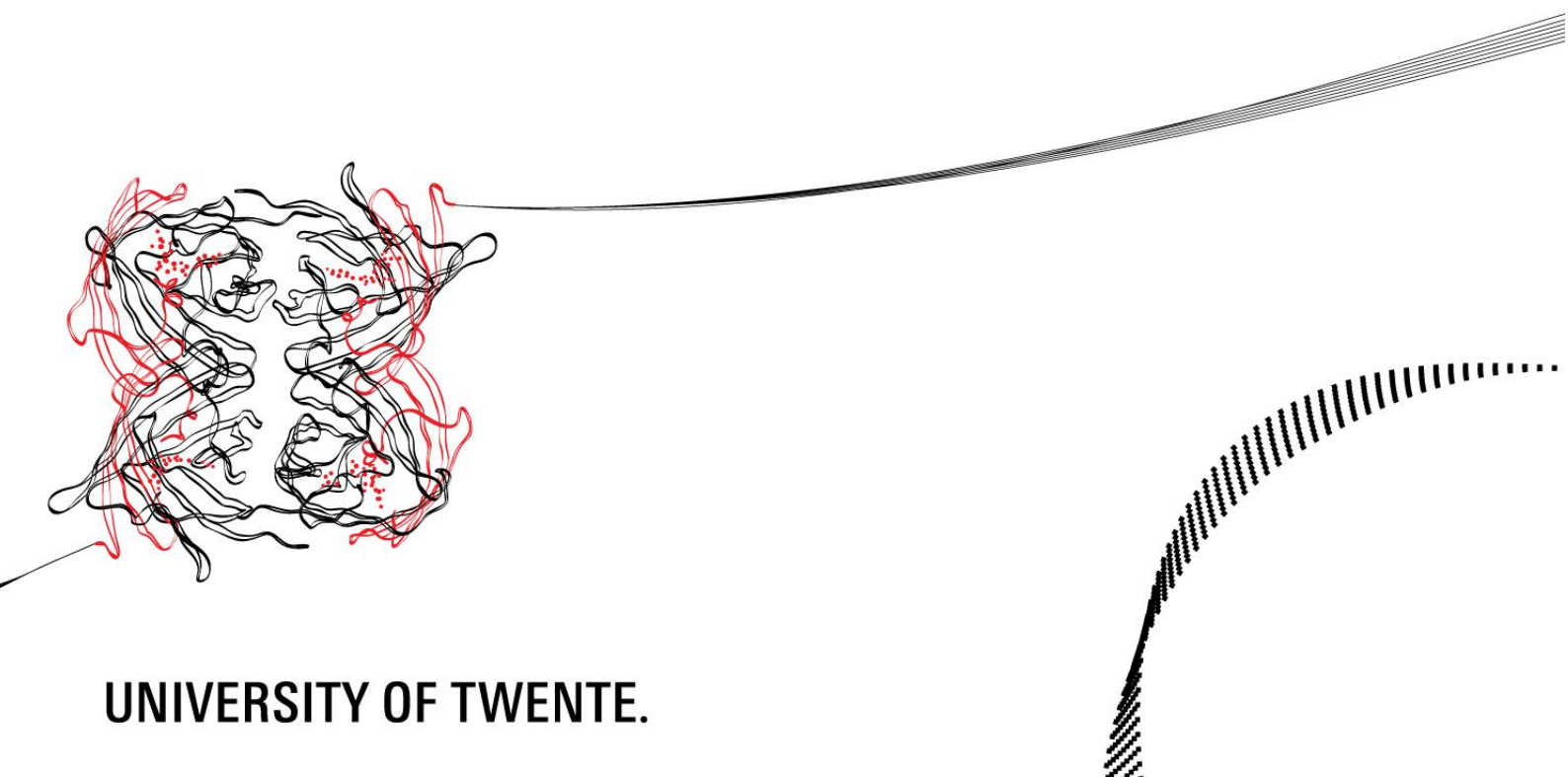
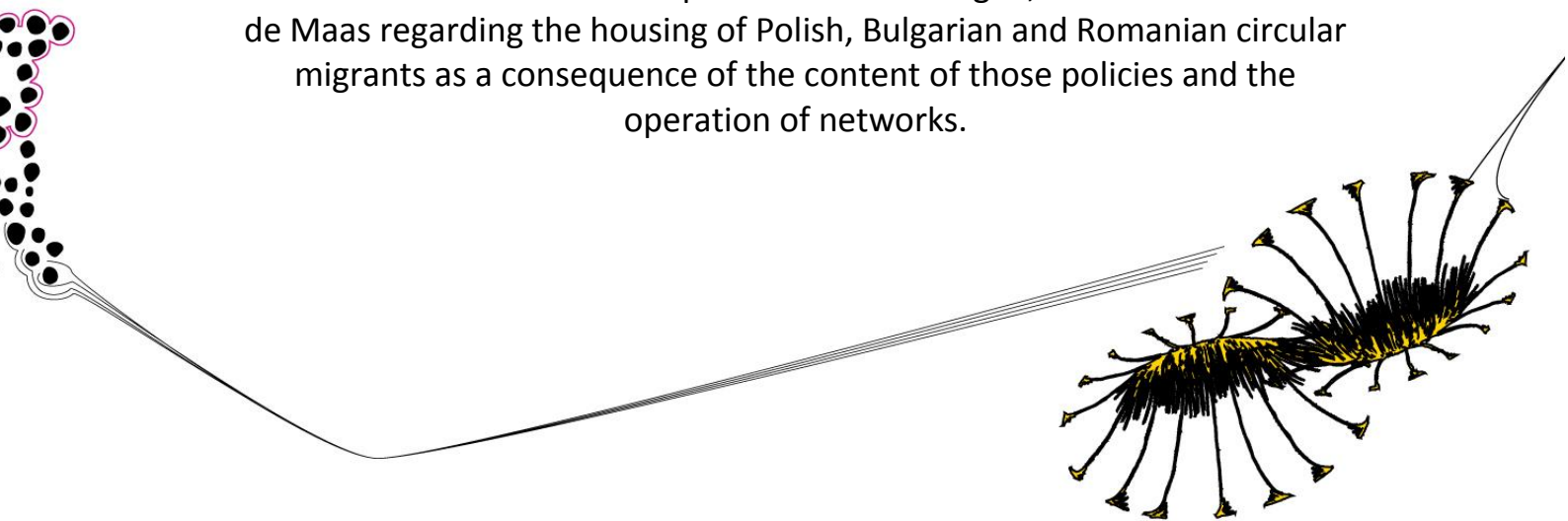




