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Netherlands: Between quick emigration and
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solutions**

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Housing trajectories of EU-migrants in the Netherlands: Between quick emigration and shared living as temporary and permanent solutions

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Abstract

Many European countries have witnessed new immigration patterns in the past two decades through the gradual enlargement of the European Union. While migration motives and labour market positions of EU migrants are well-understood, relatively little is known about their housing positions in the hosting countries. Using sequence analyses and logistic regression on longitudinal register data from Statistics Netherlands, this paper examines the housing trajectories of EU migrants from seven countries in the Netherlands for an eight year period (2011-2019). Our results show that while housing trajectories vary substantially in terms of length of stay in the Netherlands and access to social housing, private renting and homeownership, sharing is at the center for all migrant groups, both as a temporary and permanent solution. Moreover, we show that varying housing trajectories can partially be explained through contrasting demographic and socio-economic profiles, yet even after controlling for such factors as income, age, and household composition some differences across country groupings persist.

Key words: *Housing Trajectories, Shared Housing, EU migration, Sequence Analysis, Housing Careers*

Introduction

Many European countries have witnessed a rise in new and more differentiated immigration in the past two decades through the gradual enlargement of the European Union and the law of free movement (Trenz & Triandafyllidou, 2017; Engbersen & Snel, 2013). Particularly the EU expansion towards Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries since 2004 as well as the Euro Crisis at the turn of the last decade have sparked more complex and dynamic intra-European migration processes. Amongst others, this has included work-related migration from central-eastern Europe to Western and Northern Europe. It also lead to the renewal of South to North migration, particularly of younger people looking for better employment prospects, new opportunities in higher education, or simply to be able to establish residential independence from parents or experience new life styles (e.g. Benson & O'Reilly, 2016; Maslova & King, 2020). The rise of intra-European migration has been staggering in some cases. In the Netherlands, for instance, about 25,000 immigrants from EU and EFTA (European Free Trade Association)

countries moved to the country in 2005. This number had increased to about 70,000 EU immigrants at the turn of the last decade. In 2019, almost 130,000 EU and EFTA migrants decided to move to The Netherlands (Statistics Netherlands, 2020).

Most researchers studying these intra-European migration patterns have focused on questions of (spatial) migration flows (where from, where to), immigrants' labor market outcomes, (return) migration motives, segregation as well as their integration processes more generally (e.g. Bolt et al. 2008; Magnusson Turner & Hedman, 2014; Saar & Saar, 2020). Yet, the housing positions and trajectories of these new immigrant groups have received relatively little attention in the literature¹. This is noteworthy for at least two reasons: First, adequate housing has long been understood as an integral part for the willingness and opportunities to invest oneself in a hosting country (e.g. Nygaard, 2011; Zorlu et al., 2014). Secondly, social inclusion as well as economic success can hardly be achieved under the conditions of poor housing (Abrahamsson et al., 2002; Magnusson Turner & Hedman, 2014; OECD, 2018), while, simultaneously, access to good quality housing may be stymied by failing integration processes. Indeed, numerous empirical studies have laid bare the often precarious housing positions and trajectories of non-European immigrants and refugees, which include unhealthy housing conditions, residential segregation in disadvantaged neighborhoods, as well as restricted access to homeownership (e.g. Borjas, 2002; Christophers & O' Sullivan, 2019; Finn & Mayock, 2021; Firang, 2019; Sinning, 2010; Usman et al. 2021; Uunk, 2017).

In parts, this lack of attention towards intra-European migrants might be related to an implicit assumption about the more generous legal migration framework and thus more equitable housing outcomes when moving abroad within the EU. However, cultural norms and economic standards vary substantially within Europe as well, meaning that the opportunities and outcomes on the housing markets in the hosting countries should vary significantly as well.

A few studies shed light on the role of shared housing among migrants as an option to cope with new emerging challenges such as affordability, housing shortages, rising housing costs, uncertain labour market positions and more (e.g. Baqai & Ward, 2020). It has also traditionally been important among international students (Fang & Van Liempt, 2021). Shared residence is important among young adults Europe (Arundel & Ronald, 2016; Heath et al, 2018), singles (Druta et al., 2021), young professionals (Bobek et al., 2020), low paid migrants (Lombard, 2021) or undocumented migrants (Balampanidis, 2020). Shared housing is often considered an 'in-between

¹ Some notable exceptions are: Engbersen & Snel, 2013; Lombart, 2021; Smith, 2015.

phase' and is associated with negative consequences such as lack of privacy, insecurity or unhealthy living conditions. However, it also has positive effects such as a security, stability in the face of loneliness, having meaningful relationships on a day-to-day basis or mitigating environmental impact (Druta et al., 2021). There appears to be much variation in shared-housing within Europe, where it is a relatively large sector in the UK and some Southern Europe countries while being smaller in countries like the Netherlands and Germany (Arundel & Ronald, 2016). The literature has hinted at sharing being particularly important for international migrants but there is little knowledge for which type of migrants and whether it is used as a landing site, a transitory tenure, or a permanent housing solution.

Our study addresses these gaps in the literature by exploring the variegated housing trajectories² of intra-EU migrants in the Netherlands. We particularly seek to investigate (i) whether there is a disposition towards specific housing outcomes running through the migrants' country of origin, as well as (ii) the importance of shared housing in shaping post-migration housing outcomes. In contrast to more traditional approaches in which migrant housing outcomes – most often of a single migrant group – are compared to the native population our study thus seeks to explicate and explain differences between and within different migrant groups.

Using longitudinal register data from Statistics Netherlands we follow the housing trajectories of seven EU migrant groups (Polish, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Bulgarian, British) in the period 2012 to 2019. We apply sequence analysis to map variegations herein, differentiating between moves into and between dependent shared residences³, (independent) social rented housing, private rented housing, homeownership and emigration⁴ to a third country. This analysis leads to the definition of eight 'housing trajectory clusters', ranging from, amongst others, *quick emigration to permanent shared residence* and *transitions into homeownership*. In a second step we apply logistic regression to explore how the migrants' nationalities as well as their demographic and socio-economic profiles tie in with these eight trajectory clusters.

