Master Thesis

Local governance of refugee integration in The Hague

An analysis of the influence of public innovation experimenting by CSOs

Name student: Iris Vermeulen
Student number: 498904
Supervisor: prof. P.W.A. Scholten
Second reader: dr. A Pisaverskaya
Study Program: Governance of Migration and Diversity
(Public Administration)
Date: 05-08-2019
Wordcount: 22.541

Erasmus University Rotterdam
Make it happen.

Executive Summary

During the European refugee crisis, an increased involvement of volunteers and civil society organizations (CSOs) was observed alongside the increased influx of refugees. Many experimental projects using volunteers with the aim to support refugees (and later asylum permit holders) have since then been developed. This multiple-case study researched how local actors perceived the influence of public innovation experiments on aspects of the institutional context in which the local governance of asylum permit holders' integration takes place in the context of the municipality of The Hague. A combination of the theoretical concepts of governance, the public value triangle and the management of public innovation form the basis of this study. It specifically focused on public innovation experiments in the form of projects that use volunteers and focus on Dutch language acquisition and/or enlarging social networks. The study analyzed three aspects of the institutional context, namely customs, procedures and power balancing. **Methods.** This study adopted a qualitative multiple-case study design, using data triangulation, consisting of documents and interviews with CSO and municipality representatives. **Findings.** This study found that an influence on the institutional context was perceived by CSOs and the municipality for the public innovation projects, specifically for projects focusing on language acquisition and finding voluntary work. This influence was perceived both in terms of the acknowledgment of a role (customs) for the CSO by the municipality and the granting of subsidies. In terms of power balancing, a specific network has been identified that was created alongside the rise of civil society involvement. However, the main goal of this network has not been found to be the balancing of power. **Conclusions.** This study has shown that local actors in The Hague perceive an influence of public innovation experiments from CSOs in the policy field of asylum permit holders' integration on the institutional context of The Hague. The results have shown insight in the developments in governance processes in this field in this particular context. However, this study also serves as a stepping stone to get more insight in how the call for more government – civil society cooperation in this field is manifested in practice. **Recommendations.** Although local actors perceive there to be an influence of language/voluntary works buddy projects on the institutional context, there are improvement points in terms of stimulating public innovation experiments. What especially could be improved are the coordination of power balancing through more transparency and vitalizing experiments through improving efficiency of the governance efforts in this specific policy field.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, prof. Peter Scholten, for his guidance and support throughout the process of writing this thesis. Moreover, I would like to express my gratitude to the respondents who participated in this study. Thank you for making time for me in your busy schedules and giving me an insight into the local practice of refugee integration governance within The Hague. I am also grateful for the additional effort some of you took to provide me with additional information or to connect me with other relevant actors in the field. I would also like to thank my study peers for their feedback and, most importantly, for sharing the ups and downs of writing a thesis with me.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my parents who have always been there to support me and encourage me throughout my years of study and through the process of writing this thesis. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them. Thank you.

Table of contents

List of Figures/Tables/Boxes

Chapter 1: Introduction

One of the consequences of the highly concentrated influx of refugees into Europe around 2015/2016 (also referred to as the 'refugee crisis') has been the increased involvement of civil society in showing solidarity for refugees throughout Europe (Fratzke, 2017). Due to the high demand for public services caused by this high influx of asylum seekers, many community and private initiatives have popped up and played - and are still playing - an important role in supplementing government reception and integration services (Fratzke, 2017). Even though the number of non-EU asylum applications in 2018 has returned back to levels comparable to those of 2014 (Eurostat, 2019), integration of the refugees who are granted asylum remains crucial. These initiatives can thus remain valuable now, and in the future, for integration services.

In the Netherlands too, civil society organizations were actively involved in welcoming and supporting refugees during the 'refugee crisis' and its' aftermath (Stam et al., 2017). However, there are no absolute numbers available for the amount of new civil society initiatives that arose in this period. This is probably due to the diversity of these initiatives, ranging from the collection of clothes and toys to more substantial initiatives such as Takecarebnb, which matches asylum seekers with a refugee status who are still waiting for housing with Dutch families who open their homes for three months (Mensink, 2018; Takecarebnb, 2019; Vluchtelingenwerk, 2019a)

Before further exploring this rise of civil society involvement, it should be noted that civil society has a long history of involvement in immigrant and refugee services (Shields, Drolet, & Valenzuela, et al., 2016). In the Netherlands, civil society has been involved in protecting refugees for a long time already (Mensink, 2018). This involvement dates back to long before the government started offering protection. The Dutch have supported refugee groups crossing borders with private and religion-based initiatives, for example the Belgians during the First World War. New initiatives popped up whenever new refugee flows developed. It was not until after the Second World War that Dutch civil society organizations became more internationally oriented, in line with the establishment of the international refugee regime (e.g. the 1951 Geneva Convention). In the 1960s and 1970s, civil society initiatives for refugees also established a more politically oriented character (Mensink, 2018).

It is thus not the question of whether governments should cooperate with civil society in terms of accommodating refugees or not, since this cooperation evidently has existed throughout Europe and in the Netherlands for a long time already3. Moreover, the call for

governments to cooperate (more closely) with civil society to tackle 'wicked problems'[1] such as the current refugee situation, has even become stronger in the last decades (Shields et al., 2016; Stam et al., 2017) For example, Joy & Shields (2013) stated, already before 2015, that there is an increasing desire of governments to transfer responsibilities for solving such wicked problems and policy issues onto civil society. Furthermore, the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (UN General Assembly, 2016) explicitly mentions the importance of cooperation between government and civil society in migration and refugee-related issues.

The question that arises is thus rather one of *how* this close cooperation through involvement of civil society is manifested and the effects of such cooperation. There is no clear-cut answer to this question because it highly depends on local and national contexts and the specific civil society initiatives present in those contexts. However, analyzing how this cooperation takes place in different local contexts is important to ensure that full use is made of the potential of civil society initiatives. An example of a study which analyzed such a question was conducted by Wren (2007), who identified factors that negatively influenced multi-agency networks in her research about co-operation between voluntary and community organizations and governmental sectors in resettling large numbers of asylum seekers in Glasgow. Especially the lack of communication from the side of NASS - the governmental body responsible for resettlement - and the heavy reliance on the voluntary and community organizations to fill gaps in statutory service provision were perceived as problems and at times hampered the cooperation.

This study will build on the increased involvement of Dutch civil society, specifically in supporting the integration of asylum seekers that have been granted a residence permit. For readability purposes, this group will be referred to as 'asylum permit holders' in this study. The type of civil society involvement that will be analyzed in this study are experimental projects developed by civil society organizations (CSOs) that focus specifically on stimulating Dutch language acquisition and enlarging social networks. It will focus on the specific context of the municipality of The Hague and it will aim to answer the following research question: '*What is the perceived influence of public innovation experiments by local CSOs on the institutional context in which local governance of asylum permit holders' integration takes place?*'. This study will start with exploring the type of cooperation that exists between CSOs and the municipality. It will then specifically analyze how local actors working at CSOs and the municipality of The

---

[1] *Wicked problems* are defined as the type of societal problems with no consensus among the involved actors on the causes and effects of the problem, and consequently, on the way the societal problem should be handled. Furthermore, there is also no consensus about the values and norms that have to be considered which determine what measures are effective and appropriate for the societal problem (Bekkers, Fengen & Scholten, 2017)

Hague perceive the influence of these types of experiments on the institutional context of the local governance of asylum permit holders' integration in terms of customs, rules and power balancing. It will end with looking into how experimenting is managed and how it is stimulated in this context.

This study is especially relevant within the prospect of the renewal of national Civic Integration Act (Wet Inburgering) that will be implemented in the beginning of 2021 (Koolmees, 2019). This law is renewed, because the current civic integration system is too complicated for asylum permit holders, as stated by Minister of Social Affairs and Employment Koolmees (2018). It is thus of societal relevance to research the developments of (local) governments cooperation with existing civil society initiatives, the effects of such cooperation and to, consequently, come to recommendations to ensure a smoother civic integration process for asylum permit holders.

In a theoretical sense, this study is relevant because it is among the first that looks at this specific policy field from a governance approach. It combines concepts from the governance approach (Kooiman, 2003) with Moore's (1995) public value triangle, and Meijer's (2014) functions for public innovation management to build a new theoretical framework to analyze Dutch civil society – governmental relations in the field of asylum permit holders' integration. This theoretical framework will be empirically tested in this study. The combination of these theoretical frameworks and concepts, with the specific focus on a Dutch local context, has not been studied before. The findings of this study can help provide more insight into how these theoretical concepts fit together in this proposed framework.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

This study takes the governance approach of Kooiman (2003) as its central point of departure, since it is focused on civil society involvement and cooperation between the government and CSOs. This approach is first discussed in this chapter. In the second part of this chapter, the public value triangle (Moore, 1995) will be discussed to demonstrate how public value is created and what role experiments can play in this process. It will then focus on how public innovation can be managed, by introducing different functions (Meijer, 2014). Finally, these theories will be integrated into a single theoretical model which reflects the core focus of this study: the creation of public value through governance and the role the institutional context plays in this process.

2.1. Governance

The concept of governance is often referred to as to the involvement of multiple actors in the delivery of public goods and highlights interactions with a public-private or 'co'- character, in contrast to a 'do-it-alone' government perspective (Kooiman, 1993; Pestoff & Brandsen, 2009). The emergence of governance in the last decades can be explained by the growing awareness of the need for multiple actors (instead of only government itself) to legitimately and effectively address major societal issues (that is, wicked problems) in diverse, dynamic and complex areas of societal activity (Kooiman, 2003). This is underlined by Stam et al. (2017), who argue that public value can be created through the shift from 'government' to 'governance', where governance emphasizes how established institutions can be utilized in new ways to facilitate fluid and voluntary cooperation between local governments and citizens through horizontally connected organizations (see also Savitch & Vogel, 2000). These new forms of local governance have the potential to better respond to challenges, also because cities and regions are playing an increasingly important role in dealing with societal challenges (Stam et al., 2017).

In order to properly define governance, the difference between governing and governance should be highlighted first. Kooiman (2003) uses the following working definition for governing:

> "the totality of interactions, in which public as well as private actors participate, aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities; attending to the institutions as contexts for these governing interactions; and establishing a normative foundation for all those activities." (p. 15)

With governance, on the other hand, he refers to "the totality of theoretical conceptions on governing" (Kooiman, 2003, p.15). Essentially, governance is "a mix of all kinds of governing efforts by all manners of social-political actors, both public as private, occurring between them at different levels, in different governance modes and orders" (Kooiman, 2003, p.14). Increasing societal diversity, dynamics and complexity have led to changing governing demands. These mixes of governing efforts can be seen as societal responses to these changing and persistent governing demands. More specifically, Kooiman (2003) focuses on *socio-political* governance which entails an analytical and normative perspective on 'collective' societal governance, in which the public (the 'state'), the private (the 'market') and the third sector ('civil society') have a shared set of responsibilities. Governance in this sense is seen as a societal quality made up of both public as well as private 'governors'.

This approach to governance has also been called *interactive governance*, because it highlights the dominant role of governing interactions. It is within these governing interactions that the diversity, dynamics and complexity of contemporary governance issues can be expressed. Kooiman (2003) therefore refers to interaction as the linking pin between societal attributes and governance qualities. However, this is not the only approach to governance. For example, Stoker (2006) speaks of 'networked governance', which refers to the development of complex networks and the rise of more bottom-up approaches to decision making, through which the state should steer society. Thus, networked governance is about collective-decision making by a wider network of actors, in which all actors are perceived as legitimate members of the decision-making process, and occurs in uncertain and complex contexts. One of the implications of this approach of governance is that a different way of working is required for politicians and public sector managers and administrators. For example, they need to involve the networks in management, to be open to learning in different ways, and to draw resources from a variety of sources.

This overview of the concept of governance gives a glimpse of the different theoretical approaches to the concept of governance. The approaches highlighted here are relevant for this particular case study, because they highlight the importance of interactions between the state and private actors (both the market and civil society) and the formation of networks to try to tackle wicked problems. These approaches serve the goal of this study, namely analyzing how the interaction and cooperation (network formation) between CSOs and the municipality of the Hague and the involvement of CSOs in the form of experimental projects contribute to tackling the wicked problem of refugee integration. In the next sections, the concepts of orders and modes of governance will be discussed to further explore the governance approach, before

moving on to the next part of the theoretical framework that explores how, through governance, public value can be promoted.

2.1.1. Modes of governance

There are three modes of governance that can be distinguished which will be discussed here. These modes are not isolated from each other, but are rather completed by the other modes. Societal governance is about the mix of these different governance modes (Kooiman, 2003). These modes of governance are relevant for this study because they can serve to map how local governance of asylum permit holders' integration is exactly manifested in the context of the municipality of The Hague.

The first mode of governance is *self-governance* and refers to "the capacity of social entities to provide the necessary means to develop and maintain their own identity, and thus show a relatively high degree of social-political autonomy" (Kooiman, 2003, p.80). Sustaining some capacity for self-governance is essential for societal governance, while at the same time, self-governance cannot be the only mode on which societies rely. There are great varieties between societies in the extent to which self-governance is practiced. Moreover, self-governance is not necessarily a capacity that is created by governments, it rather is a capacity that is self-initiated (Kooiman et al., 2008).

The second mode of governance is *co-governance*, which refers to a mode of governance which utilizes "organized forms of interactions for governing purposes" (Kooiman, 2003, p. 96). In this process, the social entities involved put their identities and autonomy at stake by joining hands for a common purpose (Kooiman et al., 2008). Co-governance can manifest itself in different ways, such as public-private partnerships, co-management, communicative governance and regimes (e.g. explained in Kooiman, 2003). This mode of governance is often seen as what governance as an approach essentially is about. However, this view is too narrow and neglects the hybridity and complexity of the governance approach.

The third and most classical mode of governance is *hierarchical governance*, which refers to a top-down style of intervention. This top-down style is expressed in policies, rules and regulations (Kooiman et al., 2008). Two important concepts for hierarchical governance are steering and controlling (Kooiman, 2003). The key element in steering is direction, which is manifested through goal-setting or goal-seeking. Controlling, on the other hand, contains elements of legal/constitutional and bureaucratic rules. However, in modern societal governance, top-down control measures can also be accompanied by other arrangements (e.g. checks and balances) or even by bottom-up control.

Three orders of governance can be distinguished: first-order, second-order and meta-governance (Kooiman, 2003). These orders are described as three layers, nested together as the layers in onions, and are closely related to each other.

First-order governance is about the interaction between societal entities to solve societal problems and to create opportunities as a day-to-day exercise (Kooiman et al., 2008; Kooiman, 2016). Potential problems in first-order governance lay with defining the definition of the problems and consequently, the solutions proposed for those problems (Kooiman, 2003). Next, second-order governance refers to the institutional rules, rights, laws, norms, roles, procedures and organizations that the first-order societal entities have to adhere to in order to make decisions. The role that institutions play in forming the framework within which first-order governance takes place is very important here. Second-order governance in this sense is about enabling and sustaining governance, and giving it focus (Kooiman, 2016). Third, meta-governance is the order where decisions on the values and principles of the governing of governance are made, and is thus about 'governing how to govern' (Kooiman, 2003; Kooiman, 2016). Meta-governance "feeds, binds and evaluates governance exercises" (Kooiman et al., 2008, p.7), guided by the aforementioned values and principles. These principles and values are often implicit, and when they are made explicit and deliberated upon, they have a guiding role rather than a prescribing role. In meta-governance, choices have to be made between values and principles, which can be difficult because the normative notions behind them are often in conflict with each other. Some values, such as human rights, can be rather universal and part of governance everywhere, while other values are more specific to certain situations, setting and cultures.

