



A shot at policy?

The leadership style of the alderman as a conceptual link for
permit holder integration policy in Amsterdam, Utrecht,
The Hague and Rotterdam

Master's thesis
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The political field of migration and integration has been a great interest of mine since my mid-teens, but was accelerated in the early months of 2018. During my internship at the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR), I supported a research group with publishing three studies on migration-related diversity and contributed to policy directions for integration policy on the local level. Tirelessly pushing forward important academic issues to the political agenda, I could not have dreamt of working with more motivating people. Inspired by the urgency and 'wickedness' surrounding the policy agenda of integration, this Master's specialisation became a natural follow-up choice. With my study, I hope to provide additional insights that do justice to the contumaciousness of the highly political – and highly local – reality of migration policy. Finally, my thesis would not have seen the light without the structural supervision of Maria Schiller, who I could always contact to help me with some overview in the midst of all theoretical chaos. Now my student phase this time really is coming to an end, I cannot help but be very curious about what the future has in store for me.

Anneke Brock, August 2019

Epigraph

The role of leaders, particularly in the present context of governance, where 'influence' is regarded as being as important as direct power, must be to work through partnerships and alliances. And because it is still new, the local and national institutions and the various professional bodies that underpin them will have a tendency to revert to more familiar and established patterns of work, based on single cultures. However, as barriers are broken down and our institutions increasingly reflect multicultural patterns, it will become easier and more natural to create change and take bolder decisions. (Cantle, 2008: 229)

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Summary and practical implications

I. Summary

Local leaders are increasingly faced with the crucial task of governance for permit holder integration. New leaders are developing their own integration priorities, inviting different stakeholders and actors to the table to create innovative policy solutions. Political leaders can here take various roles in governance networks on the local level, continuously changing how actors can have 'a shot at policy'. This study used the participation-based approach as a form of integration policy that customises permit holder's individual needs to labour market participation, language training and social inclusion through a large diversity of partnerships. I explored how the style of the alderman or alderwoman informs the variation of horizontal and vertical governance networks, consisting of the council, civil society stakeholders, community organisations and multilevel authorities. This led to the following research question: *How does the leadership style of the alderman or alderwoman inform a participation-based integration policy for permit holders?* To answer this research question, I analysed the different integration policies in four case studies: Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam. Second, I explored their respective gateway and gatekeeper leadership styles, meaning that I distinguished different forms of how aldermen act in governance networks of local political parties, civil society stakeholders and national authorities.

The qualitative analysis of this study showed that alderman leaders participate in a variety of horizontal and vertical relations, informing integration governance networks in different ways. I concluded that horizontal gateway leadership informed a higher participation-based approach, a gateway leadership style was connected to a more open and diverse governance network. This study also concluded that participation-based integration policy was informed by a vertical gatekeeper leadership style; a participation-based integration narrative of the alderman challenged the national policy structures, piloting innovative solutions and pointing out the shortcomings and flaws of national authorities. The conclusions of this study revealed the broad and important function of political leaders in policymaking and governance networks, enriching our understanding of the political particularities of decentralised integration policy. This study set out the specificity of a distinct local narrative that – through a certain leadership style – seduces or hides from civil society stakeholders, embraces or ignores cross-political input, challenges or conforms to national standards.

II. Practical implications

Practical implications can guide political leaders, policymakers and other stakeholders to binding, effective governance that supports permit holder integration in effective ways. As one of the primary regulators of governance networks, political leaders are of large importance in creating democratic support for local integration narratives. The leader tells a story where others can act upon and find themselves in. As was illustrated by this study, the most effective leaders allow a vision to be fed by interacting, partnering and collaborating. Leaders cannot afford to not make use of collective knowledge, since migration-related challenges are becoming more and more complex. Local politicians that can make the difference must be able to effectively move within and beyond trans-local and multilevel networks. This leads to the following recommendations:

1. *The horizontal dialogue*

This study showed that gateway local political leadership sets the tone of much debate about integration and is also needed to deal with stakeholder tensions associated with immigration and permit holders. Where most leadership conflicts arise, the communication of the alderman was viewed as obscure by the local council or community organisations. The best way to increase leadership effectivity would be to involve the public directly in the conversations about integration. The residents have clear views about what makes integration work and how diverse groups can find shared objectives. Even though most people feel distanced from the policy jargon, the core concerns of integration – how we live together, what is successful, and where policy is lacking – eventually matter to all residents. As a leader, it is important to systematically value the interest and involvement of knowledge exchange with stakeholders, in order to not lose sight of diverse partnerships possibilities.

2. *The vertical force field*

I observed that the debate about local narratives for permit holders can often be blocked, because national discourse clashes with the local policy discourse and vice versa. The dialogue between national and local leaders is avoided for a large part. When the discussion about *if* and *which* programmes are fitting for permit holders continues to be neglected, this has possible consequences for multilevel trust relations. There need to be more opportunities to talk about differences of opinion, alongside policy action to deal with the deficits found on the local level. In educating, researching and equipping local leaders, it is thus important to continuously address the multilevel character of leadership. Shifting between different levels, leaders can pressure and complement (inter)national governance. Local leaders then become increasingly encouraged to initiate innovative solutions that move the debate about integration forward.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Problem definition and research question

European countries are faced with a growing public disenchantment with regard to migration-related diversity. Although it is often turned into a highly politicised issue (Cantle, 2008), international migration has become a fact of life and the balance of immigration and emigration shows that an even greater migration-related diversity is inevitable: our world is moving in globalising directions (Jennissen et al., 2018), meaning that refugee migrants that get a residence status (permit holders) are ought to integrate into receiving societies.¹ Policies for migrant integration in the host countries are often approached from the perspective of the national government (Castles et al., 2013), but are also becoming increasingly claimed by the local or city dimension of migrant integration: “Immigration is a national issue, but perceptions are often framed by the local lens” (Rutter & Carter, 2018: 6). Municipalities here do not simply follow the national policies passively, but actively formulate their own policy narrative for different integration target groups (Scholten et al., 2017). Local leaders consequently become faced with the complex task of forming a vision on how to make multi-ethnic communities work and how policy can minimalise possible social conflicts between permit holder newcomers and established residents (Cantle, 2008; Van Dorp et al., 2018).

Building a local vision on identity and integration for newcomers may be crucial to getting the integration agenda right. Schiller (2016) identified the leadership of the alderman and mayor in Amsterdam to be one of the most relevant factors in constructing local policies; public officials here appeared to be highly dependent on how leadership of the alderman affected policy interpretations. New local leaders are thus capable of developing networks and relations with different stakeholders – with local public officials, the police, neighbourhood communities and civil society groups, schools, colleges and universities, and local entrepreneurs. The political leadership style of the alderman can be viewed as a conceptual link to a participation-based perspective on integration governance, where permit holder integration is characterised by the importance of partnerships for policymaking (Jentsch, 2007: 5).² The decentralisation of national’s public provisions for migrants to the local level have resulted in a growing involvement of local civil society groups in the Netherlands (Vermeulen, 2015; Gebhardt, 2016). Local organisations here provide information and advice, support permit holders in building social and employment networks, and contribute to their ‘shot at policy’. The

¹ In the Netherlands, permit holders are refugees that receive a conditional residence permit (Rijksoverheid, n.d.).

² The role of the alderman in the Netherlands “[...] can be compared to the role of ministers at the national level. Together with the mayor, they form the ‘college’ which makes the most day-to-day decisions of the local government. They are appointed for a set number of years and for a specific portfolio” (Schiller, 2016: 48).

local leadership's style is ought to inform how partners are able to assume tasks they are best to fulfill in a participation-based policy process. The Dutch alderman leadership here forms an insightful case for the politics of migrant integration. Dutch mayors have relatively less power and expertise in specific portfolios compared to aldermen (Bäck et al., 2006). The role of the alderman forms the link with the municipal executive and the local council and informs both parties about developments surrounding his responsibilities: "The alderman [or alderwoman] is accountable to the local council for the chosen approach, that is, how decisions taken fit into the municipal policy frameworks and, vice versa, how municipal policy goals relate to decision-making processes in long-term and short-term projects" (Geurtz & Van de Wijdeven, 2010: 542).

This study fulfilled the need to take leadership dynamics into account in the governance networks that inform a participation-based approach, where policymaking focusses on the labour market, language training and community integration at the same time (Rutter, 2015). Using theory on local integration orientations, governance networks and leadership styles, I tried to pinpoint how the alderman deals with his portfolio as the representative of the college and the pivot point between the residents and civil society (*cross-domain leadership*), the decisions of the local council (*cross-party leadership*) and other internal and external actors, like national politicians (*cross-level leadership*). How does the alderman deal with governance actors in the field? Participatory, *gateway leadership styles* with an open, accessible attitude to partnerships, may inform the integration policy for permit holders in a way that it becomes more participation-based, meaning that the policy acknowledges the importance of various policy domains that together fulfill the customised needs of the individual permit holder. The broad research on democratic leadership has already highlighted that an interactive leadership style helps to pluralise public governance (Sørensen & Torfing, 2018; Ayres, 2018; Hartley et al., 2019). Open attitudes towards governance actors as a source of information, inspiration and learning create new possibilities and solutions. On the other hand, authoritarian, *gatekeeper leadership styles* that block information and the involvement of partnerships in policymaking, may inform a less participation-based integration policy. In this study, I questioned how diverse leadership styles of the alderman can inspire integration governance for permit holders. For the case studies, I have selected the Dutch G4 cities. Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam are the four largest cities in the Netherlands and are thus comparable in their leadership capacity to engage in horizontal and vertical governance networks. This leads to the overall research question addressed in this study:

RQ: How does the leadership style of the alderman/alderwoman inform a participation-based integration policy for permit holders in Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam?

The empirical research question can be divided into two sub-questions:

SQ1: What participation-based integration policies for permit holders can be identified in Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam?

SQ2: What leadership styles of the alderman/alderwoman can be identified in Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam?

1.2 Theoretical and societal relevance

Some researchers have made claims for the existence of the local or city dimension to either be more accommodative or exclusionist of integration policy for newcomers (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). However, research by Dekker and colleagues (2015) has concluded that the city dimension for migrant integration policy does not necessarily exist. Local integration policies are reflective of their national policies to a high extent, but various forms of multilevel interaction through local political leadership were also found. Dekker and colleagues (ibid) here argued that future research should focus on the complex forms of constructing the local dimension of integration policy in different contexts within the same national setting, so that differences in local political circumstances can be comparatively assessed. Research also illustrated integration policies and discourses in one, two or more cities (Alexander, 2007; Hadj-Abdou, 2014; Legros & Vitale, 2011), yet I observed gaps in capturing variation across cities by offering concrete local explanations. Leaders may vary in their partnership style, and few studies have investigated why some aldermen play a substantial role in constructing a new local narrative, while other leaders are conforming to existing government policies. Penninx (2009: 6) also addressed the value of leadership for integration policy outcomes: "There are a great many local factors and circumstances that account for the high variability of local integration patterns and resources. This includes, for example local political constellations and coalitions that work for inclusion or for exclusion". I directly addressed this matter by analysing the variation of the specific role of the alderman in establishing partnerships. This allows a better understanding of the cooperation between elected officials, local governance networks and policy outcomes.

Next to this, the importance of leadership theory has received considerable attention over recent years, but has not yet been linked to the governance of migrant integration. In migration and leadership research, the role of the alderman has not been used as a research focus, while these political leaders do inform local policies (Dekker et al., 2015; Schiller, 2016). This study offers more insight in how different types of leaders open or close up the public debate about integration. In liberal democratic societies, leaders compete for support by

appealing to different actors and are expected to persuade them with argumentation or sharing information rather than coercion (Beerbohm, 2015). Leaders can have ultimate control over information in partnerships, enforcing actors' compliance with their choice of governance. This needs to be explored more in relation to public policy.

