

MASTER THESIS

TEMPORARY HOUSING IN THE NETHERLANDS

The role of support in creating a
successful housing strategy



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Colophon

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Preface

In July 2020, in the middle of the Covid-crisis, I completed my Human Geography bachelor at the University of Utrecht. Originally, I planned to continue my education in Utrecht, with a masters in Human Geography. However, during this turbulent year, I realized that I was unsure what career I would like to pursue. My main interest during my bachelors was urban geography, but there were still many directions to go with this. I decided to continue my education through a bridging program with the Architecture bachelor at the TU Delft, followed by a master Management in the Built Environment. During my masters at MBE, I was able to learn so much more about different elements of the built environment, but I also noticed that I always kept my focus on the more social topics. When deciding on a graduation theme, I thought the housing theme would be the perfect opportunity to find a topic where I could incorporate elements from my bachelor's, as well as the MBE master. I have always been interested in how the built environment impacts people's lives and I think there is often not enough attention for this in architecture.

Over the years, I read different articles that described housing opposition as a frequently occurring phenomenon and I thought by researching this topic, I could combine my interest in housing with my background in the social studies. To make the research more specific, I decided to look into more unconventional types of housing and I learnt about temporary housing as a relatively new phenomenon. My mentor Joris Hoekstra brought me in contact with the director of the temporary housing program at the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (*BZK*), after which I was invited to do an internship at the Ministry. This internship gave me the opportunity to follow the temporary housing developments up close and provided me with valuable data for my research. I want to thank my colleagues from the VTH team for welcoming me in their team and bringing me in touch with respondents for my interviews. In particular I would like to thank Sjoerd Blok for guiding me during my internship and in the months afterwards. I also want to thank the interviewees, both the experts and the local residents, for sharing their opinions on this research topic. With all the data I collected I was able to research three very interesting cases.

Lastly, I want to thank my supervisors Harry Boumeester and Joris Hoekstra. They encouraged me to be more critical of my data, bringing the research to a higher level. Your feedback was also very valuable at moments where I struggled to find my focus and was not sure how to continue.

With all this support I enjoyed conducting this research and I hope you will enjoy reading it!

Philine Polman

Utrecht, November 2024

Abstract

There is a big housing shortage in the Netherlands and in order to solve this problem, the Dutch government has announced the ambition to develop almost one million homes before 2030. However, due to high construction costs, permit procedures and difficulty of finding suitable locations, the intended target might not be reached. One solution to this problem is developing temporary housing, for example by transforming existing buildings or developing modular units on temporary locations. However, finding suitable locations still appears to be a frequently occurring challenge. One of the factors that impacts the suitability of a location is support from the local community. In this thesis, the main research question focuses on the role of neighborhood support in the development of successful temporary housing projects, and is formulated as follows: *What characteristics of temporary housing affect level of support and how can this level of support be enhanced to create successful temporary housing projects?*

For this study, qualitative research methods are used. The research starts with a literature review to explore the subject and create a clear description of the problem and its causes. Following this explorative study, the research continues with a qualitative study of possible solutions to the problem. By conducting interviews with different stakeholders of three temporary housing projects, the goal was to develop recommendations for future developments. The three cases present different characteristics of temporary housing that impact the level of support. However, it appears that not only the characteristics, but also participation and communication are crucial for obtaining support and intensifying the production of temporary housing. Different cases require different strategies to improve the level of support, but all cases show that level of support is a phenomenon that develops over time, as most opposition has now been replaced with support for the projects.

Key words – temporary housing, level of support, opposition, NIMBY, target groups, characteristics, participation

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List of abbreviations

Abbreviation	Definition
BZK	Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties
CBS	Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek
NPLV	Nationaal Programma Leefbaarheid en Veiligheid
RVB	Rijksvastgoedbedrijf
RVO	Rijksdienst voor Ondernemend Nederland
SCP	Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau
SFT	Stimuleringsregeling Flex- en Transformatiewoningen
UVTH	Uitvoeringsorganisatie Versnelling Tijdelijke Huisvesting
VNG	Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten
VRO	Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting en Ruimtelijke Ordening

CHAPTER 1 | INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In 2023, The Netherlands experienced a housing shortage of 390.000 dwellings and by 2024, this shortage has grown to 401.000. At the same time, the population is expected to grow with 1,17 million people over the coming 15 years, which puts even more pressure on the housing market. Therefore, the Dutch government has announced the ambition to develop almost one million homes before 2030. However, this plan has proven to be more difficult to execute than expected. This is partly due to the rising construction costs, the difficulty of finding suitable locations and long permit procedures. The current average time to plan and develop new build homes is approximately 7 years, which is long considering the urgency of the housing shortage (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties (BZK), 2023a; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting en Ruimtelijke Ordening (VRO), 2024a).

Because of this stagnating housing production, it is important to look at alternative solutions to combat the housing crisis. In a report about different approaches to the Dutch housing challenge, Van Bortel et al. (2024) state that through the topping-up and splitting of dwellings, the housing density can increase. Another solution that is mentioned is the development of new flexible or modular dwellings, as these can be built on locations that might not be suitable (yet) for permanent dwellings or where the housing demand is uncertain (van Bortel et al., 2024). The Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (BZK) also acknowledges temporary housing, or *flexwoningen*, as one of the solutions for the housing shortages. These dwellings can be constructed in a short time frame and by using temporary permits, long formal procedures can be bypassed (Ministerie van BZK, 2023b; Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023). Another advantage of incorporating flexibility into the housing stock is the limited cost of construction. Modular units can be built quickly, based on demand, and therefore developers can ensure that they do not use more resources than required (van Bortel et al., 2024).

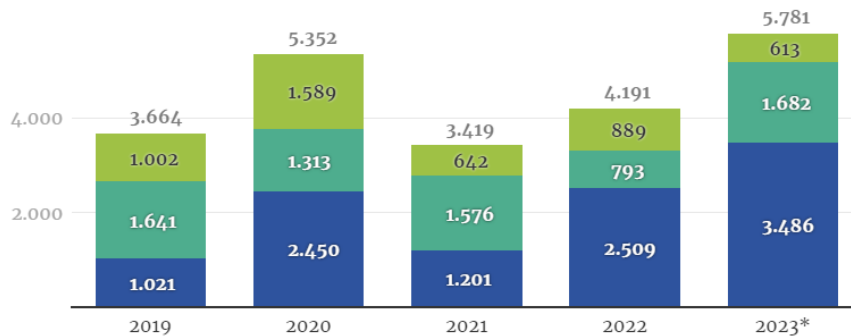
The term temporary housing is not limited to modular units. It encompasses all kinds of creative forms of housing that offer a quick solution to urgent housing shortages (Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023). The maximum exploitation period can differ and is often determined beforehand (Groot et al., 2020). Temporary housing can be developed in existing buildings that do not have a housing function, or they can be developed as modular units on temporary locations (Expertisecentrum Flexwonen, n.d.). This last form of housing is especially useful in locations where developing permanent dwellings is not (yet) possible, as the ground might not be available yet, or if the area is not yet marked as a housing zone. Figure 1 gives an overview of the division of temporary housing types in the Netherlands. The most recent data shows that the modular units make up the largest part of the temporary housing stock (Van Elburg, 2023).

Opgeleverde flexwoningen naar type, 2019-2023

In aantallen



■ Verplaatsbaar / Modulair ■ Nieuwbouw ■ Transformatie



*2023: gegevens t/m Q3

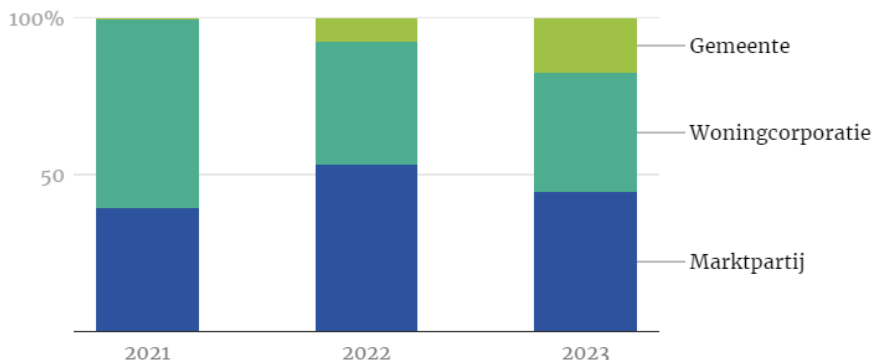
Figure 1 Temporary housing developments per type (Van Elburg, 2023).

From 2019 onwards, the government has shown an increased interest in temporary housing and initially expressed two main purposes of temporary housing. The first was the quick development of dwellings for urgent seekers. The second goal was to introduce a 'flexible layer' (*flexibele schil*) to the housing market, which makes it easier to respond to local dynamics in society, like growth and shrinkage of housing demands (Groot et al., 2022). In a recent statement by the new Ministry of Housing and Spatial Planning (VRO), minister Mona Keijzer explains that temporary housing can be used to intensify housing construction, as new temporary locations also become available for developments. This can reduce the stress on the housing market (Keijzer, 2024).

The goals from the government were initially translated into a concrete ambition of developing a total of 37.500 dwellings on temporary locations in 2023 and 2024. These dwellings would be developed for status holders, starters, students or other urgent housing seekers (Ministerie van BZK, 2023c). Status holders are an important target group. After their asylum application has been approved, the Dutch State offers them social housing. The law states that every municipality in the Netherlands is obliged to offer housing to a certain number of status holders with a residence permit, depending on size of the population in the municipality (de Hoon, Vink & Schmeets, 2021). However, this adds pressure to the already long waiting lists for social housing. Figure 2 shows an increased involvement of municipalities as initiator of temporary housing developments in 2023, which was mainly caused by the influx of refugees from Ukraine (Van Elburg, 2023).

Flexwoningen naar opdrachtgever, 2021-2023

In %



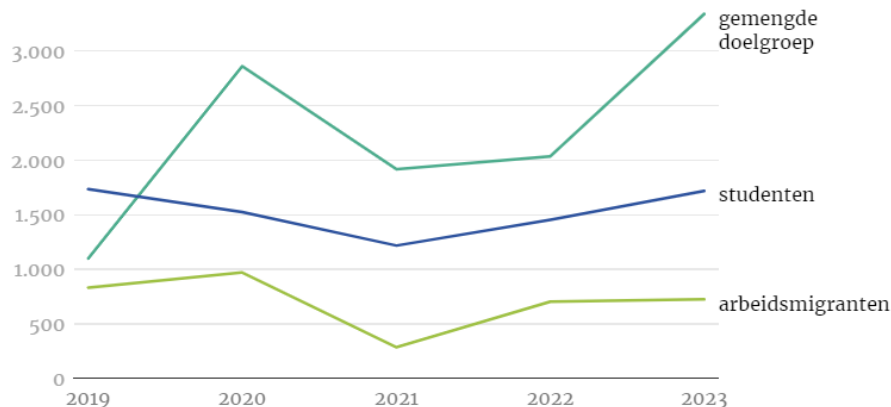
2023: gegevens t/m Q3

Figure 2 Division of temporary housing clients (Van Elburg, 2023).

Municipalities have to find a balance between housing an increasing group of status holders, while at the same time ensuring that this does not impact the chances of other urgent seekers trying to find an affordable home. According to Secretary of State Van der Burg, the quickest way to develop sufficient affordable or social housing is through temporary housing. One third of the temporary housing should be available for refugees or status holders, while two thirds should be allocated to those in urgent need of a home for other reasons, such as divorce or medical needs (*Kamerstuk, 19637, nr. 2992, 2022*). There is also an increasing number of housing projects where target groups are mixed. This trend is shown in figure 3.

Opgeleverde flexwoningen naar doelgroep, 2019-2023

In aantallen



2023: gegevens t/m Q3

Figure 3 Temporary housing target groups (Van Elburg, 2023).

1.2 Problem statement

According to former minister of BZK, Hugo de Jonge, the concept of temporary housing has recently come to the attention of municipalities, housing associations and investors. Meanwhile, the monitoring of temporary housing units has been insufficient. In 2022, the Central Statistical Office (CBS) did a pilot with several municipalities to retrieve data on temporary housing, but this has not led to reliable information. In 2023, *Expertisecentrum Flexwonen* and the *Uitvoeringsorganisatie Versnelling Tijdelijke*

Huisvesting (UVTH), collaborated with the CBS to start monitoring the temporary housing developments in the Netherlands (de Jonge, 2023). However, this means that apart from the existing temporary housing cases, there is still limited information on the topic. The information that is available has shown that the goal from the previous cabinet, to develop 37.500 temporary dwellings by the end of 2024, not be reached, as many plans from 2023 have been delayed.

One problem is that many developers object the business case for temporary housing, as the exploitation term is often limited to 10-15 years (Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023). However, the main challenge with temporary housing developments is finding suitable locations. As mentioned before, this is also one of the main causes of the general housing shortage in the Netherlands. However, specifically temporary housing appears to be unpopular in neighborhoods, expressed by opposition from residents. This leads to municipalities being hesitant to add a flexible layer to the housing stock (Van Elburg, 2023).

Important causes of opposition are assumptions about the building quality of the dwellings and the target groups. Vulnerable groups are often the target demographic for temporary housing, but these groups frequently encounter resistance from nearby residents, as they are often associated with disturbances in the communities (Van Elburg, 2023). This also explains why housing associations are hesitant to place temporary dwellings in neighborhoods with existing social problems (Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023).

Sietsma (2023) emphasizes the importance of monitoring the effects on the urban context caused by the development of temporary housing. According to Blankendaal and Wassenberg (2021), the fact that housing is only temporary and will be removed at some point, makes it easier for people to accept it. However, a side effect could be that the housing is designed very poorly, because of its temporary nature. This should be prevented, as the spatial quality of such developments has appeared to be an important determinant of neighborhood opposition (Pendall, 1999). Turning this opposition into support is especially important considering previous cases where projects were delayed more than a year, or where the costs were twice as high as budgeted, all due to a lack of support (Groot et al., 2022). The goal is to create a sufficient level of support for temporary housing that can prevent these negative outcomes and instead increases the chances of successful temporary developments, as shown in figure 4. Successful development in this case means that a project is completed as designed and budgeted, with little to no delays.



Figure 4 Level of support as determinant for successful temporary housing development (own figure, 2024).

The importance of support is acknowledged by many and the Rijksdienst voor Ondernemend Nederland (RVO) and the UVTH have published a participation guide which states that clear communication and active participation is crucial to increase support and prevent delays (*Participatie en de omgevingsdialoog bij flexwoonprojecten*, 2023). However, as temporary housing is still a relatively new concept, it is important to be critical of the solutions that are presented. Therefore, this research will combine findings from the literature and data from existing cases to examine these solutions and present additional strategies.

1.3 Research questions

Opposition for temporary housing is an important problem that hinders further developments. The question is how this opposition can be prevented and how support for temporary housing projects can be increased. This will be researched using the following main research question:

What characteristics of temporary housing affect level of support and how can this level of support be enhanced to create successful temporary housing projects?

The sub-questions are:

1. How can temporary housing be defined?
2. How can level of support be defined?
3. What is the relationship between temporary housing characteristics and level of support?
4. What is the effect of opposition on the development of temporary housing?
5. What strategies can be used to influence the characteristics of temporary housing to benefit the level of support?
6. What participation strategies can influence the level of support for temporary housing and which stakeholders are responsible for this participation?

1.4 Conceptual model

Figure 5 shows the conceptual model, which visualizes the research questions. The light green blocks and black arrows represent the research questions. The strategies are part of the solution and are highlighted with a different shape and color. Successful development is the desired outcome of these strategies. It is incorporated in the conceptual model as it is part of the main research question, but as there is no separate sub-question for this element, it is indicated with a different color.

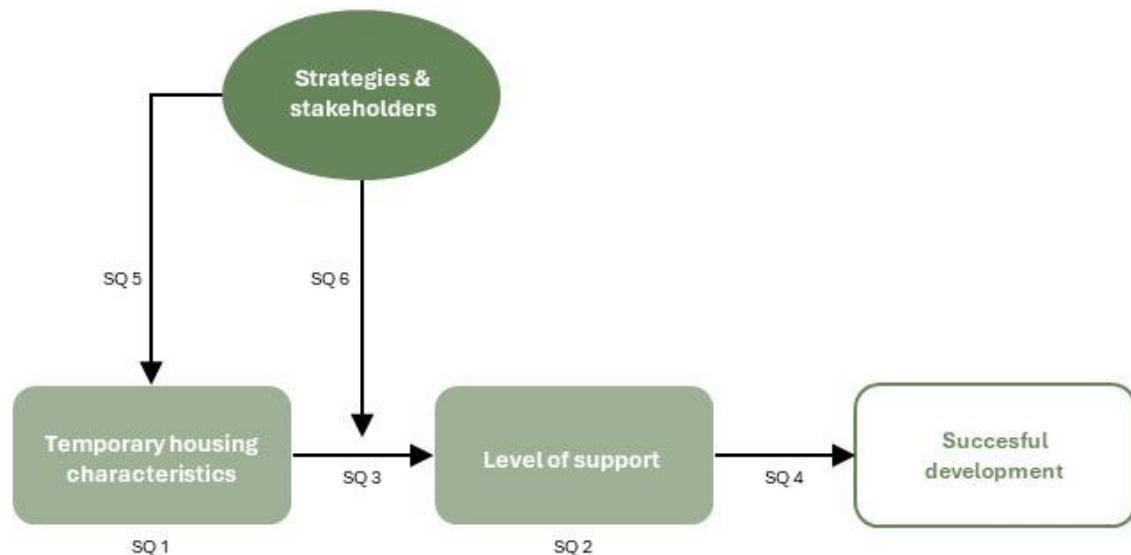


Figure 5 Conceptual model (own figure, 2024).

As described in the problem statement, temporary housing has specific characteristics that can influence the level of support. However, opinions about temporary housing are often based on assumptions and therefore it is important to give a clear definition of the concept. This is the focus of the first sub-question.

The second sub-question then focuses on the other main concept of the research question, level of support. This concept has been researched for many years and does not only exist in the context of temporary housing, but is an important factor for urban development in general.

When the general definition of level of support is described, the third sub-question aims to research the relationship between level of support and temporary housing characteristics. The specific elements of temporary housing that influence the level of support are described here.

This then leads to the fourth sub-question, which focuses on the different types of impact that level of support can have on the development of temporary housing.

Lastly, the final two research questions present possible strategies to enhance the level of support for temporary housing. Question five researches project-specific characteristics that can be adjusted based on the need for support. Question six looks at strategies related to communication and participation, which can be employed to influence the level of support once the final project decisions have been made.

1.5 Societal and scientific relevance

Like many other European countries, the Netherlands is experiencing a severe housing crisis that is exacerbated by population expansion, urbanization, and migration. Meanwhile, the pressure on the housing market is only expected to increase in the coming years (Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting en Ruimtelijke Ordening (VRO), 2024a). In light of these issues, a thesis on opposition to temporary housing in the Netherlands is very relevant. Temporary housing is commonly suggested as an emergency solution for vulnerable groups, such as refugees and other urgent seekers. Opposition to these housing programs, however, could indicate more fundamental societal problems, like integration, crime and environmental concerns. For policymakers, understanding these problems can help address public concerns and create housing solutions that balance urgent housing needs and long-term impact on neighborhoods (European Commission, n.d.). By addressing these topics, this research can contribute to more sustainable and socially acceptable housing policies in the Netherlands.