The focus of this study is essentially on second-order governance, but first-order governance will also be considered. In the context of this study, first-order governance namely refers to the efforts of CSOs - in the form of their experimental projects – which aim to create more opportunities for asylum permit holders to stimulate integration and the cooperation with the municipality to develop those projects. Second-order governance in turn refers to how the development of such projects is enabled and sustained by the institutional context in which this specific form of first-order governance takes place. Institutional context is a very broad term and involves a multifold of factors that influences the extent to which first-order governance is enabled and sustained. For practical reasons, this study will only focus on three aspects of the institutional context: customs, rules and power balancing. This will be elaborated on in Chapter 3. Chapter 5 however provides a broader overview of other institutional aspects that apply to

the context of The Hague to indicate how other institutional aspects are important in this policy field.

2.2. The creation of public value

The governance approach described in the previous section does not yet say much about the influences of such cooperation. Combining the governance approach with the public value triangle (Moore, 1995) can fill this gap. The public value triangle will thus be the central focus of this paragraph. It will first explore what is meant by this theoretical concept and what it means for the present study. Second, it will explore the role that experimenting can play in the public value triangle and how this relates to the local context of The Hague. It will close on how, according to Meijer (2014), public value creation should be managed. These management strategies will be described in relation to the relevant governance approaches of section 2.1.

2.3.1. Public value triangle

The question of how local governance can precisely contribute to solving societal issues has been analyzed by Stam et al. (2017), who used the *public value triangle* (Moore, 1995). They argue that insight in finding solutions for public problems requires understanding how public value is created. The public value triangle is a strategic management instrument and focuses on how (1) *public value* is created, (2) by different actors with different *capacities*, within a (3) specific *institutional context* (see Figure 1.). Moreover, Stoker (2006) even talks about a 'public value management paradigm', in which the achievement of public value is the core objective. It involves "networks of deliberation and delivery in pursuit of public value" (p. 47), and builds upon networked governance, as discussed in section 2.1.
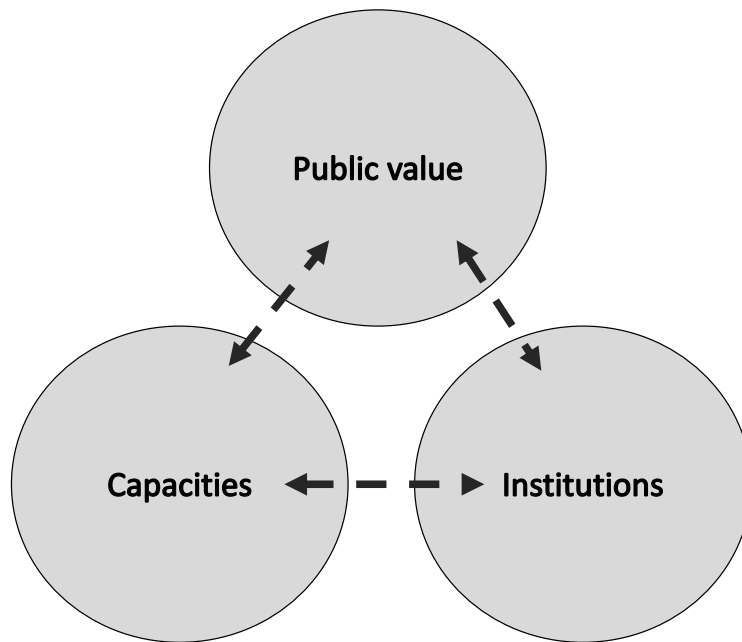
Figure 1. Public value triangle (Moore, 1995)

The central element of the public value triangle, *public value,* refers to the 'purpose' of the efforts of the engaged organizations and is twofold. First, public value refers to what the public wants, and thus perceives valuable (public opinion). Second, it refers to what is of value for the society and explicitly normative. The determination of public value in this sense thus consists of moral choices, based on conceptions of justice. Traditionally, it has been up to politicians and the public sector to determine public value, since they represent the electorate in democracies. However, critics on the representative democracy have contested this notion and with the rise of governance, the government is no longer the decisive actor but just one of the many actors in hybrid networks (Moore, 1995; Stam et al., 2017).

The second element of the triangle refers to the required *capacities* to realize the defined goal (public value), which Moore (1995) calls 'operational capacity'. Operational capacity does not only refer to financial budgets, but also to other capacities that professionals have (e.g. educational level, expertise and motivation) and the location. Through cooperating in networks, it is aimed to maximize operational capacity through bundling of knowledge and resources. (Moore, 1995; Stam et al., 2017). This element of the public value triangle overlaps with the governance approach, and especially networked governance (Stoker, 2006). Networked governance also assumes the value of different actors cooperating together in

networks to create public value - rather than only the government – and how this cooperation results in a synergy where more capacities emerge to create more public value.

The final element of the public value triangle is the *institutional context,* from which an organization or network derives its' legitimacy and support, which Moore (1995) calls the 'authorizing environment'. Aspects of this authorizing environment are the existing rules, laws, customs and power distributions. This shows similarities to second-order governance (Kooiman, 2003), as described in the previous section. Besides politicians, there is a wide range of other actors that play a role in this authorizing environment, such as public administrators, the organizations within networks, media and citizens. This directly leads to the challenging aspect of this part of the triangle: balancing the power balances between all these stakeholders. This is especially challenging when dealing with wicked issues, such as climate change and migration and refugee issues (Moore, 1995; Stam et al., 2017).

One of the challenges of creating public value is to successfully bring these three elements of the public value triangle together. If one of the elements is missing in a certain situation, no public value can be created. For example, the manifold of large societal challenges our open societies are facing today has led to the notion that our current institutional frameworks are often not sufficient in producing suitable solutions. This was for example illustrated by the refugee crisis situation, when the European institutional frameworks were put under high pressure and new institutional arrangements (such as the EU-Turkey deal) and practices were developed (Stam et al., 2017). As mentioned in the introduction, the same applies to the current Dutch institutional framework. This is reflected by the renewal of the Civic Integration Act due to the perceived struggles with producing suitable solutions to the challenge of asylum permit holders' integration. In this sense, studying how these elements precisely can be brought together is important to stimulate the creation of public value. The next section will illustrate an example of a proposed way to do so.

2.3.2. Experimenting and the public value triangle

What is proposed in the study of Stam et al. (2017) is that experimenting can add a dynamic perspective to the public value triangle of Moore (1995). They showed how during the refugee crisis situation, the high level of insecurity in defining the exact issue in the refugee crisis situation, and therefore insecurity in defining the right solution, experimenting seemed the only way forward. They argue that by learning through strategic and small-scale experimenting, a shift can take place in the institutional context (second-order governance), which in turn can influence a new round of experimenting. In this sense, experimenting can bring the three elements of the public value triangle closer together (see Figure 2). However, this theory does

not yet clarify what type of shift takes place in the institutional context and how this shift exactly influences a new round of experimenting.
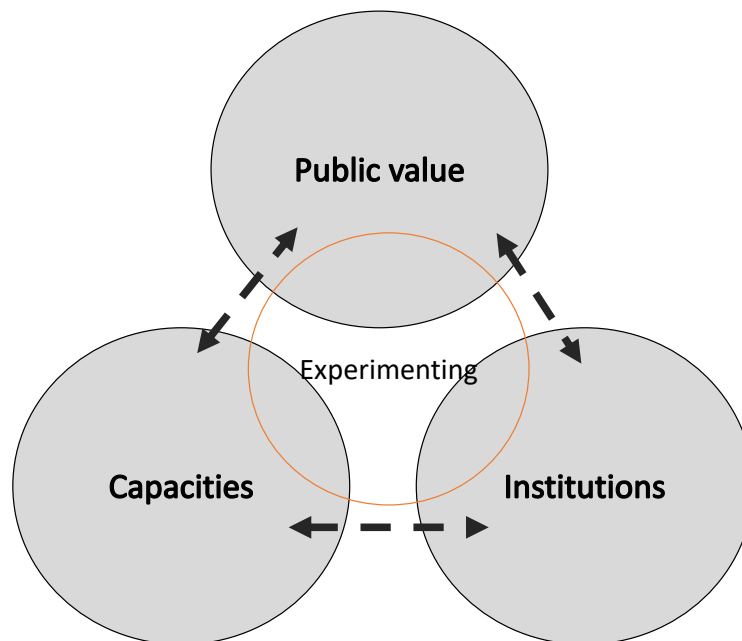
Figure 2. Experimenting within the public value triangle (Stam et al., 2017).

The role of experimenting in the public value triangle is relevant for this study, because the involvement of CSOs through voluntary projects that aim to stimulate asylum permit holders' social integration and language acquisition can also be seen as 'experimenting', or were once set up as experiments to stimulate the formation of social networks and Dutch language skills. This is exactly what this study focuses on, namely what effect these types of public innovation experiments have on the institutional context in which public value is created. In this case, public value refers to asylum permit holders' successful settlement, specifically through acquiring social networks and Dutch language proficiency. Based on this theory, it can be expected that through experimenting, different capacities of different actors (CSOs) will be utilized which will lead to an alteration of the institutional context. The questions that still arise are *how* capacities are bundled through experimenting (what types of cooperation and modes of governance exist) and thus *how* it precisely affects the institutional context of this policy field. This study aims to fill these theoretical gaps.

2.3.3. Management of public value creation
Finally, the question remains how (local) governments can stimulate experiments to enhance public innovation and the creation of public value. Meijer (2014) distinguishes five functions (as

cited in Stam et al., 2017), that have to be performed to stimulate public innovation. They don't necessarily have to be performed by the government, but governments definitely have a role in ensuring that those functions are performed. The first function is *mobilizing,* which refers to activating innovation. Second, *improvising* means to study whether experimental projects are effective by simply trying them out. Next, *vitalizing* refers to embedding successful experiments in a sustainable manner in existing routines and procedures. Innovation starts with small-scale bottom-up approaches, but those approaches need central support for successful implementation. Fourth, *balancing* refers to the monitoring of values and interests to find a balance that does justice to the specific local relationships, interests and values. Finally, the *coordinating* of these above-ascribed functions is essential. The local government plays an important role in this function because they ultimately represent the public interest. They have a so-called 'system responsibility' for stimulating public innovation by coordinating the above-mentioned functions.

For the context of this study, vitalizing, balancing and coordinating are expected to be most important to consider. Mobilizing and improvising are also important functions, but the availability of many civil society initiatives and the already existing relationships between those initiatives and local governments indicate that civil society is already active and (at last a degree) of space is already created for implementing such experimental initiatives. Again, the development of these experimental initiatives relates to first-order governance (Kooiman, 2003;2016; Kooiman et al., 2008). Vitalizing, balancing and coordinating on the other hand relate to second-order governance (Kooiman, 2003;2016; Kooiman et al., 2008). Whether these functions are (properly) performed or not, and whether there is a social entity which carries 'system responsibility' has to do with the enabling, sustaining and steering of governance (second-order governance). Thus, for second-order governance, the functions of vitalizing, balancing and coordinating are important, because they directly refer to the enabling, sustaining and steering of governance.

These management functions of public value creation are relevant for this study because it provides a framework to analyze whether and how experiments are stimulated in The Hague. It also fits into the governance approach, as it deals with different actors working together for a common purpose.

2.4. Towards a theoretical model: governance within the public value triangle

This chapter's focus is to develop a theoretical framework for the present study by discussing the governance approach and combining this with Moore's (1995) public value triangle, which

highlights how (local) governance can serve to create public value. This section will elaborate on how these theoretical approaches can be incorporated into a single framework, which will be the basis this study builds upon.

Again, the focus of this study is on the institutional context rather than on the direct creation of public value for the reason that the theoretical framework premises that through experimenting, the different elements of the public value triangle are brought closer together. This is expected to happen through experiments that influence the institutional context in a way which stimulates new experiments. By studying the influence of public innovation experiments in The Hague on the institutional context, this premise can be tested and can help to better understand the public value triangle and how the different elements are influenced by each other. Figure 3 shows an overview of the concepts and theories discussed in this theoretical framework and how they fit together.

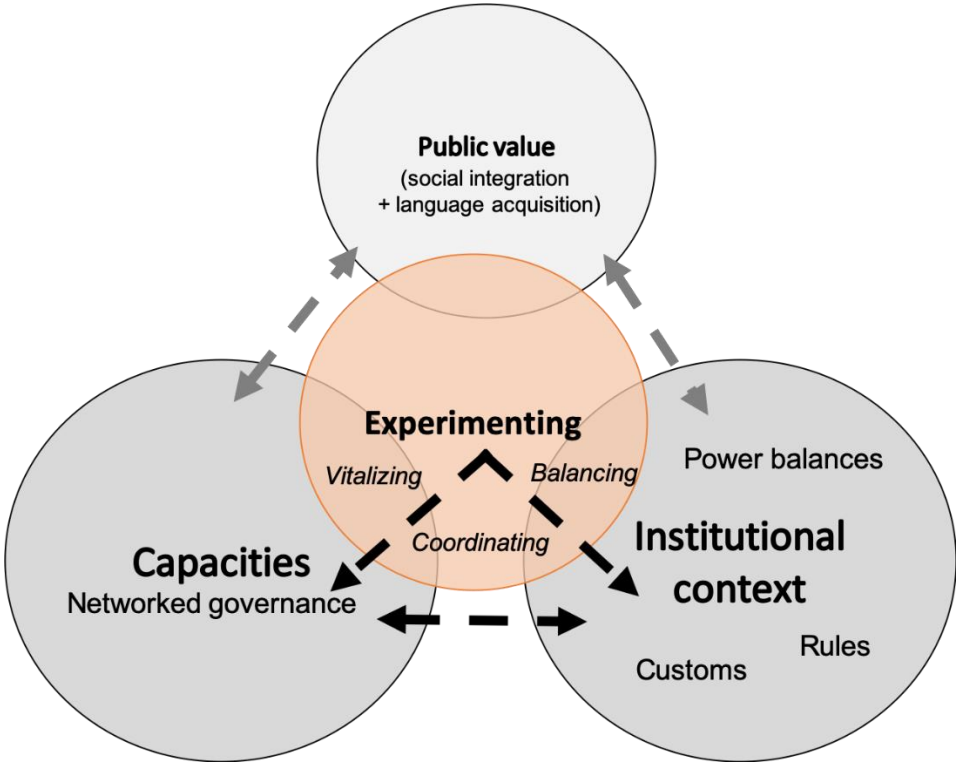*Figure 3.* Overview of the theoretical framework.

