van der Laan, 2016). As a result of ongoing and diverse immigration to the Dutch capital, Amsterdam has become a 'majority-minority' city in which 'the old majority group became a minority' (Crul, 2016). Currently, citizens with a Dutch background constitute merely 42 percent of the population of Amsterdam (CBS, 2018).

Just like the variety in countries of origin, Amsterdam's immigrants also show diversity in their incentives to come to Amsterdam. The main reasons for intra-EU migrants to move to Amsterdam are work opportunities, the chances for work (e.g. after graduating), connections in Amsterdam, the mentality (e.g. towards the LGBTQI community) and the fact that almost everyone speaks English (OIS Monitor, 2018).

5.1. Policy process

In Amsterdam policy processes for intra-EU migrants' policies are not limited to high-skilled workers. This differentiated lens is in congruence with the city's intra-EU population which does not exclusively consists of high-skilled migrants. Policy for intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam is mainly focussed on language proficiency, attracting and retaining international talent, and cooperation with migrant- and volunteer organisations and (Policy Advisor I; Razenberg & Noordhuizen, 2016).

Although municipalities do not have any formal obligations in providing immigrants with language training, the municipality of Amsterdam offers 5000 free language courses per year, taught by qualified teachers. Intra-EU migrants can apply along other immigrants without integration obligations and citizens of Amsterdam who faced difficulties in reading and writing (Amsterdam municipality, 2016a). All intra-EU migrants can apply for the language courses, except high-skilled migrants who benefit from the '30 percent tax reduction rule' and/or possess a high-skilled migrant visa. The latter are expected to invest in language proficiency on the private market.

The Amsterdam language courses do not only include traditional class lessons, but also brings the obtained knowledge in practice, by going on the streets along with a volunteer coach to take part in activities. Furthermore, the program is often connected to trainings about self-development and practical matters such as information about childcare (Policy Advisor I, 2019; Amsterdam municipality, 2016a).

Investments in language proficiency have obtained a high position on the local agenda of Amsterdam. This is connected to the city's history of immigration and local politics (Policy Advisor I, 2019). In the recent past, local authorities have been responsible for civic integration. More precisely, until 2013 Dutch municipalities received funding from the national government to arrange certain integration obligations. During this period, Amsterdam provided language courses for immigrants with, but also without integration obligations. However, in 2013 the government decided to shift the

responsibility for integration obligations to the immigrants themselves. That meant that the local authorities did no longer receive these funds. Nevertheless, Amsterdam continued to invest in language of its citizens and emphasizes the importance of language for equal chances in society (Policy Advisor I, 2019; Amsterdam municipality, 2016a). Until date, Amsterdam stresses the relevance of language skills for full participation in society, by providing free courses for those who do not have integration obligations.

To address high-skilled intra-EU migrants, the municipality of Amsterdam works in collaboration with International Newcomers Amsterdam (INAmsterdam), the successor of Expatcenter Amsterdam. In the Amsterdam Strategy for International Talent 'Open Amsterdam' (2010) high-skilled migrant are specifically targeted. One of the goals of the strategic plan is for example to retain international graduates from Amsterdam's universities (Open Talent, 2010).

During the last years, the municipality and the Expatcenter have launched an English website for the purpose of information provision for international newcomers. Although the online information is accessible for all immigrants, it is mainly directed at middle and high-skilled migrants (Razenberg, 2015). INAmsterdam also provides a 'one-stop-shop' in the city's financial and international business district Zuidas, where high-skilled migrants can do their registration procedure for the municipality and arrange all kinds of practical aspects of working and living in Amsterdam. The 'one-stop-shop' is partially financed by business partners and the municipality. Additionally, the migrants pay a fee for the provided services (Policy Advisor I, 2019).

However, the policies regarding high-skilled intra-EU migrants have been criticized for their exclusive character in the city report of the 'Welcome Europe' project in 2015 (Razenberg, 2015). Just before the start of the 'Welcome Europe' project, Amsterdam initiated several welcoming events for intra-EU migrants. The welcoming events provided new intra-EU migrants with information about the city, the labour market, businesses and language courses. The events also facilitated networking and comedy entertainment (Razenberg, 2015).

In 2015, the city of Amsterdam participated, as one of the six European cities, in the 'Welcome Europe' project which aimed to improve existing integration policies for intra-EU migrants. Connected to Amsterdam's engagement in the project is the development of a new welcome policy, an introduction program for intra-EU migrants (Razenberg & De Gruijter, 2016). The program has been initiated within the context of

both the European 'Welcome Europe' project and the national 'Participation-declaration' pilot. It involves guided walking tours that offer a combination of information provision and getting to know the city from the perspective of cultural heritage. Even though the initiative was well received by the participants, the introduction program has finished because of a lack of funding (Policy Advisor I, 2019; Amsterdam municipality, 2016b).

Apart from the focus on welcome policies, the 'Welcome Europe' project encompassed research and recommendations for the participating cities. The research about Amsterdam indicated that the municipality faces difficulties in reaching low-skilled intra-EU migrants. Back in 2015 no initiatives were undertaken by the municipality targeting lower skilled migrants. In terms of information provision, Amsterdam is mainly targeting high-skilled migrants. One of the implications of that is that lower skilled migrants are more vulnerable for misuse by middlemen. Providing information in several European languages and establishing an information point have been recommended in order to reach lower skilled intra-EU migrants (Razenberg, 2015).

In the subsequent years, the municipality has not developed an information point for intra-EU migrants, but progress has been made in the translation of practical information in Polish, Romanian, Bulgarian and recently in Spanish (Policy Advisor I, 2019). The latter was achieved in close collaboration with a local Spanish migrant organisation, without financial investments. This enables the municipality to reach more intra-EU migrants, and to expand the number of available languages. The municipality cooperates with multiple NGOs, migrant and volunteer organisations to provide intra-EU migrants with necessary information and the organisations signals the municipality with arising issues.

The collaboration of the municipality with migrant and volunteer organisations has become the prime approach to reach the lower skilled intra-EU migrants. The municipality has taken an active role in connecting migrant and volunteer organisations with one another other and with citizens, transferring knowledge and facilitation (Policy Advisor I, 2019). This development is partially connected to the recommendations from the 'Welcome Europe' project in 2015 and research results from a study commissioned by the municipality in 2014 (Policy Advisor I, 2019; Klooster Onderzoek & Advies, 2014). The latter acknowledged the need for support, information provision and networks for intra-EU migrants with limited self-reliance capabilities. The municipality is currently working on establishing a network of migrant and volunteer organisations.

5.2. Analysis

5.2.1. Rational

Traces of the rational perspective were found the policy process for intra-EU migrants of Amsterdam. The municipality is aware of differentiating skill levels among intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam. The 'Monitor EU-migrants' provides statistical information about demographic and other characteristics of the city's intra-EU migrants (OIS, 2018). This includes socio-economic information such as employment, income, dependency of government support, but also qualitative research results from intra-EU migrants' experiences in Amsterdam. Additionally, the policy advisor confirmed the existing knowledge within the municipality about intra-EU migrants' diversity (Policy Advisor I, 2019).