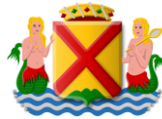
## *Housing the invisible*

Goal attainment in the municipalities of Steenbergen, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants as a consequence of the content of those policies and the operation of networks.



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### **Master thesis Public Administration**

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## Preface

Almelo/Enschede, 1 November 2013

This master thesis is the result of my study on the goal attainment of three Dutch local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Moreover, I assessed the extent to which the degree of goal attainment is due to the content of those policies and the operation of networks. With this thesis, I complete my master program Public Administration at the University of Twente. It took some time to complete this thesis; in turn this gave me the opportunity to deploy myself on the local level of politics.

I chose the title 'Housing the invisible' to demonstrate that due to the consequences of the free movement for workers it is hard to trace how many working migrants need to be housed. In fact, municipalities are considered to make policies while working migrants can move invisibly from their motherland to the Netherlands and vice versa.

Writing this thesis has been a highly instructive process. First of all, it gave me insight into the world of the working migrants in the Netherlands. You only see the incidents on the television, it casts a shadow over the good work of many stakeholders who mean well to the working migrants. Secondly, it allowed me to bring scientific theories into practice. And finally, it turned out that I did not demarcate some aspects of this thesis enough. As a result, this thesis became a little too extensive. Nevertheless, it was a privilege to work on this thesis.