The darker arrow between 'capacities' and 'institutional context' highlights the focus of this study. The element of 'capacities' is linked to networked governance. Again, this element refers to the cooperation between CSOs and the municipality of the Hague. The governance approach and the public value triangle are thus combined based on this specific aspect. The

element of 'institutional context' refers to the existing laws, rules, customs and power balancing in the field of asylum permit holders' integration. These aspects of the institutional context will be elaborated on in the operationalization (section 3.2.2). 'Public value' in this context has been interpreted as the social integration and Dutch language acquisition of asylum permit holders. It is beyond the scope of this research to study whether this public value is currently created. Finally, the three functions of Meijer (2014) that were considered to be most important are displayed below the arrow between 'capacities' and 'institutional context' (vitalizing, balancing and coordinating). They are added to the framework because they refer to how – from a second-order governance and institutional perspective – governments can stimulate experiments. The actual research design of this study, which is based on the theoretical framework presented here, will be presented in the following chapter.

2.5. Expectations

Based on the theoretical framework presented in the previous paragraph, it can be expected that through experimenting by CSOs, the different elements of the public value triangle will be brought closer together. As mentioned before, experiments are expected to influence the institutional context in a way which in turn stimulates new experiments. It is thus expected that this study will find that through experimenting by CSOs, the institutional context has changed which will enable a new round of experimenting. However, the *exact* influence of experimenting by CSOs in this field on the institutional context in which asylum permit holders' integration takes place is hard to hypothesize, since the presented theories do not explicitly explain this. Also, the institutional context is a very broad concept, and some aspects of the institutional context may be more easily influenced through experimenting by CSOs than others. It is the aim of this study to investigate the perceived influence by local actors of this type of experimenting on several aspects of the institutional context in the context of the municipality of The Hague.

Chapter 3: Research design

This chapter will present the research design that was adopted to answer the research question of this study. A research design is the adopted framework for the collection and analysis of data in a study (Bryman, 2012). It will first discuss the formulated sub-questions and how they serve to answer the main research question. It will then discuss why a multiple-case study design was adopted, the selected cases and the methodology of this study. It will close with some ethical considerations. For clarity purposes, the main research question of this study will be repeated here and was formulated as follows:

What is the perceived influence[2] of public innovation experiments by local CSOs on the institutional context in which local governance of asylum permit holders' integration takes place?

 The main research question will be answered in a step-wise manner, namely through answering a set of sub-questions:

1. *What types of cooperation between these CSOs and the municipality of the Hague have existed since the emergence of the public innovation experiments?*

2. *Which changes have occurred since the emergence of the public innovation experiments in the institutional context (customs, procedures and the balancing of power) of the local governance of asylum permit holders' integration in The Hague?*

3. *To what extent is public innovation stimulated in the context of the municipality of The Hague?*

The first sub-question aims to explore the types of cooperation that have existed between the local CSOs coordinating the experiments and between these CSOs and the municipality of The Hague. This sub-question refers back to the theoretical framework in the sense that it reflects the first-order governance in the context of the municipality in The Hague, namely through the day-to-day exercise of solving societal problems and creating opportunities through interactions between societal entities (CSOs and the municipality). This sub-question is necessary for

---

[2] 'Perceived influence' refers to how **local actors** that either work at the studied CSOs or at the local government (municipality) perceive public innovation experiments of CSOs to influence the institutional context in which the local governance of asylum permit holders' integration takes place.

answering the main research question because it provides the basis for understanding the way local governance manifests itself in the studied context. This understanding is crucial for answering the two other sub-questions, and consequently the main research question, because those analyses build on a general understanding of the local governance of asylum permit holders' integration in the context of The Hague.

Next, the second and third sub-question are focused on second-order governance concepts. With the second sub-question, the study turns to its' main focus, namely the perceived effect of public innovation experiments on the institutional context in which the local governance of asylum permit holders' integration takes place. The concept of 'institutional context' was inspired from the public value triangle (Moore, 1995), as discussed in the theoretical framework. Within this theory, institutional context consists of 'existing rules, laws, customs and power'. Second, the concept of second-order governance (Kooiman, 2005) is integrated in the theoretical framework of this study because it shows similarities to the 'institutional context' from Moore's public value triangle. Second-order governance refers to the role that institutions play in forming a framework within which cooperation for problem solving (first-order governance) takes place. Again, the importance of institutional rules and laws are mentioned, alongside rights, norms, roles, procedures and organizations. Based on these theoretical definitions, this study focuses on several aspects of the institutional context, namely customs, procedures and balancing of power.

Finally, the third sub-question was added to enable the formulation of policy recommendations based on the findings of the study. This sub-question is based on the evaluative framework by Meijer (2014) in terms of stimulating public innovation. This is a useful framework in regard to institutional context as well, since it shows overlap with the aspects of the institutional context studied here, namely for subsidies and funding (vitalizing) and power balancing (balancing).

3.1. A multiple-case study design

This study adopted a comparative design in which multiple cases are compared (Bryman, 2012). Several public innovation projects were selected as cases (see section 3.1.1.) and it was compared how the CSOs that developed these projects and the municipality perceived the influence of those experimental projects on the institutional context. According to Bryman (2012), this type of research design embodies the logic of comparison. With this he means that social phenomena can be better understood when they are compared in relation to two or more contrasting cases or situations. By analyzing several cases (in this study: public innovation

experiments) that differ both in scale as well as in focus, more can be learnt on why and which types of public innovation are perceived to influence the institutional context. This also relates to another argument for using a multiple-case study design: improving theory building (Bryman, 2012). Comparing two or more cases enables the establishment of circumstances in which a theory will or will not hold.

Before moving to the discussion of the case selection and description, some elaboration is required on the selected context of this study. This study focuses on cases in the context of the city of The Hague for several reasons. First, the city of The Hague also experienced a large willingness of her residents to volunteer during the refugee crisis and today still has many organizations and residents that are involved in refugee reception (Haagse Huiskamer, 2019). Second, The Hague profiles itself as the city of peace and justice, which makes it interesting to see how governance manifests here in trying to improve asylum permit holders' integration. Their willingness to support refugees is among others shown by their declared dedication in 2015 to accommodate an additional 700 asylum permit holders (Omroep West, 2015), although, in practice, the feasibility of this declaration has been contested (Omroep West, 2017).

Finally, the adopted time frame for this study was the period between the high influx of refugees starting around 2015 and the current situation in 2019. Since it is hard to benchmark the exact starting moment of the 'wave' of high numbers of refugees fleeing to Europe and explicitly the Netherlands, the time frame is flexible in the sense that perceived changes around 2014 are also included when they are mentioned in combination with the higher influx of refugees, since this was also already the case in 2014.

3.1.1. Case selection

In this study, a total of 7 projects were selected as cases. These projects were selected on the element of matching local residents (volunteers) with asylum permit holders. These projects all fall under the category of public innovation experiments because this element can be perceived as experimental, since it makes use of the resources (e.g. time, social networks) available in civil society which supplement services from the local government and has an additional effect of making connections between asylum permit holders and local residents. This is an element that the municipality of The Hague did not (yet) include in her integration policy. Also, the selected projects have all been developed since 2015 onwards, fitting into the time frame of this study. They all focus on either practicing language together and/or facilitating informal meeting opportunities.

This particular selection was made because the formal integration policy largely focuses on quick labor market participation, language acquisition and housing[3]. However, there are indications that social networks are essential for quick integration of migrants (Cheung & Phillimore, 2014). Also, stimulating the establishment of social networks is not something that can easily be offered as a service from the government. Including civil society in this respect is essential. It is therefore interesting to focus on these types of public innovation experiments. It could be argued that the language buddy projects fit into the focus on language acquisition, but they are still included as cases. This is done because the different focuses on these types of projects could lead to interesting insights when comparing the extent to which they are stimulated. Also, these projects still fall within the selection criteria set for the cases.

3.1.2. Case description

The previous section has described how the projects were selected for this study. This section will in turn describe the selected cases more thoroughly. First, the projects were selected on the premise that they were developed during or after the high influx of refugees (2015 onwards). What was found during data collection in the field was that two of the cases had run for a period of time but are currently not running anymore or are downscaled. However, most projects were still running up until the writing of this report. An additional finding was that in one case, the project was not solely targeting asylum permit holders, but was also open for newcomers without a refugee-background. However, the majority of the participants were still asylum permit holders, which is why it was still included as a case project.

Moreover, the reasons for initiating these projects showed a lot of overlap. Most projects were developed because there was a perceived demand for them. For example, the language buddy projects mentioned that they perceived a lack of opportunities to practice Dutch language next to their classes. There also was a perceived lack of opportunities for asylum permit holders to make new social connections, which regular services did not offer. It was believed that this, combined with the expansion of social networks was very important since new contacts could help asylum permit holders' to become familiarized with the city of The Hague and in finding meaningful daytime activities (voluntary or paid work). As expected, three categories of projects were identified out of the 7 cases: language buddy projects (N=4), projects facilitating informal contact (N=2) and a buddy project to familiarize asylum permit holders with voluntary work (N=1). There were also differences between the scale of the

---

[3] The focus on labour market participation, language acquisition and housing in the The Hague integration policy is further highlighted in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.)

experimental projects in terms of number of participants, where some projects had over a hundred participants per year, whilst others only reached a tenfold of participants per year.

3.2. Methodology

3.2.1. Data collection

This study is of qualitative nature and applies triangulation for data collection. Triangulation entails the usage of more than one method or source of data (Bryman, 2012). Among the benefits of triangulation, it is found that it enables the researcher to validate findings, by comparing them with findings from other sources. Second, analyzed data can be complemented by additional data to enhance completeness of the data collection (Ammenwerth, Iller & Mansmannn, 2003). Triangulation thus can be seen as a strategy for improving the validity and reliability of research (Golafshani, 2003).

This study started with a document analysis of relevant documents concerning the Dutch civic integration legislation, the local integration policy of The Hague, summaries of city council meetings, political documents concerning integration and year reports and project plans/descriptions. The municipal documents were collected from the website of the municipality, using the keywords 'asylum permit holders' (in Dutch: statushouders) and 'integration'. The documents from CSOs were found on their respective websites. An overview of the analyzed documents can be found in Appendix A. Some additional documents were acquired from the respondents after the interviews for extra information. Also, it occurred once that contact information of a colleague was provided to ask some specific question the respondent could not answer. This e-mail conversation has also been included in the analysis.

However, these documents could not provide all the information needed to answer the research questions. Therefore, semi-structured interviews (N=7) were arranged with the CSOs representing the public innovation experiments and a case-director of the programming for asylum permit holders at the municipality of The Hague from the department of Social Affairs and Labour, who works with the programming for permitholders in The Hague. The respondents were approached through e-mail or by phone calls. First, e-mails were sent to the 6 CSOs to invite them for an interview. This first round of e-mails led to two appointments. 5 days after this initial e-mail, reminder e-mails were sent to the other organizations. This led to two more appointments. It was harder to reach the municipality, so the snowball-technique was used to acquire the right contact persons. The snowball-technique entails asking the respondents for possible other respondents in their networks for the study (Boeije, 2010). Thus, an interview with the eventual respondent representing the municipality was acquired by asking the respondents from CSOs who they deemed to be best to be contacted at the

municipality. Eventually, the respondent from the municipality activated the final CSO to cooperate in this study. From the 6 approached CSOs, all 6 participated in this study, representing a total of 7 public innovation projects (one CSO coordinated 2 projects). Including the representative respondent from the municipality, a total of 7 interviews were conducted in this study. Appendix B. shows the topic lists used for the interviews.

Some limitations to the data collection have been identified. First, the analysis of the granting of subsidies could not be based on the actual subsidy administration of the municipality, since many subsidies were not registered per project, but merely per CSO. This was instead based on yearly reports of CSOs and what the CSOs said about it during the interviews. This may have limited the findings on this particular aspect. Moreover, some of the respondents had not been employed at the CSO or municipality they represented since 2015 onwards, but for a shorter amount of time. Their statements about the period that they did not work there themselves have been handled with care.

3.2.2. Operationalization

Most of the concepts in the proposed research questions have been defined in the theoretical framework. However, before data analysis can occur some of these concepts should be operationalized to be able to identify these concepts in the document analysis and for constructing the right interview questions. The topic list with questions can be found in Appendix B.

Public innovation experiments

The selection criteria for projects to be perceived as 'public innovation experiments' have been discussed in the case selection (section 3.1.1.). However, this paragraph will also reflect on what is perceived as public innovation experimenting in this study. Public innovation experimenting in this study will refer to the aim to create public value (better integration results for asylum permit holders) through adopting new approaches which have not been used before in a particular field. As explained in section 3.1.1, these cases were selected on the criteria that they all include a matching element (matching local residents (volunteers) with asylum permit holders). This element is perceived as a public innovation experimenting, as defined above, since it makes use of the resources (e.g. time, social networks) available in civil society which supplement services from the local government and has an additional effect of making connections between asylum permit holders and local residents. This is an element that the municipality of The Hague did not (yet) include in her integration policy, and therefore can be seen as experimental. Finally, this experimental element of matching is expected to increase

public value (better integration result), based on previous research on the potential of social networks in refugee integration.

Institutional context

As described in the research design, this study focuses on three aspects of the institutional context. These aspects are customs, procedures and power. The pinning down of these three aspects was done for practical reasons since institutional context is a broad concept and it would be beyond the scope of this research to study all institutional factors that may be of influence. These three aspects were chosen because they are related to the interaction and cooperation between the municipality and CSOs and how this stimulates the development of experimental projects. How these three aspects will be measured will be discussed in this section.

First, *customs* in this study refer to the willingness of the municipality to cooperate with CSOs and whether there is an acknowledgment of a role for CSOs in this field. Thus, this is more about the attitudes of the municipality towards cooperation with CSOs. This aspect was measured through analyzing to what extend CSOs are mentioned in the integration policy documents and in the interviews by asking about the perceived acknowledged role CSOs play in this field. Moreover, this study also looks at *procedures.* This study specifically considers this aspect of the institutional context in terms of the granting of subsidies or other types of funding to CSOs in this field and whether and how subsidies and funds are distributed among CSOs in this context. This was measured by asking the respondents during interviews and through analyzing yearly reports. Finally, the aspect of *power balancing* was considered by looking at network formation and network management. Are there any networks in The Hague formed already in this policy field and how and by whom are such networks managed? What are the purposes of such networks and how are the different interests of the different actors balanced in it?

Types of cooperation and governance

The types of cooperation were determined in terms of which types of cooperation could be observed. This was done both through asking in the interviews about how CSOs cooperate as well as through observing the types of cooperation mentioned in the document analysis. Cooperation could be any form of interaction with other CSOs or the municipality.

Next, the observed types of cooperation were analyzed in terms of what modes of governance (Kooiman, 2003) could be identified in the studied context. Self-governance will be identified when observing that a lot of autonomy is granted and that CSOs operate

independently from other CSOs. In turn, co-governance is identified when identities and autonomy are put at stake in order to achieve a common purpose. Finally, hierarchical governance is identified when the municipality clearly takes control in policy making processes. Finally, the approach of networked governance will be identified by looking at the extent of network development and whether collective-decision making occurs (Stoker, 2006).

Stimulating public innovation

The fourth sub-question refers to the extent to which public innovation is stimulated. This was analyzed by identifying to what extent and by whom the functions of Meijer (2014) are exercised to stimulate public innovation. *Activating* was measured by asking the CSOs how and why they developed their projects (experiments) and *improvising* refers to how the projects were implemented and who played a role in it. *Vitalizing* was mostly considered in terms of the further development of the projects: whether they receive enough funding and whether they are at a certain point integrated in the municipalities' policies. The function of *balancing* was analyzed through looking at what efforts are taken to balance the different interests of the relevant stakeholders and who takes this effort. Finally, the function of *coordination* was measured by looking at what degree of coordination is perceived by local actors in this field and considers the coordination of all aforementioned functions.