² We use the term 'housing trajectories' to describe the different stages which households progress in 2011-2019. We relate this to tenure position (renting vs. owning) but also whether the individual lives as a dependent or independent household, and whether the migrant stays in or leaves the country. Similar to the contemporary conceptualization of the term 'housing career' (Arundel & Lennartz, 2020) and the alternative concept of a 'housing pathway' (Clapham, 2002) there is no predefined path towards a final stage, which in practice would often be assumed to be homeownership. Instead, these notions would be used interchangeably; however, for the sake of clarity we will use the notion of a 'trajectory' throughout the text.

³ An individual is considered to live in shared housing when they are not registered as a separate, independent household in the Dutch population register, but as multiple households sharing the same address.

⁴ This implies both return migration to the home country as well as re-migration to a third one.

In the remainder of the paper we embed our research in the international literature on migration and housing, further explain our empirical approach, present the various empirical results and end with a discussion on the broader societal and political implications of these findings.

Prior research

Most studies were conducted in countries with long histories of massive inward migration: Australia, Canada, and the US, often focussing on the homeownership gap between migrants and natives (e.g. Boehm & Schlottmann, 2009; Morota & Aylsworth, 2016; Firang, 2019; Hiebert, 2009). Similar literature exists in Europe (e.g. Abramsson et al., 2002; Christophers & O’Sullivan, 2019; Constant et al., 2009; Nygaard, 2011; Sinning, 2006, 2010; Uunk, 2017; Vono de Vilhena & Bayona-Carrasco, 2010). The results on progression in housing careers are not always clear, with some studies showing improving housing conditions on the side of the migrant population resulting in a diminishing gap in housing quality access to while other studies report little progress and persisting gaps and inequalities between migrants and natives or between different migrant groups. Uunk (2017) highlights the different explanations for this gap, varying from for instance financial constraints, housing market constraints, ethnic discrimination up to ethnic preferences for homeownership.

For the Netherlands specifically, there is a large body of studies which has investigated the housing positions and careers of non-Western migrants who have entered the country some decades ago, particularly from the Mediterranean countries such as Turkey and Morocco and/or post-colonial countries like Surinam, Antilles (Bolt et al. 2008; Groot et al., 2013; Kullberg & Kulu-Glasgow, 2009; Özükren & Van Kempen, 2002; Zorlu et al., 2014). Similar to other country cases, most of these studies show a large and persistent gap in rent and homeownership. Other Dutch studies point out the higher level of homeownership among for instance high skilled labour migrants (Bontje et al., 2016; Sleutjes & Musterd, 2016). As such, housing trajectories of migrants in The Netherlands may prove to be a good example for other European countries.

In afore mentioned research, a very common underlying assumption is that homeownership is on top of the (linear) housing ladder and that rent is lower on the housing career (thus looking into the gap between rent and homeownership). This is because homeownership is associated with wealth accumulation, with a higher level of social wellbeing of individuals, with more financial and tax benefits relative to rent and homeownership can also be a sign of further integration or a sign of willingness to commitment in the hosting country among migrants (see for instance Zorlu et al., 2014). As such, the housing career is seen as a linear trajectory, going from one to other housing

types with progressively more quality and/or progressive steps from rent to ownership (e.g. Lennartz & Helbrecht, 2018; Zorlu et al., 2014). A new research field is emerging showing that migrants non linear housing trajectories have, with extended or multiple periods of sharing a home with non-related others (Balampanadis, 2020; Lombard, 2021). Although the sector is not that large as in the United Kingdom (Heath et al., 2018), it is a fast growing housing type in the Netherlands. Here, we will add new insights to this new field by studying shared housing among migrants.

Within Europe, there are large differences in housing prices, quality or the homeowner stock (Housing Europe, 2021). The Dutch housing system used to have – relatively to other European countries - a highly accessible and unfordable social housing sector. Also, it used to have a highly financialized mortgage market and strongly subsidised owner-occupied housing, which allowed for first-time homeownership at relatively young age. Due to rapidly increasing house prices, more restricted access to mortgage debt and a move towards a more restricted and means-tested social housing sector, recent years have seen a transformation of the housing market towards a larger yet more expensive private rental sector (Hochstenbach & Boterman, 2015). Accordingly, particularly younger households, starters on the housing market and housing market outsiders more generally have moved increasingly into the private rented sector (Arundel & Lennartz, 2020), with dependent shared housing becoming more common among those groups (Arundel & Ronald, 2016; Druta et al., 2021). In many ways we would expect recent migrants arriving in the Netherlands to face similar limitations to enter and move within the housing market and towards independent housing situations.

Finally, immigrant groups do not only differ in terms of their socio-economic profiles but also come from different housing cultures and systems and thus might have different expectations and aspirations in terms of their post-migration living arrangements. While some housing systems, for instance the UK, Eastern and Southern European countries or for that matter the Netherlands itself, are strongly geared towards ‘the primacy of homeownership’, ‘renting for life’ is widely accepted across broader strata of the population in other countries such as Germany (Lennartz et al., 2016). We would expect these cultural differences across different EU nationalities to shine through their respective housing trajectories in the Netherlands as well.

Data & empirical strategy

Data

To study intra-EU migrant housing trajectories we make use of data from the System of Social Statistical Datasets (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands (Bakker, et al., 2014). The core of the SSD is the Personal Records Database maintained by municipalities. This register contains the residential address and demographic characteristics (e.g., gender, age, country of birth, family status) of every legal inhabitant of the Netherlands since 1995. All immigrants who intend to stay in the Netherlands for more than 90 days are legally obliged to register themselves in this register. In addition, from 2012 onwards, the Netherlands has a comprehensive register on buildings and dwellings. Information from this was linked to the SSD using encrypted address keys.

Our study population is the migrant cohort with different country of births (Polish, German, Italian, French, Bulgarian, Spanish and English) that moved to the Netherlands in 2011. Migrants who had left the Netherlands before 1 January 2012 are excluded. Furthermore, the analysis is restricted to immigrants who were 18 years or older and not living with their parents at the time of arrival in the Netherlands. This leaves us with a research population of 36,020 immigrants. At the time of the study, the necessary data were available up until 1 January 2019. We focus on seven countries to provide as much variation as possible while keeping the data analysis and interpretation of the results manageable. Furthermore these specific countries were selected on the basis of the size of the immigrant population and a broad reflection of different housing cultures and socio-economic standards across and within Southern, Western, and Central/Eastern European countries.