From a scientific standpoint, this thesis about opposition to temporary housing is highly relevant as it contributes to the knowledge of neighborhood dynamics, urban planning, and public policy. This study can provide information on the fundamental causes of opposition to temporary housing. Through analyzing these causes in the context of specific cases in the Netherlands, this thesis can add to the theoretical frameworks of housing studies and similar fields. Furthermore, the research can provide insight into how well various policy approaches handle opposition. As mentioned in the problem statement, there is still limited data about temporary housing in the Netherlands. By researching several projects, new insights can be gathered that can help shape future studies on housing policies and citizen participation.

CHAPTER 2 | LITERATURE

Chapter 2 – Literature

This chapter follows the conceptual model and starts with the definitions of the concepts temporary housing and level of support, according to different academic sources. The following paragraphs will then elaborate on the relationship between support and temporary housing characteristics and describe what effects this relationship has on the development of temporary housing. The final paragraphs present possible strategies that can be used to enhance the level of support. These strategies are further researched using three existing cases in the Netherlands, which will be described in the following chapters.

2.1 Definition of temporary housing

Temporary housing can be found in different places all over the world and for each context, temporary housing can be defined differently. In the past five decades, there has been a trend of temporary use of spaces to bring more life to vacant areas in urban neighborhoods. In Switzerland, a revised spatial planning act now promotes densification of urban city centers, in order to prevent urban sprawl. This has led to a tight housing market, due to the increase of the number of households. A new profit-oriented temporary housing model has emerged, but the side-effects are that there is little protection of the temporary users' rights. Therefore this type of housing is critically revised (Debrunner & Gerber, 2021).

From a different perspective, Perrucci, Vazquez and Aktas (2016) present multiple other causes for the development of temporary housing, like the displacement of people after natural disasters, or the lack of developed infrastructure for rapidly growing populations. While natural disasters are currently not the main factor influencing temporary developments in the Netherlands, this does not mean that it cannot change in the future. Climate change is causing an increase in climate refugees and this trend is not limited to developing countries only. If large populations are displaced, regardless of the cause or the location, there is an urgent need for shelter, which temporary housing can provide (Perrucci et al., 2016). However, the basic need for shelter does not mean that temporary units are always an effective solution. The idea of temporary housing as a shelter is that its residents can continue their daily activities, while their permanent residence is reconstructed. But, often the focus is on technical designs of temporary dwellings, and not on the needs of the residents. This can lead to inadequate housing, according to Félix, Branco and Feio (2013).

The risk of inadequate housing does not mean that temporary housing does not have many opportunities. Schneider and Till (2005) argue that *“in order to be socially, economically and environmentally viable, housing needs to be capable of responding to changing, and often uncertain, demographics, both at a macro and a micro level”* (p.2). They further mention that flexible housing must comply with a few principles. First, a building should be designed based on flexible units that can change functions. Additionally, separate units should have the option to be linked to each other in order to expand the spaces. And lastly, the interior of a unit should be adaptable for different use patterns (Schneider & Till, 2005). This definition mainly focuses on the flexibility of housing, but does not state anything about the temporality, while that is the case in the Dutch context. The RVO initially stated that at least the dwelling, resident or location has to be temporary in order for it to be flexible (RVO, 2021). This definition was later refined, as the Ministry of BZK focused mostly on modular dwellings and temporary transformations (Groot et al., 2024). In the most recent update, the ministry emphasized on the development of relocatable housing (de Jonge, 2024).

2.1.1 Temporary housing design

Temporary housing is often built on so-called break locations on the outskirts of cities. This is land that is not yet suitable for permanent housing, or where housing might not be seen as a future destination, but where there is also no plan for a different function yet (Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023). These break locations are often found in places where the pressure on the housing market is high and there is no room to expand within existing neighborhoods, for example in the Randstad. But also smaller municipalities deal with housing shortages and see temporary housing as a solution. In most cases, an exemption of the Environment and Planning Act is granted for a period of 10 to 15 years, in order to develop on certain locations (Van Elburg, 2023; VLOT Architecten, 2024).

According to Druta and Fatemidokhtcharook (2023), the Dutch housing market consists of two types of flexible housing: dwellings that are part of a transformation of an existing building, or prefabricated dwellings. The former became more popular under the Vacancy Act in 2013, which supported the development of housing in empty buildings. And as there are a lot of vacant office spaces in the Netherlands, transformation into housing can be an important contribution to the housing stock. However, only a small number of buildings is actually suitable for transformation into housing. Also, the type of building impacts the possibilities for future users and transformation can therefore be a difficult investment, both socially and financially (Overtoom et al., 2019). In the Netherlands, the transformation of offices into housing has stalled, as most suitable buildings on attractive locations have already been transformed. However, there is an increase of transformation of public real estate, like healthcare and educational buildings (Knapen, 2023). Figure 6 shows that in 2023, over 9.000 dwellings were added through transformation.

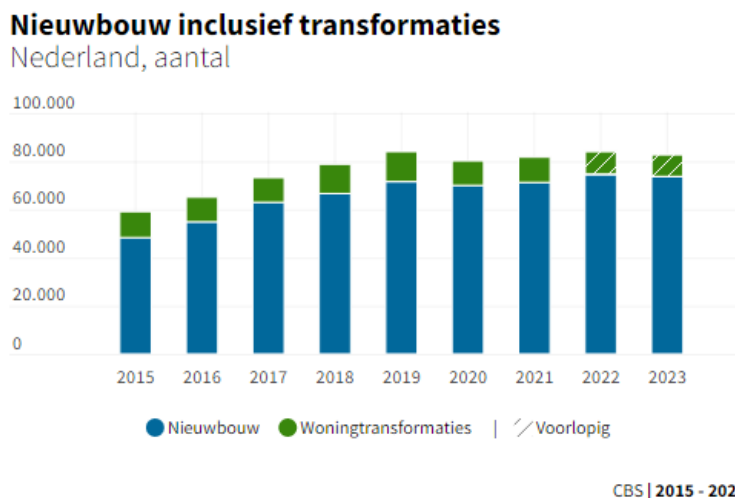


Figure 6 Yearly new build in The Netherlands, including transformations (CBS, 2024).

In contrary to transformations, modular temporary housing is considered a more attractive option for developers. This is mainly due to the speed and low costs of the construction, but also because of the opportunities of reusing the units on a different location. Temporary units are often prefabricated and easily movable due to their small sizes. Another advantage is that they can be composed according to the demand of the users and their design can be adapted to best fit in the environment (Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023; VLOT Architecten, 2024). Manufacturers complete the temporary units in the factory, meaning that kitchens, bathrooms and other facilities will already be installed before the units are moved to the project site. Some large manufacturers have the capacity to build and deliver one dwelling per day, which means that whole projects can be delivered within months (van der Velden, Bronsvoot & Wassenberg, 2019).

Temporary dwellings, especially the modular types, are treated differently than permanent housing. For example, according to the Environment Buildings Decree, temporary dwellings only have to comply with the rules for temporary build, which are less strict than for new builds. However, if a temporary dwelling remains on the location after the exploitation period has expired, it will have to be adapted to the new build requirements (*Integrale Nota van Toelichting behorende bij Besluit Bouwwerken Leefomgeving - Artikel 4.8 (tijdelijk bouwwerk)*, n.d.). Recent developments show that most temporary units comply with the new build requirements and have high quality standards. However, in cases with an urgent housing need, like the housing of Ukrainian refugees, the choice is often made to place more basic units that are quickly available (F. Wassenberg, personal communication, April 11 2024).

In April 2024, six builders were awarded a certificate and a quality declaration that states that their prefabricated dwellings meet all the requirements of the building regulations. Their dwellings will no longer need to be assessed separately in each project and this can speed up future developments (Siemens, 2024). Examples of some building types are shown in figures 7 to 10. Figures 7 and 8 show two of the housing concepts developed by Barli. This manufacturer develops units that can be configured for families or single-person households. Their dwellings are made of biobased materials, like a timber frame construction (*Barli bouwt voor woningcorporaties*, n.d.).



Figure 7 Barli Base LEVEL as studios (Barli, n.d.-b).



Figure 8 Barli Base DUO with two floors (Barli, n.d.-a).

Startblock is another builder who develops units for families or starters. Their Roots units, as shown in figure 10, consist of three floors with set dimensions. It is possible to design the exterior based on the local requirements. The units are assembled within a week and after they are placed on the foundation, they only require a connection to the utilities before the residents can move in (*Onze aanpak*, n.d.). Figure 9 shows how a Startblock unit is placed in one piece. The hooks that attach to the roof remain in place so that the units can be picked up easily in case they need to be removed in the future.



Figure 9 Placement of a Startblock unit (Startblock, n.d.-a).



Figure 10 Startblock Roots with three floors (Startblock, n.d.-b).

2.1.2 Target groups for temporary housing

Not only housing, but also the Dutch society has become more flexible over the years, meaning that nowadays more people have temporary employment contracts and the average households are getting smaller due to a decrease of people in long-term relationships. This means that there can be many different target groups that are in urgent need of a home and for whom temporary housing can be a solution (van der Velden et al., 2016).

Temporary housing responds to a sudden demand for housing, so what target groups are associated with this demand can sometimes be hard to predict. The demand for housing might also differ significantly between municipalities. However, most temporary housing seekers have one thing in common: they are urgent seekers (*spoedzoekers*). The most common groups are listed by Reedijk, Bronsvoot and Wassenberg (2019):

- HBO and WO students
- MBO students
- Migrant workers
- Expats/foreign knowledge workers
- Status holders
- Outflow from social care and sheltered housing
- Divorcees
- Evictions and foreclosures
- Temporary rehousing through restructuring
- Stray youth
- Ex-detainees

According to van der Velden et al. (2019), the group of status holders is expected to grow the most and many temporary housing developments already focus on housing this vulnerable target group. However, over the years this has created a stigmatization of the concept temporary housing and many people assume this housing is developed specifically for this group (Monster, 2022).

Since Reedijk et al. (2019) published the report about potential target groups, the list has been expanded further to include other target groups, like elderly, young starters and Ukrainian refugees. So as the housing crisis continued into the 2020s, even more groups were considered urgent seekers (Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023). Urgent housing seekers is a broad term, but the common characteristic is the acute need for a home. How long they will reside in the home depends on the specific target group and their individual needs (van der Velden et al., 2023). However, there is a lack of knowledge of the latter. Target groups have many different socio-demographic profiles and therefore have different housing needs. As the goal of temporary housing is to reduce building complexity, time and costs, this could lead to very similar dwellings that not always fit the demands of the target groups (Overtoom et al., 2023).

One target group that has received increased attention over the past years is the group of Ukrainian refugees, who fled their country because of the war with Russia. According to Haase et al. (2024), housing Ukrainian refugees poses different sorts of challenges regarding access, affordability and temporality. Since the beginning of the war, many Ukrainians have found jobs and put their kids in local schools. The urge to move back to their home country has decreased and the housing shortage in Ukraine, a result from the war, makes it even more difficult to move back. This aligns with the idea that the likeliness of returning home decreases the longer people are displaced. At the same time, there are also refugees who want to move back to Ukraine as soon as possible, so they do not feel the urge to find long-term housing. The more people feel like the latter, the harder it is for planning institutions to create proper housing solutions.

After the war started, the Temporary Protection Directive came into act, which later showed that housing of refugees is possible, using temporarily adjustable housing. However, the integration of migrants, of any country, remains a structural problem. Therefore, it is important that countries create long-term solutions for housing integration (European Commission, n.d.). Additionally, Ukrainian refugees are treated differently than refugees from countries outside the European Union, because people from Ukraine can move freely in Europe. Many countries also show a high level of support for Ukrainian war refugees, while their support did not always show with refugees from other countries, who often experience even more struggles with access to housing, childcare and financial support. Haase et al. (2024) conclude that temporary housing is a good strategy to combat the lack of capacity to help find housing for refugees. However, this type of housing is consistently considered a niche, as it is not often acknowledged that refugee housing must to be structural and long-term.

2.1.3 Dutch context and laws

In 2023, a total of 5.106 temporary dwellings have been developed in the Netherlands. In Q1 of 2024, an additional 1.148 dwellings have been built (Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting en Ruimtelijke Ordening (VRO), 2024b). Shown in figure 11 is the amount of temporary dwellings per province, developed in 2023. The graph shows that Noord-Brabant and Zuid-Holland contributed most to the temporary housing stock in 2023.

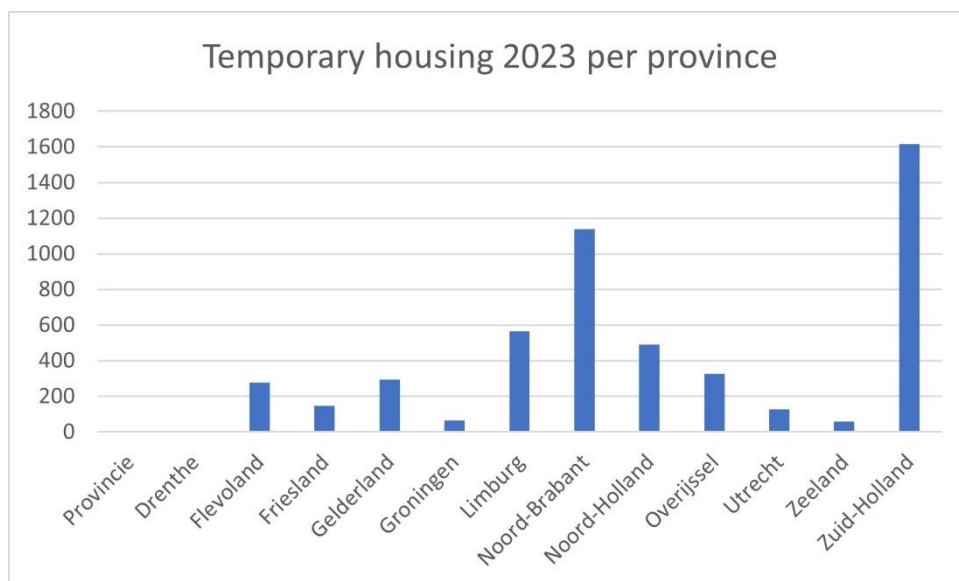


Figure 11 Temporary housing development in 2023, per province (Ministerie van VRO, 2024).

The expectation is that in 2024, 8.700 temporary dwellings will be developed. This is a growth compared to 2023, however, the intended target of 37.500 dwellings in 2023 and 2024 will not be reached. Many projects encountered delays, with most of the delays (75%) occurring in the initiative phase. In Q4 of 2023, the average delay of projects was 175 days. Several causes for these delays were found and in some projects, multiple delaying factors occurred at the same time (Ministerie van BZK, personal communication February 5 2024). The most important factors are:

- Utilities and infrastructure
- Non-conclusive business cases
- Formal procedures
- Lack of support
- Availability of locations

Lack of support from residents is one of the main themes in this research and is often regarded as one of the most common causes for delays (Blankendaal & Wassenberg, 2021; Groot et al., 2022). According to the RVO and UVTH (2023), a lack of support can be caused by assumptions about the target groups, the physical features of the dwellings, the location, the temporality and the participation process. However, through clear communication and participation, a lot of this opposition could be prevented (UVTH & RVO, 2023).

Participation for new housing developments is encouraged in the Dutch Environmental and Planning act. This Act has come into force on January 1st 2024 and impacts all housing developments, including temporary housing. To ensure that all stakeholders are aware of how the new law impacts developments, a toolbox has been published by the Ministry of BZK (2024a). This toolbox describes five phases of real estate development and for each phase, general information and in-depth case studies are provided. One of the main points related to local support is that under the new Act, initiators of temporary housing projects are obliged to indicate if participation has been organized and what the outcomes are. This step has to be completed before applying for the environmental permit (Ministry of BZK, 2024a). Although participation is not always mandatory, a local council does have the right to enforce mandatory participation for activities that conflict with the rules of the environmental plan. This does not include imposing rules about the form of participation (Informatiepunt Leefomgeving, n.d.-b).

The new Act also impacts the possibilities for legal protection. The procedures for temporary developments are the same as for permanent housing. The starting point for obtaining an environmental permit under the Environmental Act is the short procedure, where the decision period is usually 8 weeks. After a decision is made, there are still room for objection. Generally, people have six weeks to submit their notice of appeal, to which the administrative body is obliged to reply (De Rechtspraak, n.d.). In the case that the person who objects is not satisfied with the response, they have the option to appeal the decision with the Council of State (*Raad van State*). In that case, a judge will make a ruling on the decision to the competent authority (Informatiepunt Leefomgeving, n.d.-b). In certain situations the longer procedure is applicable, for example if the project impacts a natural nature reserve. These longer procedures are not common for temporary developments (Informatiepunt Leefomgeving, n.d.-c). Even though the usual procedure is the short procedure, the whole process of objections and appeals can take up to a year, which is why it is important to create support for a project.

For temporary housing, the Environmental and Planning Act provides many opportunities. The environmental plan, which is part of the Act, provides new opportunities for finding locations and establishing requirements for flexible housing, in accordance with municipal policy. This can be achieved, for instance, by utilizing temporary functions, which have fewer specific constraints for locations. But also permits that allow for deviating use are available. Moreover, there is no longer a maximum term for municipalities to establish guidelines for temporary use of spaces designated in the environmental plan (Groot et al., 2022).

2.1.4 Stakeholders

There are multiple actors involved in the development of temporary housing projects in the Netherlands. To give some more context of the current temporary housing market and its developments, the different actors are described below.

Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations

Living space is a primary necessity of life and Article 22 of the Constitution states that promoting housing is a concern of the government. This statement is not limited to the number of homes, but also concerns the quality of housing (*Artikel 22: Volksgezondheid; woongelegenheden; ontplooiing*, n.d.).

The Ministry is dependent on cooperation with provinces in order to speed up the developments. In certain cases, regulations must be adjusted, for example when municipalities need to deviate from the zoning plans in order to develop the housing (*Flexwonen: meer, sneller, beter, gemakkelijker*, 2022).

The Ministry of BZK has a few initiatives to accelerate temporary housing development:

- **Taskforce for Acceleration of Temporary Housing:** In 2022, minister de Jonge introduced the *Taskforce Versnelling Tijdelijke Huisvesting*. This taskforce aims to make the development of temporary housing a quick and easy process for municipalities, provinces and housing associations, for example by reviewing business cases and finding locations (Ministerie van BZK, 2023c). The taskforce does not work isolated, but is actively involved with other parties, like the Rijksvastgoedbedrijf, VNG, Aedes, developers and more.
- **Financial support:** There are different subsidies available for parties that are interested in developing temporary housing. One example is the *Stimuleringsregeling Flex- en Transformatiewoningen (SFT)*, which helps municipalities to cover part of the costs of placing the temporary units. Another form of support is flexcities, which helps housing associations mitigate the risk of not finding a new location for temporary dwellings after the first operating period has expired.
- **Collectieve inkoop:** in the current temporary housing procedure, a municipality first finds a location after which the zoning plan is changed, if needed. Only after this is finalized, the municipality can place an order for temporary housing units. With collective purchasing, the municipality and housing associations pre-order housing units and the aim of the initiative is that housing producers can scale up and have more units available for future demand.

(*Flexwonen: meer, sneller, beter, gemakkelijker*, 2022; Ministerie van BZK, 2023e).