Next to the theoretical relevance of this research focus, the findings of this study also have a relevance for societal debate. After the completion of this study, asylum migration and its consequences for receiving communities will continue to be a major local policy issue. Rutter (2015: 217) suggests that it is only in political spaces, such as the local council, that "[...] a debate about topics as controversial as immigration and integration can be had without feelings of discomfort". Despite incentives to talk more about local integration efforts, such a debate is largely not taking place on the national level. Cattle (2008: 22) claims that "[...] clear leadership has often been lacking, reflecting the uncertainties and ambivalence of the political mood at the time. However, Western societies face a large number of wicked problems such as immigration and integration, requiring the development of new and innovative solutions. This calls for the different exercise of leadership". Empirical examples of how politicians interact with actors (Ercan, 2014; Crosby et al., 2017) can demonstrate that political, public and private partnerships have the potential to provide the needed input for solving issues surrounding migrant integration. Gateway leadership here may be capable of combatting symptoms of disconnectedness, whilst strengthening governance alliances. Such governance alliances can be essential in creating an over-arching vision that respects the perspectives of all voices in local communities, moving the integration debate forward.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

This chapter aims to gain a better understanding of the role of political leadership in local integration policymaking, by focussing on three literary themes: (1) integration and its local policy-oriented definitions; (2) theory on policymaking and governance networks; (3) theory on gatekeeper and gateway leadership styles. This leads to a preliminary conceptual model for the empirical analysis of the contextual relationship between the integration approach for permit holders and aldermen as policy entrepreneurs in the policy process. The chapter closes with a summarising conclusion.

2.1 Integration and its local policy-oriented definitions

It was not until the 1980s that the term integration was used in the policy context to describe relations between immigrants and the wider society (WRR, 2015). Around this time, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees described local integration as one of the long-term solutions for refugee displacement. During this same decade, the Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy (*Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid*) noted that immigration to the Netherlands should be approached as a permanent instead of a temporary movement (WRR, 1989). The Council recommended that the government should invest more in the facilities that teach migrants useful skills. Their publication on so-called *Allochtonenbeleid* (Immigrant policy) established the start of the discussion about the principles of integration policy.

Consequently, the realisation that migrant integration takes place at the local level entered the political and scientific discourse. The WRR publication pressured Dutch municipalities in adopting pragmatic solutions for emerging migration-related needs (Castles et al., 2013: 120). However, it was not until 2006 that Rotterdam mayor Ivo Opstelten invited local policymakers to a European conference on the local practices of migrant integration (Penninx, 2015). The objective of this meeting was to 'find ways for better cooperation'. Succeeding the conference, Migration Policy Group (MPG) director Jan Niessen affirmed that integration is essentially a local process (Niessen & Shibel, 2007). Local implications became considered crucial for identifying, developing and diffusing successful integration policies across Europe.

Today, local integration policy continues to be largely defined by the national perception of integration (Brubaker, 1992). Throughout most of the 1990s and 2000s, research has focussed on the nation state as the key policy level in understanding processes and paradigms of migrant integration. Various typologies have been developed to describe national immigrant policies. From a juridical perspective, where the *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* citizenship of newcomers are based on either bloodline or birthright rights (ibid); from the socio-political perspective, where at least four different models have been set out: assimilationist, multiculturalist, differentialist and universalist integration (Scholten & Holzhaecker, 2009).

Respectively, this socio-political typology focusses on cultural monism and national social cohesion, pluralism and cultural diversity, political and economic bonding with the nation-state and exclusion from the nation-state. These national typologies of integration often have been criticised for being overly simplistic, with the risk of hiding how integration actually takes place on the municipal level (Favell, 2001). The national models neither explain variation in integration measures between different municipalities in the same national context, nor explain specific trends of convergence and divergence in local integration practices from national models (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004: 156). However, it should be acknowledged that these typologies still represent a reference point in the local context.

This is why in this framework I elucidate some main conceptual categories that identify more narrowly with the practical interventions of the local level. In subject matter, the most important difference for local policymakers continues to be focussed on the dimensions of economic integration (education, employment and occupational status), social integration (neighbourhood status, social contacts with native citizens) and cultural integration (acquaintance with the national language, norms and values) (Dagevos, 2001). Policy-focussed research of Rutter (2015) has developed a typology of four local policy categories that largely overlap with Dagevos's categories of social, economic and cultural integration: (1) *rights-based integration*, where integration is defined as possessing civil, political and social rights; (2) *outcome-based integration*, where integration is approached as achieving outcomes such as employment, educational status or political participation. Since the approach is outcome-based, integration is used as an endpoint that can be quantitatively measured; (3) *social-contact based integration*, where integration is viewed in terms of social contacts between migrants and established residents in the municipality (bridging) (Spencer & Charsley, 2016); (4) *participation-based integration*, focussing on language training, social inclusion and active participation in the labour market (Griffiths et al., 2006).

This typology is used to guide the analysis of local policies for permit holder integration. In this study, I explicitly focus on the participation-based integration approach, since the categories connect to recent research of Klaver and colleagues (2019), where they demonstrate that the times of one-size-fits-all are 'long gone'. The capacities, aspirations and the moment where participation activities are fitting, increasingly differ between individual permit holders. A differentiated approach asks for the expertise of various policy domains that are together capable to start trajectories that fit the needs and potentials of the individual permit holder. This analytical framework of participation-based integration is issue-specific for local integration issues, but can be applied to various types of cases including partnerships related to individual immigrants, different immigrant groups or migration diversity-related policy initiatives. I

elaborate on how governance networks inform participation-based policymaking in the following section.

2.2 Policymaking and governance networks

In analysing the participation-based nature of integration policy for permit holders, policymaking is understood through a constructivist lens. This means that I actively acknowledge that societal and political contexts are constantly being (re)constructed and (re)interpreted by a multitude of policy actors (Stone, 1989: 299). Policymaking is thus not an objective, unambiguous process. In a policy context where decisions are made, next to policymakers themselves, various individuals, groups and organisations act according to their interests (Allison & Zelikow, 1999). Various institutions try to generate attention for the policy issue they prioritise for the policy agenda: “A list of problems and solutions to which government officials, and those associated with government, are paying serious attention” (Kingdon, 1984: 3). This means that in policymaking, it is important to address the political reality of dominant partners constructing and reinterpreting policy issues.

Hecló (1978) was one of the first academics that acknowledged that governance was not synonymous to policymaking as solely obliging to the law of formal government institutions. He discussed that policymaking rather involves a broad range of issue-specific actors and affirmed the role of issue networks in governance. Where the classical definition of government refers to formal institutions of authority, the term governance networks addresses that society is steered by formal and informal processes with “[...] jointly formulated goals of dispersed actors with different roles and interests” (Torfing et al., 2012: 893). This produces more sustainable solutions to wicked problems by using collaborative innovation (Hartley et al., 2013). Even though governance networks create biases coming from actors with the most resources (Young, 2000), governance steering is more capable of expanding the range of actors than government steering. In doing so, governance networks influence public debate and build support for policy objectives.

When different actors contribute to policymaking in governance networks, this influences the ‘leap’ for policy entrepreneurs to engage with other actors (Dewolf, 2013: 322). Policy entrepreneurs are actors that can play an important role in articulating innovative ideas for policy solutions (Mintrom, 1997). Again following Kingdon (1984: 12), I define policy entrepreneurs as advocates that are willing to invest resources (time, energy, reputation, finances) to establish policy change, either because they are highly involved in their problem perception, or for their own electoral benefits. In their strive for policy change, policy entrepreneurs try to shape the discourse for the affirmation or contestation of their ideas by prioritising certain issues (Rein & Schön, 1993). Prioritising practices address the validity of a

policy issue, while at the same time diverting the attention from alternative, 'less important' issues (Dekker et al., 2015). Aldermen or alderwomen as policy entrepreneurs can thus mould their narrative of governance to their public. One of the important effects of a discursive change by policy entrepreneurship is that it also transforms the interests of actors: it redefines the policy problem so that they can align themselves to the new idea (Hajer, 1994).

The leadership role of policy entrepreneurs in governance networks is, of course, in no way limited to politicians and there exists a wide range of leaders in civil society and voluntary sectors, varying from business entrepreneurship to education institutes and religious networks. The plethora of partnerships mean that a much wider range of individuals have the potential to influence local policymaking. Although public officials, informal programme coordinators and public managers also operate across different horizontal and vertical levels, the influence of political leaders in partnerships is often more crucial since they also govern the institutional and regulatory context for the policy agenda of the council, board and various committees (Moore, 1995). Political leaders thus have a large impact on how governance networks are constructed and accessible for certain actors. The steering of governance networks can be organised through different leadership styles; through gatekeeper leadership, blocking the participation of certain actors, or gateway leadership, using the collaborative advantages of certain actors. I elaborate further on how different leadership styles influence governance networks in the next section.

2.3 Leadership styles

Taking a cue from Dewan and Myatt (2008), I address how leaders can influence the actors' compliance through the information channel. Because the leader's policy choice can be informative by (partially) revealing what the leader knows about the state of the (local) world, the leader can adjust how different actors are involved in governance networks. Agents are then pulled towards the leader as a 'focal point'. Research shows that when the leader's policy communicates more information about the state of the world, the leader's influence amongst other actors increases (Landa & Tyson, 2017). Often, there are good reasons for not making use of democratic governance networks (Sørensen & Torfing, 2018: 305). Taxes and environmental regulations can be most effectively coordinated by public bureaucracies that are specialised in legislation. Otherwise, Koppenjan and Klijn (2004) show that when it comes to governing complex problems, this requires the development of more innovative solutions by using collaborative advantages (Huxham & Vangen, 2005). Informal networking is often very time-consuming for political leaders, but the alignment of policymaking and the production of shared solutions in general tend to make public governance for complex problems more effective and beneficial, especially when government methods have been piloted and found to be insufficient.

The two concepts of *gateway leadership* and *gatekeeper leadership* enrich the understanding of how different actors have access to the information channel of governance networks. In my view, the two paradigms can co-exist and benefit from each other; I aim at interpreting both gatekeeper and gateway leadership under a dialectic paradigm, meaning that these two categories are not mutually exclusive, but can be used at the same time across various dimensions (Zoller & Fairhurst, 2007).

Gatekeeper leadership style

The term authoritarian or gatekeeper leadership style can be originated from the experimental studies of Lewin and colleagues (1939), where they compared gatekeeper leaders with gateway leaders. They categorised gatekeeper leaders as dominant and autonomous decision-makers, and gateway leaders as leaders that trust other actors to get involved in decision-making. Although operationalisations can diverge between different studies (Foels et al., 2000), the gatekeeper leadership style in general is defined as centralised decision-making, power and control. Gatekeeping is a form of leadership where a leader provides its network with clear expectations and unambiguous rules, guidelines and procedures; the leader controls and coordinates the work of others, without asking for input from other actors.

In this way, political leaders adopt a gatekeeper model of leadership where all decisions are filtered through them and leaders generally share little information, preferring to keep their policy networks in a dependency relationship (Cantle, 2008: 184). Local politics often goes hand in hand with the gatekeeper model, helping to keep the leader in their position of power. Ouseley (2001: 10) states the following about this gatekeeper dependency relation: “Community leaders are self-styled, in league with the establishment key people – they retain their power base by maintaining the segregated status quo. People at street level are rarely told what is really going on by politicians or leaders”.

Gateway leadership style

The counterpart of gatekeeper leadership style is gateway leadership style (Lewin et al., 1939). The modernist leadership theory is described in Bass and Avolio’s (1990) model of transformational leadership, where leadership contributes to emotional long-term commitment (Gaertner & Nollen, 1989). Gateway, democratic and interactive leadership are terms that are often used interchangeably, meaning that all concepts focus on endorsing other actors to strive for the common interest of the whole organisation (Bass, 1997). When seeking out for an appropriate gateway information exchange between leaders and the involved actors, communication manifests itself in a way that emphasises trust, consensus and mutual commitment.

Vroom and Jago (1988) address that gateway leaders gain influence as a consequence of the active role that actors are allowed to contribute to policymaking. The sharing of power allows elected governments to use governance networks to their advantage, improving both the effectiveness and democratic quality of public governance (Sørensen & Torfing, 2018: 306). This reveals the correlative relationship between gateway political leadership and governance networks. In succession of Northouse (2018: 130), gateway leadership is here defined as “[...] inviting subordinates to participate in the decision-making process, consulting other individuals or groups, asking about ideas and opinions of others and incorporating suggestions of others into the decision-making”.