Sequence analysis (SA)

In our first analytical step we deploy SA to study housing trajectories for migrant group as a whole. Due to memory restrictions, the SA was carried out on a 33% random sample of the selected research population (N=11,941 out of 36,020 – see Appendix 1 for a comparison with the full sample on various demographic characteristics). In SA, each life-course trajectory is represented by a string of characters that refer to a specific state. We distinguish between five possible states: (i) owner-occupied, (ii) social rent, (iii) private rent or (iv) shared accommodation with other non-related household(s), and (v) emigration migration. Each immigrant is followed for a period of eight years on an annual basis, from 2012 up until 2019. Due to the large number of possible combinations between these eight years of observation and the five states, few individuals

experience the exact same sequence of states, implying that many different sequences are present in the dataset.

We first compute optimal matching (OM) distances between all pairs of sequences using the TraMineR package in R (Gabadinho et al., 2011). The OM algorithm measures dissimilarity of two sequences by considering how much it ‘costs’ to transform one sequence into the other. There are three operations available: insertion, deletion, and substitution (Abbott and Tsay, 2000). A cost is attached to each operation. We follow the commonly applied solution of using unitary insertion/deletion costs and the inverse of the transition rates to define substitution costs (e.g., Kleinepier et al., 2015).

After the OM distances are calculated, we identify more-or-less homogeneous groups by applying Ward’s cluster analysis (Ward, 1963). This is an agglomerative hierarchical clustering method, meaning that each observation starts in its own cluster, and pairs of clusters are merged as one moves up the hierarchy (bottom-up approach). After comparing various cluster solutions (2-10 clusters) in terms of their theoretical meaningfulness, we decided on an 8-cluster typology (see table 1).

Table 1: Housing trajectories in 8 clusters, numbers and percentages, 2012-2019

	Cluster	N	%
Private renting to emigration	1	1.317	11
Transitions into social housing	2	1.201	10
From sharing to permanent private renting	3	1.258	10
Quick emigration	4	3.858	32
Transition into homeownership	5	879	7
Permanent sharing	6	1.279	11
From sharing to emigration	7	1.496	13
Permanent homeownership	8	653	6
Total		11.941	100

Logistic regression

In a second analytical step we study the determinants (country of origin, socio-economic and demographic characteristics as well as (deduced) migration motives) of cluster membership. We run a series of separate binary logistic regression models, using each of the clusters as the outcome variable. We opt for this approach rather than (a set of) multinomial regression models to make the interpretation of the differences between different EU migrant groups more accessible. In these regression analyses, only time-constant independent variables are included. The following independent variables are included in the models.

Country of origin refers to the country of birth and is measured with dummy variables. This study includes migrants from France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Bulgaria, Poland and the UK.

Gender is a dummy variable with female as the reference group.⁵

Age at immigration is measured in 2012 and is operationalized as a four-way categorical, distinguishing between 18 to 25 year olds (reference category); 26-30 years; 31-40 years; and 41+ years old.

Partnership status at immigration measures whether an individual moved to the Netherlands as a single-person, with a partner, or moved in with a Dutch partner. Having a Dutch partner might not only offer more means, opportunities or information on the Dutch housing market but will often lead to a stronger urge to stay.

Standardized disposable household income is measured in quintiles. Due to the fact that the household income for a relatively large group had not been recorded in 2012, we use a sixth income group in the model, i.e. ‘income unknown’. Due to the highly income-structured Dutch housing market, housing trajectories will vary with income.

Migration motive is operationalized as a four-way categorical variable distinguishing family, work, study, and other/unknown. Statistics Netherlands does not record stated migration motives of EU/EFTA migrants, but deduces them from what migrants actually do after arrival (Statistics Netherlands, 2021). A family-related migration is deduced when the immigrant moves to the Netherlands up to 120 days after a partner or their parents. If the migrant has a partner who lived in the Netherlands for more than 120 days, they are always defined as a family migrant. A work-related motive is deduced when the main income of the migrant is generated from work in the first 120 days upon arrival. If migrants move to the Netherlands as a couple one is defined as a work migrant and one as a family migrant, depending on who starts working first. An education-related migration motive is deduced when the migrant starts a higher education study within 365 days after arrival. Given that students have different housing suppliers than labour migrants and family migrants more often move in with family members already residing in the Netherlands, housing trajectories might vary with migration motives.

Table 2 shows the distribution of these variables across the whole migrant population, but also reveals in what way immigrants from the seven EU countries differ from each other.

⁵ So far, Statistics Netherlands only registers gender as a binary variable. We are thus bound to this classification.

Table 2 - Socio-economic and demographic profiles of EU migrants in the Netherlands, 2011

Country of origin		France	Germany	Spain	Italy	Poland	Bulgaria	UK	<i>Total</i>
N		660	2460	700	730	5160	1260	980	<i>11,910</i>
Migration motive (%)	<i>Family</i>	25	16	26	25	34	24	30	<i>31</i>
	<i>Work</i>	37	16	32	40	41	6	40	<i>28</i>
	<i>Study</i>	15	52	9	16	2	15	12	<i>16</i>
	<i>Other</i>	23	16	33	19	23	55	19	<i>25</i>
Sex (%)	<i>Female</i>	48	56	51	35	46	46	38	<i>47</i>
Age (%)	<i>18-25</i>	60	67	52	40	33	35	33	<i>43</i>
	<i>26-30</i>	18	12	21	26	28	18	16	<i>22</i>
	<i>31-40</i>	15	11	21	24	24	28	25	<i>21</i>
	<i>>40</i>	7	10	7	10	15	19	26	<i>14</i>
Partnership status upon arrival (%)	<i>No partner</i>	67	73	66	65	59	72	57	<i>64</i>
	<i>Dutch partner</i>	6	8	9	7	3	3	13	<i>6</i>
	<i>Foreign partner</i>	27	19	25	28	38	26	30	<i>30</i>
Mean standardized household income (€)		22.996	16.894	20.174	19.427	15.426	10.948	28.225	<i>17.388</i>

Results - Eight housing trajectory clusters of EU immigrants in the Netherlands

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the various housing trajectory clusters from the seven selected EU countries⁶ who arrived in 2011 in the Netherlands over the period 2012-2019. More specifically, it highlights the variegated ways of how migrants progress through the Dutch housing market and how common specific tenure changes and housing outcomes are.