Municipalities

According to Aedes (2023), municipalities are becoming more and more interested in the placement of temporary housing within their borders. An advantage of temporary housing is that a municipality can better absorb fluctuations in population growth. Because municipalities determine how high the need for housing is and because they select the locations, they have a key role in the development of temporary housing. As an actor they are expected to have some amount of flexibility when it comes to appointing locations, but due to resistance of local communities, or existing zoning plans, it can be difficult to actually use certain locations (Groot et al., 2022).

Municipalities must try to overcome these issues and Minister de Jonge has dared municipalities to take more risks when it comes to temporary housing (*Flexwonen: meer, sneller, beter, gemakkelijker*, 2022). With support from the province it is often possible to make temporary housing quickly available, as they can give permission to differ from existing zoning laws. And lastly, together with housing associations, municipalities organize events to encourage participation of surrounding residents and prevent resistance from local communities (Wassenberg & Kranenberg, 2023).

Housing associations

Aedes, an overarching organization for housing associations, has acquired 8.000 temporary housing units to be divided amongst 100 housing associations in the Netherlands. This is an example of the *collectieve inkoop* initiative from the Ministry. As a result of the war in Ukraine, there has been an increase of refugees in the Netherlands, with led to extra pressure on the housing market. Different housing associations expressed a need for temporary housing and coordinated the purchase together (Wassenberg & Kranenberg, 2023). There are 36 construction companies involved in the development of the units (Aedes, 2023). Lastly, it is important for housing associations to work closely with the municipality. They can assist in finding and developing suitable locations for temporary housing.

Private developers

One type of actor that normally plays a very big role in the housing market, is the private developer. However, according to Druta and Fatemidokhtcharook (2023), it is very rare that private developers are involved in the development of temporary housing. This mainly has to do with the business case. In the Netherlands there are a few examples of developers that focus on temporary housing. One of them is Rabo SmartBuilds. They aim to develop 12.000 temporary dwellings in the middle-high rental sector (*Rabo SmartBuilds*, n.d.). Another example of a private development is the realization of dwellings for seasonal workers or labor migrants on company grounds. The employer is then the initiator and is required to have the appropriate permits and inform the local community about the plans. Together with the municipality, the initiator can develop a communication plan (RVO, 2024). In practice, this communication between the municipality and private developers can be more complex than communication between municipalities and housing associations, who speak the same language and are regularly involved in the same projects. The collaboration between municipalities and private developers during participation processes is not always optimal, which can lead to a lack of mutual trust (W. Reedijk, personal communication, April 12 2024).

Local communities

Apart from the stakeholders that are placed in the front-end of developments, the local residents should be considered as important actors that experience the ongoing effects. As mentioned before, the level of support from local communities is an important factor in the development of temporary housing and residents have the ability to express their concerns through legal procedures (De Rechtspraak, n.d.). This means that local residents are not mere bystanders in the development process, but that they have the opportunity to be involved to certain extents.

2.2 Level of support

There are different definitions of the concept of support. According to Boedeltje and de Graaf (2004), a distinction can be made between institutional, administrative or political support on the one hand, and social or public support on the other. However, for the main question in this research, only the latter will be further discussed.

2.2.1 Defining level of support

A general definition of support is given by Ruelle and Bartels (1998): *"Support can be described as an interest-driven evaluation of a political situation by target groups of a policy, to which a target group provides active or passive support or, on the contrary, offers resistance"* (p.405). With this definition in mind, it is important to look at the difference between attitudes and behaviors. Residents could have a negative attitude towards a policy, but this does not mean they will take action against this policy (Boedeltje & de Graaf, 2004). The idea is that support exists when the attitudes toward a project are positive or neutral. When the attitudes are negative, there is no support. However, support can change with each step in a development process and support can take shape by following a process where the values of people are assessed (Boedeltje & de Graaf, 2004).

Van der Velden et al. (2013) describe that there are examples of housing projects where local residents have grown to understand the project and express a more positive attitude. However, this does not always mean that there is 100% support, but that should also not be the main target. The goal should be to execute well designed plans and not necessarily work towards 100% acceptance from the community (van der Velden et al., 2013).

However, in cases where negative attitudes are actively expressed and people oppose certain plans, this can have great consequences for developments. In these cases the level of support is defined by opposition.

2.2.2 NIMBY

One of the more widely used terms for neighborhood opposition is NIMBY, meaning 'Not In My Backyard'. When people respond to a plan with NIMBY behavior it does not necessarily mean they disagree with the plan in general. They often only oppose the fact that the development will take place near their home (Tighe, 2010). Generally, NIMBY behavior is influenced by ideologies, the trust in the government and the actual necessity of the project (Pendall, 1999).

For many years, different authors have researched the concept of NIMBY. In a report from the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, Davison et al. (2013) said to have found a high level of opposition in mainly wealthy areas. Scally and Tighe (2015) add that most opposition is found in urban communities and is more frequent with rental projects compared to homeownership. This does not mean that NIMBY is limited to affordable housing. Earlier research from Tighe (2010) has found that opposition can also occur with the development of higher-priced housing.

Another important aspect concerning NIMBY is the phase in which the behavior occurs. In multiple Australian cases, researched by Davison et al. (2013), complaints appeared to be most prevalent in the early stages of the developments. And, in the end, most residents confessed that they only experienced little effects on their neighborhood. Research from Scally and Tighe (2015), based in the United States, confirms this. In around 87% of the cases they researched, opposition occurred after the project site was selected, but before approval was given for permits and zoning changes. In some cases (42%) there was a NIMBY response after the permits were approved, but before the developers applied for funding. Lastly, in 6% of the cases there were still complaints made during the exploitation phase.

As it becomes clear that NIMBY behavior can occur in different phases, it is important to also consider who the people are that oppose the plans and through what means they express this behavior. As mentioned earlier, NIMBY behavior arises as a result of a project being developed near people's homes, so most opposition comes from residents living close to the building site (Tighe, 2010; Davison et al., 2013). This opposition can come from individual residents, but in some cases they will organize a group to form a united front. These residents will then express their concerns via newspapers, or organize information campaigns themselves, for which they design their own flyers or yard signs. However, nowadays the quickest way to spread a message is via the internet. And when the residents really want to take action, some will contact government officials directly or organize protests at formal public hearings. Some might even take legal action (Scally & Tighe, 2015). The type of action that is taken depends on the background and resources of residents. In most cases, only the residents of wealthy neighborhoods have the resources to hire a lawyer (W. Reedijk, personal communication, 12 April 2024).

2.2.3 Effects of opposition on developments

The statement from Boedeltje and de Graaf (2004), that level of support can change throughout a development process is backed by Groot et al. (2022). They mention that support is not static. It can spontaneously develop, but also actively be increased. However, increasing local support does require resources. For example, organizing participation sessions, or replying to complaints and lawsuits costs time and money. Designing a participation strategy can take up several months and research from Groot et al. (2022) presents one case where a project was delayed for 1,5 years. This same project also cost 1,75 times as much as budgeted.

In the case of affordable housing developments, Scally and Tighe (2015) have found that 64% of the cases they researched (n=74) dealt with construction delays caused by neighborhood opposition. And in 29% of the cases, permits were denied or zoning changes needed to be made. Other effects of housing opposition are that changes need to be made to the design, or the number of units must be reduced. One example is the case of Hoogvliet Rotterdam, where 100 temporary units were planned,

but after complaints from the neighborhood the project was scaled down to 40 units (Bassant, 2024). In more extreme cases, the location has to be changed or the project is not executed at all (Sally & Tighe, 2015). These effects are found after opposition from local residents, but support for temporary housing can also be affected on other levels. For example, negotiations between governments and developers have stranded due to the reputation of temporary housing. Or housing associations can hold back on the development of temporary housing if the community has existing social problems. And for developers, the business case is the most important reason to not support temporary housing, as the exploitation period is often only 10-15 years, making the investment not feasible (Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023).

2.3 Temporary housing opposition

Only mentioning the term 'temporary housing' is often enough to create opposition from local residents. Although it appears that not only local residents oppose the plans. Architect Harvey Otten calls the temporary housing developments capital destruction. He states that vulnerable people end up in places that are not intended for residential purposes. And on top of that, it can be expensive and time savings might be limited if local communities object to the plans (van der Wal, 2023).

Along with the different factors that could influence the response to temporary housing, van der Velden et al. (2023) describe four types of ignitors of opposition: attitude of actors, communication, characteristics of the project and the context. They also mention that opposition can be caused by a general lack of trust in the municipality and does not necessarily have to be caused by temporary housing development on its own. However, as described by Davison et al. (2013) and Sally and Tighe (2015), NIMBY behavior from local residents is a big part of opposition towards temporary housing.

There are different levels of opposition depending on the type of temporary dwellings. The opposition described above refers to modular dwellings, while transformations often get more positive responses as these developments are generally considered an upgrade to the neighborhood (UVTH, 2023; W. Reedijk, personal communication, April 12 2024). It is important to research the causes of opposition, as public opposition can fail a project, before construction has even started (Tighe, 2010).

2.3.1 Opposition to spatial and building quality

Sally and Tighe (2015) list a few concerns that people have, specifically for affordable housing. An important cause of opposition is that there is already too much social housing in the area and that a new development will not fit in the existing community. This goes hand in hand with concerns about the site location and environmental impact. Some people fear that they will lose the view from their home, or that the increased amount of traffic will create unsafe conditions and loss of parking spots (Bassant, 2024). Parking is a factor that is also found by Davison et al. (2013). They add that there are more planning issues, like amenities and building density that can increase the amount of opposition. The latter is a critical point that is also experienced by Dutch housing associations. Boers (in Georgius, 2024) explains that the amount of resistance is higher when a certain number of dwellings is developed on one location, instead of spread out over multiple locations within a municipality.

Another aspect of temporary housing, the temporality, could also be an issue. However, Kool (2021) states that this temporality does not cause a lot of opposition in Dutch cases. She explains that residents do not look further than ten years into the future and therefore see the temporary housing as permanent dwellings.

Declining property values are also considered an important concern for residents (Sally & Tighe, 2015; Schneider & Till, 2005). Residents fear a decrease in value because of the specific design of a new building, lack of upkeep, disappearing open space or declining public service quality (Pendall, 1999). The design of the building is an important topic, as modular dwellings used to be designed like

container homes that were of temporary quality, as the maximum exploitation was 10 years. Nowadays, the prefabricated units are often of much better quality and the designs have been improved in such a way that they do not appear modular from the outside (Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023; van der Velden et al., 2023). This does not take away the fact that many people still assume that temporary housing is built up out of containers, and therefore oppose the developments. Van der Velden, Tiggeloven and Wassenberg (2016) argue that it is the role of the central government and municipalities to ensure that the temporary character of the dwellings does not influence the quality of the living circumstances in these dwellings.

Because housing has become more of a commodity over the years, the fears related to spatial quality are very relevant for home owners (Schneider & Till, 2005). The fear for these decreasing values is most prevalent with subsidized projects (Pendall, 1999). However, the research from Davison et al. (2013) shows that there is no evidence that affordable housing developments actually impact property values in nearby areas. And Pendall (1999) concludes the following: *“Fiscal and economic arguments help explain opposition to housing, but home is more than an asset for most people”* (p.115). Therefore, the following part will focus more on social arguments for opposition.

2.3.2 Opposition to target groups

As described earlier, there is an extensive list of possible target groups for temporary housing in the Netherlands and housing some of these target groups can be a cause of opposition from local communities (Reedijk et al., 2019; Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023).

Having cultural and social differences between groups in a community does not necessarily have to be an issue. The Netherlands is a liberal society with many different ethnic groups living together in cities and people are free to choose where they live and who they interact with (Huijnk, Dagevos & Miltenburg, 2017). However, according to Tighe (2010), many people prefer to live in a homogeneous neighborhood and are not open to integration of new groups with different economic or racial background. This can be a problem, as in many cases temporary housing is developed specifically for status holders or other vulnerable target groups. This raises concerns within communities. People worry that these urgent seekers will not be able to integrate and cause nuisance in the neighborhood (van der Velden et al., 2023). Additionally, specific worries that people have with refugees are that they do not learn the Dutch language or adapt to the Dutch norms and values (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (SCP), 2023).

The fear that status holders do not integrate is not completely unfounded. According to Manting et al. (2022), more than half of the intra-European migrants return to their home country within several years, so there is little focus on integration within these groups. As a result from this lack of integration, the trust between different social and cultural groups can diminish (Huijnk et al., 2017).

When minorities do integrate in a neighborhood, some people still fear that their property value and quality of life will decrease, as they assume that minorities are poor and have a negative impact on the existing communities (Tighe, 2010). It is even said that these target groups negatively impact the safety and crime rates (Scalle & Tighe, 2015). These assumptions are often based on what is reported in the news or are based on the types of organizations that are involved, like the Salvation Army or the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA). There is not always scientific evidence for these statements. And the fear for negative impact on the community does not only come from housing status holders or refugees, but residents also show their concerns with housing for people with care needs or students, who are also known to cause nuisance (Tinnemans, Fermin & Davelaar, 2019).

Another cause for opposition that is related to the target groups is the prioritization of the urgent groups. The groups that are most dependent on social housing are students, starters and refugees, who are often young and new on the housing market and in many cities these people are on

a ten year waiting list for an accommodation (Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023). It is however possible for someone to find immediate housing, in the event that they receive an urgent status, but they then must accept the first available housing (Overtoom et al., 2023). This prioritization of urgent groups is a cause of opposition from local residents because some of them might have children who are also on a waiting list for a home (van der Velden et al., 2019). Research from SCP (2023) adds that it is mainly the lower educated people that indicate to struggle with personal issues, like their own offspring not being able to find an affordable home. This then influences their opinion of refugees. Higher educated people, from all ages, appear to be more accepting towards refugees.

2.4 Strategies enhancing the level of support

As mentioned by Boedeltje and de Graaf (2004), support is a concept that can change through each step in a development process. In order to increase the chances of positive attitudes, values of all stakeholders should be taken into consideration and people should be given the idea that they can influence a process. Important factors to take into account are:

- Substantive openness: participants can bring ideas to the table;
- Access: participants have access to process and information provision;
- Levels of influence: merely informing, advising, co-producing or co-decision-making;

(Boedeltje & de Graaf, 2004).

These elements are related to communication and participation strategies, which will be discussed in the following paragraph. Later paragraphs will describe the strategies related to project characteristics and target groups.

2.4.1 Communication and participation

In the past ten years, participation and communication have gained more attention in local housing policies. An example of this is the integration of participation in the Environmental Act (Informatiepunt Leefomgeving, n.d.-b). However, participation is not a new phenomenon. In 1969, the Ladder of Citizen Participation was introduced by Sherry Arnstein, who connected levels of participation to levels of power (Arnstein, 1969). She describes the definition of public participation as follows: *“It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parceled out”* (Arnstein, 1969, p. 216).

The participation ladder, shown in figure 12, consists of different steps indicating different levels of participation. Each level of participation corresponds to a certain level of power which can influence the outcome of a product in a certain way. The lowest steps on the ladder are part of nonparticipation strategies, meaning that people are given the idea that they participate, but in reality they are not given any power. The following levels of tokenism give more room to the voices of participants. It can start with basic informing and be followed by consultation. However, these levels do not guarantee actions caused by the power of people. This citizen power only occurs at the highest levels of the ladder. Though partnerships, people might be in the position to negotiate with certain stakeholders. And with delegated power or citizen control, the participants are involved in the decision-making processes (Arnstein, 1969).

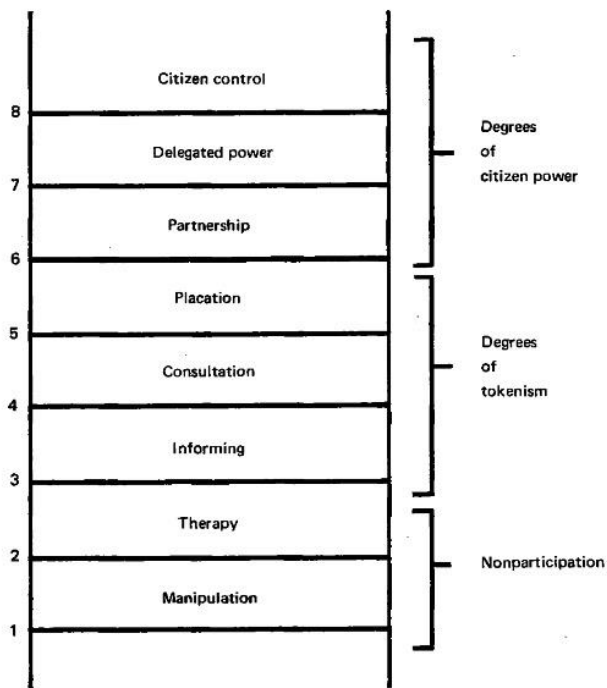


Figure 12 The Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969).

The ladder of participation was designed to show how people with little to no voice can become more powerful and heard within certain projects or organizations. For temporary housing, different researchers recognize the benefits of participation and various suggestions are given for organizing this participation.

Tinnemans et al. (2019) give some suggestions on how to organize neighborhood activities as part of the participation process. For example, by organizing an information market about the housing project, or by creating a sounding board group where ideas can be heard and shared. An example of the municipality Utrechtse Heuvelrug shows that as soon as a location for temporary housing has been selected, surrounding residents are asked to think about parking solutions and the design of the public space (Heuvelrug, 2023). Tinnemans et al. (2019) further mention that local residents should be involved before the project starts and they should be motivated to stay engaged throughout the process. Not only do the residents then feel heard, but they might even sign up as a volunteer at the project. This is an example of a strategy that municipalities often already apply. For example in Middelharnis, where a sounding board group for the development of temporary housing for Ukrainian refugees was organized. The conversations were led by an alderman and a project manager. Some residents expressed concerns about the spatial impact and the large groups of refugees that would be housed. However, not all participants of the sounding board group were at the meeting to criticize the plans. Some participants explained that they were already involved in refugee work and stressed the importance of providing enough support for these refugees (Gemeente Goeree-Overflakkee, 2022).

The municipality of Kapelle has also published some suggestions to take into account when organizing participation:

- Keep the groups small;
- Make it informal (use first name);
- Make clear to what extent residents can influence decisions;
- Organize tours through the neighborhood that will be developed;
- Plan informational gatherings for the locals;
- Give the municipality a mediating role;

(Informatiepunt Leefomgeving, n.d.-a).

Furthermore, it is suggested to invite the architects or builders of the temporary dwellings to the informational gatherings. They can answer questions and give additional explanations about the project (W. Reedijk, personal communication 12 April 2024).

Rockne (2018) presents some more recommendations for communication in order to increase the support for affordable housing.

- Make stories to put a face to the future residents of the affordable housing. The stories should be selected based on the community's values in order to get a better chance for empathy. It could help to include children and seniors in these messages.
- Highlight the housing solutions and how they are tangible. Half of the communication should be about the problem and the other half should present the solution. The why and the how must be answered and it should be indicated how the project impacts the local community.
- Adding to the previous point, also include communication about how the audience can be part of the development. This prevents individualistic thinking.
- Do not use the term housing but talk about home. People often consider the term affordable housing "emotionless".

Wassenberg (personal communication, 11 April 2024) notes that in the case of status holders, it could be advised to not mention them first on the list of intended target groups. This relates to the first point made by Rockne (2018), that the community's values are important and that they want to feel a connection with the new target groups. Therefore, it could be useful to mention other target groups first in the presentation of the plans.