Horizontal and vertical partnerships

In the literature on gatekeeper and gateway leadership, I add the concepts of both vertical or horizontal partnerships in governance networks (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). Guiraudon (2000) has drawn attention to vertical venue shopping, or strategic interaction between government levels in an effort to achieve – or obstruct – policy opportunities that cannot be realised on a certain level alone. Vertical partnerships thus take place when relations involve a higher or lower level of government (Dekker et al., 2015). I operationalise this as investing in *cross-level leadership partnering*. Investing in governance partnerships with other affected groups on the local level in order to influence the policy agenda is considered to be an act of horizontal partnering (Princen, 2009). In this study, I operationalise horizontal governance partnerships as investing in both *cross-domain* and *cross-party leadership partnering* (Cantle, 2008: 205), meaning that leaders invest in partnering with civil society stakeholders and parties in the council.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to gain a better understanding of the role of political leadership styles within governance networks, by focussing on three literary themes: (1) integration and its local policy-oriented definitions; (2) theory on policymaking and governance networks; (3) theory on gatekeeper and gateway leadership styles. Individually, these theoretical angles are extensively researched. The management literature on leadership and the governance literature on policymaking and governance networks, however, have not yet been connected for empirical and theoretical enrichment. In this study, I therefore specifically analyse (de)centralised leadership styles, which relate to how policy entrepreneurs (aldermen) act in terms of governance networks for permit holder integration. I expect that gateway leadership styles positively inform a participation-based approach of permit holder integration, since gateway leaders are open to inviting different stakeholders to the table, establishing more diversity and

inclusion in the process of matching the integration policies to the needs of individual permit holders. I expect that gatekeeper leadership styles do not inform a participation-based approach to permit holder integration, since gatekeeper leaders are not – or to a lesser extent – open to information exchange between actors in collaborative governance networks. This theoretical framework leads to operationalisations for the empirical analysis of the contextual relationship between a participation-based integration policy and the leadership styles of the reigning aldermen in four case studies, which I elaborate on in the methodology section.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter sets out which research design and methods are used to answer the research question of this study. After this, I operationalise the theoretical perspectives into criteria that are researchable, explain how I selected my case studies and elaborate on my data collection and analysis. Lastly, I reflect on the used methods.

3.1 Research design

My study addressed the following research question: *How does the leadership style of the alderman/alderwoman inform a participation-based integration policy for permit holders in Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam?* To answer this question, this study involved an in-depth qualitative case study of local policy and leadership in response to the integration of permit holders. This research used an interpretative perspective, assuming that there is no objective truth, but that through the means of meaning-making, a certain truth is socially constructed (Woolgar, 1996: 17). The recognition of this constructed context is crucial for explaining used methods for collecting and analysing data. I used the adaptive theory approach, which requires a continuous dialogue between the theory and the empirical data (Layder, 1998). The theory builds on the principles of the inductive grounded theory, but combines “[...] the usage of prior theory to provide order and patterns to research data, while simultaneously adapting to the order and patterns contained in the emerging data” (Layder, 1998: 8).

Qualitative research, more than quantitative research, analyses the descriptive nature of processes. The design therefore fits the complex and changing phenomenon of leadership. According to Jansen (2012: 6-7), the objective of qualitative research is “[...] the understanding of actors and the placement of style in its societal and historical context, making the style more rational for the researcher and its public”. This means that the aim of this research was to understand actors (aldermen) and their behaviour (leadership style) within a certain context (the local setting) in relation to a certain policy issue (the integration of permit holders). Qualitative comparative research in more than one setting contributes to the identification of contextual factors and the ways in which societal, institutional and political leadership partnerships construct governance for permit holder integration.

3.2 Operationalisation

In the comparative design, the four local policy contexts are embedded case studies in the same national setting. They have been operationalised as specific policymaking contexts where the leadership style of the alderman or alderwoman is expected to inform a participation-based approach to permit holder integration (Rutter, 2015). The units of analysis were the local policy documents that I selected on their prominence in the preliminary literature review (appendix I).

A participation-based integration approach here is operationalised as the (1) *integral*; (2) *institutionalised/anchored focus on*; (3) *active participation in the labour force and workplace*; (4) *participation in civil society institutions through language trainings*; (5) *participation through social inclusion in the local community*. The intensity of the indicators will be qualitatively assessed by how much actors are involved into making individual participation-based characteristics a success, using ‘o’ (little prominence of indicators), ‘+’ (moderate prominence of indicators), and ‘++’ (high prominence of indicators). The operationalised leadership styles are either gateway or gatekeeper relations where the alderman or alderwoman deals with his portfolio as the representative of the college and the pivot point between (1) the decisions of the local council (*cross-party leadership styles*); (2) the residents and civil society (*cross-domain leadership styles*) and (3) external actors on different levels, like national politicians (*cross-level leadership styles*) (see table 1). The gatekeeper-gateway division in these types of alderman relations here is operationalised as the openness of the alderman to (1) *inviting partners to participate in the decision-making process*; (2) *consulting partners*; (3) *asking partners about ideas and opinions*; (4) *incorporating suggestions into policymaking*. The intensity of either gateway or gatekeeper leadership will be assessed by the amount of indicators present, using ‘--’ (high gatekeeping in partnerships), ‘-’ (moderate gatekeeping in partnerships), ‘+’ (moderately interactive in partnerships) and ‘++’ (highly interactive in partnerships). During the process, it is essential to acknowledge that these a-priori codes are provisional and can be the subject to redefinition or change.

Table 1
Operationalisation leadership styles across partnerships

Relationship	Gatekeeper leadership style	Gateway leadership style
Cross-domain	<i>The alderman or alderwoman invites civil society stakeholders to participate in the decision-making process, consults these groups, asks about their ideas and opinions and incorporates their suggestions into policymaking.</i>	<i>The alderman or alderwoman does not invite civil society stakeholders to participate in the decision-making process, does not consult these groups, does not ask about their ideas and opinions and does not incorporate their suggestions into policymaking.</i>
Cross-party	<i>The alderman or alderwoman invites the local council to participate in the decision-making process, consults the council, asks about ideas and opinions and incorporates the council suggestions into policymaking.</i>	<i>The alderman or alderwoman does not invite the local council to participate in the decision-making process, does not consult the council, does not ask about ideas and opinions and does not incorporate the council suggestions into policymaking.</i>
Cross-level	<i>The alderman or alderwoman invites national</i>	<i>The alderman or alderwoman does not invite</i>

authorities to participate in the decision-making process, consults them, asks about their ideas and opinions and incorporates their suggestions into policymaking.

national authorities to participate in the decision-making process, does not consult them, does not ask about their ideas and opinions and does not incorporate their suggestions into policymaking.

3.3 Case selection

The empirical analysis involved an in-depth study of local policies in four city cases, Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam in the Netherlands, within the period of 2014-2018. This time span was based on the delimitation of one specific elected council, without an electoral change in alderman or alderwoman, and with enough empirical material to have a representative document and media sample. In order to capture governance configurations including local leadership, I used a most similar case design based on three criteria. This allowed the control of the influence of certain contextual variables (Jennissen et al., 2018). First, the cities are as similar as possible in city population (roughly, Amsterdam 850,000, Rotterdam 640,000, The Hague 530,000 and Utrecht 350,000). Next, the cities are G4 cities, meaning they are the four largest cities in the Netherlands and are thus comparable in their policy capacity to deal with horizontal and vertical governance networks. Lastly, I focussed on four cities that have received similar numbers of permit holders, partially excluding the possible influence of differences in political pressures to integrate permit holders.

Despite these similarities, the cities have developed different policies to deal with their incorporation into the local context. The municipality of Amsterdam has primarily focussed on the quick activation of permit holders by offering intensive guidance in relation to participation and citizenship with specialised client managers (Klaver et al., 2019). In Utrecht there have been experiments with an early start of integration activities in the asylum seeker center (*azielzoekerscentrum*). In The Hague, the policy has adapted to the policy brief of the WRR (WRR, SCP & WODC, 2015), and integration is approached as the simultaneous process of housing, language, education and work. Lastly, in Rotterdam, policies were primarily focussed on extra support through language and cultural integration measures. The most similar case selection therefore leaves space to invest the explanatory value of political leadership in converging types of governance.

3.4 Data collection and analysis

To answer the two sub-questions, and in this way also the research question, I used multiple methods. This effectuates a triangulation of sources (Van Thiel, 2007), which is important to come to valid conclusions. In terms of research methods, I used a combination of desk research

(key document analysis), media analysis (newspaper and audiovisual analysis) and lastly several semi-structured interviews. Data collection will take place during the period of April 2019 until June 2019, reconstructing policy and leadership processes that confirm or reject my expectations.

With the design and execution of the research, issues surrounding method validity and reliability have been taken into account, following the definitions of Bryman (2016: 390). Internal validity is about the ability to be able to observe theoretical concepts in the data and is secured in various ways. The validity of the frame analysis of the policy documents and media content was safeguarded with a pilot with inter-coder reliability tests of a sample of media publications. This pilot was used to increase the convergent validity (Bryman, 2016: 453). The external validity, the extent to which the findings can be generalised to different settings, are more difficult to secure in a qualitative research design, since the research involves a small sample of aldermen in four local contexts. The findings of qualitative research can thus be generalised more to the general theory than to specific populations. It is the 'cogency of theoretical reasoning' (Mitchell, 1983: 207), not statistical criteria, that decides whether the findings are generalisable. In other words: the theoretical framework is essential in the judgement of external validity. In this, the broad literature on governance networks and leadership formed an extensively researched basis.

Document analysis

Looking for documents that are 'already there' is a form of data collection that is often used in qualitative research (Bryman, 2016: 543). For the desk research, I analysed various key policy memoranda from the local settings. All documents produced by the municipalities of Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam were studied on their importance and relevance for the integration of permit holders. In the appendix I provided a list with the analysed key documents (appendix I). I distinguished participation-based indicators of permit holder integration as a heuristic device to analyse the policy documents in different local contexts (Rutter, 2015). In a first round of coding I specified for each case what characteristics are present in the policy documents and which actors are referenced to in relation to the policy. In subsequent rounds of coding I focussed on correspondence between various categories. In the documents, I looked for terms like 'language training', 'labour market', 'social cohesion', 'inclusion', 'customised' and 'integral'.

Media analysis

Next to this, a media analysis of local leadership styles in news articles and council meetings is used to assess the differences in leadership styles, since political leaders like aldermen

increasingly express their professional style in a mediatised environment (Klijn, 2014). A media analysis contributes to the reconstruction of the leadership style with regard to the integration of permit holders. News articles are retrieved from the digital archives of LexisNexis with search tags like “[last name alderman]” AND “integration”. This resulted in more than 500 hits that have been interpretatively studied by their titles and qualitative relevance. This resulted in around 60 news articles per city. For local news, a differentiation was made for national level media attention by introducing tags into the searches, allowing for the identification of newspaper articles that solely focussed on the cities of Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague, or Rotterdam. In coding these articles, I looked for terms like ‘national’, ‘civil society’, ‘communities’ and ‘council’.

In assessing leadership styles in the institutional setting of the council, I analysed 54 audiovisual documents of the council and committee meetings on the municipality websites over the time frame of 2014-2018 (appendix II). On average, the speaking time of the alderman or alderwoman was 38 minutes per document. The analysis of these meetings is based on coding types of leadership styles of the alderman expressed in political debates about partnerships and networks for permit holders, again looking for terms that indicate civil society, council and multilevel involvement in policymaking for permit holder integration.

Interviews

For method triangulation, I additionally interviewed public officials in each different city context (N = 5). Interviewing is an approach for data collection where a large diversity in information can be generated from the perspective of experts. The interviews were semi-structured. The specific topics were constructed in advance by using sensitising concepts (Van Thiel, 2007). This choice was made, because the literature provided a specific frame of reference that supported the deductive method (Boeije, 2016). Moreover, a topic list that is based on existing analytical frames, constructs systematical data collection and ensures a high reliability (Yin, 2011). Thirdly, the semi-structured interview style leaves space for respondents to tell their story, transfer knowledge and clarify a certain perspective (Boeije, 2016: 78). Respondents were recruited via email. Formal permission was given with an informed consent form (appendix III). The used topic list is included in appendix IV. The respondents fit the following criteria: (1) they have been professionally involved in the policy field of permit holder integration; (2) during the time span of 2014-2018; (3) in the geographical context of the specific city. I interviewed policymakers, because they are expected to talk more freely about the leadership of the alderman or alderwoman in governance networks than the city aldermen themselves.