The first more general observation is that more than half of all EU migrants stay only for a short while – a couple of years only – in the Netherlands (sum of clusters 1, 4 & 7). They do so after having lived in the private rented sector as an independent household and, more commonly, in shared accommodation. More precisely, the clustering procedure reveals that the most common trajectory is the ‘quick return migration’ cluster (4), representing 32 percent of the total sample. Cluster 7 represents short stayers in shared housing as well but for a slightly extended period (‘From sharing to emigration’ - 13 percent); Finally, 11 percent of all migrants remain in the Netherlands for only a couple of years but do so as an independent household in private renting (Cluster 1 – ‘From PRS to emigration’). The large proportion of temporary migrants highlights that the legal migration framework in the European Union facilitates particularly younger migrants

⁶ In the observation period the UK was still a member of the EU, which is why we refer to it as an EU country rather than a former EU member state.

to move across country borders temporarily for gaining work experience abroad, following a study, or just getting to know a new culture and lifestyle, while other migrants move further or back home in search for jobs or opportunities elsewhere.

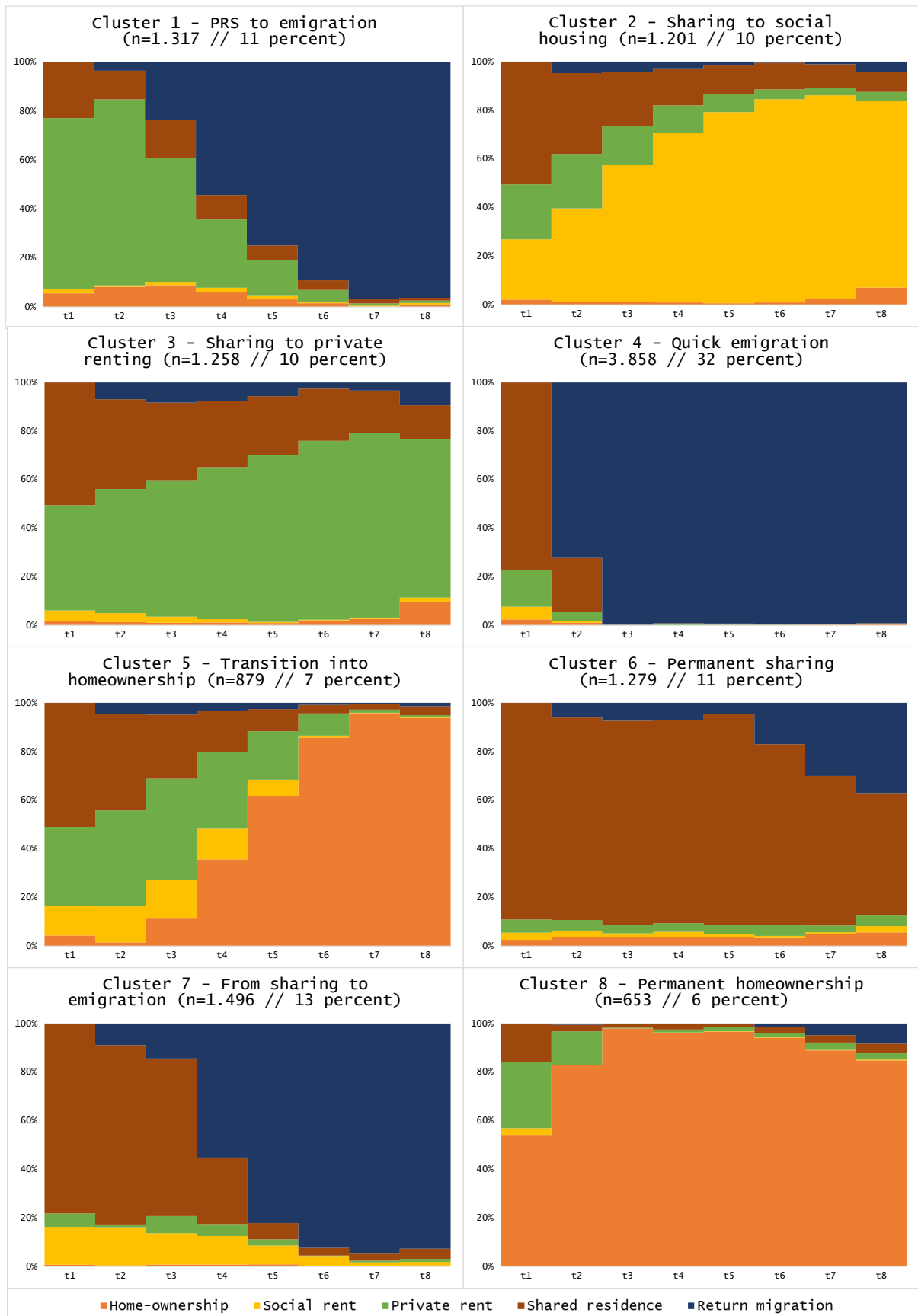
The second observation is the crucial role of shared housing for almost all housing trajectories. Looking at the housing position of migrants shortly after arrival and irrespective of trajectory cluster we note that 62% of all migrants start in dependent shared residence on the Dutch housing market. Renting in the private sector as an independent household is common as well among the migrant population, with 25 percent of all migrants doing so upon arrival. Only five percent of all migrants start as homeowner and only eight percent gain access to the social housing sector⁷ as their first type of housing. It is often assumed that migrants more often share a home with other households in the first phase, upon arrival, when they are still unfamiliar with the housing system (Maslova & King, 2020).

Figure 1 further shows that sharing is not only common among short stayers, but is also frequently used as a permanent form of accommodation – see Cluster 6 ‘permanent sharing’ amounting to 11 percent of all migrants. This challenges the notion of sharing as an ‘in-between-phase’. Equally, sharing functions as a gateway into other tenures as well. Within Cluster 2 ‘Transitions into social housing’, Cluster 3 ‘From sharing to private renting’, and Cluster 5 ‘Transitions into homeownership’ about half of all migrants live in shared accommodation in their first year in the Netherlands.