It is evident that certain functions overlap with the aspects of the institutional context: vitalizing with customs and procedures and balancing with power balancing. This is exactly why this framework was chosen, because it also includes aspects of an institutional context in which the public innovation system is located. What this framework adds is that it provides a theoretical basis to evaluate the current institutional context in terms of the degree to which it stimulates public innovation.

3.2.3. Data analysis

After data collection, the interview transcript and the selected documents were analyzed in NVivo version 12.0. The first step of data analysis was to read and scan the documents in terms of the amount of data it provided to answer the research questions. Open coding was not yet conducted during this exploratory phase. If this would have been done, it might have provided a more systematic overview of which elements exactly needed to be addressed during the interviews. However, it still did provide a general overview of what needed to be asked in the interviews. Through this phase, a good basis of general knowledge on the topic and the specific

context was still developed. This allowed for an in-depth analysis on the relevant themes, as well as for validation of the information found in the documents.

The second phase was the open coding of all documents and interviews. During open coding, all the collected data was read very carefully and divided into fragments. Those fragments were labelled with a code (Boeije, 2010). The result of the open coding phase was an extensive list of codes, which did not all apply directly to the research questions. The next step thus was to categorize and merge the coded fragments into a code-tree following the order of the sub-questions. Because of the large amount of codes, some irrelevant codes were placed in a separate folder. Those codes mostly concerned themes about the national civic integration legislation, which was only to a minimal extent relevant for the answering of the research questions. Also, some of the coding had been conducted too broadly. For example, one code was 'Why to use volunteers in the project'. These types of codes were reorganized and renamed to 'Reasons to use volunteers in the project', with new codes according to the type of reason.

The third phase of analysis consisted of writing the findings. Due to designing a code tree that resembled the research design in terms of sub-questions, the right quotes and fragments could easily be selected for the right observations. The final phase of the analysis consisted of applying the findings to the theoretical framework.

3.3 Ethical considerations

Several ethical issues were taken into consideration whilst conducting this study. First, it was essential to be aware of the dynamics of existing relationships between CSOs and the municipality of The Hague and the risk of damaging those relationships. This was prevented by ensuring anonymity in reporting the results. This was done to prevent the different CSOs and municipality directly being able to identify who stated what. Another strategy to prevent damaging relationships that was adopted was to ensure that all sides were sufficiently included in the analysis, so there no actors would feel excluded.

Related to this is the consideration of building trust in the interviewer-respondent relationship. Without trust, the respondents would feel less comfortable with sharing information and may choose not to tell about possible negative experiences. This was overcome by using the snowball approach, and mentioning that I was already familiar with one CSO in The Hague. Also, the benefits of the study were clearly communicated to the respondents, since these benefits also apply to their organizations, by optimizing cooperation between civil society initiatives and the local government. Finally, it was made sure to remain reflective throughout the whole course of this study by keeping a research diary. In this diary, the encountered issues

were reported and feedback about those issues were requested to peers and the thesis supervisor.

Chapter 4: Asylum and integration policy in The Netherlands and in The Hague

This chapter aims at providing the contextual background for this study and will briefly discuss the Dutch asylum and integration policies and legislation in the Netherlands. It will also provide a brief overview of the planned renewal of the Civic Integration Act in 2021 and of the implications of this for municipalities. Since municipalities are responsible for the housing and guidance of asylum permit holders' settlement and integration (VNG, 2016), it will then focus on the specific integration policy of the municipality of The Hague and the institutional context regarding this policy in The Hague.

4.1. The Netherlands (national level)

4.1.1. Dutch Asylum procedure

Since this study focuses on asylum permit holders' integration in Dutch society, the Dutch asylum procedure will be discussed departing from the moment that refugees are granted asylum, and officially becoming 'asylum permit holders'.

If it is established that an asylum seeker is a refugee, he/she is granted an asylum residence permit and becomes a 'asylum permit holder'. During the first 5 years of settlement, the asylum residence permit can be withdrawn if the circumstances in the country of origin improve. However, this is only possible if there is no reason for fear for prosecution or inhumane treatment upon return (the principle of non-refoulment). After five years, the permit holder can apply for more definite asylum residence permit, which can only be withdrawn under special circumstances (Vluchtelingenwerk, 2019b). After receiving an asylum residence permit, asylum permit holders qualify for housing. Every Dutch municipality is obliged to house asylum permit holders within three months. The Ministry of Internal Affairs decides how many asylum permit holders municipalities have to house. The COA in turn decides where asylum permit holders are settled and does not consider personal wishes of preferences. However, it does consider factors such as work, education, first-line family and medical circumstances (Vluchtelingenwerk, 2019c). Once asylum seekers are granted their asylum residence permit, their obligation for civic integration starts (Vluchtelingenwerk, 2019d).

4.1.2. Legislation (Civic Integration Act)

Everyone who moves from outside the European Union to the Netherlands for an indefinite period of time, who has a residence permit, and is between 18 years and pensionable age has the obligation to civic integration (in Dutch: 'inburgeren'). This obligation is laid down in the

Civic Integration Act[4]and consists of the civic integration test and a declaration of participation. The Dutch government understands civic integration as 'learning the Dutch language and getting to know the Dutch society' (Dutch Government, 2019a). This also includes asylum permit holders (between 18 years and pensionable age). There are some exceptions for the civic integration obligation, for example when someone has resided in the Netherlands for at least 8 years when still being subject to compulsory schooling or when someone has obtained a certain educational degree (Article 5.2). Moreover, according to Article 6.1., the civic integration obligation can be exempted for those who are unable to pass the exam due to enduring psychological or physical constraints.

The obligated civic integration test serves to prove that newcomers (thus also asylum permit holders) understand the language and the Dutch society. It consists of 7 components: writing, reading, speaking and listening skills, knowledge of the Dutch society and orientation on the Dutch labour market (Vluchtelingenwerk, 2019d). The civic integration exam needs to be passed within three years from the moment the obligation went into effect (Article 7.2). This term can be extended for one-time with a maximum of two years when the obliged person can prove that the failure was outside his/her control or when the obliged person can show that he/she is following or has followed a literacy course within this period (Article 7b.3). Moreover, the participation declaration trajectory needs to be fulfilled within one year from the moment the obligation went into effect. A participation declaration – which states that one declares to actively participate in the Dutch society and that one respects the Dutch norms and values - needs to be signed. Asylum permit holders do not pay for the participation declaration trajectory, while they can apply for a loan for civic integration courses and exam (Government of the Netherlands, 2019b).

Asylum permit holders carry the responsibility for fulfilling their own civic integration obligation since 2013. If they do not fulfill it within the given period of time, they need to pay a fine. The municipality provides asylum permit holders with help with civic integration, housing, health care, financial issues, insurances, education, getting used in the new city and participation in the Netherlands (Government of The Netherlands, 2019a). Municipalities can decide themselves how they fill in this social support, within the above-mentioned components (VNG, 2016).

---

[4] The complete Civic Integration Act can be found at: https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0020611/2018-07-28

In July 2018, Minister Koolmees of Social Affairs and Employment announced a renewal of the Law on Civic Integration[5], which was planned to be implemented by July 2020. However, in February 2019, it became clear that this timing was too ambitious, and that it will be implemented in 2021 (Koolmees, 2019). The renewal of the Civic Integration Act is discussed here because it indicates the current issues with civic integration in The Netherlands, and therefore underlines the societal relevance of conducing this study.

A central focus of the minister is that civic integration should start as soon as possible. One of the most important changes therefore is that the municipality – instead of the permit holder – is responsible for arranging civic integration. Also, the municipality will pay for basic issues such as rent and insurances for the permit holder in the first period of settlement. Moreover, every permit holder will get a personal plan for civic integration and participation (In Dutch: Plan Inburgering en Participatie; PIP). In return, asylum permit holders have to show sufficient commitment to their civic integration, otherwise they will be sanctioned earlier than in the previous system. Asylum permit holders are also still responsible for fulfilling their civic integration obligation within the given time period. Second, the criteria for passing the Dutch language test is changed from A2 to B1. However, asylum permit holders for whom this level is not reachable can do (parts of) the language test on A2 level. Within the new system, much attention will be paid to monitoring and evaluations to ensure quick changes if needed (Dutch Government, 2019; Koolmees, 2019).

In May 2019, the Association of Netherlands Municipalities (VNG) expressed concerns about the lack of a substantial financial foundation for the new role that the municipalities are expected to play in the renewed civic integration system. The VNG demands preconditions, especially in terms of financial flexibility and local space, to be able to provide customization for all asylum permit holders through integral trajectories.

4.2. The Hague (local level)

This section will discuss the outlines of the current The Hague integration policy which was implemented in 2016 as the 'The Hague Approach' [6] (In Dutch: de Haagse Aanpak) (Municipality of The Hague, 2016). In this policy, different municipal departments are working together on different aspects of permit holder's integration. The mentioned departments are Urban

---

[6] The policy document 'Haagse Aanpak Statushouders' can be found at:
https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/3478828/1/131RIS293919_Bijlage_Haagse_aanpak_Statushouders_Sociaal_Domein.

Development (DSP), Public Affairs (DPZ), Social Affairs and Labour (SZW) and Education, Culture and Science (OCW). The current coalition of the city council consists of a mix of political parties: local (Hart voor Den Haag/Groep de Mos), right-wing (VVD, D66,) and left-wing (GroenLinks) (Municipality of The Hague, 2018). An alderman from the party Hart voor Den Haag/Groep de Mos (Rachid Guernaoui) is among other issues, responsible for integration and for asylum permit holders' specifically (Municipality of The Hague, 2018).

4.2.1. Integration policy for asylum permit holders

First, a brief overview of the current integration policy of The Hague for asylum permit holders will be presented. This policy includes all aspects that asylum permit holders encounter when they move to this municipality: registering at the municipality, furnishing the new house, learning the Dutch language, finding employment or voluntary work, following education, taking care of financial issues, health care provision, and (civic) integration.

The policy describes participation in the society as the best way to integrate and states that the Dutch do so by among others being in paid employment, being active in associations, following education and doing voluntary work. It follows the recommendation of the Dutch Scientific Council for Governmental Policy (WRR) to prevent losing valuable time at the start of the integration process by as soon as possible offering support to asylum permit holders focusing on "fast participation and integration, with attention to a human dimension" (Municipality of The Hague, 2016, p. 6). It focuses on investments, which on the long term will be paid back in societal benefits by preventing long-term dependence on benefits, inactivity and societal disturbances due to inadequate integration. Moreover, it assumes a shared responsibility between asylum permit holders themselves and the society of The Hague to create opportunities for asylum permit holders' integration.

The 'The Hague Approach' specifically focuses on the following points:
1) Take care of basic issues in a good and quick way
2) A comprehensive approach for employment, language/civic integration and participation.
3) Social maintenance for housing of groups, together with the neighborhood
4) Monitoring of effectiveness and output of efforts.

1) Take care of basic issues in a good and quick way

Different measures are taken to fulfill this goal of the integration policy. First, the municipality takes a firm directing role to ensure that the cooperation of different partners in the provision of services to take care of basic issues is going as smoothly as possible. The policy emphasizes the need for the involved social services and partners to be flexible to, when needed, organize certain issues smarter and more efficient. Asylum permit holders are provided with a clear manual when they settle in the city and are assisted with taking care of practical issues by a volunteer from Vluchtelingenwerk.

Moreover, basic information is also provided in original languages of asylum permit holders instead of only in the Dutch language, as it used to be. This comes from the conviction that a lack of Dutch language acquisition upon arrival is a large barrier for adequately handling basic issues. Asylum permit holders' cannot be held accountable for not sufficiently speaking Dutch when they have barely had the chance to learn Dutch yet. Qualified translators will also be used to improve quickness and efficiency of handling these basic issues. Finally, the municipality takes care of the basic furnishing of houses on group locations. This measure will save expenses and reduce some of the pressure on asylum permit holders in terms of practical issues they need to take care of.

2) A comprehensive approach for employment, language/civic integration and participation

Aside from taking care of basic issues, the municipality of The Hague emphasizes the importance to enable a quick start with integration and participation in the society for asylum permit holders. A program is established with all asylum permit holders with special attention to four subjects: 1) familiarizing with the Dutch norms, values and customs, 2) employment, education or voluntary work, 3) starting the obliged civic integration and Dutch language acquisition, 4) the financial situation and the prevention of debts. It is determined for each permit holder to what degree they need support, depending on self-sufficiency. However, the policy still assumes as much as possible the own responsibility and efforts of asylum permit holders. A dedicated social team of professionals from the municipality and volunteers from Vluchtelingenwerk will ensure that the execution and the follow-up of the integration process is closely monitored and that all asylum permit holders have a suited approach to integration and participation.

Examples of measures taken are the encouragement of asylum permit holders to do voluntary work (when they are not yet eligible for paid employment), providing support with budgeting and guidance for asylum permit holders who arrive(d) as unaccompanied minors. Special attention is paid to providing asylum permit holders with (language) buddies.

Vluchtelingenwerk supports asylum permit holders with settlement during the first three months of residence in The Hague. The next 6 – 9 months, Vluchtelingenwerk tries to stimulate the self-sufficiency, by supporting them with language acquisition, civic integration and day spending. However, due to the increased number of asylum permit holders, there is an increased need for volunteers to complement the guidance of Vluchtelingenwerk. The policy aims at providing every permitholder with a (language) buddy to stimulate Dutch language acquisition. Therefore, the municipality is financing language buddy projects and will (increasingly) continue to do so, until this goal is reached.

3) Social maintenance for housing of groups, together with the neighborhood
Aside from the technical maintenance of the housing, the municipality of The Hague stresses the need for some sort of 'social maintenance'. The goal of this social maintenance is to sustain the living circumstances in and around the housing locations. This is done by familiarizing asylum permit holders with the neighborhood, signaling asylum permit holders' and residents questions and need for support, facilitate meeting opportunities for asylum asylum permit holders and residents and ensure safety and prevent escalations.

4) Monitoring of effectiveness and output of efforts.
The policy highlights the importance of identifying relevant indicators to monitor effectiveness of the measures taken on the long-term and to, if-needed, steer these measures to the right direction.

Finally, the policy highlights the inclusion of service provision by multiple municipal services and networks and organizations in the city. It emphasizes the importance of joining forces and cooperation with the available actors to organize integration issues in a smarter and more efficient way. Together with these actors, the municipality will look for opportunities and will not be afraid to head off the beaten track. It will make use of pilots to test new initiatives and approaches on a small-scale.

4.2.2. Overview institutional context of The Hague (integration policy)
Finally, a summary of the institutional context of The Hague of the integration policy for asylum permit holders will be presented in this section. Based on the theoretical framework, the institutional context in this study refer to laws, rules, customs, power, rights, norms, roles, procedures and organizations. Most of these different aspects have been discussed in this chapter. Although, they were not explicitly linked to these aspects of the institutional context

yet. Table 1 shows an overview of these aspects of the institutional context in The Hague. This overview is provided as a point of departure, before zooming into the three aspects (in bold) this study focuses on in the analysis.