Table 2
Overview of respondents

Code	Context	Position	Policy
R01	Amsterdam	Public official	<i>Work & Income</i>
R02	Utrecht	Public official	<i>Permit holders</i>
R03	Utrecht	Public official	<i>Permit holders</i>
R04	The Hague	Public official	<i>Integration</i>
R05	Rotterdam	Public official	<i>Integration</i>

I coded and analysed the data files with the software of NVivo Version 11. The interviews are held with a voice recorder and are transcribed, following the guidelines of Strauss and Corbin (1990); firstly, I open coded using the preliminary concepts, then I coded axially, and lastly I analysed selectively. An example of this is the preliminary code of ‘gateway leadership’, for which I looked at fragments for levels of ‘cross-domain’, ‘cross-party’ and ‘cross-level’ partnering. In the axial phase the categories within cross-domain, cross-party and cross-level relations were specified. In the final selective phase, the fragments were checked per sub-code. During this process, memos are crucial tools to make comparisons between fragments (Bryman, 2016: 220). Memos help the researcher to relate different fragments in an early stadium of the coding process. It pushes researchers to form expectations about conclusions, after which they can compare the theoretical expectations to the data, and can confirm, adjust or reject expectations.

3.5 Reflection on the methodology

In the current study I used a qualitative research design. In a qualitative design, there is always high involvement of the researcher in both data collection and analysis (Boeije, 2016: 152). The research here is influenced by the interpretative nature of the individual researcher, which can be a threat for the reliability of the research. Additionally, the operationalisations of the core concepts are developed by the same researcher. This can form a threat for the validity. In this study, both threats are secured in various ways.

Firstly, the triangulation of data was used to strengthen both reliability and validity. Fragments from documents can be tested from news articles, audiovisual documents or respondents. To ensure the internal validity during the interview, I repeatedly asked for confirmation of the interpretation of interview questions. Another threat for the validity is the social desirability or ‘reactivity’: the fact that respondents know they are contributing to research, possibly influences the answers they give (Boeije, 2016: 152). Because this study does not primarily test opinions, but mainly contextual circumstances of politicians from the previous electoral period, this social desirability was ought to be minimal. Lastly, respondents were given

the possibility to look at the transcripts of the interview when they confirmed this interest. Because of this, they could check if the findings are traceable to their persona. Bryman (2016: 391) calls this a form of respondent validation, where the researcher actively seeks the correctitude of the transcripts.

Yet, studying leadership practices by means of content analysis still comes with its limitations. Only explicit policymaking practices in policy documents, media coverage and interviews can be analysed. I thus assume that a large proportion of the governance process is being 'held back' in media posts, public council meetings or interviews. Focussing on the role of leaders, Dewan and Myatt (2012) address that leaders are often very aware of informative public signals, strategically choosing the message they send to party members or in this case also residents, civil society and national politicians. Leaders might obfuscate their answers when they want to gain public support or improve party performance, even if this comes at the expense of more transparency.

Next to this, I solely spoke to policymakers, instead of the aldermen themselves, because of practicalities surrounding booked agendas. In future research, it can provide more rich data to speak to aldermen on the issue of integration. That could strengthen the current findings, because the data would reflect their leadership style directly instead of indirectly. However, from the interviews can be observed that public officials are indeed important information sources for how leadership styles of the alderman influence the governance for permit holder integration. While this case study design therefore does not lend itself for large generalisations of findings on the prevalence of leadership styles, it does provide new insights in how political contextual factors may inform the way cities establish local partnerships.

Chapter 4: Results

In this chapter, I set out the empirical findings of integration approaches and the leadership styles of the alderman in the cities of Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam. These findings are based on the qualitative data that resulted from the document analysis, media analysis and the interviews. Section 4.1 presents the results of the integration policies in different local contexts, based on the document analysis. Section 4.2 presents the results of the leadership styles of the different aldermen, based on the media analysis and interviews. In the conclusion, both empirical perspectives are used to analyse the informative relationship between the leadership style of the alderman and the participation-based approach on the local level.

4.1 Integration policies

4.1.1 Amsterdam

The municipality of Amsterdam has focussed on the integration of refugees since the mid-2000s. From the beginning, their policies have focussed on various dimensions of integration, like housing, civil engagement, education and schooling, labour and income and public health. The policy objective was to lead permit holders to independence as quick as possible. While the municipality already focussed on integration for some time, in 2014 the city of Amsterdam concluded that the goals for the labour market participation of permit holders had not been realised, since this target group remained very dependent on social assistance. Joint with the strong increase of the number of refugees since 2015, this formed an inducement for intensifying the already pursued policy. This would prevent the so-called 'lagging behind' of the integration of permit holders. Amsterdam is known to be a municipality with a long-term history of left-wing political dominance, partially explaining why the policy goals of the municipality have remained strikingly consistent and were able to become anchored or institutionalised in the municipality.

In Amsterdam, the WRR policy brief *Geen tijd te verliezen* (2015) formed an important catalyst for new policy for work, income and participation, with a specific focus on the early activation of refugees, individual guidance and a tailored or customised approach: *de Amsterdamse aanpak* (the Amsterdam approach). In the *Beleidskader vluchtelingen in Amsterdam 2015-2018* (2015: 4) the Amsterdam approach was defined as following: "Amsterdam supports the refugee with a customised approach to help them be independent and stand up for themselves. The integral approach is focussed on the quick supply of fitting housing and direct (quick) activation, and pays explicit attention to education and schooling, preparing refugees more for the entering the labour market and participating in communities".

The core of the Amsterdam approach was to start with intensive guidance as soon as possible. In a team, job hunters work together with client managers that compose an action plan with steps that guide them to work and participation. The client manager led the permit holder to a course that fitted the wishes and ambitions of the refugee. The starting point of the assistance was that the refugee could be involved in civic integration and participation at the same time. Permit holders were offered three years of (intensive) guidance of a client manager. Next to intensive guidance, the municipality of Amsterdam offered new permit holders an obligatory orientation programme (*Taal en oriëntatieprogramma vluchtelingen*) with various elements, like a declaration of participation, a module for a 'healthy' civic integration, orientation in the city and a language and learning exam. This programme consisted of two to four weeks and was inserted directly after the settlement of the permit holder. To enhance the integral guidance to the labour market even more, client managers could use specific instruments like short intensive language courses that focussed on specific employers sectors (*Taalboost*) or guidance trajectories for permit holders that wanted to follow courses from higher education institutes (*Stichting voor Vluchtelingen Studenten*).

When connecting the document analysis to the typology of Rutter (2015), I observed a policy approach that is the ideal type of a participation-based approach. The policy orientations of the municipality of Amsterdam enhance participation in the labour market, interaction in the social sphere and the development of language skills, all connected to each other through active client management, intensive guidance and a highly integral approach to integration. The long-term dominance of similar left-wing coalitions seemed to have allowed policy objectives to be continued, contributing to the strong anchoring of participation-based characteristics.

4.1.2 Utrecht

In Utrecht, the issue of permit holder integration has been a political and policy priority since the mid-2000s. Like Amsterdam, Utrecht is known to be a left-wing dominated municipality, creating high continuities in their policy objectives. Unlike in the other three municipalities, a separate department for the general integration of newcomers does not exist in the policy departments of the municipality – there are only one alderman and two public officials responsible for executing permit holder integration policy. The policy department of Employment & Income works together closely with the two public officials that are responsible for permit holders, increasing their capacity (R02).

In the period of 2014-2018, the integration policy for permit holders in Utrecht was focussed on making individuals economically and socially self-reliant as soon as possible (Raadsbrief Integratie van Statushouders, 2017). The policy was characterised by three focus points: (1) a continuous line where permit holders are settled in the region, so that integration

and guidance are not broken up; (2) activation from day one, which already starts during the asylum procedure with different courses and activities focussed on personal and professional development; (3) the supply of activities and courses that are not exclusively available for asylum seekers or permit holders, but also involve other residents from the city. These guidelines in practice meant that there was early support (already before the permit holders are guided to independent housing), that after receiving their permit an integral programme could immediately start, and that the social guidance was highly customised (Klaver et al., 2019). A team of job matchers of the department of Employment & Income guided permit holders to education, internships and employment.

Developing the labour market skills of future permit holders, the municipality experimented with language and skills courses in an asylum seeker center, together with neighbourhood residents. From experiences with pilots, the municipality learned that after permit holders left their asylum seeker center, they experienced loneliness and feelings of anomy. By meeting other residents in the center, the policy approach created possibilities for a social network, which was assumed to be a conditional factor for a good integration process and a culture that gives the newcomers a welcomed feeling. The policy saw the network constructions as essential for giving permit holders opportunities to developing competences, connecting each other's networks and leading them to the labour market.

When linking these observations to the typology, in Utrecht, I observed a high participation-based policy approach. Permit holder residents of the municipality of Utrecht were introduced in all life domains in reciprocal, integral process of developing skills, competences and a social network to be able to enter the labour market – all with the extensive guidance of client managers. Because of the small policy capacity that is given to public officials, the Utrecht approach was observed to be less anchored and extensive than the Amsterdam approach.

4.1.3 The Hague

The integration policy for permit holders of The Hague was guided by the policy document *Haagse aanpak statushouders 2016-2020*. Again, based on the findings of the WRR policy brief, the municipal policy aimed to tackle various dimensions like housing, language training, health facilities, (voluntary work) participation, and citizenship. The municipality predicted long-term societal benefits, because an integral approach would prevent dependence on social assistance, inactivity and societal nuisance caused by 'faulty integration' (2015: 5). The municipality department of Integration highlighted the importance of addressing integration in all departments. In the new *Haagse aanpak* (The Hague approach), the municipality primarily mentioned integration in relation to societal anchoring or social inclusion. This meant that the permit holder should identify with their local community; permit holders were ought to

construct a personal network in the city, gain knowledge about the local institutions, norms and values in The Hague, and get involved in the neighbourhood. All these factors would contribute to feelings of societal anchoring, increasing safety perceptions of both permit holders and established residents. Compared to Amsterdam and Utrecht, the city of The Hague has known less consistent political coalitions with more conflicting political parties, possibly explaining why the policy goals have been the subject of more institutional change.

To organise the influx of permit holders, the municipality brought in the projects of *Samen Haags* (aimed at all immigrants) and *Samen verder Den Haag* (aimed at continuing integration after the obligatory national integration programme). The project of *Samen Haags* for example used internships, where newcomers gained experience in Dutch work settings. *Samen verder Den Haag* prepared permit holders for the labour market with voluntary work. Both programmes focussed on strengthening the learning of newcomers, but also co-working on the labour market. In these programmes, the municipality tried to map the various competences and labour potentials of permit holders. For the cultural integration of adult newcomers from 18 years old, the municipality facilitated the capacity for diverse forms of additional language courses and stimulated possibilities for renewing the market with trajectories for language lessons, mentoring programmes, citizenship programmes and labour market coaching. To connect permit holders to the labour market as quick as possible, from 2017, the municipality organised a match-making event for permit holders and employers.

When, again, connecting this analysis to the typology, I observed an approach that was moderately participation-based. The policy is primarily focussed on the labour market, where integration is measured through the end goal of labour market participation, but there is also a large focus on participation programmes with voluntary work and language training, which seems to be rooted in policy ideologies about social inclusion and cohesion on the neighbourhood level. However, there is little focus on client managers connecting connecting the integral approach. New actors for establishing the integral approach are rarely mentioned.

4.1.4 Rotterdam

The focus of the current policy for permit holders in Rotterdam was the municipality document *Rotterdamse aanpak statushouders 2016-2020*. Working together with *Stichting Nieuw Thuis Rotterdam* (Foundation New Home Rotterdam), the municipality actively enhanced the integration of permit holders. The document that set the course for 2016-2020 (2016: 4) concluded that the increased influx of permit holders 'asks for a more broad programme'. In the choice for the target approach to permit holders, the municipality was also inspired by the WRR policy brief. The *Bestuursakkoord Verhoogde Asielinstroom* (Coalition Agreement Increased Asylum Influx) formed an extra impulse. This agreement accelerated arrangements for

interventions for housing and integration. Rotterdam balanced between extra attention for permit holders and the focus on their own responsibility and self-reliance, that in the document of *Integratie 010* formed the basis for the Rotterdam integration policy approach. Traditionally, Rotterdam has known the most contrasting coalitions, with the explicit inclusion of the populist right-wing party *Leefbaar Rotterdam* in the time period 2014-2018, partially explaining why the policy objectives for integration have changed more over the last decade.