A final observation is the relatively low share of migrant households who move into homeownership throughout the course of their stay in the Netherlands– see Cluster 5 ‘Transitions into homeownership’ (7 percent) and Cluster 8 ‘Permanent homeownership’ (6 percent). In parts this is due to the young age profile of the migrant group. On the other hand, it also reflects the gap between renting and owning of migrant groups vis-à-vis the native population more generally. Due to the transitory nature of their stay in the Netherlands, homeownership appears to be a too strong commitment that only a relatively small migrant group is willing and able to take.

⁷ Since access to social housing in the Netherlands is restricted through waiting lists and income limits, migrants who moved into social housing straight away must have moved in with a partner who already lived in social housing.

Figure 1: Housing trajectory clusters of EU immigrants in the Netherlands

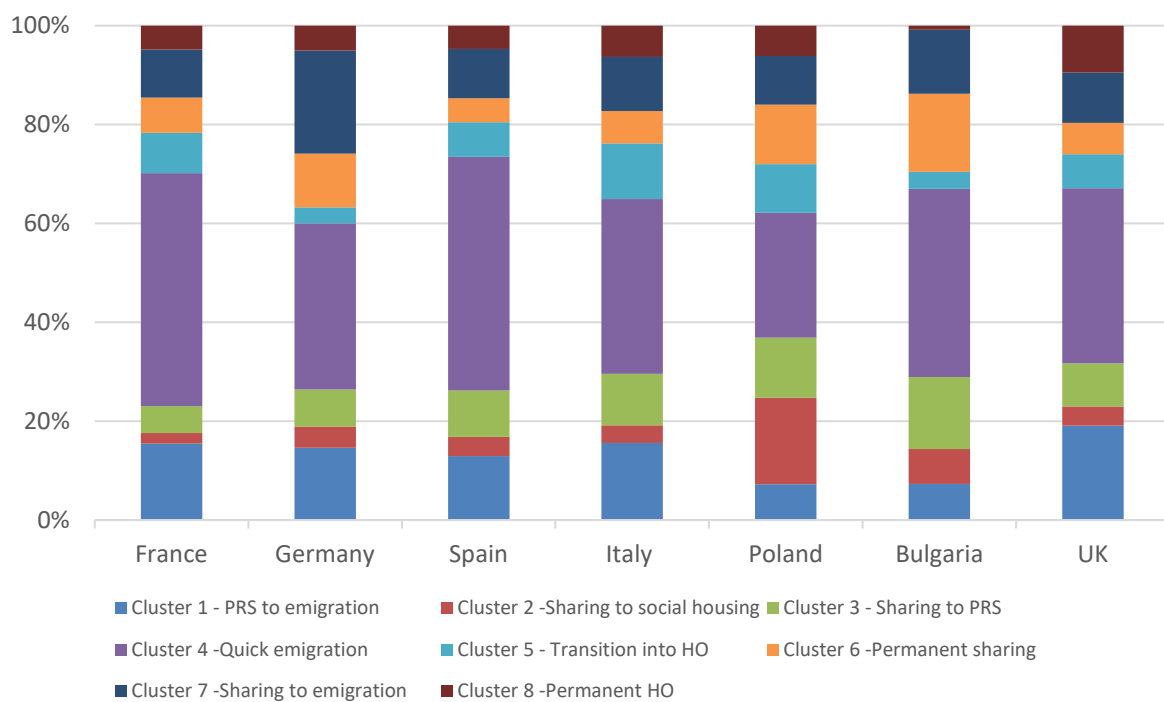


Results – exploring housing trajectories of different EU migrants

How do different migrant groups from the seven EU countries progress through the Dutch housing market?

Figure 2 illustrates the differences between country of origin by cluster affiliation. First of all, we can see that for all nationalities the most likely outcome is to leave the Netherlands after a relatively short period of time (Cluster 4 ‘Quick emigration’); particularly Spanish and French immigrants may be classified as short stay migrants. The relatively large share of German immigrants who first move into shared accommodation and then leave the country within the eight year observation period can most likely be explained by the large share of students among them. British migrants are equally likely to leave the country again, but they more often do so after having lived as an independent household in the private rented sector.

Generally we can see that immigrants from Western and Southern Europe, when compared to Polish (and Bulgarian) migrants, are less likely to settle permanently in the Netherlands. One explanation could be that their migration is more often motivated by lifestyle reasons or in the case of Southern European immigrants the intention to leave the social and economic limitations of their home countries temporarily in the post-financial and Euro-crisis period (see also Maslova & King, 2020; Lafleur & Stanek, 2017). In contrast, Polish and Bulgarian immigrants seem to be more likely to move to the Netherlands in pursuit of higher income and possibly higher living standards compared to what they could achieve in their home country.

Figure 2: Housing trajectory clusters by country of origin

The position of Polish immigrants is quite remarkable in this regard. They are much more likely than the other six immigrant groups to stay in the Netherlands permanently, resulting in more diverse housing trajectories overall. In parts, Polish migrants remain more frequently in permanent sharing – only being surpassed by Bulgarians – which most likely reflects on the relatively high share of lower-skilled migrants working in the agricultural and construction sector in the Netherlands (Gijsberts & Lubbers, 2015). However, a significant share of Polish migrants (Cluster 5 + Cluster 8 = 16 percent) eventually move into homeownership as well; only the Italian and British migrant groups are more “successful” in that regard, where the latter might be the result of an older age profile, higher economic resources, and the fact that they are more often involved with a Dutch partner.

Most strikingly, however, Polish migrants are much more likely than all other groups to enter the highly restricted social housing sector in the Netherlands – more than 17 percent of all Polish migrants are to be found in Cluster 2 ‘Transition into social housing’. This certainly reflects on their weaker income position as compared to Western and Southern European migrants, but it might also be the result of a larger share of family migrants. The fact that they are more successful than Bulgarian households, who are even more often in precarious work and have lower incomes (ibid., 2016), might be an indication of a more established and well-connected Polish community,

which is more versed in navigating the Dutch housing market including the social housing sector (see also Kleinepier et al., 2015).

Results – The role of household, socio-economic and migration-specific factors via logistic regression

So far we discussed the differences between all seven migrant groups with regard to their varying socio-economic and demographic profiles, and migration motives. But do these different housing outcomes uphold once we control for these characteristics? Or asked differently, is there a disposition towards specific housing trajectories that is linked to their country of origin, cultural norms and thus housing preferences among migrating households?