Thus, this chapter served to deliver an overview of the contextual background of the study in terms of relevant national policies and legislation, and finally the local integration policy and the broader institutional context concerning this policy in the municipality of The Hague. The next chapters will build on this illustration of the institutional context by focusing – for practical reasons – on three of the in Table 1 described aspects of the institutional context, namely customs, procedures and power. The table also displays for these three aspects what exactly will be analyzed in the following chapters (see also operationalization, section 3.2.2.).

Table 1. *Overview institutional context of The Hague (Integration policy)*

Aspects of the institutional context	In the context of The Hague
Laws, rules	Law on Civic Integration (in terms of passing civic integration test and participation declaration)
Customs	Integration policy focuses on housing, basic issues for settlement, language acquisition and employment/education. Analysis: acknowledgment role CSOs in stimulating integration
Procedures	Services are executed to CSOs/subsidies are granted to CSOs, e.g.: - Vluchtelingenwerk for guidance - Language buddy projects Not one single department that focuses on asylum permit holders' integration, but rather mainstreamed over different departments. One alderman is assigned responsible for integration and also explicitly for asylum permit holders (Rachid Guernaoui). Analysis: in-depth focus on granting of subsidies
Power	Municipality holds power in terms of granting subsidies to CSOs and in designing and implementing her integration policy.

	City council coalition: Hart voor Den Haag/Groep de Mos, VVD, D66, GroenLinks[7] Analysis: power balancing through network formation
Rights	Asylum permit holders have the right to housing and support in the first year.
Norms	Newcomers are expected to: - Participate in society The municipality of The Hague assumes: - a shared responsibility between the The Hague society and asylum permit holders to create opportunities for asylum permit holders
Organizations	The municipality of The Hague cooperates with CSO's, for example with Vluchtelingenwerk which provides a variety of services to support asylum permit holders' settlement and integration

---

[7] The exact division of seats of the city council can be found here: https://www.denhaag.nl/nl/bestuur-en-organisatie/gemeenteraad/zetels-coalitie-en-oppositie.htm

Chapter 5: Findings

This chapter will describe the findings from the collected data which are relevant for answering the research (sub-)questions. The first section of this chapter looks at the types of cooperation that were observed. Next, observations about the studied aspects of the institutional context will be discussed. The chapter will conclude with observations about improvement points in terms of stimulating public innovation experiments in this field.

5.1. Types of cooperation

Various types of cooperation could be distinguished from the information provided in the policy documents, yearly reports of CSOs and the interviews. This data indicated that cooperation evidently exists between CSOs and the municipality of The Hague. In this section, these types of cooperation will be described.

First, a type of cooperation was observed which will be described as *coproduction*. This type of cooperation was observed between two or more CSOs, or CSO(s) and the municipality, in terms of together developing projects for asylum permit holders. This was the case for two of the projects analyzed in this study, meaning that they were developed and coordinated by more than one CSO. Coproduction was also observed in another project that was not included in this study, namely in one pilot project of the municipality. This project was developed in cooperation with a CSO and different language schools. Second, 5 CSOs and the municipality mentioned cooperation in the form of *referring* asylum permit holders to other organizations to help them find the right services. It was also often mentioned by CSOs that asylum permit holders are also referred to them by the municipality or CSOs. This cooperation in the form of referring thus goes both ways. The following quote from a respondent representing a CSO illustrates this:

> *'Yes, we refer a lot. We also, with participants who follow for example Dutch classes with us, refer them to Mondriaan (school) or welfare institutions. We also, for example for refugees who are supported by a social counsellor, are called by care institutes with the question whether we may have a language buddy for a specific person'*

Related to this is the third observation in terms of cooperation, namely that there is some degree of cooperation in the form of *harmonizing*. What is meant with this is that it is ensured that projects and services complement each other rather than overlap. Multiple CSOs mentioned that they want to prevent offering services that already exist and that they value providing additional services to the existing supply. This also is linked to the previously

described type of cooperation, namely *referring*, because this reflects the knowledge of CSOs of the availability of projects and services offered by other CSOs and/or the municipality in this policy domain. The CSOs know about each other's existence and expertise and know how their own projects and expertise are positioned within this landscape of already existing projects and initiatives. To a certain degree, it is perceived by the CSOs that the municipality also makes efforts to harmonize the existing initiatives, which is illustrated by the following quote of a respondent at a CSO:

> *'Thus, the moment that I request additional subsidies for asylum permit holders, I expect the question [from the municipality] of 'hey have you discussed this with the other CSOs and networks etc.'*

However, observations still have been made about the perception that projects are running parallel to each other and that there is a lack of coordination, and therefore of harmonization. This will be further discussed later in this chapter (section 5.3).

Fourth, cooperation among CSOs and the municipality occurs in the form of general *support.* This also holds for CSOs providing support for smaller organizations (e.g. migrant organizations) or very small-scale initiatives, such as initiatives from neighborhood residents. Support involves giving advice, bringing people in contact with each other, providing trainings, management support and help to reach target populations and/or promotion of projects or events. Fifth, cooperation exists in the form of *influencing policy making* in this field. This is manifested in several ways, for example by the municipality actively involving CSOs in the policy making process by asking for input. Also, CSOs take an active role by cooperating together and bundling their expertise to send policy recommendations to the municipality (e.g. Inspiratienota from Haagse Huiskamer and recommendation letter from Taalketenoverleg) and by lobbying together for attention for informal language education and the importance of social networks for integration.

Sixth, from a more pragmatic perspective, cooperation between the municipality and CSOs occurs in the form of *service provision*. An example of this is that permitholders who are allocated to settle in The Hague are provided with different volunteers for the duration of 1 year from a CSO to assist with practical issues concerning housing and to become familiarized in The Hague. Also, the provision of services by CSOs in the form of providing opportunities to practice Dutch (language buddies) is mentioned in multiple policy documents, which requires cooperation between the municipality and these CSOs. This is also related to the sixth type of cooperation, namely in the form of *facilitating* such projects, often through subsidies. This type

of cooperation is elaborated on in section 5.2.2. Table 2 shows an overview of the observed types of cooperation.

Table 2. *Overview of the observed types of cooperation.*

Type of cooperation	Between whom
Coproduction	CSO --- CSO Municipality --- CSO
Referral	CSO--- CSO Municipality ----CSO
Harmonizing	CSO ---CSO Municipality --- CSO
General support	CSO --- CSO Municipality --- CSO
Influencing policy making	Municipality --- CSOs
Service provision	Municipality ---- CSO
Facilitating	Municipality --- CSO

5.2. Institutional context

Following the first section which provided a general overview of the types of cooperation between CSOs and the municipality, this section will describe the different aspects of the institutional context in which the local governance of asylum permit holders' integration takes place in The Hague.

5.2.1. Acknowledgment role for CSOs and their experiments

The acknowledgment of a role for CSOs and/or their experiments by the government was observed both on the local level as well as on the national level. This section will first describe where these signs of acknowledgement of such a role were found. Second, it will elaborate on what types of CSOs and experiments receive what degree of acknowledgement of a role.

To start on a more general note, the dedication and activity of volunteers and professionals throughout The Hague has been perceived and mentioned by the municipality both in the 2016 policy plan for asylum permit holders' integration (Haagse Aanpak Statushouders) as well as in the monitor document of this policy from 2017 (Monitor Statushouders). Going beyond the acknowledgment of a role, brief signs of intentions of the municipality to make better use of the '*strength of the The Hague society*' were also observed in

the policy monitor document (p. 38). When it comes to a specific role for CSOs and their experimental projects, the general role for CSOs in this field is mentioned in the municipal policy documents (Haagse Aanpak Statushouders and Monitor Haagse Aanpak Statushouders) and by the respondent speaking for the municipality. Several political parties have also stressed the role for these types of CSOs and initiatives, both in political documents (NIDA and D66) as in the report of a city council meeting concerning this topic (GroenLinks, PvdA, NIDA, SP, CU/SGP) on March 29, 2019.

However, a specific focus on the types of projects and CSOs and the role they are acknowledged can be distinguished. In terms of types of CSOs, it was found that only large CSOs were actually mentioned by name in the integration policy document (Haagse Aanpak Statushouders) and in the integration policy monitor document (Monitor Statushouders). This finding was confirmed by respondents from multiple CSOs, who also experience a tendency of the municipality to mostly work with larger CSOs:

> *'Ehm, what we also perceive in The Hague is that there is a tendency to mostly work with larger organizations, thus to delegate certain things to the larger CSOs, which leads to smaller-scale initiatives that we see for example in the Haagse Huiskamer network, […] having less room to receive subsidies and therefore sometimes fail'* (In: interview respondent CSO)

The respondent of one of the smaller CSOs interviewed in this study responded most negatively to the question whether they experience that the municipality acknowledges of a role for them in this policy field. Furthermore, this tendency was confirmed during the interview with the respondent representing the municipality:

> *'Interviewer: Thus, you do see the benefit of new initiatives being developed? Respondent: Yes, of course […..] in the end we of course look at scale, if something is very small-scale, then it is harder to invest a lot of time in it. <mentions three larger CSOs>, those are already big and relevant partners for cooperation'*

The types of experiments that are explicitly mentioned in the aforementioned documents are limited to the use of language coaches/buddies. An example of how language buddies are explicitly mentioned was found in the integration of asylum permit holders' document (Haagse Aanpak Statushouders) of the municipality and stated the following:

> *'For active participation and opportunities on the Dutch labour market, it is essential to stimulate the target population to improve language levels. The Hague therefore invests from the municipal Educational Means in additional language services at <name CSO> and <CSO name> in language buddies'* (p. 15)

On the national level, the letter of Minister Koolmees in 2019 regarding the renewal of the Civic Integration Act included a footnote which referred to the potential of language buddy projects. The current Law on Civic Integration does not mention such projects, or any other types of social innovation experiments studied in this study. Also experiments specifically focusing on expanding social networks and facilitating informal meeting opportunities were nowhere explicitly mentioned in the current Act.

On the local level, the acknowledgements of a role for CSOs (and their experiments) is to some extent also perceived by the CSOs themselves. However, some critical notes have been made regarding the acknowledgement during the interviews. For example, for some it remained unclear to what extent the achievements of the experiments were actually valued or evaluated by the municipality. Second, it was noted that the municipality acknowledges a role for CSOs but in the end often still follows its' own direction, which leads to situations where the focus of municipal programs directly overlaps with already existing CSO projects (see also section 5.3). One respondent from a CSO said the following about this topic:

> *'The role surely is acknowledged, but in the end they often follow their own course and then, well, I just think it is a waste, because a lot of work has just already been done and is done all over again and I don't believe anything new will come from it.'*

Moreover, according to one CSO the acknowledgement of a role for CSOs has increased since the 'refugee crisis':

> *'but the senior team leader, who is now retired, has worked at the CSO in The Hague for 15 years and she said that, I think back in 2014, when the number of refugees was already increasing, she noticed that the doors were opening. Like she was invited for meetings initiated by the municipality with other CSOs, about what is our view, what can we improve [....] Thus, we are surely being involved and also since 2015 often asked for.'*

Thus, a role is in general acknowledged by the municipality for civil society in stimulating asylum permit holders' social integration and language acquisition. However, when specifically looking at CSOs and their experiments, there is a differentiation visible in what types of CSOs and experiments are acknowledged a role in this field. Both respondents from CSOs as well as from the municipality perceived a tendency to work with the larger CSOs and to focus more on experiments focusing on language acquisition than on experiments that aim to increase social networks and facilitate informal meeting opportunities. Finally, it should be noted that the document analysis and interviews state that although there is some degree of acknowledgment

of a role for CSOs and their experiments, critical notes still have been made by CSOs about this perceived acknowledgment.

5.2.2. Granting subsidies

To further explore the institutional context in which the local governance of asylum permit holders' integration takes place, this section will explore the granting of subsidies for public innovation projects.

Differences have been observed in the granting of subsidies to the experimental projects in this study and the findings are mostly in line with the findings in terms of the acknowledgement of a role for CSOs (section 5.2.1.) First of all, it was found that most of the projects with language coaches/buddies are currently receiving direct or indirect subsidies. Direct subsidies refer to subsidies being granted directly to the projects, whilst indirect subsidies refer to subsidies being granted to the organization as a whole. However, for two buddy projects it was found in the yearly report that they were also financed through private funding. The policy document 'Haagse Aanpak Statushouders' (2016) states the intention to keep investing in language buddies until every permit holder in The Hague has a language buddy. Interestingly, the direct granting of subsidies generally lacks continuity, especially in the initial stages of the project, as is highlighted by the following quote by a respondent from one of the CSOs:

> 'Then we have, I think since 2016, received a subsidy every 6 months and that continued like that for a while. So, I had to ring the bell every 6 months with like hey guys, the problem is still here and people still want a language buddy. And we since this year have a structural, and I'll say it with quotation marks: 'structural' subsidy, because no subsidy of course is structural, but it is included in our regular supply. Thus it has now, from a program turned into regular work.'

From the other studied projects, one received subsidies (voluntary work buddy project) whilst others did not (the projects facilitating informal contact). Reasons for not granting subsidies are not easy to identify. As mentioned before, the scale and focus of initiatives appear to be important. Some initiatives tried to establish financing in alternative ways, for example through private funding by funds such as Fonds1818 and Ha-ella. This has not always been successful, which is illustrated by one of the studied public innovation experiments, which had to downscale due to a lack of financial resources to successfully coordinate the initiative.

Even though subsidies are to some degree granted to some CSOs, competition for resources was a reoccurring theme in the collected data. This is illustrated by the following quotes of two CSOs:

> '*Ehm, but that can be hard, because there generally is a culture, and I think you can partly attribute this to the municipality of The Hague, a culture of distrust because people depend on the same subsidies, and that the subsidy source, in this case the municipality, does not always promote cooperation. '*

> '*So what I saw when I started with this program, you noticed that there are many initiatives in The Hague, well you know that yourself, all with the best intentions and purposes for the target group, and there are limited resources [....] and everyone is seeking support from the municipality'*

Moreover, a lack of transparency has been mentioned by the Inspiratienota from the Haagse Huiskamer which appears to constrain cooperation, both between CSOs and the municipality, as among CSOs. There appears to be a degree of haziness concerning the available budgets and expenses. The experienced competition for resources could be mitigated by providing clarity in possibilities for financing, to actively inviting local actors to submit proposals for funding and by publishing an overview of the granted subsidies on a regular basis.

Next, various negative consequences of insufficient resources were perceived by the respondents. The most obvious consequence is the downscaling or cancellation of projects, as briefly mentioned above. Despite subsidies being granted, the Inspiratienota of the Haagse Huiskamer from 2018 mentions how the current language buddy projects are struggling to survive due to a lack of financial resources:

> '*The current language buddy projects in The Hague are at risk of having to stop because of a lack of financing by the municipality. We plead that resources will yet be found in the new coalition agreement to continue and expand the buddy projects'* (p. 11)

Another consequence is that projects don't get the opportunities for maturation and professionalization. This is especially relevant for projects working with volunteers, which applies to all the studied projects of this research. Many of the respondents mentioned that the coordination of the projects was very time-consuming, but good coordination is crucial for the quality of the initiative according to the CSOs. This for example holds for the buddy projects in which matchmaking is an essential part of the project and to a great extent determines the success. Also, in most projects, a degree of professional guidance of the volunteers is important, for example by providing workshops or trainings in terms of transferring language skills or

cultural sensitivity. Furthermore, for more informal projects, coordination is required to properly organize it. When speaking about facilitating meeting opportunities through the matching of asylum permit holders with local citizens for informal dinners, the quality of the matching is essential for the success of the meeting.