Furthermore, certain policy changes are closely related to research findings. At the municipality's recent effort to reach low-skilled intra-EU migrants, recommendations are followed from the 'Welcome Europe' project and a research commissioned by the municipality. The researches pointed at necessity for governmental engagement because of the less self-reliant character of low-skilled intra-EU migrants and their risk of exploitation in different areas, such as housing and labour (Razenberg 2015; Klooster Onderzoek & Advies, 2014). By focussing on the translation of information in multiple European languages and on collaboration with local migrant and volunteer organisations, Amsterdam has recognized the new policy goal of reaching low-skilled intra-EU migrants which indicates policy change by double loop learning. Thus, Amsterdam has undertaken several steps to accommodate the information need of low-skilled intra-EU migrants as a response to gathered knowledge. Less traces of the rational perspective are found concerning policies for high-skilled intra-EU migrants, however single loop learning has been found in the instance of introducing a Brexit information point within the 'one-stop-shop'.

Also, the provided language courses are partially based on research. A study on Amsterdam's investments in language projects indicate that the revenue of the language projects is higher than the investments (Amsterdam municipality, 2016a). A cost-benefit analysis shows that every invested euro in language programs resulted in 2,56 euros in societal revenue. The local profitability of the Dutch language courses is an incentive for the municipality to continue the investment in its citizens language skills. Although the

continuation of the language courses are strongly related to cost-benefit analysis, the role of intra-EU migrants' skill level cannot be determined.

Altogether, the available knowledge within the municipality about the skill level of its intra-EU migrants, the significant role of research in the policy process for low-skilled intra-EU migrants indicate and the perceived objective benefits of Dutch language education, indicate that knowledge is a significant factor in the policy process. Nonetheless, two critical remarks should be made. The role of intra-EU migrants' skill level seems obvious in the first two instances, since information gathering and specific policy for low-skilled migrants address the skill level directly, yet the relation between skill level and language provision appears rather faint. Besides, even though the policy change regarding low-skilled intra-EU migrants seems properly explained by the arrival of new knowledge, the rational perspective cannot explain why the highly recommended information point has not been installed. Hence, aspects of rationalism are certainly present in Amsterdam's policy process, yet the role of knowledge cannot be ascribed full explanatory power.

5.2.2. Political

Power factors have played a significant role in Amsterdam's policymaking for intra-EU migrants. The policy stability regarding high-skilled intra-EU migrants is explained by the shared economic interest of the local business sector and the municipality in high-skilled internationals. Both actors are powerful partners in terms of resources, knowledge and authority. The expansion of the high-skilled 'one-stop-shop' by a Brexit information point on the one hand and the failure to install an intra-EU migrant information point on the other shows that successful policy change occurred within the same advocacy coalition for high-skilled migrants.

For many years, the municipality is aware of the necessity for an intra-EU migrant information point, which would not merely cover high-skilled migrants, but all EU-citizens. Nevertheless, agreement on the location and implementation has never been reached (Policy Advisor I, 2019). An expansion of the current high-skilled information point seems most practical, however the addition for low-skilled intra-EU migrants in the business district is contested.

This instance shows that policy learning in the policy and deep core are hard to achieve, contrary to policy changes at the level of secondary aspects. The installation of

the Brexit Information Point is subject to the existing values within the advocacy coalition. The vested economic interest in high-skilled migrants translates in serving the needs of high-skilled migrants. Hence, the Brexit Information point is merely an additional policy instrument to achieve the goal of attracting and retaining international talent (Open Amsterdam, 2010).

The municipality's effort for low-skilled intra-EU migrants does not primarily serve economic interests but is rather socially oriented, which reflects the city's current progressive political climate (Policy Advisor I, 2019). Generating equal chances are high on the agenda of the city. However, the presence of intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam is hardly politicized. In fact, intra-EU migrants received so little attention, that local policymakers introduced the 'Monitor EU-migrants' to stress the presence of this large and diversified group of immigrants in Amsterdam (Policy Advisor I, 2019). Therefore, the statistical data serves the purpose of political ammunition to get intra-EU migrants on the agenda.

Besides, the little political attention for intra-EU migrants, which implies little funds for social policymaking, the municipality does not have an established advocacy coalition for low-skilled intra-EU migrants. Although the municipality works on creating a network of organisations, the recent and relatively small steps in policymaking for low-skilled intra-EU migrants can be explained by the little political attention and the absence of an established, resourceful advocacy coalition. The political perspective shows that the policy approach for high-skilled intra-EU migrants can be explained by the vested and shared interests in high-skilled migrants.

5.2.3. Cultural

Traces of framing were found in the case of Amsterdam. These are divided in two aspects, first framing which encompasses policy frames that are (un)intentionally constructed to present a coherent story, and second the influence of media framing on the policy process. Yet, the clearest example of policy framing, in the case of language provisions, does not relate to intra-EU migrants skill level.

The free language provision in the municipality appeals to core values of Amsterdam which are made explicit in the last coalition agreements (Coalition Agreement, 2014; Coalition Agreement Amsterdam, 2018). Participation of all citizens is

required, however Amsterdam's citizens should be enabled to do so. In practice, the municipality aims to create equal chances for all citizens to develop themselves regardless of their backgrounds (Policy Advisor I, 2019; Coalition Agreement Amsterdam, 2018).

The need for language education is framed along these values, supported by numbers and research to strengthen the frame. The provision of Dutch language courses is presented as a mediator that will enable intra-EU migrants, among others, to fully participate in the local society of Amsterdam. The language program wants to enable 'all Amsterdam citizens' to participate in society and the labour market for 'their entire life' to their best of ability (Amsterdam municipality, 2016a). The policy paper continues that language 'may not be' any limitation to achieve once potential. 'That is why the municipality provides them [citizens with insufficient proficiency] support to reach the appropriate language level' (Amsterdam municipality, 2016a).

The way the language program is presented clearly reflects a causal story about the relevance for language provision, which fits the context of the political environment in Amsterdam by appealing to participation in society and providing equal chances to achieve this. Furthermore, the relevance of language investments is strengthened by the research and numbers, including the amount of citizens with insufficient language proficiency and the societal revenue expressed in euros (Educatie & Inburgering, 2016).

Framing related to skill level is mainly found in the way high-skilled migrants are addressed. The attraction and retainment of high-skilled migrants, including intra-EU migrants are believed to directly correlate with the economy (Policy Advisor I, 2019; Open Amsterdam 2010). In the media, framing of high- and low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam are often addressed in extremes, such as rich expats who are assigned the good houses and homeless or addicted intra-EU migrants. The municipality is aware of the extreme examples that are frequently covered by the media and occasionally tries to provide a counter-narrative with a more balanced and differentiated image (Policy Advisor I, 2019).

The analysis indicates that policy framing is used to justify policy measurements or directions, mainly for the language investments. The frames that the media construct to address policy issues for low or high-skilled intra-EU migrants tend to complicate the policymaker's effort to create a balanced policy for intra-EU migrants. Nevertheless, no clear traces found of a significant relation between policy framing and intra-EU migrants skill level.

5.2.4. Institutional

Institutional indicators are found in the case of Amsterdam, respectively path-dependency and positive feedback. Policy for high-skilled intra-EU migrants and the provision of free language courses are characterized by path-dependency, in which most policy changes entail incremental change such as upscaling and adjustments. For instance, adjustments in regulations for international entrepreneurs are made within the opportunity structure of the high-skilled migrants in Amsterdam (Open Amsterdam, 2010). Another example is the previously discussed Brexit information point, which is an adaptation that fits within the developed policy path for high-skilled migrants.

Also Amsterdam's language provision has followed a process of gradual adaptation. The significance of language acquittance is historically deterrent in Amsterdam. Until 2013, Amsterdam provided language courses to immigrants with integration obligations. During this period, the municipality expanded the policy instrument by offering language courses to citizens in Amsterdam without integration obligations. After the local responsibility for obligatory integration ended in 2013, Amsterdam continued the path it had taken, by providing its citizens with free Dutch courses (Policy Advisor I, 2019). Even though the gradual expansion of free language courses gives more opportunity for low-skilled migrants to follow a course, given the exclusion of high-skilled migrants with expat visas, low-skilled intra-EU migrants have been hard to reach in practice.