Regarding the timing of participation, Blankendaal and Wassenberg (2021) state that in order for temporary housing to be accepted in an existing community, it is crucial to start with clear communication and participation early in the process, but only after a location has been selected. This corresponds with the findings from Scally and Tighe (2015), who describe that most opposition occurs in the early phases of a development. When residents are actively involved and have some level of influence in housing development, the support for these projects can increase (van der Velden et al., 2023). According to Pendall (1999), communication and participation are primarily steps to be taken as proactive measures, as it might be difficult to change existing views of communities that oppose temporary housing. However, this idea is not supported by Boedeltje & de Graaf (2004), who state that support can change throughout the development process if values are continuously assessed.

Municipalities and housing association have an important role in temporary housing developments. They often take the initiative and are responsible for the developments, which means they are also responsible for choosing a representative for communication (Groot et al., 2022). This must be done with attention. For example, an alderman might seem like the right person to lead an information session about temporary housing developments, but previous cases have shown that local residents then tend to complain about other problems in their municipality, instead of focusing on the specific project (Blankendaal & Wassenberg, 2021).

While most communication and participation is based on the response of opposers, it is also useful to focus on supporters of a project. This can be done by asking residents if they are interested in moving house, or if they know someone who is actively looking (W. Reedijk, personal communication, 12 April 2024). That not only the voices of opposers should be included was also discussed during a conference about temporary housing in the province of Utrecht. Participants concluded that there should always be some sort of counterforce that shows who the new target groups are and that these residents can be a good asset to the neighborhood. (Versnelling Woningbouw, n.d.). It might not always be possible to invite the future target groups to an information session with local residents, as their

reactions could be unpredictable. However, a solution could be to record videos where the future residents introduce themselves (W. Reedijk, personal communication 12 April 2024).

Most tools that have been described here are part of the communication strategies of municipalities. To support municipalities and other stakeholders in developing a narrative around temporary housing, the Ministry of BZK has created a communication toolbox to create more positive associations with the concept (Ministry of BZK, 2023d). The toolbox also lists ten tips to improve communication with local residents and can be found in appendix 1.

2.4.2 Target groups and housing support

As mentioned before, the target groups of the temporary housing can be a cause for opposition from local communities. However, there have also been cases where local residents eventually change their perspective and get a better understanding of the target groups (van der Velden et al., 2023). And because clear communication is described as essential for creating support, it can be useful to also include information about the target groups in this communication, in order to influence perspectives from the beginning stages of the developments. This is especially important as stereotypes are easily developed based on media framing and developers should be aware of this (Tighe, 2010). However, some municipalities conclude that sometimes it is better to not communicate that status holders will be housed. They do not see the need to put emphasis on that specific target group, as they are residents like any other (Ministry of BZK, 2024c).

To answer the concerns of the community that vulnerable groups are prioritized over other home seekers, it can help to present the temporary housing as an addition to the whole housing stock (van der Velden et al., 2019). This means that the urgent groups that would normally move to a general social housing unit, would now be directed to the temporary housing. And with that, the general social housing becomes available for other home seekers that do not have an urgent status.

Lastly, housing projects where vulnerable target groups are mixed with 'regular' groups appear to get less resistance from the local community. Especially when a social manager is introduced, these mixed projects seem to be more successful than projects that have a single target group. The manager is a contact person for the whole neighborhood and is always aware of what is happening in the area (van der Velden et al., 2019; VLOT Architecten, 2024). Additionally, a manager can be appointed to support and direct (re)integration processes of the vulnerable target groups (Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023). It is however not always possible to indicate whether status holders or other target groups are integrated, as this process can take a lot of time. Only a small selection of projects has proven that mixed-housing leads to more integration, which was mainly due to the social management (Tinnemans et al., 2019). Also, the target groups for mixed housing should be carefully chosen. Research does not give a clear conclusion about the ideal mix, so in order to make a well informed decision, some form of social engineering must be done (van der Velden et al., 2016). When this is not done, a consequence could be that multiple vulnerable target groups are housed together, which could lead to unsafe situations and could make integration more difficult (Besseling, 2020). According to Tinnemans et al. (2019), integration is a two-sided process, where the local community is responsible for giving the newcomers space and acceptance. Participation is important for this integration and consists of partaking in social activities. In some cases, housing projects are specifically designed with this social goal in mind. For example, status holders will live alongside Dutch residents and can be assisted in learning the Dutch language and integrating in local networks. These specific projects do require some extra attention regarding the balance of supporting residents and residents that require assistance (Groot et al., 2022). A good ratio would be two-thirds supporting residents and one-thirds consisting of residents who need support (F. Wassenberg, personal communication, 11 April 2024).

2.4.3 Increasing support through housing characteristics

The characteristics of a project influence the fear of decreasing property value that many local residents have. However, people often have the wrong image of temporary housing. Originally, modular dwellings were built as container-like units, but nowadays these units are designed to look more like regular apartments. If local residents are made aware of these design choices, which is also related to the theme of communication, they might be more enthusiastic about the temporary homes (van der Velden et al., 2019). During information meetings, renders of new projects can be shown to give an indication of what the dwellings will look like. Another form of visualizing future developments is through virtual reality. One project used as an example is the renovation of social housing in Tilburg. VR-glasses were used to show tenants what to expect from the design and what kind of choices they have to make for the renovation. This project has shown that using an interactive form of communication can lead to better understanding and more participation from the residents (Groen, 2022). If there is no design available yet, it could also be useful to show videos of existing projects to give an idea of what temporary housing looks like (W. Reedijk, personal communication, 12 April 2024). In general, a project should be given a specific identity and positive look, in order to create more positive responses (Tinnemans et al., 2019).

Another way to increase support for temporary housing is by adding facilities that are accessible for all residents, like a restaurant or community center. This can add not only economical, but also social value to the whole community (van der Velden et al., 2019). According to Tinnemans et al. (2019), these public spaces can be used to organize community building events. Having other facilities nearby, like sport clubs and cultural spots, is also important for the success of a project (Tinnemans et al., 2019).

The location of a housing project should also be considered in the discussion about participation and integration. According to Tinnemans et al. (2019), residents have to put in more effort to make connections with local communities if the housing is developed on a plot that is isolated, meaning the neighborhood around it has not been developed yet. The reason for this is that housing in existing neighborhoods can be connected to an existing social infrastructure. However, in the case of larger housing projects, there might be such a big community in the project itself, that integration can be facilitated from the inside and people do not feel the need to bond with outside communities.

Boers (in Georgius, 2024) adds that temporary projects should be small scale and spread out over a municipality, even if this takes more effort to realize. It is an important way to prevent a high level of opposition. Downscaling a project is something that occurs frequently with temporary developments, however, then the business case might not be feasible and the project is again at risk of not being developed (W. Reedijk, personal communication, April 12 2024)

Lastly, residents often fear poor maintenance of temporary dwellings, which could also affect the value of their home or the neighborhood. A solution for this is the introduction of managers that control the temporary dwellings and keep them in a proper state (Tighe, 2010; Davison et al., 2013).

2.5 Literature conclusion

The literature chapter answered the sub-questions of this research using existing academic sources and personal communication with experts. The findings are summarized in figure 13.

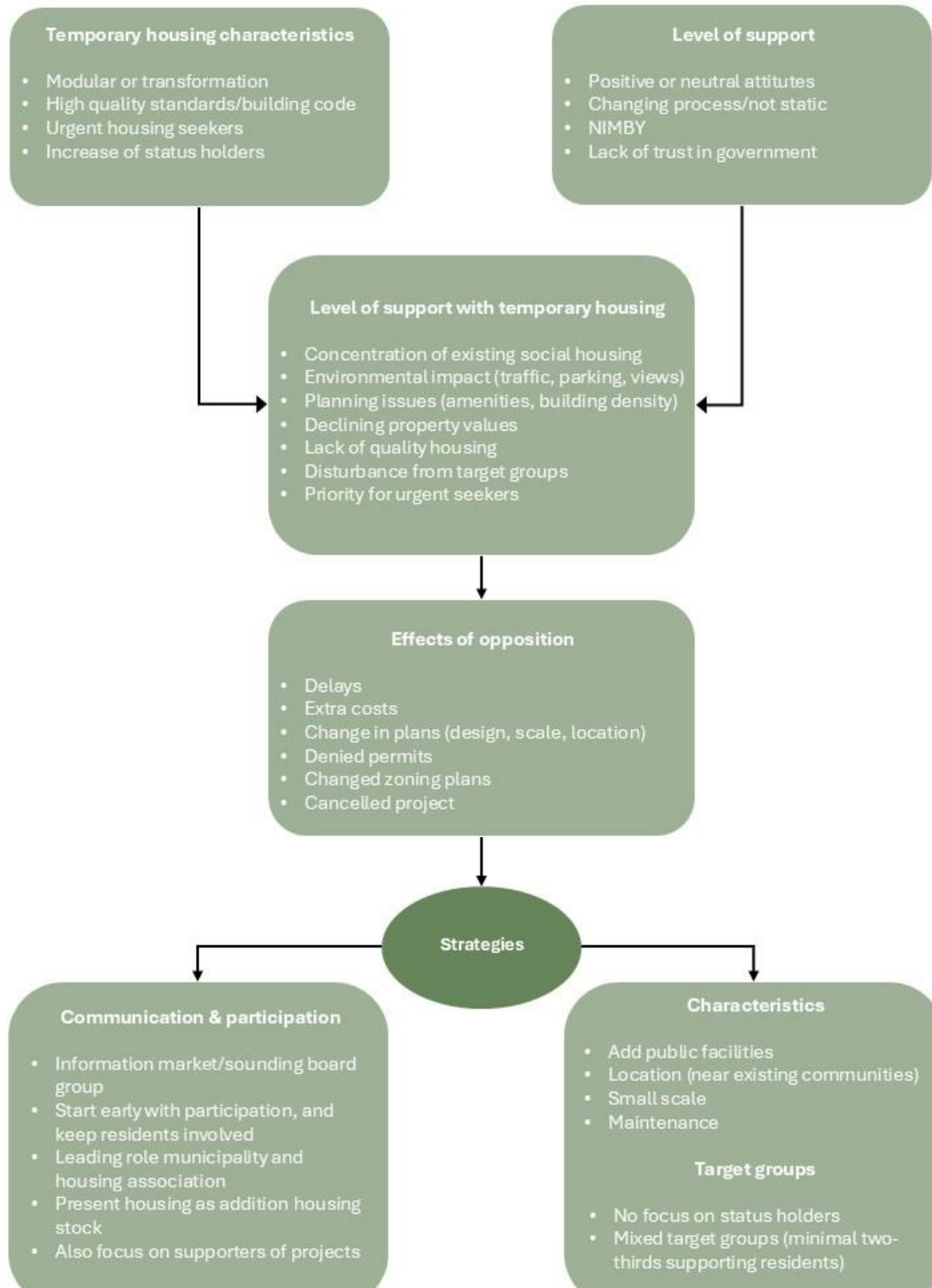


Figure 13 Findings literature review (own figure, 2024).

The main takeaways from the temporary housing characteristics are that they can be both transformations or modular, although the focus in this research is on modular dwellings. The dwellings generally have high standards and comply with the building codes. The target groups are urgent housing seekers, but this is a broad term and an increasing amount of people has become part of this group. Their common characteristic is the acute need for a home.

Next, level of support is characterized by positive or neutral attitudes. However, there can also be negative attitudes which are expressed in the form of opposition. This is often related to NIMBY. An additional factor that can play a role with opposition to housing is the lack of trust in the government.

Then, the figure shows the specific aspects of temporary housing that cause opposition. The main problems can be existing social housing communities, the environmental impact and planning issues. People also often fear bad quality of the housing, impacting the value of their homes. Lastly, residents express worries about the target groups, who are often prioritized over other groups and possibly cause nuisance.

The literature has presented some examples of projects that experienced delays or were adapted after opposition from the community. Apart from these effects of opposition, it is also possible that projects exceed the budgets or are not executed at all.

Lastly, the strategies are categorized in three parts: communication/participation, target groups and characteristics. Communication and participation focus on the type of information sessions and who should be involved and when. The paragraphs about target groups and characteristics have shown that a lot of opposition is caused by assumptions. Therefore, some of the strategies regarding these two topics are also related to communication in order to combat the incorrect assumptions some people have. Additionally, certain design choices can be made to create more acceptance, like the scale of the project, location and availability of facilities. And lastly, target groups should be carefully selected.

CHAPTER 3 | METHODOLOGY

Chapter 3 – Research Methodology

Existing data shows that there is often a lot of protest from surrounding residents, who are against the development of temporary housing in their neighborhood (Van der Velden et al., 2023). As found in the literature, this opposition can cause different types of delays. However, there are also many projects that are completed and considered successful. These projects will be used to determine the role of support from local communities within temporary housing projects. How the research is conducted will be described in this chapter.

3.1 Type of study

For this study, multiple research methods were used. The research started with a literature review and desk research to explore the subject and create a clear description of the problem and its causes. Following this explorative type of study, the research continued with a qualitative study including possible solutions to the problem. For this part, multiple interviews were conducted with different actors that are involved in three different projects. This qualitative case study research has the advantage of providing information on real-life cases, including their contexts. The findings from the cases are reported following the framework of the conceptual model. This method ensures that all research questions are answered.

3.1.1 Literature study

The literature review is an important part of the study as it provides the research context and gives an indication of the available knowledge of temporary housing opposition (Blaikie & Priest, 2019). Temporary housing is a broad concept and defined differently in different contexts. Therefore, it is necessary to be clear how it is defined in this research. The literature not only helps define temporary housing, but also the other concepts, like opposition and support. Furthermore, previous trends regarding temporary housing can be found in the literature and it also gives insight into how different authors perceive certain aspects of temporary housing opposition and support.

In this study, the literature is sourced using online search engines like Scopus and Google Scholar. It is important to be very clear in the search for articles about temporary housing. For example, there are many types of temporary dwellings that are developed as a result of natural disasters, which is not the scope of this research. There is also limited academic research conducted on temporary housing in the Netherlands, which means that this research cannot be executed by only analyzing literature. Therefore, the following step describes the relevance of desk research and the selection of specific cases.

3.1.2 Case selection and desk research

The Ministry of BZK has given a lot of attention to the concept of temporary housing over the past years, mainly due to the influx of Ukrainian refugees. Therefore, the Ministry also collects a lot of data about temporary housing projects in the Netherlands. The database including all projects in the Netherlands was used to make a selection of three cases for further desk research. Choosing multiple cases makes it possible to do a cross-case analysis. A larger selection was not feasible considering the time constraints of this research. The list of projects is not published by the Ministry, but the database included information about the type of dwellings, construction phase and the location. How these criteria were taken into account in the selection of these cases is described below. Additionally, the final three cases were selected based on the availability of information concerning level of support.

Type of dwelling

As described in the literature, part of the opposition for temporary housing is caused by the assumption that temporary units look like containers, which was originally the case with modular units (Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook, 2023; van der Velden et al., 2023). However, the designs of modular temporary dwellings have improved over time and developers consider modular dwellings a better investment than transformations (Overtoom et al., 2019). Therefore, the choice is made to only focus on modular dwellings in this research.

Construction phase

The design of the temporary dwellings is another concern expressed by residents (Pendall, 1999). To be able to analyze the response towards the final design of the dwelling, the focus is put on finished housing projects. To research the spatial quality, it is best if the dwellings are finished and not still under construction.

Distance to residential area

As opposition often stems from NIMBY behavior (Tighe, 2010), it is important that the selected housing projects are developed near existing residential areas. This increases the chance of finding relevant data about the selected project. When residents live further from a project site, they might not be as impacted or involved as when the project would be developed in their backyard.

Following the three criteria, three different projects are selected for this research (figure 14).



Figure 14 Map of selected case studies (own figure, 2024).

The following paragraphs explain how the three projects fit the three criteria. After the cases were selected, the second part of the desk-research took place. This included researching the specific causes for neighborhood opposition for each case and describing how different stakeholders approached this opposition. This part of the desk-research also gave insight into the effects of opposition on the selected temporary housing projects.

Case Study A: Doesburg, Kraakselaan

The first project is located in Doesburg, a city in Gelderland with 11.079 inhabitants. The project at the Kraakselaan consists of 15 modular dwellings and was delivered at the end of 2023 (Woonservice IJsselland, 2023). The dwellings are located in the Noordelijk Molenveld neighborhood.

Case Study B: Delft, Mozartlaan

The Mozartlaan in Delft is another modular project and was completed in June 2023 (UVTH, 2023). The project is located in the middle of Buitenhof-Noord, a neighborhood in the south of Delft. Delft has a total of 109.577 inhabitants, of which 4.045 live in Buitenhof-Noord (CBS, 2024).

Case Study C: Rosmalen, STEK

STEK is a project that is part of a larger development in Rosmalen, which is located in the municipality of 's Hertogenbosch. This development, named de Groote Wielen, is not yet completed. However, 121 of the 200 temporary modular dwellings of STEK are already delivered and occupied.

3.1.3 In-depth interviews

Following the case selection, multiple stakeholders from each project were contacted for in-depth interviews. Some of the research questions could already be answered using the literature, however, interviews are necessary to connect these academic findings to the Dutch context. Table 1 shows the list of all interviewees. Two experts in the field of temporary housing were interviewed along with the respondents that were related to the three cases. This is part of a triangulation method that increases the credibility of the other data (Blaikie & Priest, 2019). The interviews were conducted face-to-face and in some cases online. In total, 21 interviews were conducted.

CASE	INTERVIEW	STAKEHOLDER
A: Doesburg	A1	Municipality
	A2 - 5	Residents
B: Delft	B1	Municipality
	B2	Municipality
	B3 – 8	Residents
C: Rosmalen	C1	Housing association
	C2	Housing association
	C3	Municipality
	C4 - 6	Residents
D: Experts	D1	Platform 31
	D2	Expertisecentrum Flexwonen

Table 1 List of interviewees (own work, 2024).

For the three cases, different professionals were interviewed along with several residents. The professionals work at housing associations and municipalities. The local residents were selected on the street and before they were interviewed it was confirmed that they live near the temporary housing project. The residents of the temporary dwellings could also have interesting opinions about the development of temporary housing, however, these opinions are not in the scope of this research.

The interviews were semi-structured, in order to keep the focus on the topics that were discussed in the literature. However, this approach does leave room for additional questions that come up during the conversation with the respondents. Because the street interviews with the local residents were more spontaneous, these interviews had a more explorative structure. The interview protocols for all stakeholders are included in appendix 2.

3.2 Data analysis

In order to conduct the data analysis, most interviews were recorded and summarized. First, the data from the desk-research was analyzed to give some more context to the three different cases. Next, the findings from interviews with local residents and professionals were analyzed. Together with the desk-research, this part is compared to the findings from the literature and interviews with the experts. Apart from this comparison, there was also a cross-case analysis conducted, using all the data from the three cases.

3.3 Data plan and ethical considerations

The TU Delft has provided a Data Management Plan which is filled in and gives an overview of how data is stored and used in this study. Because human participants are involved in this research, their privacy must be protected. This means that after recording, the interviews are summarized and directly anonymized. The anonymized data is saved on a protected project drive, which can only be accessed by the researcher and supervisors.

Additionally, this research includes data from the Ministry of BZK. Some of that data has been shared under embargo, which means it cannot be published without permission. For example, the dataset of all temporary housing projects is only accessible for the researcher and supervisors and the data is stored on the protected project drive.