At the same time, the financial space municipalities have also depended on various factors, such as political climate and urgency. The response of the municipality on this matter was the following:

'They are always political choices of course. You get an X amount of money from the national government, the €2370,-. There are municipalities that say, we throw an amount of money on top of it because we see the added value, both socially as financially on the long term, and there sure is. But at the moment that you are a new 'college' and there is no financial space, yes then you cannot add anything on top of it, so then you have to choose for the short term. What we see now is that the last couple of years, much has been done on the short term, and everything has been put into the programming and projects, and that is rather hard because there is not that much continuity there. You should have the expertise in your regular processes, because then you know that you have the people working on it who are really engaged in the target group, and now all that expertise is sitting, eh on a little island which is every time dependent on the procurement of resources'.

Thus, projects are to some degree subsidized by the municipality. Private funds are also mentioned as ways to allocate the financial resources needed to run the projects. However, there still appears to be a lack of resources available for such projects, resulting in a competition for resources among CSOs to keep their projects running. In some cases, this eventually leads to downscaling or the ceasing of projects, whilst in other cases it constrains opportunities for projects to further develop and qualitatively improve. On the other side, it does not appear that it is solely a matter of unwillingness of the municipality to finance the initiatives, but factors such as political climate and financial space of the municipality and the national government are perceived by the respondents to play a role as well.

5.2.3. Network formation and management

The final aspect of the institutional context that this study looks into is the degree of network formation in The Hague in this particular policy field and the management of such networks, especially since the high influx of refugees around 2015 when many new projects were developed.

One network focusing specifically on refugees (Haagse Huiskamer) was already identified before conducting the interviews, when the existing initiatives in The Hague were

explored. During the interviews, Haagse Huiskamer was mentioned by all respondents from the CSOs and the municipality. This indicates that this network is well known in The Hague. Other networks were also mentioned in the interviews, but those networks all focused specifically on certain topics that, among other target groups, also concerned asylum permit holders. Examples of such networks were networks concerning language education, poverty and women with a distance to the labor market. Those networks generally also existed already before the high influx of refugees and the development of the public innovation projects.

Haagse Huiskamer was initiated by several local actors from various CSOs as a partnership around the time of the high influx of refugees. The initial aim was for local organizations and the high number of new initiatives to come together to find better ways of cooperation. The coordination of this network eventually became too demanding for the initial organizers and was taken over by one CSO, which further developed and professionalized the network into a platform for organizations, citizens and the municipality to cooperate. The following fragment from the year report of 2017 of this CSO marks the official launching of the platform:

> *'The platform was successfully launched on the 4th of September, bringing together 120 entrepreneurs, refugees, civil society actors and policy makers to present, discuss and incubate new solutions to labor market participation.'* (p. 17)

The purpose of Haagse Huiskamer nowadays is multifold. According to the website, it aims to bring citizens of The Hague together to address key issues concerning the reception and integration of refugees. Moreover, the harmonization of initiatives and cocreation of new innovative projects to strengthen solidarity are mentioned as additional purposes. The first initiative that came out of the platform was the establishment of a database of initiatives in The Hague, categorized by the focus and where the initiative is located. When asking the CSOs that are part of the network that was established within this platform, further purposes were mentioned such as lobbying and advocacy, bringing initiatives together and staying updated on each other's work and progress:

> *'Haagse Huiskamer is of course to keep a network going, to find each other and also to bring together initiatives, that is of course with Haagse Huiskamer and it is very nice that they have jumped in to coordinate it [....] but I think that it is something that is very important. And that of course now has been developed, but it has to be maintained.'* (In: Interview participating CSO)

> *'Haagse Huiskamer is more of a social thing of course, also to lobby, we also cooperated in writing the 'integratienota'* (Inspiratienota)*, thus that you from the society, the CSOs, give a*

signal to for example the municipality like we think this and this, based on what we hear and see in practice' (In: Interview participating CSO)

Concerning the role of the municipality within this particular network, it appears that it does not have a directing role and is mostly involved with the aim to connect with civil society and join in during certain meetings. However, the coordination of the platform by this CSO is subsidized by the municipality. This also has to do with the fact that this network can be seen as a bottom-up network, rather than a network which was actively initiated by the municipality:

> *'No, they (the municipality) don't have a directing role, ehm I think also because they are a subsidy provider and I think that our role – the coordinating CSO – is much more neutral because we can more easily bring people together and we don't have any other interest than bringing people together [....] And people cannot expect anything from us in terms of money, thus we always make that clear. For that matter, we don't have any influence thus that makes it easier, and that is also the reason that we don't give the municipality a too active role in the Haagse Huiskamer because we want to show that this is something bottom-up, initiated from the city and it is about the strength of the initiatives and not necessarily about the municipality'* (In: Interview respondent CSO)

The respondent representing the municipality mentioned in the interview how the municipality sees its role in the networks in the city. It was mentioned that with the renewal of the Law on Civic Integration, the municipality will play a more directing role, but mostly in networks with organizations and institutes offering civic integration courses and language courses for asylum permit holders. This has to do with the fact that the municipality will become responsible for arranging civic integration for its' permitholders. This responsibility thus resonates with taking a more directing role. However, in terms of networks including all initiatives (thus also more informal initiatives that are not directly related to the civic integration obligation) it was mentioned during the interview with the respondent from the municipality that the role should stay more facilitative rather than directive:

> *'Interviewer: And what sort of role would you say that you, as the municipality, play in such networks, is that a directive role and taking the lead or is it more just joining in?*
> *Respondent: No, directive.. No, it is more listening, facilitating where possible and also just making connections where possible, thus not really directing.*

However, this does not mean that the municipality does not put any direct effort into network formation themselves. As was mentioned in section 5.1., the municipality is asking CSOs for input for the design of their integration policy when the renewed Law on Civic Integration will be implemented. However, these meetings have not (yet) resulted in the establishment of an

actual network, or at least not an observable network. The question was also raised whether too many separate networks are favorable:

> *'There should be more of a network I think, but you should at the same time not create too much network when it is coming together already very nicely at the Haagse Huiskamer, you already catch a lot of the network there. The moment someone comes to me with hey I have this and this, if it is not a direct question to me then you have a place for it to land.'* (In: Interview respondent municipality)

Thus, different networks are active in The Hague that concern asylum permit holders but they have different characters. This section mostly focused on one particular network, which specifically focuses on refugees and initiatives for them from civil society in The Hague. This particular network was also established to stimulate cooperation after many initiatives and projects were developed, as a response to the large influx of refugees around 2015. What was observed is that this is a bottom-up network and is actively coordinated by a CSO. The municipality is aware of this network and actively participates in it, but takes more of a facilitative and cooperating role than a directing role. It appears that this role is as desired, both by the municipality itself as by the CSOs.

5.3. Room for improvement: efficiency and coordination

There were some findings that do not simply fit in only one of the aspects of institutional context or in the types of cooperation. These findings concerned reoccurring themes about what could be improved about the local governance of asylum permit holders' integration, mostly issues concerning efficiency. This issue will briefly be discussed in this section.

It was observed, despite various efforts to harmonize projects and services, that still efforts are running parallel to each other, which does not benefit efficiency. This was both observed for the municipality putting effort in things that have already been done by CSOs or networks, as well as projects that could be better tuned to each other:

> *'There are two notas coming, one about civic integration and the other about the language landscape, and that is a bit of a pity, because we have the language network, what even sort of was established by the municipality and is acknowledged by them. And at the same time, there is someone who, not involving the language network, who has to map the language landscape because that would be clearer, while … we think that it's not that unclear, just come and ask us and we will fill you in [....] Even though this was also broader and included efforts of the municipality itself'* (In: interview CSO)

> *'Eh, resources are limited and everyone is seeking support from the municipality he, ehm and a lot of things also run parallel to each other. What you had with the language buddy projects, you of course sometimes see, and you cannot blame the 'integrators' (*asylum permit holders*) that they go and shop, but yes you of course have asylum permit holders who have language buddies through us, and sometimes also by* -name other CSO-.' (In: interview CSO)

'Eh well, that (the pilot project of the municipality) was a type of prestige project from a previous alderman and was suddenly developed, without involving the language network [….]. We have been able to become a bit more involved through a lot of effort, but yeah, that was really something like what was this good for? Don't do this like that. Thus, that was a pity, thus you take initiative as a CSO but the municipality also takes initiatives, and that is not always in good consultation.' (In: interview CSO)

Especially the last quote concerning a big pilot project initiated by the municipality has come back during many of the interviews. It was acknowledged that this pilot project is not specifically aimed at asylum permit holders', it still overlaps with the work of some of the public innovation projects studied here, namely the element of matchmaking between newcomers and other residents of The Hague. The capacities and expertise developed by these CSOs have only partially been used to develop this project, by cooperating with one CSO but excluding others.

What also has been mentioned multiple times is the need for a more integral approach. This also reflects the complexity of the municipality as an organization, where different departments are working on different aspects of asylum permit holders' integration and are not always fully aware of what is going on at other departments:

'We mostly need to get a better view and then mostly participate more with each other and, there should be more coordination, also within the municipal organization. Now you often see that different services are operating independently [….] but there are no communication links between us in the municipality and I think that that we mostly first need to solve that internally, to enable better communication in this file, so we know what everyone is doing. That way we can show one face and one voice towards the city' (In: Interview respondent municipality)

'That also at the municipality a more integral approach should be realized. Thus, that different departments within OCW (Department of Education, Culture and Science) also have different departments that are not always aware of each other's work. Then you also have SZW (Department of Social Affairs and Labor) with different departments and that all must come together. Well at OCW there has been a whole reorganization that is supposed to stimulate better cooperation and a more integral cooperation, but for now I think that everyone is still a bit searching, which has also led to some stagnation'. (In: interview respondent one CSO)

This particular issue has also been summarized in the Inspiratienota from the Haagse Huiskamer, which recommends a clear point of contact for issues concerning asylum permit holders, which brings together the different departments. This does not imply that there should be one single department focusing on asylum permit holders, since that would be contrary to an integral approach. Rather, this recommendation highlights the need for a clearer

infrastructure within the municipal organization of The Hague to smoothen cooperation between CSOs and the municipality. That way, cooperation can become more efficient by being able to reach the right municipal officers. Also, an online overview of the different municipal departments that work with asylum permit holders and their services is recommended in the nota. Also, D66 recommends in its Integration Actionplan to provide a clearer overview of available projects with volunteers for newcomers (thus also asylum permit holders), to make it easier for them to find the services in their particular area.

Much more can be written about this particular issue, but these examples highlight that there is still room for improvement in terms of coordination and efficiency in cooperation in the field of asylum permit holders' integration.

Chapter 6: Analysis

This chapter will apply the findings of the study to the theoretical framework and ultimately aims to answer the three sub-questions. By doing so, it lays the groundwork for answering the overarching research-question in Chapter 7. The overarching research-question was the following:

> *What is the perceived influence of public innovation experiments by local CSOs on the institutional context in which local governance of asylum permit holders' integration takes place?*

The expectation based on the theoretical framework was that through experimenting (the cases of this study), different capacities of different actors (the CSOs that developed the experiments) would be utilized, which would lead to an alteration of the institutional context. This analysis chapter will first link the findings in terms of cooperation among CSOs and between CSOs and the municipality (sub-question 1), which illustrates the utilizing of different capacities by different actors, to the networked governance approach and to the modes of governance (Kooiman, 2003). It will do so by analyzing if and how this particular approach and these modes of governance are manifested in the studied context and what this means for successfully utilizing different capacities by different actors.

Second, it will link the findings in terms of the acknowledgement of a role for CSOs, subsidies and network formation and management to aspects of the institutional context (sub-question 2). By comparing this between the different cases, it can be clarified how experimenting in this context changes the institutional context. Finally, it will zoom out and analyze how the proposed functions necessary for public value management by Meijer (2014) are performed in this context and by whom. This will be done to analyze how experiments are currently stimulated in the context of the municipality of The Hague (sub-question 3).

6.1. Cooperation and governance (sub-question 1)

This section aims to answer the first sub-question:

SQ-1: What types of cooperation between these CSOs and the municipality of the Hague have existed since the emergence of the public innovation experiments?

Chapter 5 has discussed the findings in regard to the types of cooperation that could be observed from the data. This section will link these findings to the theoretical approaches discussed in the theoretical framework, and specifically to the modes of governance and the networked governance approach. All the modes of governance can be distinguished in the findings, albeit to a different degree. As explained in the theoretical framework, the modes of governance are not isolated from each other but rather complement each other. It is thus not the purpose to identify one out of three modes in this context, but rather analyze how these modes manifest themselves.

Elements of self-governance can be identified in some cases. Self-governance referred to CSOs being able to provide the necessary means to develop and maintain their own identity, and thus show a relatively high degree of social-political autonomy (Kooiman, 2003). However, this mode of governance can only be identified to a certain extent, namely in the cases where experiments do not receive funding from the municipality and were able to independently provide the necessary resources. However, what was found in one case was that this independence did lead to downscaling of the project. Also, this independency was due to the failure to acquire subsidies, rather than deliberately chosen strategy. Thus, for most cases there appeared to be a dependence on the municipality, at least for financial resources. Moreover, as is shown by the findings in terms of cooperation, various types of cooperation were identified between CSOs and between CSOs and the municipality. This also identifies that absolute self-governance barely occurs in the case of the CSOs.

In contrast, the mode of co-governance manifests itself more evidently in this context. The definition of co-governance as laid down in the theoretical framework is a mode of governance that "utilizes organized forms of interactions for governing purposes" (Kooiman, 2003, p.96). An important aspect of co-governance was the putting at stake of identities and autonomy by joining forces for a common purpose. This evidently happens when looking at the types of cooperation that were identified. For example, the tendency to harmonize and to refer to other organizations reflect how CSOs in this context are cooperating for a common purpose, namely providing the best services possible for asylum permit holders to stimulate their Dutch language skills and expanding their social networks. Also, the various cases of co-production

that were identified, where CSOs together developed projects, indicates putting identities and/or autonomy at stake. Developing projects together also means adjusting to each other's' interests and views on how to tackle problems. To successfully co-produce projects, compromises sometimes have to be made.

Finally, despite these clear signs of co-governance, hierarchical governance also evidently exists in the studied context. This was for example reflected by the municipality developing a pilot program which also included an element of making matches between new and older residents of The Hague to facilitate informal meeting opportunities. However, it is the question to what extent this can entirely be attributed to the mode of hierarchical governance, since some CSOs have collaborated in this pilot. The fact remains that not all relevant CSOs in this regard were involved. Also, some CSOs mentioned that they experienced that after being acknowledged a role and being involved in policy making, in the end the municipalities still tends to follow its' own course. This can be interpreted as hierarchical governance in the sense that, in the end, the municipality still steers and/or controls the governance of asylum permit holders' integration.