Signs of exogenous positive feedback are found in the policy process for low-skilled intra-EU migrants. After new evidence was released in 2014 and 2015, the policy image of the self-reliant intra-EU migrant altered. Ever since, diversity among intra-EU migrants was actively acknowledged by local policymakers and first steps have been taken to reach previously overlooked low-skilled intra-EU migrants for information provision, including the possibility of attending language courses.

Additionally, the abolishment of the national network organisation for intra-EU migrants 'Lize' in 2017 has raised awareness in the municipality about the necessity for governance infrastructure regarding low-skilled intra-EU migrants (Policy Advisor I, 2019). Because of this external event and the changed perception about the diversity and diversified needs among intra-EU migrants, the municipality of Amsterdam got involved in establishing a new policy path, targeting low-skilled intra-EU migrants by creating a network of related organisations.

The institutional perspective indicates that the policymaking process for intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam is largely characterized by path-dependency. Both language and high-skilled migrants' policies are subject to incremental changes. Yet, policy targeting low-skilled intra-EU migrants shows characteristics of positive feedback, since new evidence and a significant external event has changed the policy perception of intra-EU migrants.

Table 3: *Explanatory mechanisms, Amsterdam*

	Explanatory mechanism	Indicators	Empirical observations	(Y/N)
RATIONAL	Key role of knowledge	Availability of adequate knowledge	The municipality possesses significant knowledge about the diverse composition of their intra-EU migrant population, including skill level.	Y
		Cost-benefit analysis	Even though Amsterdam's language provision is related to cost-benefit analysis, a role of skill level is absent.	N
		Key role research/knowledge institutes	Policy changes concerning low-skilled intra-EU migrants are connected to research findings, however not all recommendations were followed.	Y
		Single loop learning	Adjustments of policies to achieve the stated policy goal are found in policy for high-skilled intra-EU migrants.	Y
		Double loop learning	Adjustment in policy goal for low-skilled intra-EU migrants.	Y
POLITICAL	Advocacy coalitions	Group(s) of actors across organisations	The policy process regarding high-skilled intra-EU migrants is shaped actors from the municipality and businesses. For low-skilled intra-EU migrants the municipality, NGO, migrant- and volunteer organisations are engaged.	Y
		Shared policy beliefs among actors	The coalition for high-skilled intra-EU migrants is on vested economic interests in high-skilled migrants.	Y
		Policy change in secondary aspects	Policy change happen within the coalition for high-skilled migrants, policy changes outside the coalition have proven to be hard to establish.	Y

CULTURAL	Framing	Causal story for persuasion	A causal story to stress the relevance of language investments has been found in the date, nonetheless it does not show any relationship with intra-EU migrants skill level.	N
		Dramatization	Signs of dramatization have only been found in the media coverage on high and low-skilled intra-EU migrants, not within policy frames.	N
		Policy change as frame shift	No frame shift has been identified in which underlying perceptions changed.	N
INSTITUTIONAL	Path dependency & negative feedback	Policy monopolists	The business and municipal actors have dominated the policy image of high-skilled migrants, which is based on vested economic interests.	Y
		Incremental changes	The policy process for high-skilled intra-EU migrants and language provision are characterized by incremental changes	Y
	Positive feedback	Image manipulation	New evidence from research and an external event, the abolishment of Lize, have changed the policy image for low-skilled intra-EU migrants.	Y
		Increasing no. of actors involved	Cooperation with many organisations is aimed for in the new approach for low-skilled intra-EU migrants.	Y
		Non-incremental changes	The focus on low-skilled intra-EU migrants indicates a new policy direction for the municipality, that is directed at reaching this specific group. The new policy direction significantly differs from ones concerning language and high-skilled intra-migrants policies.	Y

6. Westland

The municipality of Westland is a merger of seven smaller municipalities established in 2004. It is located between The Hague, Delft and the port of Rotterdam in the province of South-Holland. The municipality has 107.492 residents, including seven percent of its citizens coming from other EU

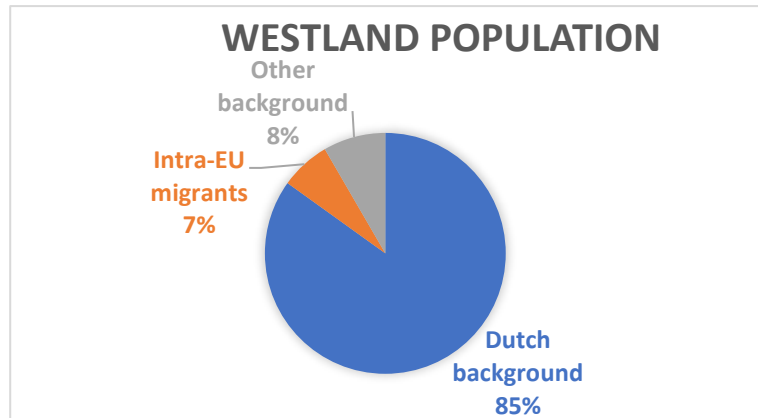


Figure 3: Population of Westland based on residents' origin, source: CBS, 2018.

member states (see figure 3, CBS, 2018). Contrary to Amsterdam's diverse migrant population, the population of Westland is mostly (85%) constituted by residents with a Dutch background. This percentage is higher than the national average of 72 percent (CBS, 2018). In this rather homogeneous context of origin, the presence of intra-EU labour migrants have become a structural part of the local street scene in Westland. Foreign licence plates and Eastern European products in the supermarket are common practice in the towns of Westland.

The presence of intra-EU labour migrants in Westland is strongly related to the region's greenhouse horticulture. The Westland region has a long history in agriculture and its contemporary economy still largely depends on the sector. Around 83 percent of the agricultural land in Westland is destined for greenhouse horticulture (Cremers, 2018). The greenhouse sector provides around 25.000 jobs in the municipality of which half consist of manual work in the greenhouses (Bonjour et al., 2015). Other positions provided by Westland's greenhouse farming involve work in logistics, marketing, automatic machinery and engineering (Noordhuizen & Razenberg, 2016).

Labour migrants from other EU member states are predominantly recruited for the hard, physical jobs in the green houses, for which qualifications are rather irrelevant (Cremers, 2018). This means that the employment of intra-EU migrants in the municipality of Westland generally involve low paid and low-skilled jobs. For the employers of the greenhouse sector in Westland the right mentality of their employees is key (Policy Advisor II, 2019; Bonjour et al., 2015). This entails a high motivation, flexibility, speed and reliability in showing up, since the employers deal with fresh goods and time pressure. Mostly citizens from Central and Eastern European countries (>90%) are

employed in Westland's greenhouse sector (Noordhuizen & Razenberg, 2016). Until date, Dutch job seekers have not shown to be eager to fulfil the jobs in the greenhouses or their mentality has not fit the employers' need of motivated and fast employees (Bonjour et al., 2015). Therefore, the contribution of labour migrants to the local economy is substantial and has been acknowledged by the local authorities (Westland municipality, 2013).

6.1. Policy process

The policies for intra-EU migrants in Westland are aimed at housing, registration, information provision and participation in the local society (Policy Advisor II, 2019; Westland municipality, 2018; Bonjour et al., 2015; Regioplan, 2015; Westland municipality, 2013; Westland municipality, 2012). In 2009 the municipal council passed a motion stating that the labour migrants in Westland possess the same rights and duties as Dutch citizens of Westland and should be treated equally. With this motion the municipality explicitly acknowledges the European principle of equal treatment of EU nationals.