I am grateful that the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations provided a list of contact details of those municipalities that are affiliated with the national network for data exchange regarding CEE migrants. I would like to thank all the respondents that participated in the survey that I used in order to answer the first and second sub-questions. Moreover, I would like to thank all the interviewees for their cooperation and sometimes for their patience. Due to snow and freezing temperatures at the beginning of 2013 and its corresponding effect on the Dutch railway systems, it was not always easy to be in time for the interviews.

Special thanks go to my supervisors at the University of Twente, dr. Pieter-Jan Klok and dr. Veronica Junjan, for the time spent to read and discuss the intermediate drafts of this thesis and their useful comments and advice.

Arjen Maathuis

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## Summary (Dutch)

Deze scriptie heeft als doel om een antwoord te vinden op de volgende hoofdvraag:

*In welke mate zijn de lokale beleidsdoelen van de gemeenten Steenbergen, Bladel en Horst aan de Maas met betrekking tot de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten bereikt als een gevolg van de inhoud van het beleid en het functioneren van netwerken, in de periode 2007-2012?*

Om deze vraag te beantwoorden is er allereerst gekeken naar de wijze waarop de inhoud van Nederlands lokaal beleid met betrekking tot de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten van elkaar verschilt. Vervolgens is gekeken naar de wijze waarop organisatorische netwerk vormen worden gebruikt in relatie tot dat lokale beleid. Deze inzichten zijn verkregen door middel van een online enquête die is gestuurd naar alle gemeenten die zijn aangesloten op het landelijke kennisnetwerk MOE-landers. Allereerst is er dus een generiek beeld ontstaan. De resultaten van de online enquête zijn tevens gebruikt om drie gemeenten te selecteren voor nader onderzoek, in een zogenoemde case study. Deze gemeenten zijn: Steenbergen, Bladel en Horst aan de Maas. Gebaseerd op interviews met respondenten van die gemeenten en interviews met respondenten van samenwerkingspartners van die gemeenten, is de mate van doelbereiking, in termen van bereikte verbetering, voor die drie gemeenten vastgesteld. Vervolgens is getracht deze mate van doelbereiking te verklaren door te kijken naar de inhoud van het beleid in de betreffende gemeente, de effectiviteit van de gehanteerde vorm van netwerk governance en de netwerk effectiviteit op netwerk niveau.

Het is niet altijd vanzelfsprekend dat gemeenten, die aangesloten zijn op het landelijk kennisnetwerk MOE-landers ook beleidsdoelen hebben geformuleerd met betrekking tot de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire arbeidsmigranten of maatregelen nemen met betrekking tot die huisvesting. Ook is geconcludeerd dat over het algemeen er geen verschil is tussen beleidsdoelen en maatregelen gericht op de huisvesting van Polen enerzijds en beleidsdoelen en maatregelen gericht op de huisvesting van Bulgaren en Roemenen anderzijds; dit tegen de verwachting in.

Over het algemeen wordt de wederzijdse afhankelijkheid tussen gemeenten en samenwerkingspartners om eigen doelen te realiseren hoog in geschat; waarbij moet worden opgemerkt dat de gemeente meer afhankelijk is van haar partners dan andersom. Gemeenten werken vaak samen met dezelfde samenwerkingspartners. Netwerk *governance* is de wijze waarop een netwerk/samenwerkingsverband wordt bestuurd. Meer dan de helft van de respondenten geeft aan dat het samenwerkingsverband van alle organisaties en /of individuen hoofdzakelijk wordt bestuurd door alle aan het samenwerkingsverband deelnemende organisaties (shared governance). 35% van de respondenten geeft aan dat het samenwerkingsverband door één van de deelnemende organisaties (lead organization) wordt bestuurd en een enkele respondent geeft aan dat het samenwerkingsverband door één organisatie wordt bestuurd die speciaal is opgericht voor het besturen van het samenwerkingsverband (Network Administrative Organization).