The interviews with the professionals were all recorded and they were all asked to give consent to the recording and use of the data. Some of the respondents on the streets did not wish to be recorded, therefore notes were made during the interviews, which were later transcribed. No personal information is included in any of the data.

CHAPTER 4 | RESULTS

4. Results

This research focuses on a selection of temporary housing projects in existing residential areas. In this part, three of those projects are described. Each case study starts with an introduction to the case and its context, which is then followed by the output from the desk-research, interviews with local residents and interviews with professionals.

4.1 Case Study A: Doesburg, Kraakselaan

The first project is located in Doesburg, a small town that is part of the Green Metropolitan area Arnhem-Nijmegen. The location of the project site is shown in figure 15. At the Kraakselaan, 15 temporary dwellings have been developed to support the need for affordable rental housing in the municipality. Five dwellings are allocated to status holders and ten are for local starters younger than 30 years. The idea of the project is that the starters can support the integration of status holders in the area. Because of the different target groups, the decision was made to develop three different housing types with varying surfaces. The dwellings will remain on the location for the coming twenty years, however, the units are of such quality that they can last an additional 30 years. Figure 16 shows the current state of the project. Housing association Woonservice IJsselland is responsible for finding a new location after the current exploitation period has expired (Woonservice IJsselland, 2023). Because of the Dutch Crisis and Recovery Act (*Crisis- en Herstelwet*), it only took 15 months to get the project from the initiation phase to delivery. The first unit was delivered in November 2023.

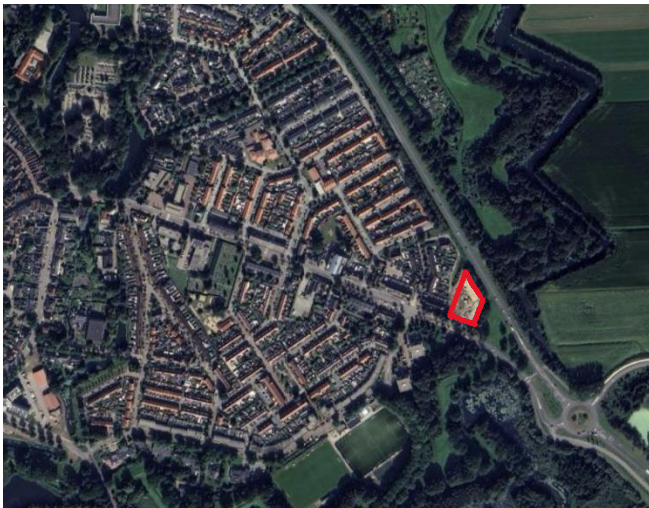


Figure 15 Project site in Doesburg, marked red (own figure, adapted from Google Maps, 2024).



Figure 16 Temporary housing Kraakselaan (own photo, June 2024).

The temporary housing is located in the Noordelijk Molenveld neighborhood, which has 1.150 inhabitants and a total of 578 dwellings (CBS, 2024). There is an equal division of owner-occupied dwellings and dwellings owned by a housing association, as shown in figure 18. 82% of de dwellings are single-family homes (see figure 17) (*Statistieken Buurt Noordelijk Molenveld*, 2024).

Dwelling types in Noordelijk Molenveld

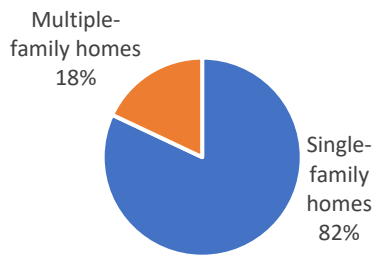


Figure 17 Dwelling types Noordelijk Molenveld (Statistieken Buurt Noordelijk Molenveld, 2024).

Ownership of housing in Noordelijk Molenveld

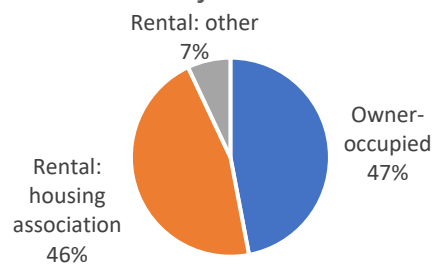


Figure 18 Ownership of housing Noordelijk Molenveld (Statistieken Buurt Noordelijk Molenveld, 2024).

More than half of the residents in Noordelijk Molenveld are older than 45 years, as shown in figure 19. The age groups 0-15 and 15-25 years are the least represented in this neighborhood. Figure 20 shows that the largest part of the population in Noordelijk Molenveld has the Netherlands as the country of origin (CBS, 2024). Lastly, the average gross yearly income per inhabitant is €23.000 (Statistieken Buurt Noordelijk Molenveld, 2024).

Age groups Noordelijk Molenveld

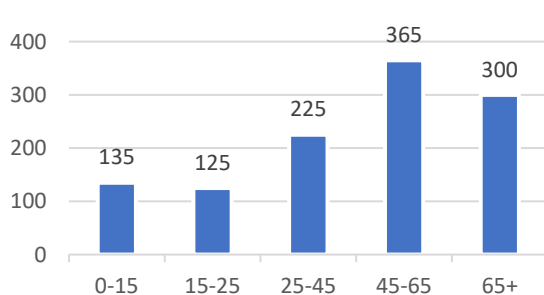


Figure 19 Age groups Noordelijk Molenveld (CBS, 2024).

Country of origin

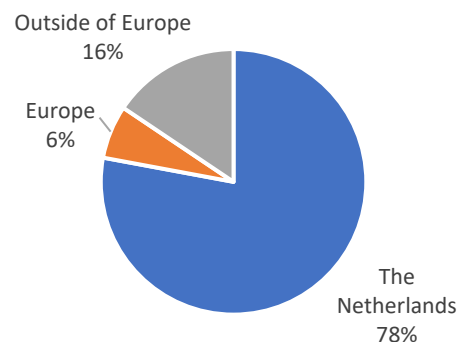


Figure 20 Country of origin Noordelijk Molenveld(CBS, 2024).

4.1.1 Desk-research

In October 2022, the municipality of Doesburg sent out a letter to the local community to inform about the plans for the Kraakselaan. A week later, on the same day that the local council was informed, the local residents were invited to an information session and were asked to respond to the conceptual plan for the temporary houses. Some people expressed concerns that the project would be bigger than 15 dwellings and that an exploitation period of 20 years does not feel temporary. Other residents were more worried about the impact on the neighborhood in terms of nuisance and parking and some mentioned that the dwellings looked more like vacation homes. Also the target groups were discussed and people wondered why only younger people were selected as residents of the project, instead of elderly. A last concern that was discussed was the lack of involvement of local residents in choosing the location for the development (Verslag infobijeenkomst, 2022).

Other concerns about the project were posted on the website onsdoesburg.nl, which the municipality used to actively involve local residents in preparation of the project. Some residents were

excited about the project and saw it as an opportunity to give the younger generation a better chance at finding a house. However, another resident expressed concerns about the size of the project and did not see the value of adding only 15 dwellings and not more. Someone also asked if the project could be executed on a different lot in the municipality (*Flexwoningen Kraakselaan*, n.d.).

In the end, 14 people participated in the information session hosted by the municipality and housing association, who provided further information about the plans (*Raadsinformatienota; Brief omwonenden*). They explained that they chose this location because it was already owned by the municipality. The amount of dwellings would not exceed 15, as that was the maximum amount that fits on the plot. The minimum exploitation period of 20 years was necessary to make the project feasible. However, the municipality has also accepted that the project would not be profitable. Instead, they focus on the added value from a social perspective, as the project aims to help starters and status holders (Woonservice IJsselland, 2024). The younger target group was chosen because young adults struggle most with finding a home in Doesburg. And lastly, the local community did not have to worry about parking, as the future residents would be able to park on their own property.

The strategy of hosting an information session was mostly about ensuring clear information and taking away any misconceptions that residents might have. However, some of the comments made by the residents were also taken into consideration in the further development of the design. For example, residents feared an increased amount of nuisance and therefore a large hedge would be placed around the plot. In January 2023, the preliminary urban design was presented during another information meeting (figure 21) (Gemeente Doesburg, 2023).



Figure 21 An impression of the temporary dwellings presented at the information meeting (Woonservice IJsselland & Gemeente Doesburg, 2023).

On July 6th, the environmental permit was obtained and residents had six weeks to submit *zienswijzen*. At this point, there was no additional feedback and both the municipality and housing association did not see the need for organizing other information meetings (Gemeente Doesburg, 2023). Figure 22 shows the important events throughout the development process of the temporary housing at the Kraakselaan.

Timeline Doesburg

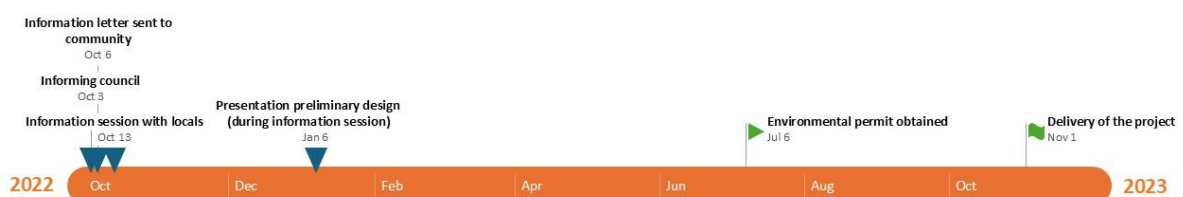


Figure 22 Timeline Doesburg (own adaptation, 2024).

4.1.2 Interviews with local residents

Apart from the people with concerns, there are also residents that have a positive experience with the project. In an interview with respondent A2, he mentions that he has positive interactions with the people living in the temporary dwellings at the Kraakselaan and he would actually like to live in one of the homes himself. However, the respondent questions if the project is feasible, as there are only 15 dwellings. Respondent A5 also mentions the scale of the project and mainly questions why there are not more dwellings or dwellings with two or three floors, as this would fit better in the existing neighborhood. Nonetheless, respondent A5 is happy with the current state of the project and its residents, as he does not experience any nuisance from them.

Respondents A3 and A4 are less familiar with the project. They know what the concept temporary housing entails and respondent A4 heard that there is a mix of young and elderly residents at the Kraakselaan. Both describe that they do not experience an increase in traffic or other effects on the city caused by the project.

When asked about any negative outcomes of the project at the Kraakselaan, respondent A2 mentions that he experiences more nuisance from a neighbor in his own apartment building than from residents of the temporary housing. None of the respondents experience any decreases in value of their homes. Overall, the residents experience no negative effects from the housing. Respondent A3 does mention that she might think different about the project if it would be developed next to her house. In that case, she would be concerned about how the dwellings would fit in the old character of the city. Respondent A2 quotes that people should “live and let live”. He elaborates that people should not worry so much about the negatives and that developing new housing is a necessity in this housing crisis.

The respondents of this research were informed about the project via various media and all were satisfied with the information provided. Only respondent A5 was directly invited to the information meeting organized by the municipality, however he did not attend this meeting. After viewing the preliminary designs of the dwellings, he was convinced that they would look nice. His only concern was if the new residents would park their cars in the surrounding neighborhood, but later this respondent was informed that the temporary dwellings would have their own parking site.

4.1.3 Interviews with professionals

Not only support from the local community can impact a development, the municipality also plays an important role. Respondent A1 describes that in this case, the municipality was initially not fully supportive of the plan to develop exclusively social housing. This led to a compromise with the housing association, who approved to designate a few dwellings to the free rental sector. Apart from these changes, the project was barely affected by a lack of support. However, there were other delaying factors, like permit procedures. According to respondent A1, the housing association was not satisfied that the project took 32 weeks to finish. The respondent notes that the research that is required before starting a new development, as well as submitting pieces to the council, takes up a lot of time. However, this applies to both temporary and regular housing projects.

Respondent A1 mentions some other factors that could influence the feedback and support from residents. With all housing projects in Doesburg, the same strategies regarding sharing information are applied and most projects will encounter some level of opposition. However, at the Kraakselaan that opposition was limited and occurred only in the initial phases. This could be explained by the fact that the dwellings are only on the ground floor. The respondent explains that the municipality has experienced less support with high-rise projects. Another factor is the rental sector. The temporary dwellings are developed next to houses that are in the same social segment. According to the respondent, this could benefit the level of support as direct neighbors would have less worries about decreasing values of their homes.

4.1.4 Conclusion Doesburg

As shown in the timeline in figure 22, the beginning phases of the project at the Kraakselaan consisted of sharing information and organizing information sessions. Part of this was in response to some of the opposition that occurred in this phase. The concerns that the local community had were taken away by the municipality, who were present at the information session and who shared additional information on an online platform. This meant that no further participation was necessary, and as the timeline indicates, the only important point before delivery was obtaining the environmental permit. The only changes that had to be made to the project were the addition of a hedge and appointing some of the dwellings to a different rental segment. The latter was influenced by opposition from the local council and not the local community. The interviews with the residents indicate that people now barely experience any effects on their neighborhood and that they have a positive experience with the new residents at the Kraakselaan.

4.2 Case Study B: Delft, Mozartlaan

The second project is located in Delft, where the municipality collaborated with the *Rijksvastgoedbedrijf* (RVB) to develop 84 modular dwellings for Ukrainian refugees, as shown in figures 23 and 24. In 2022, the municipality of Delft found a plot where they could house 228 Ukrainian refugees for an initial period of 3 to 4 years. The municipality invested 8 million euros in the modular units from the RVB in order to fulfil the urgent housing need and in June 2023, the first residents moved in (Delft op Zondag, 2023).



Figures 23 and 24 Temporary housing Mozartlaan (F. Polman, November 2024).

The project is located in Buitenhof-Noord and figures 25 and 26 show the ownership and types of dwellings that are found in this neighborhood. There is a large percentage of multiple-family homes in Buitenhof-Noord and most of the dwellings are owned by a housing association.

Dwelling types in Buitenhof-Noord

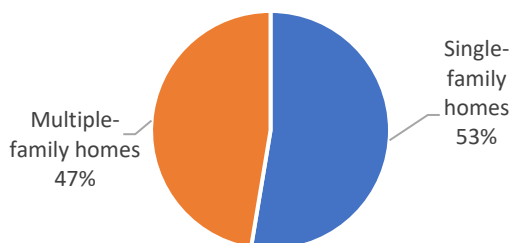


Figure 25 Dwelling types Buitenhof-Noord (Statistieken Buurt Buitenhof-Noord, 2024).

Ownership of housing in Buitenhof-Noord

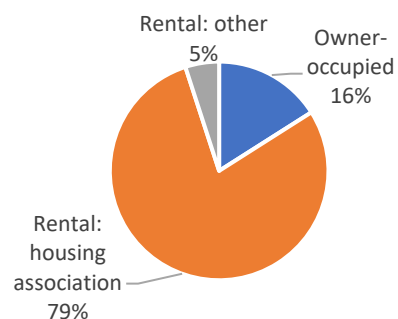


Figure 26 Ownership Buitenhof-Noord (Statistieken Buurt Buitenhof-Noord, 2024).

Figures 27 and 28 give an overview of the characteristics of the local residents. There is a diverse group of residents, as indicated by the different age groups and countries of origin. The average gross yearly income per resident is €20.100 (*Statistieken Buurt Buitenhof-Noord, 2024*).

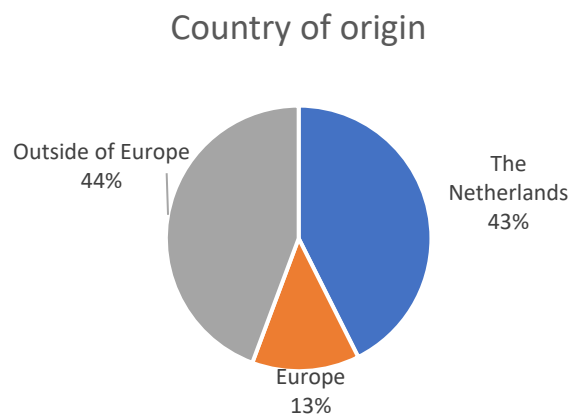


Figure 27 Country of origin Buitenhof-Noord (CBS, 2024).

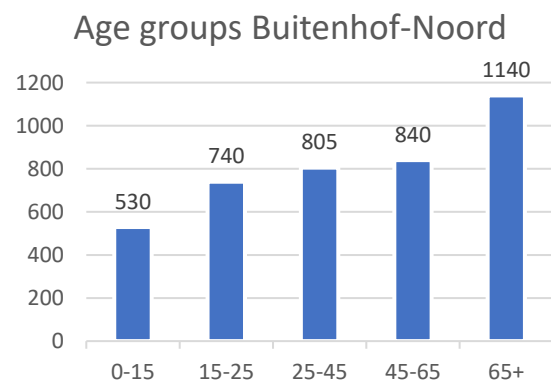


Figure 28 Age groups Buitenhof-Noord (CBS, 2024).

4.2.1 Desk-research

The modular units at the Mozartlaan were placed relatively quickly and the municipality experienced little opposition from the local community. When the plans were first announced, the local residents were not very supportive of the plans, but as soon as the residents heard that Ukrainian refugees would be housed, they were very accepting (UVTH, 2023).

However, there were some residents that still had concerns. Some people questioned why the choice was made to place the dwellings in Buitenhof. They did not understand why these types of projects are never placed in wealthy neighborhoods. Other residents claim to understand this decision, as it might be easier to create a successful project for urgent seekers in a neighborhood where residents might be able to understand the difficult circumstances that people live in, as they might have comparable experiences (Veldhoen, 2023). Some were also worried that other planned developments in Buitenhof would be delayed because of the urgency of this project (Hendriks, 2023).

Multiple residents were worried about the increase of traffic and lack of parking that could result from the new development (Veldhoen, 2023). The municipality answered that they would adhere to the parking norm in the area and that they do not expect that all refugees have a car. They would also inform with the council about widening the access road, to improve traffic safety (Hendriks, 2023).

According to Veldhoen (2023), there were also some supportive residents. For example, the neighbors in the Mozartflat, next to the plot of the temporary dwellings. They mentioned that they experienced more nuisance from the football field that was originally on the plot and that they preferred a residential area next to their home.

The urgent need for housing Ukrainian refugees meant that there was no room for expansive participation. The alderman made sure to answer the questions from the local council, but there was no public participation (Delft op zondag, 2023). There was an information meeting and worries expressed by the community would be taken into account if they concerned the public space, but decisions regarding the location, design and target group were final (Delft op zondag, 2022). Some people were not satisfied with the organization of this information meeting. One resident mentioned that they thought all decisions had been made and that there was no room for residents to bring any topics to the table. Another resident mentioned that only the people of the Mozartflat were informed about the project and that the rest of the neighborhood was only informed via word of mouth (Veldhoen, 2023).

The timeline of the project in Delft (figure 28) shows that the delivery of the project was delayed twice. This was caused by other factors and was not related to any opposition from the community.



Figure 28 Timeline Delft (own adaptation, 2024).

4.2.2 Interviews with local residents

Through desk-research, limited information was found about the opinions of local residents towards the target group. Therefore, during the interviews, the local residents were asked what their experiences are with the Ukrainian refugees in their neighborhoods.

Not all respondents were aware that the temporary housing was developed for Ukrainian refugees. Respondent B5 answered that she was not familiar with the new project, but she was aware that there are new Ukrainian residents in her neighborhood. She does not experience any nuisance from them and when asked how she would respond if the municipality would develop another similar project in her neighborhood, she answered that she would be fine with that. The resident stated: "We need to help everyone right?".