This means that policies restricted to housing were no longer sufficient (Westland municipality, 2013). The municipality started with actively encouraging registration of intra-EU labour migrants at the predecessor of the *Basic Person Registration* (BRP), the *GBA*. In collaboration with temporary employment agencies the municipality of Westland developed an accelerated group registration to increase the number of registered migrants at the authorities. This step is in line with the passed motion of 2009, in which efforts are made to increase the equal status of Dutch and intra-EU migrants in Westland.

In 2012, the local authorities of Westland initiated the *Information Point for Labour Migrants* (IPA). This initiative is created to provide labour migrants in Westland with a place where they can ask their questions or raise concerns about their stay in the Netherlands (Westland municipality, 2013). The employees of the information point do not handle the issues themselves but are able to redirect the migrant to agencies and organisations or forward migrants' signals about exploitation to agencies responsible for enforcement. The employee of the information point is proficient in multiple languages, smoothing the communication with labour migrants (Bonjour et al., 2015). During the group registrations an introductory presentation is given by the employee of the information point, highlighting the implications of registration for the labour migrants.

Additionally, the information point provides intra-EU migrants with information about Dutch language courses, although a waiting list for the courses is currently in place.

The housing of labour migrants in Westland had already received political attention before the 2009 motion. In 2008, the council passed a housing policy for labour migrants. The policy document and its appendix in 2012 describe the tightness in the housing market and the desirability and urge of proper housing for labour migrants, in accordance with the 2009 motion. The council specified in 2011 that the following year 2000 beds must have been realised for labour migrants in Westland (Westland municipality, 2012). However, until this day the plan has not been executed. In 2017 an action program and taskforce have been set up to enable the goal of realising 2000 beds for labour migrants. The municipality, LTO Glaskracht Westland and Westlandse Vereniging van Uitzenders (WVU) have worked on a policy framework for the realisation of housing locations (Westland municipality, 2018).

Participation in the local society is another focus point for Westland's council. This includes learning the Dutch language, contact with one's neighbours and membership of a local club or association (Bonjour et al., 2015). Several employers provide language trainings for their migrant labour force, also the municipality offers a Dutch course in return for small fee, which currently holds a waiting list (Policy Advisor II, 2019). Specifically participation in local club life is introduced in the 2014 'Participation-declaration Pilot' (Regioplan, 2015). The pilot elements were added to the accelerated group procedure. The pilot included meetings in which information was given about the migrants' rights and duties, learning the Dutch language and norms in society. Westland's main focus area of the pilot was the introduction of the intra-EU migrants into local social (club) life (Regioplan, 2015). Despite the slightly disappointing attendance of the organised events, the pilot resulted in participation of intra-EU migrants in neighbourhood prevention teams, volunteering in the local petting zoo and a Polish football team has been founded. Nevertheless the municipality wishes to encounter more participation (Policy Advisor II, 2019; Regioplan, 2015).

6.2. Analysis

6.2.1. Rational

The rational perspective has been traceable in parts of the policy process. The municipality is aware of the large share of low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Westland and

targets its policies for intra-EU migrants accordingly. Westland’s policy is directed at low-skilled labour and the municipality actively conducts analyses based on the existing data about the local intra-EU migrants (Policy Advisor II, 2019). Furthermore, knowledge and cost-benefit considerations have informed policy processes concerning registration and information provision.

The municipality’s knowledge about a specific low-skilled intra-EU migrants’ policy problem has resulted in the development of a tailor-made registration procedure. The issue of non-registration is especially large among low-skilled intra-EU migrants. Contrary to high-skilled intra-EU migrants with high incomes, potentially benefitting from the tax reduction scheme, the low-skilled migrants do not have an interest in registration since it will increase their costs with municipal and water board taxes. Registration is also not necessary to qualify for allowances, which are based on either work or registration. Additionally, registration at the local authorities is not encouraged by the employers since they risk the loss of many valuable working hours, because of time-consuming bureaucratic procedures (Bonjour et al., 2015).

The registration avoidance of intra-EU migrants resulted merely in costs for the municipality (Table 3). It implies a lack of reliable data about the local population, which is considered necessary in the development of policies (Noordhuizen & Razenberg, 2016). Furthermore, the lack of registration implies avoidance of municipal taxes used for local facilities (Policy Advisor II, 2019). The municipality is also deprived of funding from the Dutch Municipal Fund for these inhabitants. The non-registration issue is also considered undesirable because the costs of municipal facilities is paid by those citizens who are registered in Westland (Bonjour et al., 2015). The benefits of registration clearly outweigh the costs for the municipality (Table 4).

Table 4: *Cost-benefit analysis non-registration issue*

COSTS	BENEFITS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>deprived funds from the Dutch Municipal Funds</i> • <i>lack of proper knowledge for a large share of the local population</i> • <i>municipal facilities (water and board taxes) only paid by the registered citizens</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>no benefits for the municipality</i>

Table 5: *Cost-benefit analysis accelerated group registration*

COSTS	BENEFITS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>development of the registration procedure</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>more knowledge about the local intra-EU migrants</i> • <i>receiving the appropriate funds from the Dutch Municipal Funds that proportionate to the citizens</i> • <i>higher reception of municipal facilities (water and board taxes)</i>

The accelerated group registration has significantly increased the amount of registrations. Between the start of the new procedure in June 2011 and 2015 over 8000 labour migrants have registered at the local authorities of Westland (Noordhuizen & Razenberg, 2016). The process has received national attention, and it has been granted financial means by the ministries of Interior and Kingdom Relations and Social Affairs and Employment to transfer Westland's *best practice* to municipalities throughout the country.

The municipality also acknowledged the necessity of information provision for their European migrants. The Information Point for Labour Migrants has been an initiative by the municipality to serve the basic information needs of the low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Westland. It includes the presence of an employee proficient in several languages, including native languages of the labour migrants, which is in accordance with research recommendations stating that especially low-skilled intra-EU migrants need clear information provision, ideally available in native languages (Razenberg 2015; Klooster Onderzoek & Advies, 2014).

The rational perspective indicates that Westland's policy for intra-EU migrants is specifically targeted at low-skilled migrants. Furthermore, during the development of the registration procedure and the information point knowledge, either local or scientific, has significantly contributed to the establishment of the local policy for intra-EU migrants. Both policy instruments fit in the policy direction that was initiated back in 2009 and are therefore considered single loop learning. Yet, ascribing a key role to local knowledge appears more appropriate in this context of policymaking than to crucial input from scientific knowledge.

6.2.2. Political

In Westland, power factors have been traceable, including an advocacy coalition based on shared interests in low-skilled intra-EU migrants for the local economy, political sensitivity and local resistance against new housing for intra-EU migrants.

In most policies for intra-EU migrants the same actors are involved. The municipality, temporary employment agencies or their umbrella organisations, and other employers are engaged in the development and implementation of policies for low-skilled intra-EU migrants. The interdependency between the actors is reflected at the development of the accelerated group registration, which was enabled by close cooperation between employers and actors from the municipality. The municipality acknowledged the interests of the employers by reducing the time of the registration process. While at the same time, the municipality depended on the employers' power and knowledge about intra-EU migrants to effectively implement the procedure.