De effectiviteit van een netwerk kan worden geëvalueerd op drie niveaus: 1) netwerk effectiviteit op samenleving niveau (doelbereiking), 2) netwerk effectiviteit op netwerk niveau (functioneren van het netwerk) en 3) netwerk effectiviteit op netwerk-lid niveau (of je zelf wat aan de samenwerking hebt). In Steenbergen en Horst aan de Maas is de mate van doelbereiking redelijk; in Bladel is de mate van doelbereiking klein. Het is aannemelijk dat in zowel Steenbergen als in Horst aan de Maas een middelhoog niveau van netwerk effectiviteit op netwerk niveau van invloed is op de redelijke mate van doelbereiking. In zowel Steenbergen als in Horst aan de Maas lijken de inhoud van het beleid en het middelhoog niveau van netwerk effectiviteit op netwerk niveau beide bepalend te zijn voor de mate van doelbereiking. Het is aannemelijk dat in Bladel een middel-laag niveau van netwerk effectiviteit op netwerk niveau van invloed is op de kleine mate van doelbereiking. In Bladel lijken de inhoud van het beleid en het middel-laag niveau van netwerk effectiviteit op netwerk niveau beide bepalend te zijn voor de mate van doelbereiking.

In dit onderzoek is geconstateerd dat de theorie van Provan & Kenis (2008) alléén niet voldoende is om netwerkresultaat te verklaren; de inhoud die ten grondslag ligt aan samenwerking (i.e. het beleid) is even belangrijk voor het verklaren van netwerkresultaat. Bovendien is de theorie van Provan & Kenis (2008) niet compleet. De rationale in de theorie van Provan & Kenis (2008) is dat in een situatie waarin netwerk governance eenvoudig is, shared governance een effectieve vorm is voor het bereiken van netwerkresultaat. Indien netwerk governance in een bepaalde situatie complex is, dan is een 'brokered' vorm van netwerk governance (bijv. lead organization) een effectieve vorm voor het bereiken van netwerkresultaat. Echter, in dit onderzoek is geconstateerd dat in situaties waarin netwerk governance relatief eenvoudig is, een 'brokered' vorm van netwerk governance ook effectief kan zijn. De theorie dient op dit punt aangepast te worden.



# 1. Introduction

According to the article 22 of the Dutch constitutional law, the Dutch government has the obligation to care for adequate housing facilities. This results in housing policies at different levels of government. The national government focuses on some macro-economic measures regarding the sale and rental market of homes. The provincial government does have a vision about where and the way in which inhabitants should be housed. A province makes a distinction between rural and urban areas. What are growth centres and which areas should remain picturesque? At the local level, municipalities implement local policies which are largely in accordance with the provincial vision. Moreover, municipalities are often directly involved in the realization of housing development. Shortly, municipalities must have enough houses in order to accommodate the current and future citizenry. This study is about the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. The influx of those Central and East European (CEE) migrant workers is a hot political topic in the Netherlands. At the beginning of 2012, the Dutch Partij van de Vrijheid (PVV), led by Geert Wilders, set up a so-called 'Meldpunt Midden en Oost Europeanen' (hotline Central and East Europeans). This was caused by the dissatisfaction with 'massive' labour migration. According to the PVV, labour migration from CEE countries leads to a lot of problems. The PVV assumed that people lose their jobs to Poles, Bulgarians or Romanians. Recently, the minister of Social Affairs and Employment, Lodewijk Asscher (PvdA) calls for legislation in order to limit the free movement of labour within the European Union or at least towards the Netherlands.

In this thesis, I address the qualitatively and quantitatively insufficient housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants by looking at the goal attainment of three Dutch local policies regarding the housing of these people. In this introduction I will describe the development of the influx of CEE migrants; I will describe the housing problem as one of the four migration related problems. Subsequently, I explain the causes and effects of the housing problem. Then, the agenda-setting of the problem and the relevant stakeholders are described. Attention will also be paid to the government's response to this problem in the form of policy and policy recommendations. Note that this thesis is written from a municipal perspective, which means that the problem definition and research aim of this thesis are focused on municipalities. In this introduction the housing problem is considered at the national level.