Figure 3 shows the outcomes of the logistic regression models for the eight clusters. The results are constrained to the odds of following a specific housing trajectory in comparison to Polish migrants (the reference category), controlling for income, gender, age, partnership status upon migration, and migration motive – see for full regression results for all eight models Appendix 2.

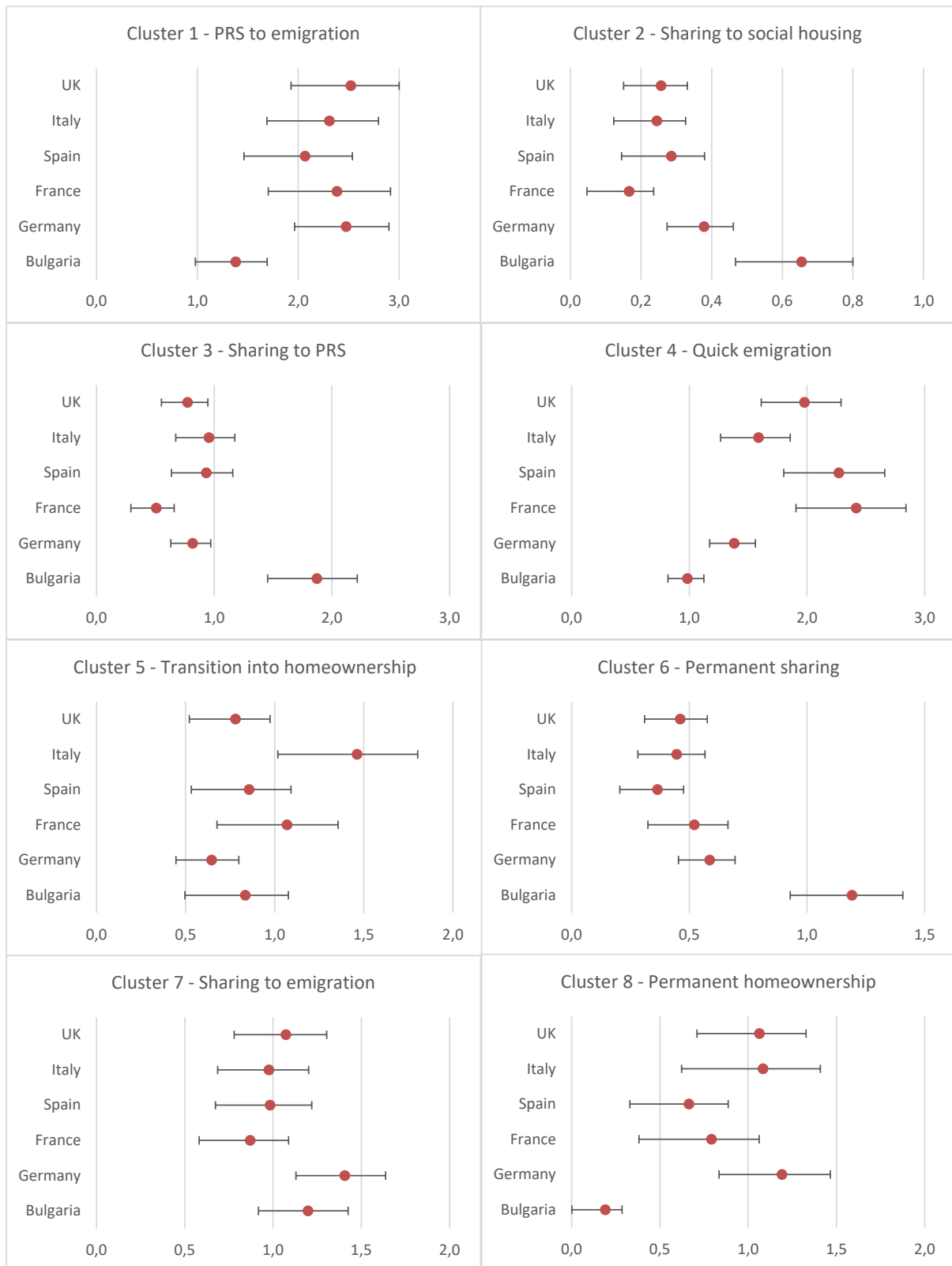
In general, we can see that even after controlling for individual characteristics most patterns hold across the eight housing trajectory clusters. Except for Bulgarians, Polish migrants are less likely to return to Poland or re-migrate to a third country, supporting the notion that Central and Eastern European migrants have a stronger intention to settle permanently in the Netherlands, among other things, for the higher living standards or better job opportunities as compared to their home country.

Secondly, Polish migrants are (still) more likely to enter social housing than all other migrant groups. Again this supports the idea of better support networks within the Polish community, a larger Polish population with a longer migration history and thus a larger share of Polish households already residing in social housing, but probably also lower economic resources throughout the whole eight period and not only in the first year after arrival. Bulgarian migrants, on the other hand, are not able to translate their lower income into gaining access to the social housing sector, resulting in a much higher likelihood than all other groups to enter the private rental sector when living independently as a household. Another explanation is that Bulgarian migrants have a shorter migration history and a much lower share of other Bulgarians already living in the Netherlands. Up till 2014, the Netherlands put some extra restrictions on migration from Bulgaria.

Thirdly, looking at housing trajectories within and into homeownership, we can see that except the Bulgarian groups all differences disappear for Cluster 8 ‘permanent homeownership’ – with

the Spanish group being slightly less likely to start within the owner-occupied sector. Moreover the results for Cluster 5 ‘Transitions into homeownership’ indicate a stronger urge among Italian migrants to move into homeownership, while German migrants are less likely to buy property in the Netherlands eventually. Interestingly the higher share of British migrants fully disappears once we control for their higher economic resources. Generally, these patterns could indicate at least some form of disposition towards specific tenure outcomes; yet, we would only interpret this as a weak signal, since homeownership is the preferred tenure in Spain and the UK as well. On the other side of the spectrum, however, the incidence of shared housing is especially common among Bulgarian and German migrants. This does not disappear after taking into account that many German migrants are students or that many Bulgarian migrants have a relatively low income. A final observation is that country of origin does certainly not explain housing trajectories alone but by compositional differences as well. While it would go beyond the scope of the paper to discuss all independent variables in debt we would like to highlight some specific patterns. Different forms of emigration (Clusters 1/4/7) are strongly influenced by income, partnership status when immigrating, and migration motive. Higher income households, individuals who came to the Netherlands as single-person households, and migrating for education are all strongly associated with emigration. Similarly, remaining in dependent shared accommodation throughout the eight year observation period (Cluster 6) is strongly associated with moving to the Netherlands for higher education purposes and doing so as a single person. Starting in homeownership (Cluster 8) is correlated with having a higher income upon migration, being a family-migrant and moving in with a Dutch partner, while moving into homeownership (Cluster 5) is more strongly predicted by a higher income and moving at younger age – yet, only when the move to the Netherlands is not education-related.