This opinion was not shared by respondent B6. He mentions that the neighborhood is already quite full. He states: "I have nothing against foreigners, but it is getting out of hand". With this quote the respondent refers to all the different residents in Buitenhof and not specifically the people from Ukraine. His answer to the initial question about any impact on the neighborhood caused by the Ukrainian refugees was that he does not notice them. The same answer was given by the other respondents.

While some respondents were not familiar with the project at all, or were not well informed about the target groups, some did have some opinions concerning the design of the dwellings. For example respondent B3. He thinks the location is well chosen, however there is still a gate separating the dwellings from the rest of the neighborhood. He hopes this will be improved as it could be a waste of the location if it is not finished properly. Respondent B7 says that he visited the project once because he was curious what had been developed and he thought the dwellings looked nice and of good quality. According to him, they could last at least 15-20 years. He also said: "It is only two stories high, that is not that bad".

Another topic that was discussed was traffic. Respondent B5 does not experience an increase in traffic caused by the new residents at the Mozartlaan. According to her, it is a busy neighborhood anyways. This is confirmed by respondent B8, who says that nuisance in the neighborhood has always existed in the past years and has not changed after the temporary dwellings were developed.

Not all residents were informed about the project and some cannot remember exactly where they read about it. Respondent B6 read about the dwellings in the local newspaper and considers it important to provide clear information about such developments. However, he would not necessarily want to be actively involved in participation processes. Respondents B7 and B8 gave similar answers. However, they both mention that in case that a project would be developed right next to their house,

they might want to be more involved. Because they do not live next to the temporary dwellings at the Mozartlaan, they are less bothered.

4.2.3 Interviews with professionals

As found in the desk-research, only one information meeting was organized to inform the local community about the plans for the dwellings at the Mozartlaan. According to respondent B2, the meeting was organized in a community center and people who came by were mostly interested in the designs of the dwellings. There were no extreme responses to the project. Because the RVB was in charge of delivering the units and because the municipality had a task to house a certain number of refugees, the level of support from the community could not impact the decisions regarding the project at the Mozartlaan. The information meeting was used to inform people about the design and to make it easier for people to ask questions to the municipality. According to respondent B1, the municipality received two main points of critique from the residents. One was that more people wished to have received the information letter and the second point was traffic. Local residents were complaining that there is a high amount of traffic in the neighborhood and that it would be dangerous to add more traffic through the development of housing. However, after the project was completed, there were no more complaints about traffic nuisance.

Why it was so important for the municipality to be available for questions, was because wrong information was shared in online media. For example, a newspaper article was published announcing that a new asylum center would be built on the plot. This information was incorrect and had to be rectified by the municipality, says respondent B2. Also during the information meeting, the municipality presented the dwellings from the RVB and one of the housing types was named “student units”. Some residents were worried that students would be housed at the Mozartlaan, which also had to be rectified.

When asked how the municipality ensures that the neighborhood receives all the information, respondent B1 describes that in normal cases the municipality chooses a certain radius around the project and within that radius all households receive an information letter. However, in this case, the project is developed in a so called NPLV neighborhood, which stands for *Nationaal Programma Leefbaarheid en Veiligheid*. This meant that there were already some projects being set up in order to increase livability and it was very important to prevent confusion within the neighborhood. Therefore the decision was made to choose a larger radius for the dissemination of information. However, as mentioned before, the people that were not included would still complain to the municipality that they experienced a lack of information.

According to respondent B1, the best way to organize an information session is to create different corners where colleagues from the municipality can stand and can be approached by residents. Like respondent B2, B1 also experienced little negative feedback during the meeting. The respondent mainly remembers some questions from residents who thought an asylum center was being developed, which had to be rectified. But there were also some positive conversations, for example with people who wanted to sign up as a volunteer to help the Ukrainian refugees.

Another comment that respondent B1 received was about the placement of the temporary units. People questioned why it was placed in a U-shape and why the units looked out on the surrounding park and not the courtyard. Respondent B1 answered that this had to do with the routing and with this placement the residents of the dwellings would not look out onto each other, but onto nature. This design was well thought out by an urban planner. Nonetheless, the respondent does understand why this question was asked, as the local residents in the Mozartflat, next to the plot, have a direct view of the temporary dwellings. These same residents later also complained about the lighting on the plot and mentioned that it was too bright and would turn on and off on the wrong moments.

This issue was picked up quickly by the municipality and now there are no more complaints, according to respondent B1.

Respondent B2 says that although the municipality was responsible for developing the housing for Ukrainian refugees in this case, housing associations are better at estimating whether a neighborhood can accommodate status holders or not. Housing one target group in one project is not the standard procedure and at another location that is being developed in Delft, status holders will be mixed with other target groups so they can support each other. In that case, the municipality works closely with a housing association to accommodate an ideal mix. However, according to respondent B2, this other location experiences more resistance than the project at the Mozartlaan.

As a final note, respondent B2 mentions that temporary housing should be an expansion of the social housing stock and should not be presented as housing for a single target group. However, the Ukrainian refugees had to move out of their previous housing, which made their housing an urgent task for the municipality. Respondent B1 adds that the municipality wants to prevent delays in regular housing development and in order to prevent further pressure on the social housing stock, the decision was made to develop temporary units for the refugees. This is a strategy that respondent B2 communicated clearly to the council, but respondent B1 questions if this strategy of contributing to the overall housing stock is also communicated clearly to the local community, who often still worry about their own waiting lists for housing.

4.2.4 Conclusion Delft

The interviews with local residents indicate that concerns about traffic and nuisance do not necessarily relate to the temporary housing project itself. Multiple respondents mention that Buitenhof is already a busy neighborhood with a lot of traffic. The overall experience with the Ukrainian refugees is positive, but the design of the housing causes mixed feelings. Also the distance to the project appears an important aspect, as some respondents mention they might react differently to a development if they lived closer to the project.

In this case, the opposition mainly occurred in the beginning of the project development and the municipality used the information session to take away any concerns, which is also indicated on the timeline. The project itself was not impacted by opposition from the community, mainly because there was a high level of urgency and the dwellings were delivered by the RVB. However, there were some other factors that delayed the delivery twice. After the project was delivered, the municipality remained available to answer complaints from local residents and solve any problems, preventing further opposition.

4.3 Case Study C: Rosmalen, STEK

The third project in this research is STEK in Rosmalen, which is part of a larger development in Noordoosthoek, located in neighborhood De Groote Wielen. On the plot, which is marked in red (see figure 29), around 200 temporary dwellings are being developed.



Figure 29 De Groote Wielen with the location for temporary dwellings marked red (Citadel - De Groote Wielen, n.d.).

Between 2016 and 2023, the municipality of Den Bosch had already placed 250 temporary dwellings to combat the local housing shortage and the ambition is to develop 500 more over the coming years. Over 200 temporary units will be located in De Groote Wielen (*Flexwoningen op tijdelijke locaties*, n.d.). This specific development, named STEK, is an initiative of the municipality and housing association Zayaz. As of 2022, housing association JOOST is also involved and is responsible for the development of 70 dwellings. This collaboration gives Zayaz more room for other investments, but they remain the responsible party for management of the homes (*Zayaz en JOOST gaan samenwerken in STEK*, 2022).

STEK partially consists of dwellings that are permanent. However, the largest part of the development, 120 units, will be relocated between 8-15 years. They will either remain part of De Groote Wielen or will be placed in another area in Den Bosch. Two thirds of the dwellings are intended for people with lower incomes and one third will be assigned to middle income groups. The idea is that these residents can move along with their home when it is relocated (Zayaz, n.d.).

The project's identity is centered around outdoor living and encounters, meaning that residents are not just responsible for their dwelling, but are also encouraged to collaborate with their neighbors in maintaining the neighborhood. The low-traffic neighborhood is designed in such a way that there is

attention for nature and room for communal activities. The preliminary urban design is shown in figure 30. To ensure that future residents will take care of the neighborhood as it is intended, there is a selection procedure for prospective residents (Woningcorporatie Zayaz & Woonstichting JOOST, n.d.). Figures 31 and 32 show the first two phases of STEK completed.



Figure 30 Preliminary design urban plan (Gemeente 's Hertogenbosch & Woningcorporatie Zayaz, 2022).



Figures 31 and 32 Phase one and two of STEK completed (own photos, August 2024).

Because not all neighborhoods of de Groote Wielen are developed, the following data is presented on the scale of the district de Groote Wielen and not the neighborhoods, like the other two cases. De Groote Wielen currently has 10.600 inhabitants. Two-thirds of these inhabitants live in owner-occupied dwellings and most dwellings in the district are single-family homes, as shown in figures 33 and 34 (Statistieken Wijk De Groote Wielen, 2024).

Dwelling types in de Groote Wielen

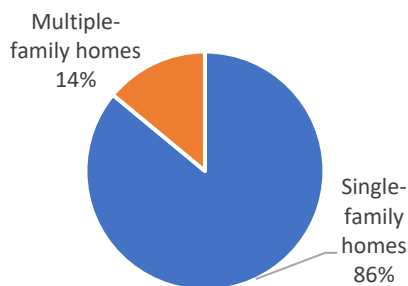


Figure 33 Dwelling types de Groote Wielen (Statistieken Wijk De Groote Wielen, 2024).

Ownership of housing in de Groote Wielen

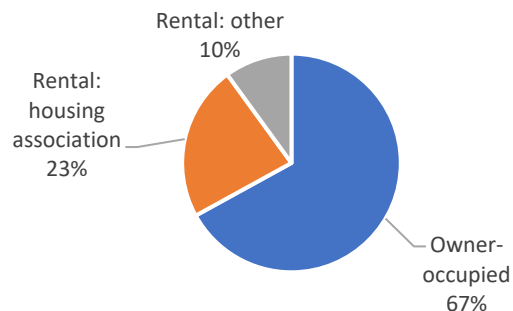


Figure 34 Ownership of housing de Groote Wielen (Statistieken Wijk De Groote Wielen, 2024).

The residents in de Groote Wielen have a gross yearly income of €36.500 (Statistieken Wijk De Groote Wielen, 2024). Along with the ages 25-45 and 45-65, there is also a large group of 0-15 year olds in de Groote Wielen, indicating that there are many young families in this district (figure 36). Lastly, figure 35 shows that most inhabitants have The Netherlands as their country of origin (CBS, 2024).

Country of origin

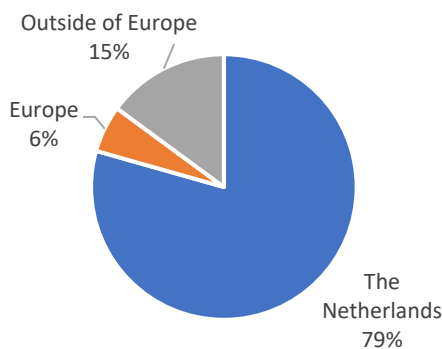


Figure 35 Country of origin de Groote Wielen (CBS, 2024).

Age groups de Groote Wielen

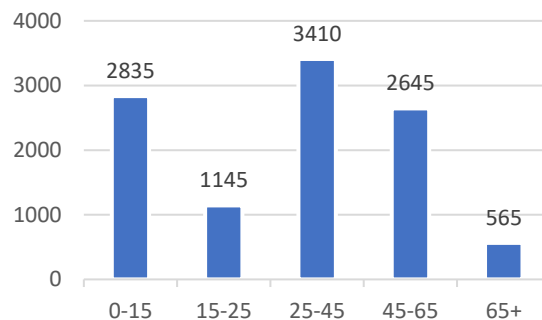


Figure 36 Age groups de Groote Wielen (CBS, 2024).

4.3.1 Desk-research

At the end of 2020, when the first plans for the development were made public, the municipality informed the residents that lived directly next to the vacant plot. However, the residents' collective in De Groote Wielen was of the opinion that the entire neighborhood should be informed about the plans and therefore they published the petition 'Stop flexwoningen Noordoosthoek'. This petition was spread via flyers and was eventually signed by 1.500 people (Roovers, 2020; UVTH, 2023). The initiators emphasized that they do not necessarily oppose temporary housing, but their main concern was that a large amount of rental dwellings in the same segment does not fit in the neighborhood, which has a different mix of ownership and building types. One of the residents suggested to spread the dwellings over Rosmalen and neighboring towns (Roovers, 2020).

Further opposition came from a councilmember, in the beginning of 2021. He had spoken with local residents who were under the impression that the location for the development was already approved, without consulting them. Especially residents from the adjacent neighborhood De Lanen were opposing the plan and feared a lack of diversity in building type and target groups (Roovers, 2021).

In June 2021, the council announced the decision to make the draft zoning plan available for review. This was a zoning plan for the whole area development of Noordoosthoek and in total 93 people submitted 20 *zienswijzen* that needed to be reviewed (Gemeente 's Hertogenbosch, 2023). The points concerning specifically the temporary housing development are discussed below.

Target groups

The concentration of social housing does not fit the municipal policy of developing 30% social and 20% mid-rent/buy, according to the complainants. Local residents believed that a high level of social housing will turn that part of the neighborhood in a sort of slum. Based on publications about social housing and social problems in neighborhoods, like crime and livability issues, the residents believe that they will experience an increased feeling of unsafety (Gemeente 's Hertogenbosch, 2023).

Effects on neighborhood

One of the complaints that was mentioned for temporary housing specifically, but could also play a role with permanent developments, is the topic of traffic and parking. A high volume of new housing could have consequences for the availability of parking and can lead to unsafe traffic situations. Additionally, temporary housing will be installed faster than additional necessary facilities are developed, which puts pressure on existing facilities. There is also not much to do for young people in the neighborhood, even though they are the target group for the temporary housing.

Next, the residents asked the project leaders to research the noise-disturbance that goes along with the development of temporary housing. They also feared that the area would become a continuous building site for 5-8 years when the temporary dwellings are removed and permanent housing will be built. This could also lead to increased nuisance and safety issues.

Some residents also had concerns about the design of temporary dwellings. They question how sustainable the dwellings are and if they have the same requirements as permanent dwellings. Also the design and size of the dwellings might not match the existing neighborhoods (Gemeente 's Hertogenbosch, 2023).

Communication

The municipality published questionnaires to evaluate the opinions of local residents. However, the residents feel that this questionnaire did not take away any concerns and that different types of questions needed to be asked. Some complainants also mentioned that they do not see their input during the participation reflected in the documents.

Lastly, at the time when residents bought a house in the neighborhood de Lanen, they were not made aware of the temporary housing plans next to their neighborhood (Gemeente 's Hertogenbosch, 2023).

During the discussions with the residents' collective, the municipality was still in the process of doing a feasibility study, which was eventually delayed because of the opposition (Roovers, 2021). The lack of support for the initial plans also had a big impact on the project, in the sense that different aspects of the original plan were changed. An overview of these changes is shown in table 2.

Original plan	New plan
Target group: urgent seekers, single- and two-person households	Target group: mixed (incl. young families)
Temporary housing	Gradual living: some properties are permanent, others are relocated. Facilities and green are permanent.
Temporary location	Permanent neighborhood development
300 dwellings	205 dwellings
Low-income households	2/3 low-income, 1/3 middle-income households
Monotone plan	Varied building types and facades

Table 2 Overview of changed plans (Den Bosch, n.d.).

After many intensive discussions with local residents, the municipality completed its feasibility study in May 2021. Some of the ideas from residents were implemented in a preliminary urban concept, which was then published for further review via online sessions and questionnaires (Den Bosch, n.d.).

The municipality has responded to most of the complaints, in order to get approval for the final zoning plan. One of the concerns was the high concentration of social housing, but they answered that a part of the temporary dwellings will eventually be spread out over other neighborhoods, decreasing the concentration of social housing on one plot. Also, in this project the temporary dwellings are only temporary due to their location. The units themselves are permanent and must comply with the building code for permanent housing (Gemeente 's Hertogenbosch, 2023). In January 2023, the council approved the final zoning plan and three months later the first 30 dwellings were completed. The complete timeline of the project, including the different participation phases is shown in figure 37.

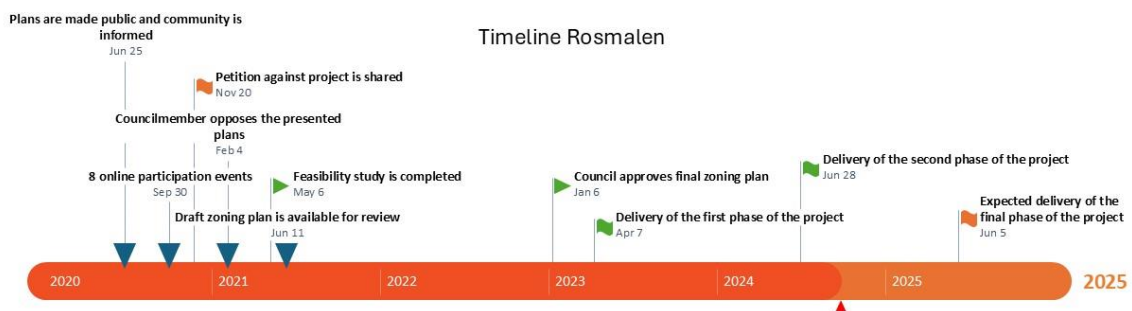


Figure 37 Timeline Rosmalen (own adaptation, 2024).

4.3.2 Interviews with local residents

This case is characterized by a strong opposition from a certain group of residents. Now that two of the three phases of STEK are delivered, residents were asked what their opinion of the project is. Respondent C4 initially mentioned she has no knowledge of the temporary housing project and does not know what temporary housing entails. When this is explained she does remember which project is described, but mainly knows it by its concept that evolves around community building. Respondent C4 only lives in de Groote Wielen since a year, so she is not aware of all the participation processes that took place around STEK. She does have an opinion about the project now that it is finished. The respondent describes that the dwellings are designed well. The playground next to STEK is often used by her children, who play with a Moroccan boy who lives in STEK with his parents. Respondent C4 adds

that it is good that STEK brings some diversity to de Groote Wielen, however there are also Moroccan families in other parts of the district.

Respondent C5 has more knowledge about the project and the earlier opposition, as he lived in de Groote Wielen for six years. He remembers the opposition towards the plan and he was also informed about the information sessions. However, he did not participate in any. The respondent felt that these sessions were more targeted towards direct neighbors of the project, which he is not. When asked what he thinks about the current state of the project and if he experiences any nuisance, respondent C5 answers that the dwellings have a nice design, but looking at it, they do not really fit in with the other neighborhoods. However, the respondent is of the opinion that the other parts of de Groote Wielen could also be more diverse. Now it is more “villa versus flex”. Respondent C5 also thinks the concept of community building is only targeted towards STEK and that there is not much community building with the surrounding neighborhoods. He is not fully aware of who live in STEK and if they want any interaction with surrounding neighbors, but STEK does look like a separate community. Respondent C5 does not experience any nuisance from STEK. The only nuisance he often experiences is in the shopping center, but then he does not immediately think that those people are residents from STEK. Lastly, the respondent was asked about possible declining property values and he answers that he can imagine that happening with other projects, but in de Groote Wielen the housing prices are still very high.