## 1.1 Four migration related problems

In 2004, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Slovenia gained access to the European Union. Bulgaria and Romania gained access to the European Union in 2007. This does not mean that the citizens of those countries immediately gained access to all the possible benefits of European Union membership, such as free access to the labour market of an incumbent member state. Each incumbent member state is allowed to set its own rules for restricted access of new member state citizens until ultimately seven years after access of a new member state. In May 2007, migrant workers from those CEE countries that gained access to the European Union in 2004, gained free access to the Dutch labour market. The Dutch second chamber of parliament appointed a temporary parliamentary committee of inquiry with the task to examine the facts and analysing the underlying problems regarding labour migration (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 5). On contrary, migrant workers from Bulgaria and Romania do have restricted access to the Dutch labour market until 1 January 2014.

First of all the extent of the migration from CEE countries is described. The European internal market has ensured that every European citizen can use the right of free movement of workers and the right to settle everywhere you want (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 21). However, there are some laws concerning those who do not have full free access to the labour market, like Romanians and Bulgarians (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 54). Among policymakers and policy influencers there is a lot

of discussion about the exact number of CEE migrants. According to the Commissie Lessen (2011, p. 22) there were 80.000 registered CEE migrants in the Netherlands in 2007. In 2011, this number was an estimated 200.000 and it will probably continue to grow. It shows the rapid influx of CEE migrants in the intervening years. This is also partly shown by figure 1.

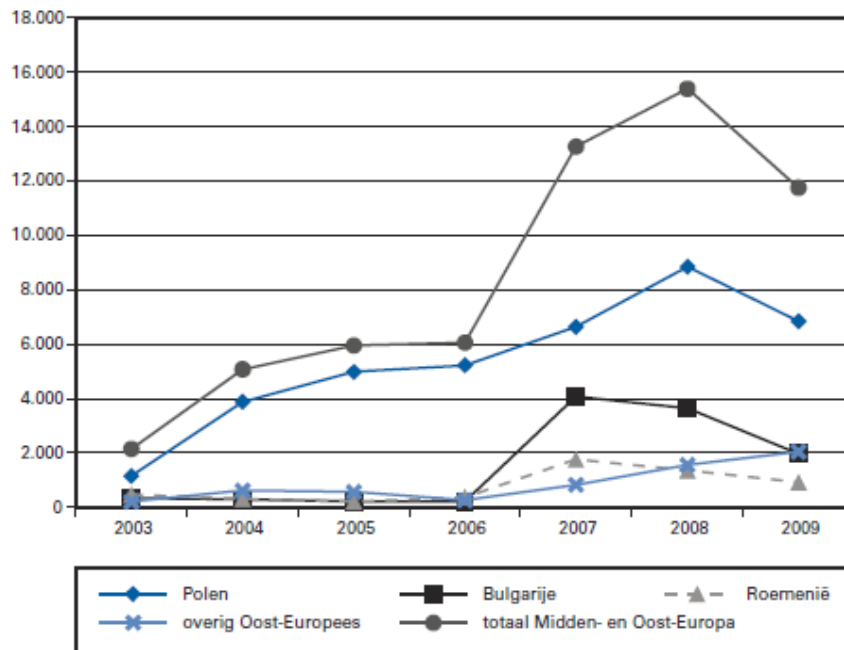


Figure 1: Annual influx of migrants from CEE countries to the Netherlands<sup>1</sup> (source: Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 117).

In 2004, the Dutch government estimated that the annual influx will be about 4.000-8.000 working migrants a year. Figure 1 shows that this estimation was not representative. It is noteworthy that this figure only shows the registered influx according to the CBS. According to Donner (2011), there were 137.000 registered and between 123.000 and 168.000 non-registered CEE migrants at the end of 2008. In 2009, the number of registered and non-registered CEE migrants was between 286.000 and 325.000. It is reasonable to expect that this number of registered and non-registered is much higher at the end of 2012. Figure 1 shows that 2007 was a crucial year; Polish migrant workers did not need an employment permit anymore and Bulgarians and Romanians could come to the Netherlands when they have an employment permit. Mainly circular migrants let themselves not register in the municipal administration (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 33).