As mentioned before, this study follows the approach of networked governance, which refers to developing complex networks and the rise of more bottom-up approaches to decision making, which the state deliberately incorporates in the process of steering society. Here, collective-decision making by a wider network of actors, who are all perceived as legitimate members of this decision-making process is an important element. This implies a new way of governing for politicians and public sector managers. Applying this approach of governance to the findings of this study, efforts of the municipality were observed to include a wider network of actors (the CSOs) in the policy making process in this field. Also, a degree of network formation in this field has also been observed (section 6.2.3. elaborates on this). However, as mentioned by the example in the previous paragraph, not all relevant actors are always included in policy making. In this context, it can be concluded that there is a degree of networked governance, but collective-decision making could be improved by including all relevant actors.

Thus, a lot can be said about the types of cooperation that are found in the context of The Hague. Box 1. summarizes this analysis and how these types of cooperation are related to the concept of (networked) governance.

6.2. Institutional context (sub-question 2)

The findings of the study have described (developments of) aspects of the institutional context, in terms of acknowledgment of a role for CSOs, granting of subsidies and network formation. This section will analyze these findings and link them to the three aspects of the institutional context that this study focuses on, namely customs, procedures and power balancing. The aim of this section is to answer sub-question two, which was formulated as follows:

SQ-2: Which changes have occurred since the emergence of the public innovation experiments in the institutional context (customs, procedures and the balancing of power) of the local governance of asylum permit holders' integration in The Hague?

6.2.1. Customs

The customs of the municipality have been investigated by looking at the extent to which the government acknowledges a role in the local governance of asylum permit holders' integration for the (type of) CSOs that have been analyzed in this study. The analyzed CSOs all coordinate or have coordinated projects in this policy field. The degree to which these types of projects are – after being implemented – specifically being considered as policy instruments implies that the customs of the government have altered into a custom of including these types of projects initiated and coordinated by CSOs.

As described in the findings, this has been the case for one type of project analyzed in this project, namely language buddies, both on a national level as well as on the local level. This was not found for the other types of projects analyzed in this study. This could have had to do with a more general focus on stimulating language acquisition for asylum permit holders, since

this is directly related to the civic integration exam they have to pass. Social networks and informal contact on the other hand, is more indirectly related to passing the civic integration exam, namely by providing opportunities to practice Dutch and learning about Dutch culture in a more informal manner.

Thus, the customs of the government have been altered with respect to one type of project that is carried out by CSOs, namely language buddy projects.

6.2.2. Procedures

Procedures of the municipality in terms of cooperating with CSOs have been analyzed by looking at whether subsidies were granted to the projects of the CSOs included in this study. What was illustrated in the findings was that the language and voluntary work buddy projects were mostly subsidized by the municipality whilst the other projects were not financed by the municipality. This again highlights the focus of the municipality on language acquisition and finding (voluntary) employment.

An additional finding was that, even though projects are to a certain degree subsidized, still a sense of competition for resources was observed, especially among the smaller CSOs. This partly has been explained by the experienced lack of transparency in procedures in terms of the available budgets and expenses. Another explanation for this sense of competition, can be the perceived tendency to work with larger CSOs. This tendency has also been identified by the Patuzzi, Benton and Embiricos (2019) on a European level, and may also be explained by the bureaucratic requirements to apply for subsidies, which are better understood by larger and experienced CSOs.

However, it was also demonstrated that there is a scrutiny of resources for the type of projects studied here, which has several negative consequences. These consequences (downscaling/cancelation and stagnation) resonate with one of the functions of Meijer (2014) for stimulating experiments, namely vitalizing. This function concerned the embedding of successful experiments in a sustainable manner in existing routines and procedures. While they have been initiated by small-scale bottom-up approaches, central support is needed for successful implementation. What was seen here is that the projects have been implemented, but the lack of resources are in some cases perceived by the CSOs to constrain the further development and improvement of the project.

On the other side, it was observed that several factors are of influence in terms of how many resources are even available from the municipalities' side for these types of project, such as the political context. What is highlighted by the Patuzzi et al. (2019) is that, generally, in Europe governmental spending is currently shifting away from migration-related projects due to

the diminishing sense of crisis and urgency. It states that many of the initiatives that have become dependent on government and/or EU funds need to diversify their sources of funding to survive. There are several examples of initiatives that were first solely dependent on government funding, which have been able to attract private investors and don't rely on governmental support anymore. However, these mentioned initiatives focus more on labor market participation of asylum permit holders, rather than the type of projects studied here. It may prove harder for such projects, especially the small-scale ones focusing on facilitating informal contact, to attract private investors. Another strategy mentioned by Patuzzi et al. (2019) is to include other groups into the target groups of projects who may benefit from the projects as well, for example in stimulating language acquisition. This is already the case in one of the language buddy projects studied in this project, which is also open for other vulnerable 'newcomers' who lack the language skills to successfully enter the labor market.

Moreover, innovative models for funding are proposed by Patuzzi et al. (2019), which often include innovative partnerships between government and private funding, such as social impact bonds (SIB). This upcoming financing model is especially useful in funding preventative initiatives that are unlikely to yield a short-term payoff. This model entails that nongovernmental entities like foundations or private-sector actors assume the risk of investing in unpopular or novel projects, and governments provide financial rewards only when the desired results are achieved. Another benefit of these types of models is that it encourages evaluations, which enables policy learning and determination of whether public value is actually created by the project. However, these types of funding models still seem to benefit more established CSOs and projects that have a financial logic based on cost-benefit calculations, which often is not the case in projects pursuing social goods. Therefore, the focus might be too much on numbers rather than building quality services for refugees.

Thus, what has been observed is that the procedures within the municipality of The Hague include subsidies for some of the projects studied here, depending on the focus of the projects. However, a lack of financial resources is still found which has consequences for performing the function of vitalizing experiments, which was deemed essential to stimulate public innovation (Meijer, 2014). Since this seems to be a European-wide phenomenon, some strategies and innovative funding models have been discussed, which indicate how this aspect of the institutional context may be further altered in the future to stimulate experimenting in this field of asylum permit holders' integration.

6.2.3. Power balancing

The final aspect of the institutional context this study focuses on is the balancing of power distributions of all actors involved in this specific policy field through network formation and management. What was observed was that all actors were involved in various networks, but only one network focused specifically on asylum permit holders. All CSOs interviewed were part of this particular network. The formation of this network had been initiated in a bottom-up manner and is still being coordinated by one CSO, albeit that this CSO receives subsidies from the municipality for coordinating the platform, which the network is part of.

Moreover, the function of balancing (Meijer, 2014) has not been observed as the core purpose of the network. This function was about monitoring values and interests of all actors involved to find a balance that does justice to the specific relationships, interests and values. The purposes of this particular network that were most mentioned and described in the yearly report of the coordinating CSO were rather the stimulation of cooperation and bringing together initiatives and efforts, and together trying to influence policy making. Even though power balancing is not the core purpose of this network, these other purposes are positive findings as well, because they also reflect a form of networked governance and bundling resources such as expertise. Patuzzi et al. (2019) also reported the importance of establishing an infrastructure for exchange, guidance and support through such platforms and networks.

Moreover, networking efforts directly initiated by the municipality were also identified, albeit in a looser form. It is optimistic to state that this loose network formation has actually established a balance in power that does justice to the specific relationships, interests and values. Based on the findings, also regarding the tendency to mostly work with larger CSOs and a focus on language acquisition and labor market participation, it cannot be concluded that this is currently achieved.

Thus, the balancing of power distributions has, despite the formation of networks, only been achieved to a small extent in the current institutional context in the policy field of asylum permit holders' integration. The formation of the Haagse Huiskamer as a specific network regarding refugees' integration can be interpreted as a shift in the institutional context. However, the currently existing networks have not yet established a balanced power distribution, as defined by Meijer (2014).

6.2.4. Conclusion

Box 2 summarizes the analysis of the changes in terms of customs, procedures and power balancing in the field of asylum permit holders' integration.

Box 2: sub-question 2

SQ-2: Which changes have occurred after the emergence of the public innovation experiments in the institutional context (customs, procedures and the balancing of power) of the local governance of permit holders' integration in The Hague?

Customs
- ☑ Changed for language buddy projects
- ☐ No changes for the other types of public innovation projects

Procedures
- ☑ Subsidies for language buddy projects and voluntary work buddy projects
- ☐ However: sense of competition for resources
  - Need for innovative funding models and alternative strategies

Balancing of power
- ☑ One bottom-up network was developed which specifically focused on permit holders' integration (Haagse Huiskamer)
- ☐ However: balancing of power is not the core objective of the Haagse Huiskamer
- ☑ Efforts by the municipality in terms of 'loose' network formation
- ☐ However, power balancing is not achieved either in these looser networks

6.3. Management of public value creation (sub-question 3)

Finally, this section will build on the previous sections by looking specifically at the management of the public value creation. It will aim at answering the final sub-question:

SQ-3: To what extent is public innovation stimulated in the context of the municipality of the Hague?

It will do so by focusing on the functions identified by Meijer (2014). In the theoretical framework, it was argued that the functions of vitalizing, balancing and coordinating were most relevant for this study. The functions of vitalizing and balancing have already been discussed during the analysis of the different aspects of the institutional context (subsidies and power balancing). However, they are still summarized in Box 3 to provide an overview of all Meijer's (2014) functions to determine the extent to which public innovation is stimulated. This section will focus on the function that remains to be analyzed: the *coordination* of all the functions.

The question that thus arises is how and by whom the mobilizing, improvising, balancing and vitalizing is coordinated. What was found is a general sense that there is a lack of coordination and efficiency in the studied context. Experiments are mobilized and improvised mostly in a bottom-up direction. They are initiated by CSOs due to a sense of urgency and the urge to take responsibility in this policy domain. Efforts are put into vitalizing successful experimental projects by granting subsidies and by efforts to embed projects in the regular processes of the integration policy, as was observed for the language buddy projects. However, coordination here could be improved by actively looking for innovative funding models or

providing more transparency in how subsidies are distributed. Finally, the coordination of balancing is also only performed to a certain extent, in the sense that efforts are taken to bring actors together in networks. However, the actual balancing of power distributions is not necessarily achieved yet. Again, a lot of the initiative and coordination of this network has been in a bottom-up manner. As described in the findings, this is not necessarily perceived as a bad thing by both the CSOs as the municipality and several advantages can be identified by doing it this way for this particular network. However, active coordination of balancing power distributions has neither been observed in the looser networks initiated by the municipality. What has been found in terms of coordination as well was a desire for more transparency and efficiency, which could be achieved through exercising the function of coordination. According to Meijer (2014), the local government plays an important role regarding the function of coordination, because they ultimately represent the public interest.

Applying these findings and Meijer's theoretical framework (2014) to the current context, it can be concluded that the performance of the functions needs better coordination, and most importantly from the side of the municipality. However, this does not imply that the municipality should take a more directing role in the networks. This should especially not be done in the Haagse Huiskamer, since it was implied from both the CSOs as well as the municipality that the municipality deliberately is not playing a directing role. Rather, better coordination could be accomplished through more transparency in terms of the municipal organization in this policy field and a better overview of the available public innovation projects and how they are embedded in the integration policy for asylum permit holders. Moreover, efficiency should be another focus in this regard, in terms of finetuning of municipal policies in this field and finetuning between municipal policies and public innovation projects coordinated by CSOs. This way, double work is prevented and the scarce resources can be spent more efficiently.

Thus, coordination of the different functions of managing public value creation is only partly performed in this context and by different actors. There is not one clear actor who takes system responsibility. These conclusions are summarized in Box 3. This is in line with the analysis of the manifestation of networked governance in this context (section 6.1), which led to the conclusion that networked governance only occurs to a certain extent. Better coordination of stimulating public innovation can improve this networked governance, mostly in terms of balancing power distributions by including all relevant actors in networks and collective decision-making. Moreover, efforts should be taken to better coordinate the vitalizing of public innovation projects. What has been demonstrated is that, even when public innovation projects (language buddy projects) are explicitly acknowledged a role and granted some subsidies, this is

not necessarily perceived by the CSOs as sufficient to ensure further development and professionalization. This means that these projects are possibly not (yet) fulfilling their potential, which constrains the creation of public value. According to the framework of Meijer (2014), it is the local government that should take system responsibility for the coordination of the functions. It is therefore recommended for the municipality to invest in better coordination of these functions.

Box 3: sub-question 3

To what extent is public innovation stimulated in the context of the municipality of the Hague?

Vitalizing (see also section 6.2.2)
- ☑ Projects focusing on language acquisition and guidance to voluntary work are vitalized through subsidies
- ☐ However: the lack of resources constrains further development and improvement of the project

Balancing (see also section 6.2.3)
- ☐ This function is not sufficiently performed

Coordinating
- ☑ Mobilizing and improvising: mostly bottom-up
- ☑ Vitalizing (to a certain extent)
- ☐ Balancing (very limited)
- ☐ Unclear who holds 'system responsibility'

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The research question that this study aimed to answer was '*What is the perceived influence of public innovation experiments by local CSOs on the institutional context in which local governance of asylum permit holders' integration takes place?'.* What this study has demonstrated in the context of the municipality of The Hague is that, broadly, the public innovation experiments have been perceived by the local actors in this context to *have* an influence on all of the studied aspects of the institutional context in which local governance of permit holder's integration takes place. However, this perceived influence varies between the types of public innovation experiments as well as for the different aspects of the institutional context.

The types of public innovation experiments that have been perceived by the local actors to have an influence are the bigger-scale projects that focus on language or voluntary work buddies. This perceived influence was visible in the sense that they were embedded in the local integration policy and received subsidies (customs and procedures). However, CSOs still experience a competition for resources, which highlights the need to search for and invest in innovative funding models or strategies. Moreover, efforts have also been taken in terms of power balancing through the formation of networks of CSOs and the municipality in this policy field, such as the Haagse Huiskamer. However, this study has shown that power balancing is not sufficiently achieved yet in those networks. Thus, although this study has found that it was perceived that CSOs' public innovation experiments influenced the institutional context in which local governance of asylum permit holder integration takes place, there is still room for improvement.

Finally, the stimulation of public innovation experiments was analyzed to formulate policy recommendations. It was shown that the local actors perceived there to be a lack of coordination in this context. This lack of coordination mostly referred to vitalizing (providing sufficient financial resources for the supported CSOs) and the balancing of power between the different CSOs active in this policy field. The most important recommendation that these findings imply is that active efforts should be taken, favorably by the municipality, to take up a more coordinating role to make better use of the available resources that civil society provides. This mostly holds in terms of transparency and efficiency. Transparency is especially important in the field of granting subsidies, which may reduce the sense of competition for resources. Efficiency could be accomplished through better finetuning of policy that concerns asylum permit holders within the municipality as well as the finetuning of municipal policy and available resources (such as the public innovation experiments) from civil society. Furthermore, since

resources have appeared to be scarce, it is recommended to investigate innovative funding models to decrease the dependency of CSOs on the municipality and to offer projects the opportunity to mature.

In a theoretical sense, this study has proven that combining broad theoretical concepts such as the (networked) governance approach (Kooiman, 2003; Stoker, 2006), the public value triangle (Moore, 1995) and functions of management of public innovation (Meijer, 2014) offers a valuable analytical framework for analyzing this type of civil society involvement. It has given more insight in the function of experimenting in the public value triangle and how governance – in terms of bundling resources – also plays a role in this process.