Figure 3: Forest plots with odds of following a specific housing trajectory by country of origin (Polish migrants are reference group)



Discussion and conclusions

This paper started from the premise that, compared to more traditional migrant groups, there is little understanding and empirical evidence of the housing positions of intra-EU migrants in their hosting countries and how these evolve over time. We applied sequence analysis and logistic regression to empirically demonstrate the variegated nature of migrants' housing trajectories in the Netherlands. Particularly we aimed to show in what way socio-economic and demographic profiles as well as country of origin itself matters for these variegated housing patterns. Also, we specifically brought forward the role of shared housing in the new emerging housing trajectories of migrants.

Our results showed a multitude of potential trajectories among EU migrants who came to the Netherlands at the turn of the previous decade. Most strikingly, the majority of migrants under study did not stay in the Netherlands permanently but had returned to their home country or re-migrated to another country. In line with what has been described in previous studies, intra-EU migration thus has a strongly transitory nature and appears to be as much about educational enrollment and lifestyle choices as improved economic opportunities. However, our study also laid bare important differences across migrant groups, with Central and Eastern European migrants seemingly more likely to move to the Netherlands in pursuit of economic motives than Western and Southern Europe. Not only does this translate into higher shares of permanent stayers in the Netherlands, but it also induces specific patterns of housing consumption among Central and Eastern European communities, such as higher sharing rates among Bulgarian migrants and higher social housing rates among Polish ones. Furthermore, housing trajectories of migrants do not necessarily reflect common housing trajectories across country of origin. For instance, migrants from the UK, a homeowner friendly country, do not enter homeownership more than other migrant groups. Seemingly, migrants are primarily influenced by the current housing situation in the Netherlands; experiences made in the housing system of the home country seem to play an inferior role.

A second key finding was the crucial position of shared accommodation in defining housing trajectories. On the one hand, it is most often used by new migrants as their gateway to the Dutch housing market. Given its reduced costs and the fact that employers, recruitment agencies and higher education institutions are often directly involved in organizing shared accommodation for newcomers this is a rather expected finding. On the other hand, our analysis also showed that a sizeable group of EU migrants, particularly those from CEE countries remain in shared housing on a more permanent basis. Some migrants use sharing housing not only as a landing site or a transitory tenure but also as a permanent housing solution. This is most likely related to their more

precarious labour market positions; yet, it could also be a reflection of more recent systemic shifts in the Dutch housing market in which owner-occupation has become highly unaffordable, access to the social housing sector has become more restricted due to regulatory changes and insufficient new supply, and private renting, particularly in shared accommodation, has become the default tenure among younger people and housing starters more generally (Hochstenbach & Boterman, 2015). Hence, particularly true for the migrant population our results challenge the notion that shared housing is an ‘in-between-phase’ and can very well become a permanent housing solution.

We would argue that these two findings have important implications for European migrants themselves, but also for society and policy makers in the Netherlands. First of all, the more transitory nature of intra-EU migration means that some neighbourhoods will experience more rapid population turnover and higher overcrowding rates. This may pose new challenges to the liveability and social cohesion in neighbourhoods with high immigration rates from the European Union. Secondly, a larger shared housing sector among those who (intend to) stay on a more permanent basis may lead to more stymied integration processes. In line with the literature, we have argued above that integration and good and stable housing are strongly intertwined. If EU migrants are increasingly trapped in unstable and often unhealthy shared accommodation for extended periods of time, they would thus largely be at risk of failed integration processes. This in turn might lead to increased resentments of the native population towards intra-European migration and free movement policies. Here our study shows that particularly the Bulgarian migrant community, but in parts also the Polish community, might fall victim to these developments. However, such conclusions are definitely in need of more research on shared housing to be able to better understand whether sharing is indeed of an undesired nature and migrants get stuck in the sector involuntarily, or whether they are more positive towards their sharing experiences. Thirdly, and connected to this, the Dutch labour market is highly reliant on working migrants, both in lower- and higher-skilled professions. In this study we have not measured whether the housing conditions of different migrant cohorts have improved and/or deteriorated over time. However, if a growing group of international migrants is subject to poor and increasingly unaffordable housing conditions, the Netherlands would become an increasingly unattractive migration target within the European Union with important negative consequences for the Dutch labour market and economy as a whole. Here, the need to provide attractive and stable housing for the sake of migrants’ well-being as well as improved social and economic development poses a challenge to policy makers in the Netherlands, but is a topic that they need to address nonetheless. As such, the search for labour migrants to overcome labour market

shortages is an issue many EU countries are confronted with, in which housing quality is one of the factors to might help to attract migrants.

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Appendix 1: Percentual distribution of variables in total and 33% sample

Country of origin	Total	33% sample
France	5,6%	5,5%
Germany	20,9%	20,6%
Spain	6,3%	5,9%
Italy	6,0%	6,1%
Poland	42,5%	43,2%
Bulgary	10,5%	10,5%
United Kingdom	8,2%	8,2%
Totaal	100,0%	100,0%
Gender		
Female	47,6%	47,1%
Male	52,4%	52,9%
Total	100,0%	100,0%
Age at immigration		
18-25	43,6%	43,2%
26-30	21,5%	21,7%
31-40	20,6%	20,9%
41+	14,3%	14,1%
Migration motive		
Family	27,4%	27,7%
Work	31,4%	31,3%
Study	16,3%	16,3%
Other	24,8%	24,7%
Total in %	100%	100%
Total N	36.020	11.941