The municipality also cooperates with employers in the participation pilot since the first part of the pilot was facilitated in the group registration sessions. Furthermore, close collaboration between the local authorities and employers' organisations exists in the development of new housing locations for intra-EU migrants, which is reflected in the change of secondary aspects by implementing a taskforce and action program for housing (Westland municipality, 2018). Thus, a balance of power has been established between the municipality and the employers, who's shared beliefs determine the policy process.

Their shared beliefs are clearly described in the policy documents, namely the economic interest or even dependency of labour migrants for the local economy. This shared economic interest has led to a relatively stable advocacy coalition regarding low-skilled intra-EU migrants. Nevertheless, two points of interest of specifically striking. One is the absolute absence of organisations advocating for or representing the intra-EU migrants in Westland. The second point is the failure of the advocacy coalition to realize new housing locations.

First, the lack of advocacy on behalf of the intra-EU migrants. The absence of any form of representation of intra-EU migrants in Westland means that the power balance between the governance actors is not challenged by different values. Although the interests and needs of low-skilled employees in Westland are likely to differ from those of the employers, the policy process is limited to talking about intra-EU migrants rather

than with actors concerned (Dijk, 2011; Policy Advisor II, 2019). The municipality perceives this as undesirable, yet no direct steps are taken to alter the situation.

Secondly, the thus far unsuccessful attempts to establish 2000 short-stay locations for intra-EU labour migrants in Westland cannot be fully explained by the established advocacy coalition for low-skilled migrants but is rather connected to political sensitivity. The sensitivity for immigrants' presence is reflected in the results from the latest elections, earlier this year. The new right-wing party 'Forum for Democracy' that holds radical opinions about immigration, gained most votes in Westland (Trouw, 2019).

The political sensitivity about immigrants is expressed in discussions about labour market positions. Despite the low unemployment rate in Westland, discussions about labour migrants' who 'take jobs' from the native population exists also in Westland (Bonjour et al., 2015). For the realization of necessary housing for low-skilled intra-EU migrants, the sensitivity is translated in local resistance. In terms of governance, local resistance has been mentioned as one of the main risks for successful realization of new housing (Westland municipality, 2018).

Altogether, this section showed the municipality and employers are the main actors in policymaking for intra-EU migrants in Westland, without engaging intra-EU migrants in the process. The cooperation is based on the shared interest in the contribution of low-skilled intra-EU migrants in the local economy. The political sensitivity and local resistance in Westland indicated that the policy process is not static and predictable, but it is a rather dynamic, uncertain process in which new actors can complicate the policy process.

6.2.3. Cultural

The framing of low-skilled intra-EU migrants by the municipality in Westland is clear. The labour migrants contribute significantly to Westland's economy (Westland municipality, 2018; Rijnveeën, 2017; Westland municipality, 2013; Westland municipality, 2012). The discourses differ slightly ranging from 'dependency' to 'significant contribution' of intra-EU labour migrants 'to keep our economy running' (Westland municipality, 2018; Rijnveeën, 2017). To support the statement further, an expert meeting in 2012 is mentioned during which the participants have expressed the 'obvious need of labour migrants in Westland', now and in the future (Westland municipality, 2013). Thus,

framing of low-skilled intra-EU migrants' necessity is evident. However, the translation of the frame into policy measurements is rather unclear. Yet, housing policy provides an insight of the input of framing during the policy process.

In the latest policy framework for the realisation of new housing locations for low-skilled intra-EU migrants, traces of framing are found to overcome controversy about the housing policy. The municipality of Westland (2018) stresses that the timing and nature of communication with to the local residents is vital for a successful completion of the housing program. With this statement, the governance actors appear to be aware that the irresolvable controversy between the local resistance and the need for housing for labour migrants can be solved by good framing. To accomplish a successful communication with the local residents, a visually attractive eight-steps-plan is constructed to get all professionals at the same page.

The cultural perspectives shows that the municipality is engaged in policy framing for low-skilled intra-EU migrants. Not only the need for labour migrants is expressed, also the need for careful framing in communication with the local residents is acknowledged by the municipality. Despite the local policy framing for intra-EU migrants, no frame shifts have been found that can explain policy changes. The following perspective offers complementary mechanisms which can provide explanations for policy change.

6.2.4. Institutional

The institutional perspective was traceable in the empirical data. In general, path-dependency for intra-EU migrant policymaking in Westland is characterized by a limited group of engaged actors, who's cooperation is based on the vested interest in low-skilled intra-EU migrants. This process of negative feedback derives from the policy legacy of the registration procedure. During the policy process employers and municipal actors closely cooperated regarding low-skilled intra-EU migrants. This policy process has created opportunity structures for subsequent policymaking for intra-EU migrants in Westland. The dialogue between the municipality and the temporary employment sector has been institutionalized and the vested roles of policy actors have been rather unchallenged ever since (Rijneveen, 2017).

Nevertheless, signs of positive feedback mechanisms have recently emerged. Despite the relative stability of the policy processes for intra-EU migrants, policy actors have been challenged through negative media attention. An article in one of the Dutch

major news outlets, *NRC*, has pointed at exploitation of intra-EU labour migrants in Westland by ill-intentioned temporary employment agencies (*NRC*, 2019). Disproportioned high rents and bad living conditions are among the accusations in the news article. The new claims about the living conditions in Westland has caused engagement of more actors, including the Polish ambassador and the Dutch minister of Social Affairs. Thus, the accusations from *NRC* has not only challenged the established policy stability, it also drew in more actors in the policy process.

The media attention has resulted in a letter to Dutch parliament by the ministers of Social and Interior Affairs and several secretaries of state on June 21 last (*Koolmees et al.*, 2019). It involves an approach to tackle abuses regarding intra-EU labour migrants. For Westland specifically, the direct implications of the approach are two-fold. In collaboration with the ministry of Social Affairs a regional pilot will be carried out to find out how the information provision for labour migrants' rights can be increased, as well as to encourage migrants to claim these rights. Furthermore, the national government has appointed an amount of 400.000 euros to realize a housing program for intra-EU labour migrants in a geographical including Westland (*Koolmees et al.*, 2019).

Altogether, the policy process for low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Westland has a path-dependent character. Yet, national media attention about local circumstances of intra-EU migrants in Westland has generated a process of positive feedback. The claims of an external actor, *NRC*, has altered the stable and limited composition of actors in Westland, by engagement of more actors. On the grounds of the parliamentary letter, non-incremental changes will occur in Westland in the following years, with the involvement of the ministry.

Table 6: *Explanatory Mechanisms, Westland*

	Explanatory mechanism	Indicators	Description	(Y/N)
RATIONAL	Key role of knowledge	Availability of adequate knowledge	The municipality possesses knowledge about their intra-EU migrants and conducts additional analyses with this data. Policy for intra-EU migrants is aimed at low-skilled labour migrants accordingly.	Y
		Cost-benefit analysis	The policy process indicates how in a low-skilled intra-EU migrant policy problem the benefits outweigh the costs of new registration procedures.	Y
		Key role research/knowledge institutes	Even though local knowledge has strongly influenced the course of the policy process, a key role for knowledge institutes has not been identified.	N
		Single loop learning	The introduction of the accelerated group registration and the information point are instruments to achieve the policy goal of equal treatment (e.g. knowing the rights and duties and treated as a local citizen).	Y
		Double loop learning	No adjustments of the policy goal itself have been found.	N
POLITICAL	Advocacy coalitions	Group(s) of actors across organisations	Employers and municipal actors are the main actors in the policy process.	Y
		Shared policy beliefs among actors	The employers and the municipality share an economic interest in low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Westland.	Y
		Policy change in secondary aspects	Policy change has not occurred between coalitions, since for instance there is no advocacy for the needs of intra-EU migrants themselves. Policy change is limited to secondary aspects.	Y
CULTURAL	Framing	Causal story for persuasion	The municipality formulated a policy frame that stresses the need for low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Westland. Furthermore, the municipality is aware of the role that framing can play to overcome obstacles in the realization of housing for labour migrants.	Y
		Dramatization	The policy frame for low-skilled intra-EU migrants is supported by references to an expert meeting.	Y