With regard to housing, the policy was that as many permit holders as possible could be settled in the existing cheap housing stock, spread over different neighbourhoods in the city. The municipality here had a preference for economically strong neighbourhoods, not the *Rotterdamwijken* (existing deprived neighbourhoods). Next to housing, there was a strong focus on language and the cultural integration of permit holders. The objectives of the nationally implemented participation declaration seamlessly fitted the policy of the municipality: learning the language and getting to know the 'essential Dutch norms, like equality and self-determination' (2016: 16). A concrete goal was that permit holders should finish their civic integration one year earlier than the legal term allowed and that he or she became active in society with education, work or voluntary work four days a week. A trajectory of group lessons and language coaches that preceded the formal civic integration programme had to improve the knowledge of the Dutch language. The so-called *Rotterdamse Taalstart* is ten-week during programme, where permit holders followed lessons and practiced with a language coach three days a week. Additionally, six participation workshops were organised, ending with the signing of the participation declaration. Volunteers of *Vluchtelingenwerk* were responsible for the social support, and professional trajectory guides periodically contacted each other. They report this to consultants of the municipality. Furthermore, the first policy document spoke of the importance of work and participation in social activities that enhance contact. To promote the guidance to work, there are no specific interventions; here, 'the regular instruments of the department of Work & Employment are applied' (2016: 19).

When bridging the document analysis to the participation-based integration approach, I observed the absence of a coherent participation-based policy. The Rotterdam approach is primarily aimed at cultural integration with the involvement of language training actors. Permit holders are generally viewed through the lens of their civic integration programme as the starting point of all levels of integration. Intensive guidance or customised trajectories that connect the different dimensions of a participation-based approach are not clearly present, which can be possibly explained by the large coalition changes over the last decade. This can indicate the discontinuity of policy objectives.

4.1.5 Conclusion

The analysis of the integration policy in the case studies showed that *Amsterdam* was the ideal type of a participation-based approach, with highly anchored policy orientations that enhance participation in the labour market, interaction in the social sphere and the development of language skills, all connected to each other through integral client management. In *Utrecht*, I observed a similar high participation-based policy approach, but because of the small policy capacity that was given to public officials, the Utrecht integration approach was less anchored than in Amsterdam. The policy of *The Hague* was moderately participation-based, with indicators of social inclusion and labour market participation. The integral approach was however less connected and implemented, which seems to be related to more radical coalition changes. In *Rotterdam*, I observed the absence of a coherent participation-based policy, which was primarily aimed at cultural integration via language trainings. This can possibly explained by the large coalition changes in the municipality over the last decade, indicating the discontinuity of policy objectives.

Table 3
Overview participation-based characteristics

City context	Labour market participation	Language training	Social inclusion	Integral approach	Institutionalised
Amsterdam	++	++	++	++	++
Utrecht	+	+	++	++	+
The Hague	++	+	++	+	0
Rotterdam	0	++	+	0	0

4.2 Leadership styles of aldermen

I now turn to the thesis on local leadership styles and participation-based integration policy. The assumption here is that more gateway or democratic leadership characteristics will lead to a more broad, customised focus on integration, investing in diverse partnerships. Through inviting more individuals and groups to the policymaking process, and asking for ideas and opinions of others, more time and energy is put into a participation-based perspective on the integration of permit holders. I operationalised both gatekeeper and gateway leadership style in three subcategories: (1) *cross-domain relations*; (2) *cross-party relations*; (3) and *cross-level relations*; These categories pinpoint how the city alderman deals with his portfolio as the pivot point between the decisions of the residents and civil society organisations, the local council and other multilevel authorities.

Table 4
Overview aldermen

City context	Alderman/alderwoman I	Alderman/alderwoman II
Amsterdam	Arjan Vliegenthart (2014-2018)	Kajsa Ollongren (2014-2017)
<i>Portfolio</i>	Social Affairs	Economic Affairs & Culture
<i>Reason of departure</i>		New job as minister
Utrecht	Margriet Jongerius (2014-2015)	Kees Diepeveen (2015-2018)
<i>Portfolio</i>	Participation	Participation
<i>Reason of departure</i>	Personal circumstances	
The Hague	Rabin Baldewsingh (2014-2018)	Joris Wijsmuller (2014-2018)
<i>Portfolio</i>	Integration	Permit holders
Rotterdam	Ronald Schneider (2014-2017)	Robert Simons (2017-2018)
<i>Portfolio</i>	Integration	Integration
<i>Reason of departure</i>	Fraud scandal	

4.2.1 Amsterdam

On the level of integration governance in Amsterdam, I found an integration approach that can best be described as the ideal type of a participation-based approach. When analysing the leadership style of the two city aldermen in Amsterdam, I found both vertical gatekeeper styles and horizontal gateway leadership styles for both city aldermen.

Cross-domain gateway leadership: establishing trust relations with civil society

The two responsible aldermen, Kajsa Ollongren (Liberal Democrats) and Arjan Vliegenthart (Socialist Party), were open to the influence and involvement of cross-domain stakeholders, like Vluchtelingenwerk or local business entrepreneurs. In order to prevent the repetition of previous mistakes, the Amsterdam leadership took the documentation of reflection and evaluations serious. ‘Learning from lessons’ and ‘collaborations from the past’ were often repeated mantras. Next to this, the leaders were assumed to have a high sense of integrity and transparency when it comes to the policymaking in their relations with civil society stakeholders. A respondent observed that this attitude protects trust relations with different partners from domains like language training, the labour market and community organisations. This established trust was largely found in the relations with different neighbourhood councils that often join committee meetings. In providing information about their ideal type participation-based approach – where they addressed language trainings, network guidance, diploma validation, entrepreneurship development and a lobby for more flexible national regulations – I observed that the leadership establishment almost always explicitly mentioned the exact names of the partners and organisations they were involved with on the neighbourhood level. This brings to light that important players in the cross-domain field, like

large employers or education institutes, were highly valued and frequently invited during the policy cycle: “We cannot address enough how useful the perspective from X has been in the process” was an often-repeated statement, also indicating that almost always was spoken in the ‘we’ form about the collective issue of integration. In coordination with their desire to ensure the tight neighbourhood relations of permit holders, alderman Vliegthart phrases:

“If you truly want to change something, you have to get as close to your partners as possible. That is a long-term project. As Fidel Castro said – the best characteristic of a revolutionary is patience.”

Arjan Vliegthart, 18-06-2014

Cross-party gateway leadership: finding common grounds in the council

A strong characteristic of cross-party gateway leadership in the city of Amsterdam is that leaders were highly interactive with the questions and debate of the council, regardless of political background. Both aldermen often addressed that political support is a high priority and additionally were observed to never put aside certain resolutions or proposals without respecting the vision of the policy or saying they would take into account a few aspects in the process, before they ‘do not embrace’ the political proposal. A favourite phrase of alderwoman Ollongren was: “We think this is an interesting resolution, we can find common grounds for the largest part”. This idea about partnership could also be observed in her debates in the council. To this, she claimed that she enriched herself from the heated debates, even if she and the council did not see eye to eye about the matter. Of all the city aldermen, she thanked the council the most for their input and most often addressed that the input made clear that this issue needed more attention from the board of the municipality.

“I agree with you that there are differences between my party and the parties we reign with in the coalition on the national level, because we think differently about European integration, about the role of the state debt, or about the role of the market. I, however, think that these topics are not of importance in local politics... I have been able to bridge differences. I want to be a listening and learning alderman, listening and learning from what you have to say. You can hold me accountable for that.”

Kajsa Ollongren, 15-10-2015

Alderman Vliegthart also expressed the need to establish the standard of inviting all political parties for consultation in policymaking. In including the council, he argued that it is important to always take something from your input and reflect on it:

“I have learned the importance that non-reigning parties get adequate and timely answers. That the suggestions that are made are not put aside immediately, because there have been made agreements in the coalition. That you do exactly the opposite, and listen to each other and try to actually improve the policy. I think very highly of the council as the highest democratic arena of Amsterdam. I will listen carefully to you. I will try to taste what you mean with your questions. I will look at the motivations behind your proposals to see how I can use and integrate them.”

Arjan Vliegthart, 18-06-2014

Vertical gatekeeper leadership: challenging the national status quo

Next to gateway leadership styles, the leadership in Amsterdam also showed cross-level or vertical gatekeeper relations, in this case with national authorities. In asking for more support for local deviation and experiments for integration programmes, especially alderman Vliegthart was very passionate about confronting the national level with their shortcomings. He often exclaimed that in combatting social inequality, income politics and market capitalism, Amsterdam needed to go beyond what the national government offered. Alderwoman Ollongren here balanced more between challenging the national status quo through lobbying and developing transparent and consultation partnerships with national authorities. Vliegthart, however, explicitly spoke about his dislike of the secretary of state, and mentioned that the secretary had developed a ‘procedure of repression’. He repeatedly stated that as a consequence of national policy, there still existed ‘structural limitations’. An example of this could also be found in the debate on how national budgets for integration were lagging behind:

“If we want to integrate these people, coming from warzones and with a severe language deficiency, as fast as possible, this asks of more intensive efforts than are currently given by the national government. When investments fall behind, we know for sure that we prepare permit holders for a life excluded from our society, with a life-long risk of dependency on social benefits. Amsterdam cannot take such a risk. We have to do more to overcome structural limitations the [national] government imposes.”

Arjan Vliegthart, 2017 (public interview)

Table 5
Leadership styles Amsterdam

Alderman	Ollongren	Vliegthart
Gatekeeper		
Cross-domain		
Cross-party		
Cross-level	-	--

Gateway		
Cross-domain	++	++
Cross-party	++	++
Cross-level	+	

4.2.2 Utrecht

In the data of the leadership style in the municipality of Utrecht, I found strong gateway leadership styles on all three levels of partnerships. In general, the integration approach of Utrecht was highly participation-bases. This was largely reflected by the style of leadership during the policy process, where I observed an ideal type of gateway leadership style across all categories. Alderwoman Jongerius (Greens) was in office very briefly (from May 2014 to October 2015). Respondents mentioned that she therefore contributed little to anchored partnerships for policymaking in such a short time. In general, her leadership style was observed to be dominantly gateway across all three categories. The following analysis focussed specifically on the leadership of alderman Diepeveen.

Cross-domain gateway leadership: inclusive appreciation across civil society and residents

Firstly, I found strong indications for cross-domain gateway leadership. Alderman Diepeveen (Greens) was highly involved in cooperations with academic research. The largest asylum center for Syrian refugees, the group refugees that usually have a high chance of getting a residence permit, was equipped as a center that supports integration. The combination of facilities for both asylum seekers, permit holders and neighbourhood residents was unique in the Netherlands, according to Diepeveen. In his public speeches, he often brought up his ambition to make Plan Einstein – the name of the asylum center – the primary example for the rest of Europe. During this process, the involvement of the neighbourhood residents was carefully monitored and managed by the alderman, repeatedly stating that he acted like this because he had ‘learned from the past’ and wanted to ‘tackle things differently’ than his predecessor.

“We have spoken to key figures from the neighbourhood and to the district council. From these meetings, a neighbourhood restaurant, students, small companies and the community center were appointed as possible partners. Now, we want to know from local residents what they envision. [...] When you specifically offer something to permit holders, established residents can feel overlooked.

This is a plan where both groups can feel the advantages of.”

Kees Diepeveen, 10-11-2017

Alderman Diepeveen had a clear cross-domain message that pointed to the debate about integration as a current theme that influenced all residents and stakeholders. For this, the leader

repeatedly addressed that the question of integration was an issue that should be tackled by bridging domains together, for example the language trainings, the labour market, housing and community builders. In this vision, Diepeveen often participated in regulated city conversations, where dilemmas, success factors and different domains that played a role in the process of integration were discussed. Because he viewed integration policy as an inclusive project where 'all inputs and perspectives are valued and welcomed', he almost always speaks in the 'we' form (R03).