The last respondents, C6 and C7, have lived in de Groote Wielen for around 3 years and like the other respondents they are relatively positive about the project. They only have a few questions, like what the idea is of temporary dwellings. According to the respondents, moving the dwellings in a few years does not seem necessary. There will be a lot of new developments in that area of de Groote Wielen and if STEK is removed, that empty area will become a building site again. Respondents C6 and C7 like the look of the temporary dwellings, but they could also belong on a vacation park, as they are a bit smaller. When explained that these dwellings are for social rent, they say that this does not matter to them. According to the respondents, it is important to have nice dwellings to look at. One of the respondents remembers seeing a social housing project, which looked very temporary and did not have a nice design. That is something that she would not appreciate in her neighborhood. Lastly, the respondents explain that they do not experience nuisance. The residents of STEK are settled in well and it is a calm neighborhood. They add that the rest of de Groote Wielen is also relatively quiet, so STEK does not stand out in a negative way.

4.3.3 Interviews with professionals

Respondent C1 describes that most opposition towards STEK was influenced by previous temporary developments in Den Bosch. As mentioned before, the municipality had already developed 250 dwellings between 2016 and 2023 and two smaller projects located near Rosmalen, in Empel, were not successful. They were monotone units, mostly for single-person households and with temporary contracts. These temporary dwellings were mainly used as “last-chance housing”. This caused a lot of nuisance from prostitution, drug dealing and shootings. Then, as soon as the residents of De Groote Wielen heard about a development of 300 temporary dwellings in their neighborhood, they were immediately reminded of the problems with the other projects. The news articles they read had caused a negative framing of the concept of temporary housing. STEK would even be ten times larger than the one in Empel. However, respondent C1 explains that the initial number of 300 dwellings was chosen quite randomly and that the housing association did not agree with this number from the beginning. As the plot was small, the housing association wanted to focus on creating a livable neighborhood. The respondent believes that is important to develop something that you feel comfortable presenting to your own neighbors.

Respondent C2 believes that STEK has a great chance to turn into a successful community, mainly because its residents are carefully selected. Additionally, several community builders are active within STEK. The respondent believes that there is no guarantee beforehand that a concept like STEK will be successful, but the housing associations have put a lot of time in carefully creating a new community.

According to respondent C2, the response from a community can differ per group. In the case of STEK, the neighborhood consists of highly educated households, who are often the louder groups in cases with opposition. Respondent C1 believes that when people have a lot, like an expensive property, they also have a lot to lose, so more fear to fall.

As mentioned before, some of the complaints of the community included traffic, parking, and pressure on existing amenities. However, respondent C3 believes that these concerns are not relevant for temporary housing specifically. If regular housing was developed, the same issues could arise. The respondent adds that there would be even more pressure on the road network as higher income households might own multiple cars, whereas not everyone in social housing might be able to afford a car.

Furthermore, respondent C2 refers to the concerns that the local community had about the planned target groups. The respondent states that rental units are often a cause of concern for people who live in a higher segment community. Respondent C1 adds that De Grootte Wielen is a high income neighborhood, with little social housing. So when a project is announced with a different housing segment than the existing neighborhood, it makes sense that people are shocked. Respondent C3 quotes: "As a developer, if you announce social housing, that can often lead to protests. But if you then announce temporary social housing, then you can expect double the protest, as there is much more stigma."

Respondent C1 explains that when the municipality announced STEK, in 2020, still many Covid measures were in place. This meant that it was not possible to organize a live information session where people could walk in freely. Instead, the housing association planned an online meeting where they were able to talk to residents in smaller groups. Most people were concerned about the target groups. People wanted to know who would be the new residents, if they cause nuisance and how they would impact the livability. Respondent C3 understands these concerns, but immediately mentions that the municipality has data that shows that status holders in Den Bosch rarely cause any nuisance. However, they are not the prospective target group for STEK, as the policy of the municipality of Den Bosch is that status holders must be housed permanently.

When the respondents were asked about the ideal approach to cases like STEK, with a lot of opposition, respondent C2 advises to organize groups of residents in vulnerable neighborhoods, who stay in close contact with the municipality and housing associations. However, the chosen approach eventually depends on the needs of the community and it is not always the responsibility of the housing association to be proactive. It is important to consider who the target groups are, how far the new dwellings will be placed from existing neighborhoods and if there will be an increase in parking for example. The respondent believes that the more proactive you are, the better. When you are not surprised by opposition, it is easier to respond quickly. Both respondent C1 and C2 believe that it is crucial to have quick responses to people who contact you with their concerns. What helps is to have a clear idea beforehand and decide what elements of the project people can influence. This must be communicated in some form of dialogue. When asked who should be invited to this dialogue, respondent C2 answers that normally a circle is drawn on a map to indicate who the direct neighbors are of the new project. After these people are invited to the dialogue, it is important to continue the communication during the rest of the process. It helps to do this communication with a set group of people. Respondent C1 also explains that initially the municipality takes control of the communication, but as the projects nears the execution phase, the housing association will take responsibility. With the

initial information sessions, a project leader from the municipality, as well as multiple people from the housing association were present.

The municipality talks a lot about *flex*, but according to respondent C1 this is not the right term, as the quality is permanent and residents can move with their dwelling, if they are replaced. Respondent C2 also mentions that temporary housing is changing. Because of the quality of the units, that could last up to 50 years, the temporality is mainly caused by the location that changes. The respondent hopes that the focus will shift more towards the flexibility of the location, instead of speedy development of less qualitative urgent housing. Modular and sustainable housing has the potential to be the new normal for housing development. This is supported by respondent C3, who struggles with the slogan used by the Ministry of BZK, which is *Bijzonder gewoon wonen*. The respondent believes that temporary housing is a new way of living for normal people. The municipality sees temporary housing as a new type of product, but it should not be presented for specific target groups. Respondent C3 mentions that this is often a cause of concern for people. The respondent also critiques the SFT incentive from the Ministry, which contains the condition that 30% of the temporary dwellings should be appointed to Ukrainian refugees or status holders. This puts emphasis on the slogan mentioned before, a special product for special target groups with urgent housing needs. The aim should also be to develop a qualitative concept and not locations with 700 units in containers. In that case you are mainly developing an urgent solution for the housing crisis. The strength of STEK is that there is a lot of thought behind the concept and it has a lot of variety in designs. However, still not many people are aware that temporary housing can be high-quality. And not only the local communities are not always informed well about the quality, respondent C3 also mentions that the local council still needs to get a better understanding of the concept.

Apart from the designs, respondent C3 also mentions the types of contracts that are offered with temporary housing. If you only offer temporary contracts, the residents will not put effort in getting to know their neighbors or upkeeping their gardens, for example. Because the residents of STEK have the opportunity to move with their dwellings, respondent C1 and C2 believe that there is a greater chance of maintaining a successful community.

Lastly, the municipality of Den Bosch introduced a housing monitoring system which indicates the housing needs in specific neighborhoods. According to respondent C3, this data can support the reasoning of municipalities to develop new housing projects. Residents could better understand why this type of housing is needed and how it could encourage a flow of movers. This could prevent opposition caused by prioritization of certain households.

4.3.4 Conclusion Rosmalen

As shown by the timeline in figure 37, almost a year passed from the moment the plans of STEK were made public and the moment the draft zoning plan could be reviewed. Eight different participation events were organized in September and October of 2020. The opposition that occurred towards STEK did not only lead to a delay of the development, but also caused many changes to be made. The respondents from the municipality and housing association emphasize the importance of the demographic of the local population and how that can influence the type of opposition that occurs. In the case of STEK, there were many concerns about social rent being developed in a high-segment neighborhood. Like concerns about traffic and pressure on amenities, the rental segment is not a concern that is limited to temporary housing. However, concerns from the community about the quality of the dwellings is relevant for this case.

The respondents are very clear about the right ways to organize participation and two important takeaways are that you must organize small groups to communicate with, and you should stay available for these groups to contact you in later phases of the project.

4.4. Cross-case analysis

In order to answer the main research question, *What characteristics of temporary housing affect level of support and how can this level of support be enhanced to create successful temporary housing projects?*, the three temporary housing cases are compared and analyzed. This cross-case analysis focuses on the themes from the following sub-questions:

3. What is the relationship between temporary housing characteristics and level of support?
4. What is the effect of opposition on the development of temporary housing?
5. What strategies can be used to influence the characteristics of temporary housing to benefit the level of support?
6. What participation strategies can influence the level of support for temporary housing and which stakeholders are responsible for this participation?

Table 3 shows the findings of the three projects. The four categories in the first column correspond to the sub-questions above. For level of support, all characteristics that influence the level of support are listed and indicated per case. For the two strategy categories, a distinction is made between the strategies that have been applied to the three cases and the strategies that the professionals mention as recommended for future projects.

	Doesburg	Delft	Rosmalen
Level of support			
Scale of project	X	X	X
Exploitation period	X		X
Type of housing	X	X	X
Design	X	X	X
Location	X	X	X
Parking	X	X	X
Traffic		X	X
Target groups	X	X	X
Nuisance	X	X	X
Safety			X
Pressure on facilities			X
Delay of other projects		X	
Participation	X	X	X
Framing		X	X

Effect of opposition	Substitution of five social dwellings for five unregulated rental dwellings	-	Delay of feasibility study Changed project characteristics: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Scale - Design - Target group - Concept - Exploitation
Selecting temporary housing characteristics <i>Applied strategies:</i>	Change the design in response to fears of nuisance: placing a hedge Low-rise dwellings Social rent near existing social housing		Conscious selection of target groups
<i>Additional recommended strategies:</i>	Frame housing as solution for everyone, by incorporating unregulated housing	Communicate with housing association about ideal mix for temporary housing (does not have to be mixed)	
Participation <i>Applied strategies:</i>	Information meetings Inform community via website	Information meeting Increased radius for spreading information	Information meetings Questionnaires
<i>Additional recommended strategies:</i>		Present temporary housing as expansion of housing stock and not for a single target group	Develop a qualitative concept, but do not focus on temporality Use housing monitoring system to indicate housing needs and flow of movers Communicate beforehand which aspects of the project residents can influence Organize groups that stay in contact with the municipality and housing association

Table 3 Cross-case analysis (own adaptation, 2024).

4.4.1 Level of support

Table 3 shows that level of support for temporary housing is influenced by many different factors. The main topics that are mentioned with all three cases are: scale, type of housing, design, location, parking, target groups, nuisance and participation. Nuisance is an important topic that is mentioned by many. However, data also shows that opinions regarding this topic have changed over time and local residents currently experience no nuisance from the projects. This change in opinion has occurred with many of the topics listed in the table.

Another aspect that the three projects have in common is the experience of residents concerning participation. In all three cases, residents mentioned that they would have liked to be more involved in the choices that were made regarding the location for or the design of the temporary housing.

The scale of the project is mentioned in all three cases, however they must be interpreted differently. In Doesburg, residents were concerned that the project would not be financially feasible due to its scale (15 dwellings). In Delft, a respondent mentioned that the units were only two stories high, which was not bad according to them. And in Rosmalen, the initial plan to develop 300 dwellings was not supported by residents, nor the housing association, causing the project to be scaled down to 205 dwellings. This shows that scale is an important factor determining the level of support in both a positive and a negative sense.

Out of the three projects, only the residents in Doesburg specifically mentioned positive experiences with the selected target groups. According to them, temporary housing is a good tool to create housing opportunities for younger generations and one of the local residents has had nice interactions with residents of the temporary dwellings. In the other cases, the respondents appear to have little contact with the current residents of the dwellings.

In Delft and Rosmalen, respondents expressed concerns about the impact that the temporary housing project would have on the built environment, like an increase in traffic. In Delft, residents were also worried that other planned developments would be delayed. In Rosmalen, people thought the influx of new residents would have a negative impact on the safety in the neighborhood and they assumed new housing would increase pressure on existing facilities in the neighborhood.

4.4.2 Effect of opposition

In Doesburg, the only stakeholder that influenced the outcome of the project was the local council. The municipality requested more unregulated dwellings, creating a different division of social housing than initially planned. However, this change did not lead to significant delays. A project that was delayed was the Mozartlaan in Delft, however this was not caused by a lack of support for the project. The only project that experienced significant delays was STEK in Rosmalen. Apart from the delays, many of the project characteristics were adjusted based on feedback from the local community.

4.4.3 Strategies: temporary housing characteristics

The three projects had different strategies concerning the temporary housing characteristics in relation to the level of support. In Doesburg, the developer listened to concerns from the community about possible nuisance and placed an additional hedge around the project. One of the respondents further mentions that the low-rise design of the dwellings could contribute to the level of support. Also the housing segment matches the rest of the neighborhood, limiting the chance of opposition.

Respondents in both the Delft and Rosmalen cases mention the importance of selecting target groups for temporary housing. By analyzing the neighborhood where the dwellings will be placed, the best selection of residents can be made. A housing association is the most capable of supporting these decisions, according to the respondents. Another respondent from the Rosmalen case adds that a

project has the best chance to succeed when its concept is well thought out. However, this does not mean that the focus should lie on the concept of temporality.

4.4.4 Strategies: participation

The last topics that are discussed are related to participation strategies that can influence the level of support. The respondents from the three cases consider it important to host one or multiple information meetings where residents can ask questions, especially when certain decisions regarding housing characteristics are made final. The projects in Doesburg and Delft had limited information meetings, but in Delft they increased the radius in which the information was spread, because of the urgency of the project.

Many people had concerns about the target groups that were selected and that they would get priority on the housing market. Respondents in Delft and Rosmalen mentioned that for these people it is important to present the temporary housing as an expansion of the total housing stock, and not just for one target group. In Rosmalen they recommend to use a housing monitoring system, indicating which groups have urgent housing needs and what the movements of these groups mean for the local housing market.

Lastly, the respondents in Rosmalen add that an important strategy to create more support is to communicate very clearly what aspects of a project people can influence through participation and what not. It could also be helpful to organize groups in a neighborhood that communicate regularly with the municipality and housing association.

CHAPTER 5 | DISCUSSION & LIMITATIONS

5. Discussion & limitations

5.1 Level of support

As indicated in table 3, there were different types of opposition towards the temporary housing projects in the three cities. The main themes that appear to influence the level of support can also be found in the literature. Different authors in paragraph 2.3 describe that the scale of the project, the type of dwellings and the location of temporary housing are important causes of opposition (Scally & Tighe, 2015; Boers (in Georgius, 2024)). The design of a project was also found to be an important factor for level of support. According to Pendall (1999), the design of a project, or its impact on public spaces, can create a fear with residents, who are concerned that the project will impact the value of their home. This is a valid concern according to Scally and Tighe (2015), however, the respondents in this research do not experience any changes in housing prices. A possible explanation could be that both neighborhoods in Doesburg and Delft consist of a high percentage of social housing, as shown in figures 18 and 26. For residents of social housing, changes in real estate value are less relevant than for homeowners. The question is then why the residents in Rosmalen did not express any concerns about changing values, as most residents in De Groote Wielen live in owner occupied single-family homes (figures 31 and 32). It could be possible that these residents are not (yet) aware of changing values, as most people will refer to the WOZ-value, which is the value of your house in the previous year. Also, not all temporary dwellings of STEK are delivered yet, so no statement can be made about its current impact on the WOZ-values.

The site location is also mentioned by respondents and described by Scally & Tighe (2015). It often goes hand in hand with other spatial issues, like parking or loss of views (Bassant, 2024). However, the latter was not mentioned by any of the respondents in this research. In contrary, the residents that look out on the Mozartlaan project in Delft are happy with the new dwellings, as they cause less nuisance than the football fields that were previously located on that plot. While it is thought that many people would oppose the loss of greenery in their neighborhood, it could also be understood that a football field hosts large groups of people causing nuisance. And, there is a large park surrounding the Mozartlaan plot, providing the desired green space for the neighborhood.

This research further shows different responses to target groups in Delft and Rosmalen. It seems that residents in Delft are less worried about the housing of Ukrainian refugees than the residents of De Groote Wielen are of potential social renters. According to Tighe (2010), minorities can have a negative impact on existing communities. But on the contrary, it appears that some of the residents in Delft can sympathize with the refugees. In the beginning of the war with Russia, many Dutch families temporarily housed Ukrainian families. While most Ukrainian families have now moved into other housing, it seems that many Dutch citizens are still very welcoming towards these refugees.

The high-income community in Rosmalen does not find social housing fitting in their neighborhood. According to Scally and Tighe (2015), opposition can increase when there is already too much social housing in a certain area. This is exactly what is mentioned in paragraph 4.3.1, which describes that respondents in Rosmalen think the amount of social housing in STEK will be too high. In this case, the respondents use the municipal policy of social housing division as an argument against temporary housing. However, this lack of support can be caused by the differences between the existing community, who have a gross yearly income of €36.500, and the future social target groups who might have lower incomes. According to Tighe (2010), people prefer to live in a homogeneous neighborhood and find it hard to be open towards groups with different racial or ethnic backgrounds. As shown in figure 35, De Groote Wielen is currently a relatively homogeneous neighborhood, which could explain the lack of support.

One of the factors impacting the level of support that was not found in literature, is the delay of other projects caused by the development of temporary housing. Data from Delft shows that residents were concerned that the prioritization of the temporary housing would impact the plans of other developments in Buitenhof. This is an important issue to take into account, as the municipality itself has mentioned that Buitenhof is an NPLV neighborhood that requires extra attention regarding livability. The concerns from the residents could indicate that in these types of neighborhoods delays caused by temporary housing, for example, might have a bigger impact than in other districts. The role of NPLV programs is something that could be further researched.

Regarding level of support, a last important finding is that most of the opposition that was found in the three cases occurred in the initial phases of the developments. When respondents were asked about their current opinions of the projects, they were mostly positive. These findings are consistent with findings from Davison et al. (2013) and Scally and Tighe (2015), who described that most opposition occurs in the early stages of developments and that opinions of residents often change over time. One example of this is nuisance. This was described as a fear in all three projects, but the residents eventually mentioned that they currently experience no specific nuisance caused by the temporary housing. This shows that there is a difference between the assumptions that people have of a project and the experience after a project is finished. Looking at the three projects, STEK experienced most opposition. De Groote Wielen, where STEK is located, is also the wealthiest neighborhood of the three. Davison et al. (2013) found a high level of opposition in mainly wealthy areas, as described in paragraph 2.2.2, so for the Rosmalen case it seems that these neighborhood characteristics influence the amount of opposition. Wealthy residents might have more to lose and therefore have more fear for the unknown consequences of temporary housing developments.

5.2 Effect of opposition

The STEK project in Rosmalen is the only case where there was an extensive participation procedure. While this participation was useful to respond to the opposition, it has also caused delays. This is not surprising, as it can often cost a lot of time and money to increase the level of support, as was also mentioned by Groot et al. (2022) in paragraph 2.2.3. In Doesburg, the level of support did not directly impact the development of the temporary housing. However, the municipality required some changes to be made to the project. Like Druta & Fatemidokhtcharook (2023) describe, not only the level of support from residents should be taken into account, but also the opinions of other stakeholders. They also mention that housing associations often hold back on developments when there are existing social problems in communities. Buitenhof in Delft could be considered such a community, as it is classified as an NPLV neighbourhood. However, in this case, the municipality used a different approach, stressing the high level of urgency of the dwellings for the Ukrainian refugees, meaning there was no room for participation.

5.3 Strategies: characteristics

One of the respondents in Doesburg mentioned that low-rise developments experience less opposition than high-rise developments. This is not supported by the literature, but as stated previously, residents can oppose plans when their views are obstructed (Bassant, 2014). However, this level of support could also be related to the scale of the project. If a low-rise development is also small scale, the level of support could increase, according to Boers (in Georgius, 2024). It is however not always feasible to develop small scale projects. For example, the project in Doesburg is small scale, but the housing association also accepted that part of the project was unprofitable. Also, the Mozartlaan project shows that a large scale project can succeed without any negative feedback about its scale.