		Policy change as frame shift	A shift in policy framing has not been observed.	N
INSTITUTIONAL	Path dependency & negative feedback	Policy monopolists	The policy process has a path-dependent character in which employers and municipal actors maintain stability. The number of actors is therefore rather limited.	Y
		Incremental changes	Minor adjustments, such as the introduction of the housing taskforce for labour migrants are generally observed.	Y
	Positive feedback	Image manipulation	New claims by the news outlet <i>NRC</i> have challenged the policy image by stressing the bad living conditions of low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Westland.	Y
		Increasing no. of actors involved	The national media attention has generated a process in which more and more actors got engaged, such as the Dutch minister of Social Affairs.	Y
		Non-incremental changes	The process of positive feedback is likely to result in non-incremental changes in Westland's policy for low-skilled intra-EU migrants. However, no plans have been executed yet at this point.	N

7. Comparative chapter

Despite the dissimilarities in policies and the diversity in skill level of intra-EU migrants between Westland and Amsterdam, the two study cases have showed some similarities in the policy process. This chapter will compare the results of the analyses by examining the previously set expectations with the empirical data and addressing similarities and differences between Amsterdam and Westland. A graphical presentation of the comparison can be found in table 7.

Rational expectation

- The municipalities are expected to be aware of the differentiated skill level of the intra-EU migrants residing in the municipality. Additionally, indicators of a key role of knowledge in the policy process for intra-EU migrants' policies are expected to be found. These include the use of cost-benefit analysis in the decision-making process, a key role of research or knowledge institutes in policymaking and policy change through the process of single- and double loop learning. -

In both municipalities knowledge has played a role in the policy process for intra-EU migrants. Most rational indicators have been found in reality. Westland possesses knowledge about the skill level of intra-EU migrants on the grounds of their low-skilled labour and Amsterdam executes a 'EU-migrant' monitor in which data about intra-EU migrants are gathered including skill level indicators. But the knowledge derives from different sources. Local knowledge about a low-skilled migrant policy problem, reflected in the cost-benefit analysis has contributed to the development of the first policies for low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Westland. In Amsterdam however, the role of knowledge mainly derives from research findings. Both municipalities were engaged in single-loop learning, for high-skilled intra-EU migrants and language in Amsterdam and targeting low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Westland. Following research recommendations, the introduction of a new policy goal in Amsterdam, reaching low-skilled intra-EU migrants indicates a process of double-loop learning.

In sum, both municipalities rely on knowledge for their policies for intra-EU migrants. Westland's knowledge is primarily based on local knowledge about the policy problem, whereas Amsterdam relies on external research to a larger extent. The role of skill level is expressed in knowledge about the diverse or non-diverse skill levels of intra-

EU migrants in the municipality, in respectively Amsterdam and Westland; and in awareness of both municipalities that policy problems for low-skilled migrants need specific policy responses.

Although the empirical data indicates a large congruence with the expectation, some critical remarks should be made. Knowledge does not explain why certain policy measures are implemented and others are not. Hence, merely a part of the policy process for intra-EU migrants in Westland and Amsterdam can be explained through the rational approach on the policy process.

Political expectation

- Advocacy coalitions are expected to shape the policy process for intra-EU migrants. More specifically, coalitions are expected to be found in which actors share values and interests about high-or low-skilled intra-EU migrants, at least at the policy core level. In this respect, policy change is primarily expected to occur within one advocacy coalition by adjustment of secondary aspects to achieve the shared value or goal for either high or low-skilled intra-EU migrants. –

In the political perspective the policy process for Amsterdam and Westland show clear similarities. All indicators of the political perspective are found in both cases. Both municipalities are engaged with business actors whom they share economic interests with. Moreover, the analysis indicates that policy change mainly occurs within these advocacy coalitions, at the level of secondary aspects.

The outcome of the policy process are rather different however because Amsterdam's advocacy coalition focusses on high-skilled intra-EU migrants, whereas Westland's coalition targets low-skilled intra-EU migrants.

Another difference between Westland and Amsterdam relates to the differentiated skill levels present in Amsterdam. Whereas Westland merely targets low-skilled intra-EU migrants, Amsterdam mainly focusses on high-skilled migrants, but also has a low-skilled intra-EU population that does not have such a strong and vested advocacy coalition.

Economic interest in either high or low-skilled intra-EU migrants appear as the prime drivers for the policy process regarding intra-EU migrants in Westland and Amsterdam. Therefore congruence have been found between the expectation and the observations in Westland and Amsterdam. Hence, the political perspective attributes a

large role to intra-EU migrants' skill level in explaining the different policy outcomes of Westland and Amsterdam.

Cultural expectation

-The municipalities are expected to have constructed diverging policy frames for policy problems of high and low-skilled intra-EU migrants. In order to overcome policy controversies the usage of policy frames are expected, consisting of a causal, coherent and normative story, supported by facts, experts and a visually attractive presentation. Policy change is expected to coincide with a shift of the policy frame regarding high and low-skilled intra-EU migrants' policy issues. -

The analyses on policy framing indicates substantial differences between the municipalities. In Amsterdam none of the indicators of framing were found. Yet, framing does occur in the policymaking for intra-EU migrants but holds no relation with skill level. Moreover, media framing of high and low-skilled intra-EU migrants affect the policy makers effort to create differentiated and balanced policies for intra-EU migrants. Nevertheless, media framing is not covered in this research. Thus, little congruence is found between the expectation and the observations of the Amsterdam case.

Indications of policy framing in the case of Westland however appear prevalent. The municipality is engaged in policy framing for low-skilled intra-EU migrants. The need for the migrants' contribution to the local economy is stressed and supported by references to an expert meeting. Also the necessity for careful framing in communication with the local residents is addressed by the municipality. Yet, no traces of frame shifts have been discovered.

The cultural perspective provides a specific insight in the significance of interpretations and social constructs in the policy process. Especially the stressed relevance of communication with the local residents in successfully completing the housing program for low-skilled intra-EU migrants shows how framing is applied in the policy process to overcome irresolvable policy issues. Even though no frame shift has been identified, the case of Westland shows that policy framing of low-skilled intra-EU migrants occurs, the expectation is therefore partially confirmed by the observed data.

Institutional expectation

-It is expected that the policies for intra-EU migrants are predominantly shaped by negative and positive feedback processes in which different policy paths are followed for high and low-skilled intra-EU migrants. Incremental changes and policy monopoly actors reflect negative feedback, whereas non-incremental change, the involvement of an increasing number of actors and image manipulation indicate positive feedback. -

The policy processes of Westland and Amsterdam show similarities in the institutional analysis. The processes for high-skilled intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam and low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Westland both are largely characterized by path-dependency, in which the occurrence of incremental changes is prevalent. Another similarity between the cases involves the processes of positive feedback in Amsterdam and Westland. Both processes address low-skilled intra-EU migrants and their poor circumstances and necessity for governmental change. In Westland attention was raised by a media outlet, in Amsterdam research institutes have initiated a changing policy image.

The results of the analyses show that all indicators of the institutional perspective have been found in Amsterdam, whereas all but one (non-incremental change) have been identified in the case of Westland. Hence, the empirical data on the policy process largely confirms the institutional expectation.