Cross-party gateway leadership: involving public officials in the council

Alderman Diepeveen seemed to be a typical gateway leader with regards to cross-party input of his council and also public officials. Distinctive of his leadership was that in the council he was seen as very informative, verbose and open about coming to decisions that the board has made, often addressing the mutual relationship between the council and his discussed vision as leader (R02). Diepeveen claimed that he wanted to learn as much as possible from new innovative policy resolutions or proposals from the council: "We are absolutely going to look at how this input can contribute to improve our Utrecht approach". Diepeveen was observed to have a strong sense of transparency with regard to the successes and shortcomings of their *Utrechtse aanpak*, where they worked closely together with external researchers that monitored their integration programme for 20 months. The involvement of the researchers had been put on the political agenda by two public officials that strongly believe in integration research. Only in the leadership style of Utrecht I observed that in the city council meetings, public officials with the most expertise on the issue in relation to permit holders were given the floor when answering questions of the council. This style provided the political parties with a sense of alderman transparency, creating an open culture in the council and amongst officials (R03). This open relationship with the public officials elicited a fourth aspect of gateway or gatekeeper leadership (*cross-official leadership*), where the information access, involvement and active collaboration with public officials can be stimulated with leadership involvement. The two interviewed public officials also addressed this:

R02: *"Who the city alderman is, matters. Political colour here seems to matter less than having a city alderman with a vision. It's less the ideological shift, but more the personality traits that make it easier to deal with a certain alderman. With less strong leadership you have to work harder to hold up your long-term policies. The backup of a strong alderman just helps with more radical standpoints."*

R03: *“And of course how big the punching power of the alderman is on a national level, matters too. We are a city that experiments in policy and takes risks. It will be easier to address radical policies when the you have a reigning alderman that has a strong position in national parliament than when the alderman does not have tight knit national-local relations. But, in the end, you could also be dealing with a very envisioned, smart and innovative alderman that fosters partnerships and building bridges.”*

Vertical gateway leadership: actively consulting national authorities

For the third gateway leadership style characteristic of alderman Diepeveen, I found that he actively enhanced the mutual collaboration with national government authorities. When exploring more budgets or possibilities for local experiments – like Plan Einstein – the alderman was careful in challenging the national norm. He explicitly stated this in debate: his leadership was focussed on coming to compromises and ‘being optimistic about the national government’s compassion for their local needs’, often consulting and asking for input from national authorities. The local leadership of Diepeveen was highly engaged in open, mutually inclusive and positive vertical relations for developing policy solutions and addressing local-level challenges.

Table 6
Leadership styles Utrecht

Alderman	Diepeveen
Gatekeeper	
<i>Cross-domain</i>	
<i>Cross-party</i>	
<i>Cross-level</i>	
Gateway	
<i>Cross-domain</i>	++
<i>Cross-party</i>	++
<i>Cross-level</i>	++

4.2.3 The Hague

In the municipality of The Hague, the governance for the integration for permit holders was moderately participation-based. In analysing the leadership style of Rabin Baldewsingh (Labour Party) and Joris Wijsmuller (local left-wing party), I found strong cross-domain gateway leadership on the one hand, and strong cross-party and cross-level gatekeeper leadership on the other hand.

Cross-domain gateway leadership: removing public fear with citizen panel meetings and field work

Both alderman Wijsmuller and Baldewsingh showed high cross-domain gateway styles. In many of his public speeches, alderman Wijsmuller focussed on removing public fear by organising citizen panel meetings. The design of information meetings was carefully picked in collaboration with local organisations and public officials. Instead of long plenary sessions, the alderman personally pledged for a short introduction by political leaders, followed by one-on-one conversations with public officials that have the expertise and knowledge to give a nuanced perspective on integration and permit holders. Alderman Baldewsingh also repeatedly praised the role of inclusion of civil society stakeholders in policymaking, because “[...] without new notes, you can only play the same song” (R04). He often addressed the high priority of site visits and field work as a city leader. From the perspective of the public officials also became clear that they highly appreciated the involvement of the alderman in his collaboration and consultation with civil society and residents (R04).

“I have enjoyed nothing more than being able to visit churches, mosques, tea houses and football clubs. I never went to those visits with a heavy heart, but always with such great joy. I absolutely love dialogues with civil society. When I retire, I will miss those conversations more than the public officials, the car with the chauffeur, or the decorum.”

Rabin Baldewsingh, 24-02-2018

Cross-party gatekeeper leadership: lacking integrity and transparency in council relationship

The cross-party style of the responsible city aldermen was observed to be primarily gatekeeping. I found that both Baldewsingh and Wijsmuller were claimed to be ‘not very skilled in providing a clear and coherent message’ that could convince the council of transparency (R04). The leaders were ought to have a ‘low sense of integrity and transparency’, refusing to answer certain questions and rejecting proposals without explaining why. Next to this, the two alderman perspectives on integration differed. Especially alderman Baldewsingh used the ‘old’ multiculturalist perspective on integration, where Wijsmuller focussed on the integral approach that promotes public support for permit holders. This incoherent message was perceived to undermine the council’s trust in the alderman, which the council repeatedly addresses: “Why do we hear two different perspectives?” (2015-02-26). Political parties even accused the alderman of power abuse, pointing to alderman Baldewingh for lacking a binding narrative that connects different ideologies:

R04: *“What agreements does the city alderman have with the national government? Precisely with this file, it was important to communicate clearly. Wijsmuller did not respond to the party’s*

questions. The alderman was actually kind of monkeying about. I thought he always advocated a transparent organisation culture, but this really was a mess back then. Local residents were even complaining about the lack of communication. Not only angry white men..."

Gatekeeper cross-level leadership: 'looking to fight with the Binnenhof'

With regard to the cross-level leadership style, I observed gatekeeper leadership as well. Wijsmuller could be described as highly critical and closed-minded for the national policy vision, openly doubting if the new procedures for integration provide solutions for their local problems at all. There is even discussion about 'looking to fight with the Binnenhof [Dutch national parliament]' in many of the public interviews with Rabin Baldewsingh. As city aldermen, both Wijsmuller and Baldewsingh openly separated themselves from the national point of view on integration and migration-related diversity, primarily focussing on the insufficient national budgets. Baldewsingh responded to the failures of national integration policy and stated that the municipality therefore has the responsibility to 'do things better':

"I prefer to build a society the way I do it. If I'm alone in this vision, so be it. But I am certain that my storyline in the future will become mainstream. Politics is a battle, and I am a soldier. I always go against the [national] stream. Only dead fish go with the flow."

Rabin Baldewsingh, 2016 (public interview)

Table 7

Leadership styles The Hague

Alderman	Baldewsingh	Wijsmuller
Gatekeeper		
<i>Cross-domain</i>		
<i>Cross-party</i>	--	--
<i>Cross-level</i>	--	-
Gateway		
<i>Cross-domain</i>	++	++
<i>Cross-party</i>		
<i>Cross-level</i>		

4.2.4 Rotterdam

On the level of integration governance, the Rotterdam approach was only slightly participation-based, since the policy under the leadership of Ronald Schneider and later Robert Simons primarily focussed on 'strengthening the norms and values' of permit holders. This low participation-based approach was reflected by largely gatekeeping partnerships, with styles that

could be defined as centralised with regard to decision-making, power and control. However, in the cross-level relations of both aldermen, I found gateway characteristics.

Gatekeeping cross-domain leadership: little recognition of civil society partnerships and residents

On the cross-domain level, both Leefbaar (local political party) aldermen were viewed as 'inconsistent', 'not transparent' and 'framing information to their advantage'. This was also reflected in the debates on the integration monitor. Here, alderman Schneider was highly criticised by the council for using the wrong framing of numbers of the integration monitor in order to provide practical evidence for his integration policy. To this critique, he responded:

"The limitations lie in the fact that at first sight... It's a subjective research. People are being asked to fill in forms. That in itself is a limiting factor that reduces the success of the policy. That's why you have statistics... That can still create significant results. But at first, you have to look over these limitations."

Ronald Schneider, 02-11-2016

Both responsible aldermen were observed to hold on to their own belief that newcomers should integrate as quickly as possible through learning the Rotterdam norms and values. Especially alderman Scheider often talked in the 'I' form, indicating that he viewed integration as his individual visionary project. There was a general agreement that of course the municipality worked together very closely with Vluchtelingenwerk. However, names of other organisations or stakeholders from civil society were rarely mentioned by both aldermen, nor was explained how these stakeholders contributed to the effectivity of his policy vision. He often refused to hear out the perspective of residents in the public participation hour. With regard to the worries of local residents surrounding integration and migration, alderman Schneider stated:

"Most of the polarisation only exists in the heads of people, and I cannot change that. As an alderman you are no miracle worker. I would love to be that, but you can only minimalise the polarisation in society. It is hard to communicate this."

Ronald Schneider, 2016 (public interview)

Gatekeeping cross-party leadership: missing the political antenna in the council

In the case of the alderman leadership of Rotterdam, gatekeeper leadership also applied to the cross-party relations. After the grand win of Leefbaar Rotterdam in 2014 and Schneider was introduced into the coalition for the first time, the leadership was observed to fail at coordinating with other council parties in a collaborative manner. Very few information was

provided about creating a more diverse and compromised policy narrative in relation to permit holder needs. Long-term, provable effects of the more controversial implemented policy were 'kept out of sight' (R05). Council members made explicit that Schneider 'missed the antenna to ask the right questions and start the right dialogue about integration'. Additionally, alderman Schneider was not transparent about how the policy had some structural shortcomings that could not be solved by solely intensifying the measures he already proposed. As was already mentioned, alderman Schneider was often held accountable for only providing the success stories of his integration approach. Reflective notions or lessons learned from the past were rarely mentioned or absent in his public debates. Alderman Schneider showed similar patterns, often calling policy amendments, proposals or resolutions of other political parties 'useless', 'sympathetic, but stupid' or 'unnecessary'.

"I think this is a wobbly resolution that does not contribute in the slightest way. I remain my position."

Robert Simons, 25-01-2017

R05: He did not introduce us in the policy process, he did not take control and he was the prisoner of his party. He locked himself in his own alleged truth. He possessed the political sensitivity, but he refused to show this gift, because he smelled power."

Vertical gateway leadership: conforming to national standards

However, cross-level gateway leadership could be observed in national-local authority relations. Compared to the three other cities, the alderman leadership was noted to be much less concerned with tackling policy developments on the national level during this time frame. From the perspective of public officials, with the rise of the new Leefbaar alderman leadership, Rotterdam returned to a more passive role in following the offered budgets, not asking for additional support and 'obliging to the guidelines of the national bureaucratic system' (R05). The aldermen still maintained intensive contact with national government politicians, but were more focussed on consultation and receiving information to be able to regulate their policies 'according to national standards'.

Table 8
Leadership styles Rotterdam

Alderman	Schneider	Simons
Gatekeeper		
<i>Cross-domain</i>	--	-
<i>Cross-party</i>	--	--

<i>Cross-level</i>		
Gateway		
<i>Cross-domain</i>		+
<i>Cross-party</i>		
<i>Cross-level</i>	++	++

4.2.5 Conclusion

The aldermen of Amsterdam showed strong horizontal gateway leadership styles. However, the aldermen also showed vertical gatekeeper relations with national authorities. Utrecht showed gateway leadership styles on both vertical and horizontal categories. The Hague illustrated gatekeeper leadership style on cross-party and cross-level relations between actors, but showed gateway leadership style on the level of cross-domain relations. Rotterdam was observed to show gatekeeper styles on the cross-party and cross-domain level, but the leadership position itself open for consulting national authorities and obliging to national policy standards.

Table 9

Overview leadership styles

City context	Amsterdam	Utrecht	The Hague	Rotterdam
Gatekeeper				
<i>Cross-domain</i>				-/--
<i>Cross-party</i>			--	--
<i>Cross-level</i>	-		-/--	
Gateway				
<i>Cross-domain</i>	++	++	++	
<i>Cross-party</i>	++	++		
<i>Cross-level</i>		++		++

4.3 Conclusion

The analysis of the integration policies for permit holders illustrated the level of participation-based integration across four municipalities. On the level of integration governance in Amsterdam, I found an integration approach that could best be described as the ideal type of a participation-based approach. Utrecht also showed highly participation-based patterns. The Hague was moderately participation-based; Rotterdam was observed to have moved far away from a participation-based approach, with the absence of a focus on labour market participation and not including an integral approach through client managers.