However, opinions are not always limited to the scale of a project, but they can also relate to the target groups and other characteristics. For example, if the same project in Delft would house a different target group, it might get a different response. This is also found in paragraph 2.3.2, where different authors explain the different causes of opposition towards target groups. According to the respondents in Delft and Rosmalen, a good strategy would be for the housing association to decide which target group fits best in a neighborhood and whether the temporary housing should be a mixed project or not. According to Van der Velden et al. (2019), housing projects where vulnerable groups are mixed with regular groups appear to receive less resistance. However, one of the respondents in Delft mentions that a mixed temporary project in Delft experiences more opposition than the Mozartlaan, which houses a single target group. A possible cause could be that this mixed project includes status holders and these groups often receive the most opposition. People fear that status holders will not integrate and have a negative impact on the existing community, including increasing crime rates, as found in paragraph 2.3.2 (van der Velden et al., 2023; Scally & Tighe, 2015).

5.4 Strategies: participation

In the three cases in this research, all respondents used an approach where residents were invited to talk to the municipality or housing association in separate groups or spread out over several tables. This approach is also suggested by Tinnemans et al. (2019). The respondents of the three case studies all agree that it would be the wrong approach to host a presentation in front of a group of people, where conversations would be less controlled.

As described in paragraph 4.4, residents were however not satisfied with the level of participation. Some would have liked to be involved in selecting the location for the temporary housing. This is an important element that has been added to the list of factors that influence level of support, in table 3. Satisfaction with participation has not been found in the literature, which mainly focused on opposition influenced by spatial quality and target groups.

As suggested by one of the respondents of STEK, it is important to communicate beforehand what aspects of a project can be influenced through participation. This is supported by Tinnemans et al. (2019) in paragraph 2.4.2. According to Blankendaal and Wassenberg (2021), it would be better to only involve residents after a location has been selected. This approach can be useful, since the case in Rosmalen shows how much a project can be delayed by extensive participation.

The professionals in Delft and Rosmalen all agree that municipalities and housing associations are important stakeholders throughout the participation process. According to the respondents in Delft, housing associations have the right knowledge to determine what type of temporary housing is suitable for a certain neighborhood. This important role of municipalities and housing associations is acknowledged by Groot et al. (2022) in paragraph 2.4.1. They also add that these stakeholders are responsible for choosing a representative for communication with residents. The respondent in Rosmalen agrees and adds that it could help to organize one group in a community that communicates with the other stakeholders. Keeping the municipality and housing associations closely involved in the participation process is important because they have all the knowledge about a temporary housing project and can rectify information when the wrong data is shared. Like the case in Delft, where news articles were published that stated that an asylum center was being built, instead of temporary housing. Or stakeholders might need to actively work on the positive framing of temporary housing. In Rosmalen, residents had concerns about the concept of temporary housing, due to previously failed projects. This framing in the media is not something that was found in the literature of this research, but it did play an important role in the level of support for temporary housing in two of the three cases.

Lastly, the respondents in Delft and Rosmalen have stressed the importance of communicating what a temporary project means for the local housing market. This relates to the previous point of framing. Part of the opposition can be caused by people who oppose the prioritization of urgent groups

(van der Velden et al., 2019). By showing the flow of movers, caused by the development of temporary housing, residents might be able to see the benefits for themselves. However, this research did not address the housing needs of the respondents and there were no statements made about prioritization in any of the three cases.

5.5 Limitations

This research provides some valuable insights, but also has some limitations due to the design of the research. The three projects were chosen from a database of completed projects. However, this database does not include projects that fail and do not reach the delivery phase. Especially these cases could have interesting insights regarding the causes of delay or cancellation. For the cases in this research, there was however a criteria for the availability of information. This allowed for a large amount of desk-research to be conducted prior to the interviews. The professionals interviewed also have a lot of knowledge about the projects, yet they could have had a biased view on the cases. This is taken into account and to recognize this constraint, two experts were interviewed who were not directly related to any of the projects. Some of the interviews with residents showed that not everyone is familiar with some of the topics that were discussed, like real estate value or even temporary housing in general. Because the residents were approached on the street, there was no guarantee that they would be able to provide sufficient answers to all the questions. The desk-research and interviews with professionals provided more detailed data about the projects.

Due to limited time, it was not possible to conduct a large amount of interviews with residents. Therefore, the retrieved data in this part of the research is more limited. However, this method did provide the opportunity to dive deeper into each case and to conduct a cross-case analysis.

The respondents were selected based on how close they live to the project. An important factor related to NIMBY is the distance from a project to people's home (Tighe, 2010; Davison et al., 2013). It is not possible to state whether this distance has influenced opposition in all three cases, but some residents in Doesburg and Delft mention that they might act differently if the project was developed near their house. There was however no set radius around the projects where residents were selected for interviews, meaning some respondents might live further from the project than others, possibly creating a NIMBY bias. This means that the respondent's opinions can be impacted by their proximity to the project.

Lastly, this research focuses on a social topic, which can be sensitive to some people. On the one hand, there could be people who want to give socially acceptable answers, or who fear to be judged. But on the other hand there could also be respondents who take this opportunity to express all their dissatisfaction with temporary housing policies. By using a semi-structured interview protocol, it was possible to easily direct the interview towards the topic of the research and no extreme responses are reported.

CHAPTER 6 | CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

6. Conclusion & recommendations

In this research, the following main question is answered: *What characteristics of temporary housing affect level of support and how can this level of support be enhanced to create successful temporary housing projects?* This main research question is answered through six sub-questions.

SQ1: How can temporary housing be defined?

Paragraph 2.1 elaborated on the definition of temporary housing and how there is a growing interest for these types of dwellings in the Netherlands. There are two types of temporary housing: transformations and modular units. The Dutch government currently mainly focuses on developing homes that can be relocated. These dwellings can provide a quick housing solution for different types of urgent seekers and also contribute to a flexible layer on the housing market. By using temporary locations, the development of housing can be intensified. Most temporary units have high quality standards and meet all the requirements of the building regulations.

SQ2: How can level of support be defined?

Paragraph 2.2 answered the second research question. Support exists when the attitudes toward a project are positive or neutral. When the attitudes are negative, there is a lack of support. However, support can change with each step in a development process and support can take shape by following a process where the values of people are assessed. In the case of opposition, people often use the term NIMBY. This Not-In-My-Back-Yard-behavior is not always caused by specific project characteristics, but is often a way in which people express their dissatisfaction with a development near their home.

SQ3: What is the relationship between temporary housing characteristics and level of support?

Apart from NIMBY-behavior, there are specific temporary housing characteristics that can also influence the level of support. These characteristics mainly relate to the spatial quality of temporary housing and the intended target groups, as found in paragraph 2.3. However, also other factors that are not characteristics are found to be relevant in the three cases in this research, like delay of other projects, participation and framing. The most common factors influencing level of support are:

- Scale of project
- Exploitation period
- Type of housing
- Design
- Location
- Parking
- Traffic
- Target groups
- Nuisance
- Safety
- Pressure on facilities
- Delay of other projects
- Participation
- Framing

SQ4: What is the effect of opposition on the development of temporary housing?

In paragraph 2.2.3, several effects of opposition were discussed. To mitigate opposition, it is important to include participation in the development process. However, there can be extra costs and delays, due to the organization of this participation. In cases where participation is not successful, projects might need to be adapted in design or scale. And in the worst case, the project is not executed at all.

SQ5: What strategies can be used to influence the characteristics of temporary housing to benefit the level of support?

Selecting certain project characteristics is one of the two strategies discussed in this research. Data shows that low-rise dwellings are often more supported than high-rise dwellings. Also developing social housing in an existing social housing community can prevent some of the potential resistance. Other respondents indicate that a conscious selection of target groups is essential to creating a successful project. And lastly, temporary housing should be developed as a qualitative concept, which does not specifically address the temporality of the project. This last point is related to the topic of communication and is further discussed in the final sub-question.

SQ6: What participation strategies can influence the level of support for temporary housing and which stakeholders are responsible for this participation?

The final sub-question focuses on participation strategies. According to paragraph 2.4.1, these are important strategies used to enhance the level of support and there should be room for informing and consulting, as shown by the participation ladder. This research shows that organizing information meetings, where a large number of residents is invited, is necessary to share information, but also to answer questions from the local community. Without this communication, wrong information could be shared and temporary projects could be framed differently than intended. The responsible stakeholders are mostly the municipalities and housing associations, who must communicate beforehand which aspects of the project can be influenced through participation. Additionally, for many residents it is not clear how temporary housing impacts the housing market on a higher level. Initiators of temporary housing projects should provide this information and can use a housing monitoring system as a tool to visualize changes on the housing market.

These strategies complete the answer to the main research question.

What characteristics of temporary housing affect level of support and how can this level of support be enhanced to create successful temporary housing projects?

In summary, there are several project specific characteristics, as well as other external factors, that should be taken into account when designing a temporary housing project, as these factors can influence the level of support. This support is a crucial element to ensure successful development of temporary housing, which can help reduce the stress on the housing market. The goal is not only to develop qualitative housing, but also to create a project where the target groups fit in the community. Another important element is participation. Municipalities and housing associations have a leading role in enhancing the level of support and can contribute by ensuring clear communication with local communities. It should also be mentioned that the three cases in this research used different strategies, but all had the same outcome: successful development of temporary housing with positive response from the community. This means that it is case-dependent which strategy works best and those involved should be aware that level of support, as well as the chosen strategies, can develop over time. The specific recommendations following from this research are described in the following paragraphs.

Recommendations for practice

The first recommendations concern the selection of target groups and temporary housing characteristics. Different suggestions are given, based on the literature and case studies. Then, tips are provided for the organization of communication and participation.

Target groups and housing characteristics

The selection of the target groups and choosing the temporary housing characteristics are part of the first phases of a project development. There are some important factors that should be considered as early as possible, as the decisions made here can impact the support for a project and the chances of a successful development.



The housing association should have a clear assessment of the neighborhood and review if the intended target groups of the temporary housing fit in the community.



Only choose mixed housing for integration of certain target groups, when there is also a manager that can coordinate this integration.



The design of the dwelling should match its surroundings, meaning it is not advised to develop high-rise dwellings in a low-rise neighborhood.



Create sufficient parking and adjust the traffic flows when needed, in order to ensure a safe environment.



The dwellings should **not** represent containers.

Communication & participation

While participation is not always mandatory, it is advised, as it increases the chances of positive attitudes and level of support. Most of the strategies presented here correspond with the degrees of tokenism, introduced by Arnstein (1969). The following aspects should be taken into account:

1. **What** type of participation do you organize? Be very clear from the beginning how much power the participants have during this participation.
 - Information market
 - Focus groups
 - Tours
2. **Who** are responsible for the organization of the participation and who are available for contact after the project is finished?
 - Alderman (be aware that people might take the opportunity to complain about other problems in the municipality, not related to the project)
 - Project leader
 - Housing association
 - Architect/builder
3. **How** do you present the project and ensure positive framing?
 - Present the impact that the project has on the total housing stock.
 - Show the designs of the dwellings (for example with VR) and give examples of successful projects. Emphasize the good quality of the dwellings.
 - Talk about creating a home, not just housing.
 - Do not focus on creating a special concept for special people.
4. **When** do you organize different participation events?
 - Inform the local community after selecting a location. Earlier consultation increases the chances of NIMBY behavior. Every participant will want something different, which can delay the decision making and the rest of the project.
 - After completion of the project, organize a neighborhood group that stays in touch with the municipality or housing association for further communication around the project.

Recommendations for further research

In this research, three different cases were analyzed, meaning they could be analyzed in-depth. However, there was still limited time to research certain themes. For example, the impact of temporary housing on real estate values could not be researched in this short time frame, but could be an interesting starting point for research focused on the economic impact of such developments.

Next, this research mainly looked at the role of municipalities and housing associations, but there are also private developers involved in the temporary housing sector. In a follow-up research, a comparison could be made between support for temporary housing in the private sector and temporary housing in the social sector.

Lastly, the conceptual model in figure 5 misses a feedback loop between level of support and strategies. The selection of certain strategies, based on a certain level of support was not the main focus of this research, but is closely related to the research questions answered here. Some data shows connections between a certain level of support and certain applied strategies, but these have not been discussed in the literature.

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Appendix 1. Communication toolbox (Ministry of BZK, 2023d).



Tips & tricks voor communicatie over flexwoningen

1. Kies voor gebiedsbranding
Ontwikkel een aansprekend merkconcept met een passende naam dat tot de verbeelding spreekt. Vertel over de opzet en kwaliteiten van de wijk, zoals groene hoven en voorzieningen in de buurt. Mensen gaan het hebben over de wijk, niet over de type woningen.
2. Maak het persoonlijk
Kies voor een mix van bewoners en geef hen een gezicht. Dat maakt het persoonlijk. Benoem dat flexwoningen ook een oplossing bieden voor iemand die dicht bij jou staat, zoals je vader, moeder, opa, oma, broer, zus, zoon of dochter. In de communicatietoolbox staan zeven karakters die je hiervoor kunt gebruiken. Kies de karakters die daadwerkelijk kans maken op een woning.
3. Maak het concreet
Het is prettig als het duidelijk is. Hoe zien de woningen eruit, hoe lang blijven ze staan, welke bewoners komen in aanmerking en hoe lang kunnen zij er blijven wonen?
4. De kracht van de herhaling
Het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties ontwikkelde in samenwerking met DPI een nieuw verhaal, in woord én beeld. Gebruik het beeldmerk 'Bijzonder gewoon wonen' en pas het toe op een wijze die past bij jouw project. We doen het samen en met elkaar dragen we hetzelfde uit.

5. Klare taal
Houd het simpel en kies je woorden zorgvuldig. In de communicatietoolbox vind je voorbeeldteksten die richting geven aan de wijze waarop je kunt communiceren over flexwoningen.
6. Timing is het sleutelwoord
Neem omwonenden vanaf het begin mee in het proces. Als je open en eerlijk bent en laat zien dat je inwoners serieus neemt, dan stuit je op minder weerstand. Meer informatie over participatie vind je in het participatiedocument.
7. Laat je zien
Informeer bewoners en omwonenden regelmatig per post of email, maar organiseer ook inloop- en informatiedagen zodat je persoonlijk kan worden benaderd. Burgers waarderen het als zij een vast contactpersoon hebben voor vragen, met een rechtstreeks telefoonnummer.
8. Verspreid je ideeën
Laat zien wat je plannen zijn. Op locatie, maar ook in een lokale krant kun je goed in beeld brengen voor wie je flexwoningen inzet op tijdelijke locaties en hoe die woningen eruit (kunnen) zien.
9. Geleerde lessen
Er zijn diverse projecten met flexwoningen succesvol gerealiseerd. In [het realisatieboek](#) vind je informatie over die projecten, maar ook inspirerende interviews met betrokkenen. Het zijn zinvolle, geleerde lessen, over onder andere communicatie met omwonenden.
10. Deel een positief geluid
Communicatie eindigt niet bij de oplevering van flexwoningen, dus communiceer ook enige tijd na de oplevering over het project. Laat bijvoorbeeld zien op welke wijze de woningen zijn geïntegreerd in de bestaande wijk en laat bewoners en omwonenden vertellen over hun ervaringen. Met elkaar werken we aan een positief imago.

Appendix 2. Interview protocols.

Interview protocol experts

Thema	Vraag
Introductie	Wat is uw naam en wat is uw functie?
Algemeen	Wat is uw ervaring met de ontwikkeling van flexwoningen in Nederland en bent u ook betrokken geweest bij specifieke projecten?
	Wat zijn volgens u de belangrijkste redenen dat flexprojecten niet van de grond komen? <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Geen geschikte locatie- Business case- Weerstand
	Zijn er verschillen tussen reguliere woningen en flexwoningen, als het gaat om weerstand?
NIMBY	Hoe uit weerstand zich volgens u? <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Door wie?- Hoe?- Wanneer?
Oorzaken	Wat kunnen oorzaken geweest zijn voor de weerstand? <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Ruimtelijke inpassing- Impact wijk- Doelgroepen- Dalen woningwaarde- Exploitatie tijd
Oplossingen	Wat ziet u als belangrijke oplossingen tegen weerstand? <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Communicatie & participatie- Mixen doelgroepen?
	Hoe wordt weerstand nu meestal aangepakt? <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Wie zijn de verantwoordelijke partijen?
	Hoe zou volgens u de participatie en communicatie eruit moeten zien? <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Participatieladder- Wanneer omwonenden betrekken?
Afsluiting	Heeft u nog iets belangrijks toe te voegen wat ik mogelijk vergeten ben?

Interview protocol municipalities/housing associations

Thema	Vraag
Introductie	Wat is uw functie en hoe bent u betrokken geweest bij het project?
Algemeen	Hoe is het project tot stand gekomen? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Keuze locatie - Keuze doelgroepen - Exploitatie - Rol van gemeente/woningcorporatie
Communicatie & participatie	Zijn omwonenden betrokken bij de ontwikkeling van het project? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wie is daarvoor verantwoordelijk? - In welk stadium? Proactieve vs. reactieve aanpak? - Ook bewoners betrokken?
	Op welke manier zijn omwonenden betrokken? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Informatie - Participatie(ladder)
NIMBY	Wat waren reacties van omwonenden op het project? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wanneer kwamen de eerste reacties (buiten participatie om)? - Welke bewoners lieten van zich horen? - Hoe lieten zij van zich horen?
Oorzaken	Wat kunnen oorzaken geweest zijn voor de weerstand? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ruimtelijke inpassing - Impact wijk - Doelgroepen - Dalen woningwaarde - Exploitatietijd
Communicatie & participatie	Wie benaderen bewoners bij vragen over het project? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gemeente of andere partijen? - Signalen van vertrouwen in gemeente?
Afsluiting	Hoe gaat het nu? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Omwonenden tevreden? - Ontwerp aangepast? - Nieuwe bewoners geïntegreerd?

Interview protocol residents

	Vraag
Introductie	In welke buurt woont u? En hoe lang woont u hier al?
	Hoe zou u uw buurt beschrijven?
	Introductie van project
Algemeen	Bent u bekend met het tijdelijke woningbouwproject in uw wijk? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tijdelijkheid – is dat bekend? - Waarom het tot stand is gekomen - Wat zijn flexwoningen - Wie zijn de doelgroepen
Draagvlak	Op welke manier bent u geïnformeerd over het project? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Via welke media? - In welke stadia?
	Wat was uw eerste reactie toen u hoorde over dit project? En wat zorgde voor deze reactie? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Locatie - Doelgroepen - Ruimtelijke inpassing - Impact wijk - Doelgroepen - Dalen woningwaarde - Exploitatie tijd - Anders...
	Wat voor reacties heeft u opgevangen van andere omwonenden?
Communicatie/participatie	Bent u zelf betrokken geweest bij het project? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Actief meegedaan aan participatie als belanghebbende? - Naar inloopavonden geweest? - Contact gezocht met woningcorporatie/gemeente? - Weet omwonende wie nu de contactpersonen zijn?
	Bent u tevreden met de mate van communicatie en participatie rond het project? En als er iets verbeterd kan worden, wat zou dat zijn? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mate van inspraak - Moment van inspraak - Vorm van communicatie/participatie
Afsluiting	Kijkt u nu nog anders naar het project dan toen de eerste plannen bekend werden?