Appendix 2: Full regression results

	Cluster 1 - PRS to emigration			Cluster 2 - Sharing to SH			Cluster 3 - Sharing to PRS			Cluster 4 - Quick emigration		
	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Country of origin (Poland = ref)												
Bulgaria	0,323	0,130	0,013	-0,424	0,128	0,001	0,627	0,103	0,000	-0,017	0,079	0,829
Germany	0,906	0,096	0,000	-0,971	0,125	0,000	-0,201	0,105	0,055	0,323	0,072	0,000
France	0,869	0,128	0,000	-1,796	0,276	0,000	-0,676	0,181	0,000	0,883	0,098	0,000
Spain	0,726	0,131	0,000	-1,254	0,204	0,000	-0,069	0,141	0,621	0,820	0,096	0,000
Italy	0,836	0,121	0,000	-1,407	0,207	0,000	-0,045	0,132	0,734	0,463	0,095	0,000
UK	0,924	0,108	0,000	-1,361	0,176	0,000	-0,257	0,128	0,045	0,683	0,087	0,000
Migration motive (work = ref)												
Family	-0,150	0,089	0,093	0,128	0,092	0,162	0,073	0,091	0,426	-0,425	0,074	0,000
Education	0,329	0,116	0,005	-0,081	0,164	0,620	0,141	0,128	0,267	-1,377	0,083	0,000
Other	-0,160	0,102	0,115	-0,029	0,096	0,766	0,037	0,091	0,683	-0,252	0,063	0,000
Male (female = ref.)	0,066	0,062	0,291	-0,291	0,066	0,000	-0,082	0,062	0,188	0,218	0,045	0,000
Age at immigration (18-25 = ref)												
26-30	0,122	0,089	0,171	0,145	0,088	0,098	0,129	0,085	0,127	-0,208	0,062	0,001
31-40	0,226	0,091	0,013	0,214	0,091	0,019	0,193	0,086	0,026	-0,381	0,065	0,000
>40	0,155	0,105	0,140	0,519	0,098	0,000	0,014	0,102	0,889	-0,214	0,072	0,003
Partnership status (foreign partner = ref)												
Single	-0,696	0,080	0,000	-0,541	0,088	0,000	-0,174	0,084	0,037	0,548	0,065	0,000
Dutch partner	-0,767	0,134	0,000	0,089	0,141	0,526	-0,535	0,154	0,000	-0,069	0,125	0,583
Household income (1st quintile = ref)												
2nd quintile	0,216	0,104	0,037	0,145	0,081	0,072	0,509	0,086	0,000	-1,232	0,079	0,000
3rd quintile	0,657	0,105	0,000	-0,098	0,102	0,340	0,291	0,106	0,006	-1,406	0,101	0,000
4th quintile	0,669	0,120	0,000	-0,426	0,144	0,003	0,403	0,126	0,001	-1,331	0,119	0,000
5th quintile	1,065	0,115	0,000	-1,490	0,252	0,000	0,358	0,139	0,010	-1,435	0,123	0,000
HH income unknown	-0,130	0,093	0,161	-1,246	0,126	0,000	-0,510	0,096	0,000	0,824	0,059	0,000
Constant	-2,476	0,116	0,000	-1,238	0,107	0,000	-2,124	0,111	0,000	-0,833	0,082	0,000

	Cluster 5 - Transition HO			Cluster 6 - Permanent sharing			Cluster 7 - Sharing to emigration			Cluster 8 - Permanent HO		
	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Country of origin (Poland = ref)												
Bulgaria	-0,180	0,174	0,301	0,175	0,102	0,085	0,180	0,107	0,093	-1,656	0,352	0,000
Germany	-0,437	0,138	0,002	-0,534	0,104	0,000	0,341	0,092	0,000	0,175	0,133	0,190
France	0,067	0,160	0,676	-0,651	0,164	0,000	-0,139	0,146	0,343	-0,233	0,213	0,274
Spain	-0,155	0,164	0,344	-1,008	0,185	0,000	-0,017	0,140	0,905	-0,409	0,208	0,049
Italy	0,380	0,135	0,005	-0,806	0,160	0,000	-0,023	0,133	0,864	0,081	0,181	0,653
UK	-0,248	0,146	0,089	-0,772	0,145	0,000	0,071	0,123	0,566	0,062	0,146	0,674
Migration motive (work = ref)												
Family	0,069	0,100	0,489	-0,069	0,108	0,527	-0,222	0,103	0,031	0,735	0,126	0,000
Education	-0,989	0,247	0,000	0,938	0,114	0,000	0,818	0,100	0,000	-1,658	0,526	0,002
Other	0,009	0,115	0,941	0,201	0,086	0,019	-0,126	0,088	0,153	0,634	0,160	0,000
Male (female = ref.)	-0,269	0,075	0,000	0,230	0,063	0,000	0,088	0,059	0,132	-0,489	0,092	0,000
Age at immigration (18-25 = ref)												
26-30	0,316	0,094	0,001	-0,225	0,092	0,014	-0,051	0,084	0,538	0,467	0,133	0,000
31-40	-0,011	0,102	0,911	0,091	0,090	0,314	-0,099	0,091	0,275	0,653	0,132	0,000
>40	-0,692	0,142	0,000	0,220	0,098	0,024	-0,253	0,106	0,018	0,768	0,143	0,000
Partnership status (foreign partner = ref)												
Single	-0,382	0,099	0,000	0,595	0,095	0,000	0,425	0,087	0,000	-0,836	0,137	0,000
Dutch partner	-0,047	0,141	0,738	-0,298	0,211	0,158	0,143	0,161	0,375	0,978	0,119	0,000
Household income (1st quintile = ref)												
2nd quintile	0,903	0,103	0,000	0,274	0,091	0,003	-0,048	0,093	0,606	0,539	0,140	0,000
3rd quintile	1,218	0,111	0,000	-0,102	0,129	0,426	-0,390	0,126	0,002	1,083	0,138	0,000
4th quintile	0,977	0,136	0,000	0,308	0,143	0,031	-1,244	0,216	0,000	1,514	0,147	0,000
5th quintile	0,997	0,149	0,000	-0,232	0,192	0,226	-0,716	0,181	0,000	1,393	0,154	0,000
HH income unknown	-0,956	0,172	0,000	-0,218	0,084	0,009	-0,221	0,075	0,003	-0,739	0,231	0,001
Constant	-2,466	0,130	0,000	-2,614	0,122	0,000	-2,267	0,113	0,000	-3,655	0,178	0,000