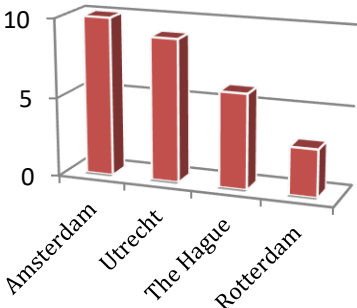
The next analysis of the leadership style elements characterised four distinct types of cross-domain, cross-party and cross-level leadership relations in different Dutch local contexts. The first city, Amsterdam, showed strong gateway leadership on the cross-domain and cross-party level, but did show gatekeeper relations with the national level. Utrecht was observed to

be the ideal type of gateway leadership in all three strands. The Hague showed gatekeeper leadership style on cross-party and cross-level relations between actors, but showed gateway leadership style on the level of cross-domain relations. Rotterdam was noted to show strong gatekeeper characteristics on the cross-party and cross-domain level, but the leadership did position itself cooperate and inclusive of the national level in the policymaking process.

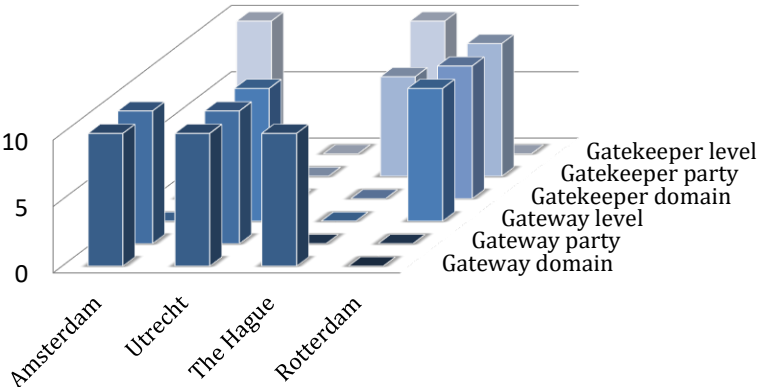
Graph 1a + 1b

Participation-based integration policy approach across different leadership styles

1a. Participation-based integration policy



1b. Leadership styles



Connecting the results of the two sub-questions in graphs 1a and 1b (above), I observed that Amsterdam, the most participation-based city, and Rotterdam, the least participation-based city, showed exact opposite patterns in their gatekeeper and gateway relations to other actors. The leadership of Amsterdam showed cross-domain and cross-party gateway leadership, but cross-level gatekeeper leadership, resulting in the ideal type participation-based approach. The fact

that the Amsterdam aldermen are open to civil society and different political actors in the council in coming to terms with the diverse needs of the permit holder population, here seemed to have informed the governance networks participation-based approach. On the other hand, gatekeeping national policy guidelines and budgets, in this case seemed to have informed a firmer narrative that confirmed the need for 'extra measures' that go 'beyond the national budget', because 'Amsterdam wants to set an example'. Rotterdam, on the other hand, showed cross-domain and cross-party gateway leadership styles, but vertical gateway relations, resulting in a low participation-based approach. This can possibly be explained by the leadership not being open and transparent to civil society and other political parties, due to the fact that they included less diverse views in their integration approach. In their relation with the national level, however, the leadership was focussed on conforming to national guidelines and not taking any extra measures that challenge multilevel relations.

Utrecht, in leadership terms the ideal type of gateway leadership is observed to be less inclined to refuse to collaborate with the national level, focussing more on compassion and creating interactive relations on the basis of trust and innovate local experiments. Ideal type gateway leadership here still resulted in a high participation-based approach. The leadership The Hague, with its cross-level and cross-party gatekeeper relations, is observed to inform lower participation-based approach. The policies for permit holders here held a more chaotic narrative to political parties and was less transparent, but with gatekeeping the national authorities, they expressed their difference and disagreement with the national guidelines.

My empirical research question was: *How do the leadership styles of the alderman contribute to a participation-based integration policy for permit holders in the cities of Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam?* Answering this research question, my analysis showed that in accordance with my expectations, the level of participation-based integration policies in Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam are to a large extent congruent with their expected respective gateway or gatekeeper leadership style. Cross-domain and cross-party leadership style seemed to inform a higher participation-based approach, since consulting civil society and political actors diversifies the existing governance networks necessary for a participation-based integration approach. However, against my expectations, I also found that cross-level gatekeeper leadership style – in this case specifically the relation with national political leaders – in two cases also seems to have indicated a more participation-based integration policy. Thus, horizontal gateway leadership and vertical gatekeeper leadership styles seem to correspond with a participation-based integration policy. This expands the literature on contextual factors of the localist thesis that Dekker and colleagues (2015) posed. Beyond the scope of my research, I also found a leadership relation with public officials, which points to a new category of cross-official partnerships that inform governance networks.

All these patterns brought to light how and why the Dutch local policy becomes a certain way through the role of leadership. Gatekeeper leaders are able to reproduce the status quo by not including certain actors in the policy cycle, whereas gateway aldermen can move a policy discussion forward by giving more diverse actors a shot at policy. The four Dutch local cases illustrated the varying potential of democratic governance networks and displayed large leadership variations between municipalities.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In the previous chapter I presented the findings of the different local integration policies and alderman leadership styles in four case studies. The results are used to answer the research question in this chapter. This study posed the question: "How do the leadership styles of the alderman contribute to a participation-based integration policy for permit holders in the cities of Amsterdam, Utrecht, The Hague and Rotterdam?". This question was followingly divided into two sub-questions that together answered the research question. Subsequently, I discuss the broader theoretical implications of the findings. This chapter will close with some reflective notions on the limitations of the current study. The broader implications and discussion provide suggestions for future research.

5.1 Empirical contribution

This study started from the theoretical observation that leadership styles may inform the local narrative, causing municipality policies to diverge. The analysis has aimed to show that local governance networks can be (co)constructed by the leadership style of the alderman. Interactive leadership characteristics can be important in that they inform whether policy is more participation-based (i.e. recognition of permit holders' needs in a diversity of anchored programmes). The following conclusions can be highlighted.

First, the study has found that local leaders have created a variety of horizontal and vertical relations that open up the debate for governance. The current study has come to the conclusion that horizontal gateway leadership seems to inform a participation-based approach, since both leadership styles are connected to a more interactive policymaking process, with room for more transparency and reflection. A vertical gateway leadership style seems to inform local conforming to the national authorities, meaning that national authorities are not challenged in their policy approach (Hoekstra et al., 2018). In the case of Amsterdam and The Hague, vertical gatekeeper styles may inform a higher participation-based approach, since leaders have the gatekeeping characteristics to diverge from national guidelines.

One of the possible explanations for the contributions of horizontal gateway leadership is that coherent, well-researched policy storylines are able to convince stakeholders across various domains, where gatekeeper leadership characteristics undermine the integrity and transparency of their vision. Second, gateway styles across political actors in the council may indicate a positive relationship that is based on mutuality, reflection and learning. This creates a sense of trust amongst council members, because they know their input and questions are taken into account. Lastly, multi-level gatekeeper leadership styles indicate that the local leadership sets out a policy that does not conform with the national integration orientation. This pushes the leader to form its own innovative policy priorities, informed by new governance networks,

5.2 Theoretical contribution

Using a refined application of analytical tools, the participation-based policies on the local level and gatekeeper and gateway leadership styles of the aldermen have been distinguished. This study therefore gained insights in how the two contextual factors may coincide. With this, I brought together theory on governance networks, leadership style and integration policy that I have qualitatively assessed with a comparative case study of four cities in the Netherlands. I compared the local policies with their respective leadership contexts. By using methodological triangulation with a media analysis, document analysis and additional interviews, I aimed to go beyond my assumption and a simple yes or no. To meet the aim to deliver broader theoretical contributions to migration and diversity studies, some other conclusions are considered.

This article revealed the leadership particularities in the Dutch case on permit holder integration. Expanding the broader literature on migration and integration studies (Favell, 2008; Joppke, 2007), this study explored the local political dimension in migration research. Many studies have tried to understand what shapes local immigrant policies, often looking at the electoral composition of the council and the political colour of the mayor. Instead, this study looked at how leadership characteristics, independent of political background, may also influence a distinct governance. This expands the broader literature on political leadership, because it connects policy and governance theory to the specific conceptual link of leadership styles. This goes beyond the notion that leadership characteristics simply influence how the involved actors do or do not have access to the policy cycle; my study raised questions about how leadership informs the way policy orientations are constructed and thus can create large variations across municipalities.

Using the social-constructivist approach to policymaking and governance networks, actors are here viewed as the means by which policy agendas are formed. With this, this study addressed the importance of academic awareness and reflexivity to how individual leaders may serve as gatekeepers or gateways to networks, and therefore also influence how research institutes and academic communities can access municipality policy. This is an interesting starting point in itself, looking to how contributions of different actors may 'land' on the policy agenda through leadership as gatekeepers, gateways, or both. This reflexivity may even be of large importance for how practical research implications influence the local policies, since this study indicated that political leaders differ in how they allow research-produced knowledge in policymaking.

The finding that political relations with public officials or policymakers matter also adds to our understanding of how public officials are included in policymaking for a local narrative. How and how often the administrative professionals are included in governance networks provide explanations for why certain sectors, organisations and authorities are considered more

relevant or significant in the policy cycle (Hulst & Yanow, 2016). And since the element of the political information channel is easily manipulated by administrative professionalism, this leadership relationship is important in understanding why leaders maintain or reject a perspective on integration.

Beyond the scope of my study, my analysis also showed that a participation-based policy may not only be formed by horizontal gateway leadership style, but also by vertical gatekeeper style, challenging the national structures with a new-found 'rebellious rhetoric'. This rhetoric consists of actively pointing out the shortcomings and flaws of national policies, revealing local gaps and reflecting on how national authorities should facilitate this. As Blanco and colleague (2014) already pointed out, local (political) traditions of policy transformation are very important in understanding the found differences among case studies. A tradition in participatory leadership and governance here can actually constrain the influence of national governance structures. On the other hand, 'social fabric structures' (Parés et al., 2014) of relationships between political and civil society stakeholders influence the local policy agenda. More recent research of Parés and colleagues (2017) also illustrated that in cities where local political leaders embrace a collaborative attitude with new urban initiatives, local responses are being more effective than in those cases where they found a conflictive relationship. This highlights the broad and important function of political leaders in the process of creating governance networks, delivering new theoretical insights for the city lens of migrant integration (Dekker et al., 2015). In line with this, my analysis showed that leadership roles are not static ideal types, but on-going sociopolitical constructions that interact with the local path dependencies of relations with the city council, public officials, stakeholders and national authorities. These roles thus need to be analysed accordingly.

The patterns found in my study have unraveled how the leadership style of the alderman works in the specific field of integration. Although it was not the main aim of this study to unravel specific discursive elements of leaders that contribute to a participation-based approach, the research did show the specificity of a distinct local leadership narrative that seduces or hides (cross-domain), reflects or continues (cross-party), rebels or conforms (cross-level). Viewing the group permit holders as migrants that needs integral policy actions allows policymaking to be developed on the basis of insights and lessons from the past, and vice versa. It showed the importance of the leadership style to understand the specialties of local integration policy and how converging leadership styles also inform different courses of policy objectives and governance networks.

5.3 Limitations

A study of course also contains limitations; this is an inherent characteristic of making decisions in methods and case selection. It is important to reflect on these decisions, to be able to overcome limitations and provide starting points for future research.

Firstly, since this study explored how political leadership and discourse affected implemented policymaking, it had a minimal focus on whether the presence of a certain leadership style did *not* affect a policy approach. This limitation could be an interesting focus for future research, to show to what extent elements have prescriptive value for policy action and *why not*. From this point of view, it would also be interesting to study why and when a certain leadership style is not legitimate enough to cause a course for action on the policy agenda. Including more and different case studies would gain broader insights about the applicability of the research.

Another limitation of this study was that in order to categorise, I created ideal types of gateway and gatekeeper leadership, which limited the scope of leadership characteristics. To add even more to this field of research based on the conclusions of this study, I urge research to guard against a simplified view of either gatekeeper or gateway transactional or transformational, conforming or rebelling leadership. Heifetz and Riley (1988: 82) already argued that leadership must be understood through “[...] forms of analysis that are sensitive to style, to the creation of meaning and to the dramatic edge of leadership. To use terms as mere categories or styles runs the risk of stripping them of this power and moving them to the level of the mundane – plain-label symbols”. Thus, leadership emerges from dynamic and evolving relationships, always in particular social and historical contexts. To capture the dynamism and overcome issues of situatedness, I propose a dialectical stance and framework (Holtz & Odağ, 2018) that looks more in-depth to certain types of leadership in everyday practice.