Yet, the main differences between Amsterdam and Westland involve the targeted groups of intra-EU migrants. In Westland both the negative and positive feedback processes engage low-skilled intra-EU migrants, whereas in Amsterdam negative feedback mechanisms have been attributed to high-skilled intra-EU migrants and the policy process for low-skilled intra-EU migrants were subject to positive feedback.

Thus, the analyses of institutional factors have shown that diverging skills levels of intra-EU migrants in Westland (low-skilled) and Amsterdam (high- and low-skilled) are significant in shaping path-dependency and positive feedback, and therefore in explaining the different policy outcomes of the cases.

Table 7: Comparisons, per perspective

RATIONAL	POLITICAL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significant role of knowledge for both municipalities Amsterdam: scientific knowledge Westland: local knowledge • Knowledge about the different skill levels intra-EU migrants Amsterdam: high and low-skilled Westland: low-skilled 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amsterdam: strong advocacy coalition for high-skilled intra-EU, less strong coalition for low-skilled • Westland: strong advocacy coalition for low-skilled intra-EU migrants • Both strong coalitions based on economic interest in respectively high and low-skilled intra-EU migrants
CULTURAL	INSTITUTIONAL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amsterdam: no indicators of policy framing for high or low-skilled intra-EU migrants • Westland: strong policy frame for necessity low-skilled intra-EU migrants for the local economy and acknowledgement of framing as a tool in the policy process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amsterdam: path-dependency, negative feedback for policy process high-skilled intra-EU migrants; positive feedback for low-skilled intra-EU migrants • Westland: path dependent character of the policy process, both negative and positive feedback engage low-skilled intra-EU migrants

8. Conclusion

This thesis examined the dissimilar case study of contemporary integration policies for intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam and Westland, by analysing how intra-EU immigrants' skill levels influence the process of developing local intra-EU migrant integration policies. This is important because the study highlights the diversity among intra-EU migrants and provides a better understanding of its influence in local policymaking. Hence, the analysis on socio-economic diversity among intra-EU migrants adds a 'diversity lens' to the local turn within local integration policy, It does so by comparing two dissimilar cases within the same national context on their policies for a large group of immigrants in the Netherlands, intra-EU migrants, for which issues arise at the local level and at the national attention in the immigration debate is hardly paid.

Since the *Schengen Agreement* in 1985 facilitated free movement of people within European member states, and the EU enlargements of 2004 and 2007 increased the number of annually arriving intra-EU migrants in the Netherlands significantly, local governments respond differently to their European newcomers. The main focus of the municipality of Amsterdam is on increasing equal chances for all citizens of Amsterdam by providing free language courses. Furthermore, collaboration with INAmsterdam and local migrant and volunteer organisations are considered essential in reaching intra-EU migrants for the purpose of information provision. In the municipality of Westland housing and registration seem the prime focus areas of policies for intra-EU migrants. As a result of the striking difference between these local approaches the question has arisen *of how intra-EU immigrants' skill levels influence the process of developing local intra-EU migrant integration policies?*

To provide a meaningful answer to this question, this thesis applied four theoretical perspectives commonly used in comparative public policy research. The rational, political, cultural and institutional perspectives have been utilized to grasp the complexity of the policy process with regard to the research question. Expectations that fit the logic of each theoretical perspective have been formulated in order to compare them to the field observations. This method of congruence analysis enables a deeper theoretical understanding than the usage of traditional hypotheses. The empirical findings of both municipalities have been analysed and compared through the deductive approach of direct content analysis. The analysis indicates which theoretical perspectives offer most explanatory power.

The conclusion can be drawn that the skill level of intra-EU migrants shows to be correlated with the policy processes. However, this causality seems to be complex as the analysis indicated that not in all perspectives skill level is significantly related to the policy processes. The political perspective shows most explanatory power, in combination with the institutional perspective and in a lesser degree the rational perspective in the case of Amsterdam. In Westland, the political perspective has also proven most strongly correlated with intra-EU migrants' skill level, whereas this perspective is complemented by aspects of all other perspectives. Starting with the perspective with the strongest correlation of skill level and policy process, the political perspective.

The analysis of the policy process for intra-EU migrants showed that economic interests for businesses and the municipality in high-skilled migrants in Amsterdam and in low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Westland influence the course of the formulation and implementation of policies significantly. On the one hand, in Amsterdam, the shared interests are reflected by the financial investments, the formation of INAmsterdam and the one-stop-shop which all aim to attract and retain high-skilled intra-EU migrants. On the other hand, in Westland, the shared interests in low-skilled intra-EU migrants are demonstrated through the collaboration of the municipality with employers which is characterized by the associated actors' interdependency. This means, that the municipality needs the employers for successful policy implementation for instance in reaching the labour migrants. Therefore, the employers' interests are taken into account in the policy making as reflected in the process for accelerated group registration.

The political perspective is complemented by the institutional mechanisms of path-dependency and negative feedback which add factors that explain the stability of the policy coalitions. Both the processes for high-skilled intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam and low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Westland follow the established policy paths. Skill level also plays a role in the policy processes as demonstrated by the positive feedback mechanisms where only low-skilled migrants are addressed. The positive feedback in the case of low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam shows that policy for low-skilled EU citizens is not developed because of economic interests or other political factors, but because of new evidence from external actors.

This evidence came from research findings which indicates that the rational perspective is being utilized in the policy process of Amsterdam. Similarly, in Westland knowledge also contributed to the policy development. Local knowledge about the

specific low-skilled migrant policy problem of non-registration initiated the policy collaboration of the municipality with the employers. As discussed above, this cooperation is based on vested interests and interdependency. The policy process for low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Westland may be best explained by political factors and its continuation by institutional factors, yet the rational perspective provides an explanation for the initial start of the collaboration between the municipality and employers.

Finally, most dissimilarities in terms of indicators were found in the cultural perspective. This is related to the absence of skill level in policy framing in Amsterdam. In Westland policy framing regarding low-skilled intra-EU migrants has been found, including the emphasized significance of communication with the local residents for successful completion of the housing program for low-skilled intra-EU migrants. Hence, this shows how framing is applied in the policy process to overcome irresolvable policy issues. Even though the analysis results indicate the presence of framing in Westland, it does not provide a strong explanation for the policy outcomes. Therefore, the cultural perspective has been a complementary factor to the policy process (in Westland) or a rather insignificant aspect to determine the role of intra-EU migrants' skill level in the policy process (in Amsterdam).

The analysis on the policy process for intra-EU migrants' policies have led to a number of policy recommendations. First, an information point for low-skilled (intra-EU) migrants is recommended in Amsterdam and more generally in Dutch municipalities. The analysis of Amsterdam showed there is a need for proper information provision among lower-skilled intra-EU migrants, although they appear hard to reach through the existing ways of municipal communication. A physical information point can solve this issue and increase the self-reliant character of the low-skilled intra-EU migrant. The positive response among intra-EU migrants in Westland about the information point shows that the initiative is well received and frequently used, which indicates the positive outcomes of the installation of an information point.

Second, engagement of intra-EU migrants' representatives in the policy process is recommended. This engagement is perceived vital in addressing the needs for intra-EU migrants within the local society. In both municipalities the intra-EU migrants entail a large share of the total population. In Westland intra-EU migrants are not advocated for in any form. Therefore, it is recommended for the local authorities to actively work on labour migrants' representation.