Although this study was conducted with great care, some methodological limitations can still be identified. First, this study only focused on one context and its findings are hard to generalize to other contexts. It is therefore recommended to further explore the role of experimenting and governance in the public value triangle in future research by focusing on other contexts or types of public innovation experiments (for example focusing on labor market participation or housing). Furthermore, a comparative research design between two or more municipalities could bring more insight into this particular topic. Second, the research design of this study only allows for conclusions about how local actors perceive public innovation experiments from CSOs to influence the local institutional context. However, it does not say anything about the *effectivity* of public innovation experiments from CSOs and whether they lead to the creation of public value (following the public value triangle). Future research should take a quantitative approach in order to assess the influence of such public innovation experiments on actual integration results of asylum permit holders. For example, the language buddy projects could be assessed on effectiveness in terms whether they have an effect on the language level compared to asylum permit holders' that don't participate in such projects.

In conclusion, the findings of this study indicate that experimenting in this field can help provide solutions in times where the role of government is facing wicked policy problems, such as during the refugee crisis in 2015/2016. More specifically, it demonstrates *how* these types of public innovation experiments are perceived by local actors to influence the studied aspects of the institutional context and how they perceive that the stimulation of public innovation experiments can be stimulated. The influence of public innovation experimenting on these aspects of the institutional context may in turn enable further cooperation with CSOs for producing solutions and, eventually, better integration results for asylum permit holders. This information is essential in the light of the renewal of the Civic Integration Act in 2021, which will place municipalities in a more directing role by making them responsible for arranging civic integration for asylum permit holders. Thus, these insights are crucial for the municipality of

The Hague when deciding on how to design integration policies fitting with the renewed role from 2021 onwards. In a broader sense as well, this study serves as a stepping stone to get more insight in how the call for more government – civil society cooperation is manifested in practice. Building on the findings of this study, these types of cooperation could be improved to make the best use of civil society efforts in finding solutions for wicked problems.

References

Ammenwerth, E., Iller, C., & Mansmann, U. (2003). Can evaluation studies benefit from triangulation? A case study. *International journal of medical informatics*, *70*, 237-248. doi:10.1016/S1386-5056(03)00059-5

Boeije, H. (2010). *Analysis in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Cheung, S. Y., & Phillimore, J. (2014). Refugees, social capital, and labour market integration in the UK. *Sociology*, *48*, 518-536. doi: 10.1177/0038038513491467

Eurostat (2019). *Asylum applications (non-EU) in the EU-28 Member States, 2008–2018* Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics

Fratzke, S. (2017). *Engaging communities in refugee protection. The potential of private sponsorship in Europe (Policy brief MPI).* Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/engaging-communities-refugee-protection potential-private-sponsorship-europe

Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report, 8,* p.597-607. Retrieved from https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol8/iss4/6

Government of The Netherlands (2019a). *Inburgering en integratie van nieuwkomers*. Retrieved on May 15, 2019 from https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/nieuw-in-nederland/inburgering-en-integratie-van-nieuwkomers

Government of The Netherlands (2019b). *Moet ik mijn inburgering zelf betalen?* Retrieved on May 15, 2019 from https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/nieuw-in-nederland/vraag-en-antwoord/moet-ik-mijn-inburgering-zelf-betalen

Haagse Huiskamer website (2019). Information retrieved on April 5, 2019 from https://www.haagsehuiskamer.nl/over/

Joy, M. & Shields, J. (2013). Social Impact Bonds: The Next Phase of Third Sector Marketization?

Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research, *4(2), 39-55*. doi:

10.22230/cjnser.2013v4n2a148

Justice & Peace Nederland Linkedin (2019). Retrieved from

https://www.linkedin.com/feed/update/urn%3Ali%3Aactivity%3A65163459568567869

44/

Kooiman, J. (Ed.). (1993). *Modern governance: new government-society interactions*. London:

Sage.

Kooiman, J. (2003). *Governing as Governance*. London: Sage

Kooiman, J., Bavinck, M., Chuenpagdee, R., Mahon, R., & Pullin, R. (2008). Interactive

governance and governability: an introduction. *The journal of transdisciplinary*

environmental studies, 7, 1-11.

Kooiman, J. (2016). Interactive governance and governability. In J. Edelenbos & I. van Meerkerk

(Eds.), *Critical Reflections on Interactive Governance: Self-organization and Participation*

in Public Governance (pp.29-50). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing

Koolmees, W. (2018). *Kamerbrief. Veranderopgave inburgering*. Retrieved from

https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/kamerstukken/2018/10/23/kamerbrief

veranderopgave-inburgering

Koolmees, W. (2019). *Kamerbrief. Tussenstand veranderopgave inburgering*. Retrieved from

https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/binaries/rijksoverheid/documenten/kamerstukken/2019/

02/15kamerbrief-tussenstand-veranderopgave-inburgering/kamerbrief-tussenstand

veranderopgave-inburgering.pdf

Meijer, A.J. (2014). *Bestuur in de datapolis. Slimme stad, blije burger*? Oratie. Universiteit

Utrecht. Retrieved from http://albert-

meijer.nl.server43.firstfind.nl/Bestuur%20in%20de%20datapolis.pdf

Mensink, W. (2018). *Verdeeldheid en verbinding; Verdeeldheid en verbinding*. Retrieved from

www.scp.nl

Moore, M. H. (1995) *Creating Public Value – Strategic Management in Government*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Municipality of The Hague (2016). *Haagse Aanpak Statushouders Sociaal Domein.* Retrieved on May 16, 2019 from https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/3478828/1/131RIS293919_Bijlage_Haag se_aanpak_Statushouders_Sociaal_Domein.

Municipality of The Hague (2018). *Het college van burgemeester en wethouders*. Retreived on May 16, 2019 from https://www.denhaag.nl/nl/bestuur-en-organisatie/college-van-burgemeester-en-wethouders/het-college-van-burgemeester-en-wethouders.htm

Omroep West (2015). *Den Haag streeft naar 700 extra plekken voor vluchtelingen met verblijfsvergunning.* Retrieved from https://www.omroepwest.nl/nieuws/2938638/Den-Haag-streeft-naar-700-extra-plekken-voor-vluchtelingen-met-verblijfsvergunning

Omroep West (2017). *'Royaal gebaar' Den Haag voor opvang statushouders blijkt loze belofte*. Retrieved from https://www.omroepwest.nl/nieuws/3551240/Royaal-gebaar-Den-Haag-voor-opvang-statushouders-blijkt-loze-belofte

Patuzzi, L., Benton, M. and Embiricos, A. (2019) *Social Innovation for Refugee Inclusion. From Bright Spots to System Change (Policy Brief MPI).* Retrieved from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/social-innovation-refugee-inclusion-bright-spots-system-change?fbclid=IwAR02PynHY8pscOdLRPIvfbjRS0lSra6rMOIpEevAyh X4WlMe552P2oumz-M

Pestoff, V., & Brandsen, T. (2009*). Public service delivery and the third sector: opportunities for co-production and innovation?* Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Victor_Pestoff/publication/265485338_Public_se rvice_delivery_and_the_third_sector_opportunities_for_co_production_and_innovatio n/links/54b97a170cf24e50e93dbd17.pdf

Savitch, H. V., & Vogel, R. K. (2000). Introduction: Paths to new regionalism. In H. V. Savitch & R.

K. Vogel (Eds.), *Symposium on the new regionalism and its policy agenda, State and*

Local Government Review, 32(3), 158–168. doi: 10.1177/0160323X0003200301

Shields, J., Drolet, J., & Valenzuela, K. (2016). Immigrant Settlement and Integration Services

and the Role of Nonprofit Service Providers: A Cross-national Perspective on Trends,

Issues and Evidence Issues and Evidence. *RCIS Working Paper No. 2016/1, 64.* Retrieved

from

https://www.ryerson.ca/content/dam/rcis/documents/RCIS%20WP%202016_01%20Shi

elds%20et%20al%20final.pdf

Stam, E., Bosma, N., Gerards, J., Geujien, K., Meijer, A., Nehmelman, R., Raven, R., & Robeyns, I.

(2017). *Regionale sturing: inspelen op maatschappelijke uitdagingen*. Retrieved from

https://kennisopenbaarbestuur.nl/media/255031/regionale-sturing-inspelen-op

maatschappelijke-uitdagingen.pdf

Stoker, G. (2006). Public Value Management. A New Narrative for Networked Governance?

American Review of Public Administration, 36, 41-57. doi:10.1177/0275074005282583

TakecareBnb website (2019). Information retrieved on March 29, 2019 from

https://takecarebnb.org/over/

Vereniging Nederlandse Gemeenten (VNG) (2016). Factsheet. Integratie en participatie voor

gemeenten. Retrieved on June 6th, from https://vng.nl/files/vng/20161213-factsheet

integratie-participatie-gemeenten.pdf

Vereniging Nederlandse Gemeenten (VNG) (2019). *Overleg nieuwe wet Inburgering afgebroken.*

Retrieved on June 15th from https://vng.nl/onderwerpenindex/asiel/asielbeleid-en-

integratie/nieuws/overleg-nieuwe-wet-inburgering-afgebroken

Vluchtelingenwerk (2019a). Mooie initiatieven voor vluchtelingen. Retrieved on April 2, 2019

from https://www.vluchtelingenwerk.nl/publicaties/webartikelen/mooie-initiatieven-

voor-vluchtelingen

Vluchtelingenwerk (2019b). *Wat houdt de asielprocedure in?* Retrieved on May 16th from

https://www.vluchtelingenwerk.nl/feiten-cijfers/procedures-wetten-

beleid/asielprocedure/verlengde-asielprocedure

Vluchtelingenwerk (2019c). *Huisvestiging*. Retrieved on May 16th, 2019 from

https://www.vluchtelingenwerk.nl/feiten-cijfers/procedures-wetten-beleid/huisvesting

Vluchtelingenwerk (2019d). *Wat is inburgering?* Retrieved on May 16th, 2019 from

https://www.vluchtelingenwerk.nl/feiten-cijfers/procedures-wetten-beleid/inburgering

United Nations General Assembly (2016). *New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants*.

Retrieved from https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/71/1

Wren, K. (2007). Supporting Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Glasgow: The Role of Multi-Agency

Networks. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 20(3), 8–23*. doi:10.3868/s050-004-015-0003-8

Appendix A: Overview document analysis

<u>Policy documents:</u>

Level	Document name
National level	Civic Integration Act (Wet Inburgering)_ Retrieved from: https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0020611/2018-07-28
	Letter from minister Koolmees to House of Representatives about Renewal Civic Integration Act Retrieved from: https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/ministeries/ministerie-van-sociale-zaken-en-werkgelegenheid/documenten/kamerstukken/2018/10/23/kamerbrief-veranderopgave-inburgering
Local	Letter from the mayor and aldermen to city council about action plan refugee crisis and asylum permit holders (2015) Retrieved from: https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/3368783/1#search=%22statushouders%22
	Letter from the aldermen responsible for integration to the Commission 'Society' about the outlines of the integration policy (2015) Retrieved from: https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/3342306/1#search=%22hoofdlijnenbrief%20integratie%22
	Integration Policy Document: The Hague Approach Asylum permit holders (2016) Retrieved from: https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/3478828/1/131RIS293919_Bijlage_Haagse_aanpak_Statushouders_Sociaal_Domein
	Letter from the alderman responsible for integration to the Commission 'Society' about the municipal pilot project Samen Haags (2017) Retrieved from: https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/5489288/2#search=%22 Den%20Haag%20zijn%20we%20met%20z'n%20allen%22
	Document: Monitor Integration of Asylum permit holders in The Hague (2017) Retrieved from: https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/6265499/1/RIS299314 _Bijlage_ciebrief_Voortgangsbericht_en_monitor_statushouders_2017_bijlage_1
	Political document D66: Action plan Integration (2019) Retrieved from: https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/7404250/2/RIS301998%20 Actieplan%20integratie%202019
	Political document NIDA: Discussion paper: an alternative vision on integration (2019) Retrieved from: https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/7478928/3/ Discussienota%20Een%20alternatieve%20visie%20op%20integratie
	Report meeting commission 'Society' about new Integration nota (2019) Retrieved from: https://denhaag.raadsinformatie.nl/document/7472836/2/RIS302196%20 Verslag%20van%20de%20commissie%20Samenleving%20van%207%20maart%202019

Documents CSOs and cases (projects):

Focus	Type of Documents*
Cooperation among CSOs and between CSO and municipality	Either yearly reports obtained from their websites or information from websites
	Inspiration nota from Haagse Huiskamer (@018) Retrieved from: https://www.haagsehuiskamer.nl/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Haagse-Huiskamer-Inspiratienota-Statushouders-Den-Haag-2018.pdf
Cases	Project plans and/or information about projects on websites
	In one case: e-mail conversation

*due to promising anonymization, this overview does not state which documents were used for per CSO, but rather provides a broad overview of the types of documents analyzed.

Appendix B: Topic lists interviews

Organizations

Introduction/general question about organization
- What is your organization's founding story?
- Can you describe what your function is within the organization?
- Can you describe what your organization does exactly in the field of permitholders integration? How are you involved exactly?

The initiative
- Why did your organization decide to set up the initiative?
- How and when was <initiative> developed?
- Can you describe the <initiative>? (goals, procedures) What is the role of volunteers?
- Why do you use volunteers?

Governance
- Do you cooperate with the municipality? In what way? Do you get subsidies? Since when?
- Do you cooperate with other organizations in The Hague in this field? With whom? In what way do you cooperate? Since when?

Institutional context
Inclusion/role acknowledgment
- Do you feel like the municipality acknowledges a role for your organization in this field? How does this show exactly?

subsidies
- Do you specifically get subsidies for the initiative?
- Do you feel like it has become easier/harder to be granted subsidies since the large inflow of refugees in 2015/2016? How do you notice this? Why do you think this is?

Network formation
- Are you part of any networks in The Hague that are active in this field? If so, which one(s), who else are involved, what is the purpose of it? Who initiated it? Who maintains the network?
- Have you experienced conflicted interests within the cooperation network(s)? If so, what type of interests are conflicting with each other? How has this been handled and by whom?

Municipality

<u>Introduction</u>
- Can you describe your function within the municipality of The Hague?
- Can you (briefly) describe the approach of The Hague in the field of (civic) integration of asylum permit holders? (The Hague Approach)
- How do you perceive the role of the municipality of The Hague in the (civic) integration process in the context of The Hague?

<u>Governance</u>
- Does the municipality of The Hague cooperate with local CSOs to achieve the (civic)integration goals? If yes, in what way? And since when?
- Has this increased since 2015/2016? (refugee crisis)

<u>Institutional context</u>
Erkenning rol vanuit de gemeente
- Do you experience that the municipality acknowledges a role for CSOs in the field of stimulating (civic) integration of asylum permit holders?
- How does the municipality repsonds on new initiatives (experiments/pilots) from the The Hague society?
- *For all questions: has this changed since 2015/2016?

Subsidies
- What is specifically considered before deciding to grant subsidies to CSOs that are active in this field?
- Do you experience that since 2015, subsidies are more easily granted to initiatives from The Hague's civil society in the field of asylum permit holders' integration? If yes, why do you think this is?

Network formation
- Are you, or other colleagues, representing The Hague in networks in The Hague cooperating in the field or asylum permit holders' integration?
If yes:
- which networks and which other actors are involved in this? Since when are those networks active and by whom where they initiated? How are these networks coordinated nowadays?
- Have you ever experienced conflicts of interest in those networks? If yes, what types of interests clashed and how was this handled within the network?