Finally, this study showed that the concepts of gatekeeper and gateway leadership are not just different words for empirical phenomena, but display a ‘tip of the iceberg’ (Dekker et al., 2015) when it comes to allowing actors in governance networks. It became clear that leadership contributes to a diversified approach to integration, forming alliances and partnerships with civil society organisations, political institutions and multi-level authorities. However, research on gateway and gatekeeper leadership is still in its infancy, and there is a need for further empirical studies on the exact impact of interactive, gateway leadership: how and to what extent can political leadership inform complex problems and the ‘breaking’ of policy norms? Answering this question requires collaboration between groups of researchers that are traditionally separated in political science, sociology, management and public administration departments. Reconciliation, however, would enrich governance research and (political) leadership theory (Helms, 2012).

Lastly, further research and more systematic case studies could expand the contribution to this study even more by clarifying the influence of other actors involved in the political sphere, like public officials or influential stakeholders (Martínez-Ariño et al., 2018). Steen and Røed (2018) also pointed to the possible influence of the electoral consensus or political majority of the council, constructing political consensus on the issue of accommodating integration as much and inclusive as possible. In order to explain the dominance of certain policy structures, research needs to consider the large field diversity more in the future. Future research may also compare the findings of this study with municipalities outside the Dutch context, to be able to assess if leadership style informs integration policy according to similar or dissimilar patterns.

Moving forward, then, research can capitalise on the strength of different methodologies to grasp contexts of (local) political leaders. This thesis provided ground for debate on leadership skills and shortcomings that can be used to build a governance system that fits the diverse needs and skills of permit holders. This study, above all, contributed to highlighting the importance of leadership styles in developing local partnerships, expanding the literature on the local dimension of integration and moving beyond the national-local discussion. Local leadership roles deserve consideration in future research, since these characteristics often regulate networks – welcoming or obstructing partnerships and alliances that inform policymaking.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Policy documents

Amsterdam

Gemeente Amsterdam (2015). *Raadsbrief Asielzoekers en andere nieuwkomers*. Gemeente Amsterdam: Amsterdam.

Gemeente Amsterdam (2015). *Vluchtelingen en nieuwe 'statushouders' uit Syrië en Eritrea*. Gemeente Amsterdam: Amsterdam.

Gemeente Amsterdam (2015). *Brief vluchtelingenbeleid*. Gemeente Amsterdam: Amsterdam.

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Gemeente Amsterdam (2016). *Termijnagenda diversiteit*. Gemeente Amsterdam: Amsterdam.

Gemeente Amsterdam (2016). *Actieplan ondernemerschap en werkkansen voor vluchtelingen*. Gemeente Amsterdam: Amsterdam.

Gemeente Amsterdam (2016). *Zaken Amsterdamse aanpak versneld naar werk en inkomen*. Gemeente Amsterdam: Amsterdam.

Gemeente Amsterdam (2016). *Raadsbrief vluchtelingenmonitor 2016*. Gemeente Amsterdam: Amsterdam.

Gemeente Amsterdam (2017). *Amsterdamse aanpak statushouders*. Gemeente Amsterdam: Amsterdam.

Utrecht

Gemeente Utrecht (2016). *Snelle integratie van vluchtelingen*. Gemeente Utrecht: Utrecht.

Gemeente Utrecht (2017). *Raadsbrief Integratie van statushouders*. Gemeente Utrecht: Utrecht.

Gemeente Utrecht (2017). *Commissiebrief Statushouders en instroom naar werk*. Gemeente Utrecht: Utrecht.

Gemeente Utrecht (2017). *Raadsbrief arbeidsparticipatie statushouders*. Gemeente Utrecht: Utrecht.

Gemeente Utrecht (2017). *Achterstand huisvesting statushouders*. Gemeente Utrecht: Utrecht.

Gemeente Utrecht (2017). *Beantwoording spoeddebat Actuele ontwikkelingen rond de taalscholen voor vluchtelingen en statushouders*. Gemeente Utrecht: Utrecht.

Gemeente Utrecht (2017). *Inburgering statushouders*. Gemeente Utrecht: Utrecht.

Gemeente Utrecht (2017). *Gezondheid statushouders*. Gemeente Utrecht: Utrecht.

Gemeente Utrecht (2018). *Monitor huisvesting en integratie statushouders*. Gemeente Utrecht: Utrecht.

The Hague

Gemeente Den Haag (2015). *Vluchtelingenproblematiek en statushouders*. Gemeente Den Haag: Den Haag.

Gemeente Den Haag (2016). *Huisvesting statushouders 2016-2017*. Gemeente Den Haag: Den Haag.

Gemeente Den Haag (2016). *Voortgang huisvesting statushouders*. Gemeente Den Haag: Den Haag.

Gemeente Den Haag (2016). *Afdoening motie Statushouders aan het werk*. Gemeente Den Haag: Den Haag.

Gemeente Den Haag (2016). *Aanpak statushouders sociaal domein*. Gemeente Den Haag: Den Haag.

Gemeente Den Haag (2016). *Monitor sociaal domein statushouders*. Gemeente Den Haag: Den Haag.

Gemeente Den Haag (2016). *Warm welkom statushouders Den Haag*. Gemeente Den Haag: Den Haag.

Gemeente Den Haag (2016). *Monitor statushouders: De Haagse aanpak*. Gemeente Den Haag: Den Haag.

Gemeente Den Haag (2017). *Voortgangsbrief statushouders*. Gemeente Den Haag: Den Haag.

Gemeente Den Haag (2017). *Monitor statushouders: Een jaar Haagse aanpak en voortgang huisvesting*. Gemeente Den Haag: Den Haag.

Rotterdam

Gemeente Rotterdam (2015). *Huisvesting statushouders*. Gemeente Rotterdam: Rotterdam.

Gemeente Rotterdam (2015). *Rotterdamwet voor statushouders*. Gemeente Rotterdam: Rotterdam.

Gemeente Rotterdam (2015). *Lange termijn visie statushouders*. Gemeente Rotterdam: Rotterdam.

Gemeente Rotterdam (2015). *Statushouders aan de slag*. Gemeente Rotterdam: Rotterdam.

Gemeente Rotterdam (2016). *Rotterdamse aanpak statushouders*. Gemeente Rotterdam: Rotterdam.

Gemeente Rotterdam (2016). *Collegebrief Rotterdamse aanpak statushouders*. Gemeente Rotterdam: Rotterdam.

Gemeente Rotterdam (2017). *Monitor Rotterdamse aanpak 2016-2020*. Gemeente Rotterdam: Rotterdam.

Gemeente Rotterdam (2017). *Begeleiding statushouders door Vluchtelingenwerk*. Gemeente Rotterdam: Rotterdam.

Gemeente Rotterdam (2017). *Discriminatie van vluchtelingen en statushouders*. Gemeente Rotterdam: Rotterdam.

Gemeente Rotterdam (2017). *Rapport structurele integratie Somalische Rotterdammers*. Gemeente Rotterdam: Rotterdam.

Appendix II: Audiovisual documents

Amsterdam: www.amsterdam.raadsinformatie.nl

Context	Date
1. <i>Council meeting</i>	18-06-2014
2. <i>Council meeting</i>	01-04-2015
3. <i>Committee Work & Income</i>	03-06-2015
4. <i>Council meeting</i>	10-06-2015
5. <i>Committee meeting Work & Income</i>	14-10-2015
6. <i>Council meeting</i>	15-10-2015
7. <i>Council meeting</i>	10-02-2016
8. <i>Council meeting</i>	09-03-2016
9. <i>Council meeting</i>	01-09-2016
10. <i>Council meeting</i>	21-09-2016
11. <i>Council meeting</i>	05-10-2016
12. <i>Council meeting</i>	05-10-2017
13. <i>Council meeting</i>	08-11-2017
14. <i>Council meeting</i>	20-12-2017

Context	Date
1. <i>Council meeting</i>	19-06-2015
2. <i>Council meeting</i>	20-10-2015
3. <i>Council meeting</i>	03-02-2016
4. <i>Council meeting</i>	10-11-2016
5. <i>Council meeting</i>	11-02-2017
6. <i>Council meeting</i>	23-02-2017
7. <i>Council meeting</i>	29-06-2017
8. <i>Council meeting</i>	09-11-2017
9. <i>Council meeting</i>	14-12-2017
10. <i>Committee meeting Citizens & Society</i>	25-01-2018
11. <i>Council meeting</i>	01-02-2018
12. <i>Council meeting</i>	08-02-2018

Context	Date
1. <i>Council meeting</i>	09-10-2014
2. <i>Council meeting</i>	03-05-2015
3. <i>Council meeting</i>	17-06-2015
4. <i>Council meeting</i>	10-09-2015
5. <i>Council meeting</i>	23-10-2015
6. <i>Council meeting</i>	03-02-2016
7. <i>Council meeting</i>	14-06-2016
8. <i>Council meeting</i>	08-11-2016
9. <i>Committee Spatial Development</i>	30-08-2017
10. <i>Council meeting</i>	21-09-2017
11. <i>Council meeting</i>	15-12-2017
12. <i>Council meeting</i>	01-02-2018

Context	Date
1. <i>Council meeting</i>	05-06-2014
2. <i>Council meeting</i>	16-10-2014
3. <i>Council meeting</i>	04-02-2015
4. <i>Council meeting</i>	18-06-2015
5. <i>Council meeting</i>	07-07-2015
6. <i>Council meeting</i>	28-10-2015
7. <i>Council meeting</i>	25-05-2016
8. <i>Council meeting</i>	02-11-2016
9. <i>Council meeting</i>	25-01-2017
10. <i>Council meeting</i>	26-04-2017
11. <i>Council meeting</i>	07-09-2017
12. <i>Council meeting</i>	28-09-2017
13. <i>Council meeting</i>	30-11-2017
14. <i>Committee meeting Integration</i>	14-12-2017
15. <i>Council meeting</i>	21-02-2018
16. <i>Council meeting</i>	19-04-2018

Appendix III: Informed consent

Onderzoek: lokaal leiderschap en integratiebeleid (EUR)

Naam onderzoeker: Anneke Brock

Doel van het onderzoek

In veel gemeenten neemt het aantal statushouders toe. De vluchtelingen die zich in de 21e eeuw in Nederland vestigen, raken vrijwel al het beleid van de gemeente. In dit onderzoek staan we stil bij het verblijf van statushouders in de stedelijke context. De vraag is hoe steden en beleidsprofessionals daarmee omgaan en hoe zij hierin samenwerken met de wethouder(s). Dit masteronderzoek van de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam wil met deze studie bijdragen aan een effectievere beleidsvoering.

Uw medewerking

De gegevens van dit onderzoek worden zorgvuldig behandeld. Tijdens het interview bent u niet verplicht antwoord te geven op vragen. De gegevens zullen anoniem worden verwerkt. Door dit document te ondertekenen geeft u te kennen dat u akkoord gaat met uw deelname aan dit onderzoek. Ook na ondertekening kunt u nog altijd afzien van uw medewerking. Uw deelname wordt echter zeer op prijs gesteld.

Ik geef toestemming voor deelname aan dit onderzoek:

Naam:

Datum:

Plaats:

Handtekening:

Hieronder aankruisen wat van toepassing is:

- Ik wil het onderzoeksverslag niet ontvangen.
- Ik wil het complete onderzoek ontvangen...
- Ik wil de samenvatting van het onderzoek ontvangen...

...op het volgende mailadres:

Appendix IV: Topic list

Introduction

- Explanation research
- Explanation data processing

General

- How would you describe your position within the department?
- How would you describe your involvement in the domain of permit holders?
- How would you describe the policy narrative on permit holder integration in the time frame of 2014-2018?
- How would you describe your relationship with the previous alderman?

Alderman-specific

- How would you say the previous alderman contributed to an explicit vision on permit holder integration policy?
- How did the previous alderman involve civil society actors in the decision-making process for permit holder integration?
- How did the previous alderman involve local residents in the decision-making process for permit holder integration?
- How did the previous alderman involve external stakeholders on the national level/international level in the decision-making process for permit holder integration?
- How did the previous alderman contribute to creating a general inclusive approach for policymaking?
- How did the previous alderman contribute to his/her relation with public officials in the decision-making process for permit holder integration?

Closing

- Space for additional remarks
- Word of integrity and thanks