Third, it is recommended to address housing of intra-EU migrants within the municipality. A first step is monitoring the housing problems, how many intra-EU migrants are affected by the tight housing market? This is especially vital information in the case of Amsterdam, because non-registration is likely among those intra-EU migrants who cannot find legal housing and are missing in the official data. Moreover, information provision about the tight housing market is recommended. Lastly, prioritizing housing for intra-EU migrants is recommended, especially in a case like Westland where estimates about the amount of needed housing locations are yet available and the contribution of low-skilled intra-EU migrants is perceived essential for the local economy.

Besides recommendations, limitations of the research are important to address. To start with, it is important to mention that the numbers of intra-EU migrants in both study cases reflect those migrants who are officially registered at the authorities. Especially in Amsterdam, circumstances such as the tight housing market may affect the registration numbers. Moreover, as reflected in the analysis of Westland, non-registration is a prevalent policy issue especially regarding low-skilled intra-EU migrants. This means that the number of low-skilled intra-EU migrants in Amsterdam may be significantly higher than the numbers in the provided data.

Furthermore, due to European and national regulations the local policies for intra-EU migrants cannot encompass a comprehensive policy framework, since group specific approaches are not in line with the national immigration approach and the European principles of equal treatment and non-discrimination of EU-citizens. For local policymakers, these structures provide opportunities as well as constraints in policymaking for intra-EU migrants. The implications for this research are that the policies for intra-EU migrants are often not explicitly addressed as such by the local authorities. That means that this research may not have covered every single policy aspect concerning intra-EU migrants in Westland and Amsterdam.

Lastly, the differences in size of the municipalities of Amsterdam and Westland should be addressed. Amsterdam which is the capital and the largest municipality of the Netherlands, and Westland that is around six times smaller than Amsterdam. This implies that many factors such as the diverse population composition in Amsterdam could affect the course of the policy process for intra-EU migrants. However, these factors do not take part in this research, because of the limited time frame in which this study is conducted.

Yet, further research on the role of intra-EU migrants' diversity in local immigrant integration research is recommended, specifically by comparing cases of similar size.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Informed consent form for the interviewees (Dutch)

Informed Consent

Research project: Local Intra-EU mobility integration policies

Onderzoeker: Marit Staal, m.staal@student.eur.nl

Master student in *Governance of Migration and Diversity* (Bestuurskunde), aan de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam

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Beste deelnemer,

Deze informatie is bedoeld om u te informeren over het onderzoek. Daarbij is het belangrijk om te vermelden dat u de deelname op elk gewenst moment kunt onderbreken.

Dit onderzoek is onderdeel van het afstudeerproject voor de master *Governance of Migration and Diversity* aan de Erasmus Universiteit. Het doel van het onderzoek is om inzicht te krijgen in de verschillen, dan wel overeenkomsten tussen het lokaal beleid voor EU-migranten van twee of drie gemeenten in Nederland.. Om de drijfveren van lokaal beleid voor EU-migranten te begrijpen wordt in dit onderzoek een analyse uitgevoerd van beleidsdocumenten en worden interviews afgenomen.

Met uw goedkeuring wordt het interview opgenomen. Deze opname wordt uitsluitend gebruikt voor de afronding van dit onderzoek en is enkel toegankelijk voor de onderzoeker en diens supervisor. Na een periode van 12 maanden worden de gegevens verwijderd. Deelname aan dit onderzoek is anoniem. Uw naam zal niet geassocieerd worden met het onderzoek en is alleen bekend bij de onderzoeker.

De deelnemer heeft het recht om: de vergaarde gegevens van zijn of haar deelname in te zien, om de verwerking van persoonlijke gegevens te limiteren, om een klacht in te dienen bij een superieure autoriteit en om de deelname op elk moment in te trekken.

Mocht u vragen hebben na het interview over de aard van het onderzoek of uw deelname, twijfel dan niet om contact met mij op te nemen. Na afronding van het onderzoek deel ik, indien gewenst, graag mijn bevindingen met u.

Handtekening van de deelnemer:

Datum:

Appendix B: Interview questions Amsterdam (Dutch)

Er worden gegevens verzameld over EU-migranten in de monitor EU-migranten

1. Kun je aangeven hoe de gegevens uit de monitor worden gebruikt in beleidsvorming voor EU-migranten?
2. Zijn er organisaties die zich inzetten voor of namens EU-migranten in de gemeente?
3. Zijn er verschillende organisaties die zich specifiek inzetten voor high-skilled en low-skilled EU-migranten? (zoals bijvoorbeeld de partners van ‘The Amsterdam Talent Strategy’: ‘to establish Amsterdam as the ideal homebase for international talent’)

In het welcoming policies report staat dat de gemeente in 2015 beleid had voor high-skilled EU-migranten, maar niet nauwelijks voor low-skilled EU-migranten. Daarbij werd vermeld dat vnl. het bereiken van low-skilled migranten ingewikkeld was.

4. Is dat inmiddels veranderd? Zijn er stappen gezet om deze groep te bereiken?
5. Merk je dat stereotype beelden over EU-migranten in de media het lastig hebben gemaakt om een gedifferentieerd beleid te voeren voor EU-migranten?
6. Zijn er andere beleidsterreinen van kracht (bijvoorbeeld een algemene aanpak voor expats) die het beleid voor EU-migranten mogelijk maakt of juist belemmerd?
7. Denk je dat voorgaande immigratiestromen naar de gemeente hebben bijgedragen aan de beleidsvorming rond EU-migranten?

Appendix C: Interview questions Westland (Dutch)

1. Verzameld de gemeente gegevens over de EU-migranten in Westland? Wordt daarin onderscheid gemaakt tussen verschillende groepen arbeidsmigranten?
2. Is het beleid voor arbeidsmigranten specifiek gericht op low-skilled migranten?
3. Pilot participatieverklaring. In de evaluatie staat dat de gemeente Westland verdergaat met de activiteiten na de pilot. Met welke onderdelen gaat de gemeente verder?
4. Zijn er organisaties die zich inzetten voor of namens EU-migranten in de gemeente? (werkt de gemeente actief samen met migrantenorganisaties?)
5. In de vertaling van de Poolse webpagina Informatiepunt Arbeidsmigranten staat dat de gemeente taalcursussen aanbiedt. Om hoeveel plekken gaat dit ong. per jaar?
6. De gemeente maakt in de beleidsvisie arbeidsmigranten onderscheid tussen verschillende groepen arbeidsmigranten, waaronder tijdelijk/circulaire arbeidsmigranten.
7. Wanneer ziet de gemeente arbeidsmigranten niet meer als tijdelijk? Veranderd er dan iets in het beleid voor de migrant?
8. Zijn er andere beleidsterreinen van kracht (bijvoorbeeld een algemene aanpak voor expats) die het beleid voor EU-migranten mogelijk maakt of juist belemmerd?
9. Merk je dat stereotype beelden over EU-migranten in de media het lastig hebben gemaakt om een gedifferentieerd beleid te voeren voor EU-migranten? Heeft bijv. het artikel in NRC 'Hoe arbeidsmigranten worden uitgebuit in Nederland' invloed gehad op de beleidsvoering?
10. Denk je dat voorgaande immigratiestromen naar de gemeente hebben bijgedragen aan de beleidsvorming rond EU-migranten?
11. Ik las dat de gemeente een informatiepunt (IPA) heeft opgezet om arbeidsmigranten te bereiken en dat er een versnelde groepsinschrijving is ontwikkeld. Kun je iets zeggen over hoe deze beleidsinstrumenten tot stand zijn gekomen? Is de informatie van het Informatiepunt ook in andere talen beschikbaar dan in het Pools?