Regarding the migration from CEE countries, the committee distinguished four types of problems: labour market problem; housing; liveability and integration & education. The committee concludes that several studies have shown that the effect of CEE migrants on the economy is negligible in the long term (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 22). This means that Dutch inhabitants do not structurally lose their jobs to migrant workers. In that sense, the statements made by the PVV and recently by Minister Lodewijk Asscher are remarkable; he said that CEE migrants had a disruptive effect on the Dutch labour market. The displacement of regular workers by temporary workers from CEE migrants is regional and sectorial determined. Regarding the liveability, the committee concludes that there are serious problems at the local level. Homelessness, drug addiction and crime regarding CEE

<sup>1</sup> Annual influx of: Poles (dark blue), Bulgarians (black), Romanians (light grey), other East Europeans (light blue) and total CEEs (dark grey).

migrants are liveability aspects that are problematic in some large cities such as The Hague, Breda and Utrecht (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 18). Moreover, the committee concludes that the arrival of CEE migrants does also bring some problems in terms of integration and education. Not mastering the Dutch language leads to more accidents at work. Primary and secondary schools are affected by the short stay of pupils with a Central or East European origin. This study is about the housing of CEE circular migrants. The committee also paid attention to this. However, before explaining housing as one of the four migration related problems I would like to mention the conclusion of the committee. The overall conclusion is that the Dutch government has been unable to manage the influx of labour migrants from CEE countries. The committee was shocked by the large number of malicious employment agencies and the poor housing conditions of those migrants. According to the committee, inadequate housing does not only create undesirable situations for the migrants themselves, but also lead to nuisance in some neighbourhoods (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 5). The committee considers it unacceptable that so-called slumlords let migrants pay too much for small and poor housing.

### ***1.1.1 The problem of housing***

The way in which labour migrants are housed is related to the length of stay in the Netherlands (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 64). In figure 2 (see annex I) one can see that seasonal migrants, migrants who are not staying longer than a couple of months in the Netherlands, are more likely to make use of a shared accommodation. The circular migrants, migrants who stay longer than a couple of months but not permanently in the Netherlands, and the permanent migrants are more likely to stay in an independent accommodation

According to the Commissie Lessen (2011, p. 67), a distinction can be made between the nature of the housing situation in municipalities in urban areas and municipalities in rural areas. Almost half of the CEE migrants in the Netherlands is working in The Hague and Rotterdam. These migrants are more likely to live in privately owned accommodations. Problems regarding the housing of those migrant workers occur in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in The Hague and Rotterdam. Moreover, those municipalities are in terms of housing also attractive for migrant workers who are working in the Westland (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 67). Overcrowding of dwellings is also an important part of the housing problem and occurs when employers, or in particular the employment agencies, want to save on the costs of housing and therefore accommodate many migrants in a single dwelling space. In 2010, there were approximately 350 notifications of illegal inhabited accommodations in Rotterdam. On average, five to six migrants were living in one illegal accommodation (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 67). In the Netherlands there are places whereby the number of migrant workers is too large for the existing housing stock (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 67). Moreover, the committee noticed that vacant office spaces are ready to be redeveloped for housing purposes, but this does not happen because this costs a lot of money and the employment agencies also want to make profit out of the housing migrant workers (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 72).

The committee concludes (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 16-17) that there is qualitatively and quantitatively insufficient housing for (temporary) migrant workers. Moreover, according to the committee, the housing of CEE migrants is considered to be a local responsibility, while it has a regional character. There is also confusion about the responsibilities of and between different stakeholders, like employers, housing associations and municipalities. In section 1.5 more about the responsibilities of the different stakeholders regarding housing. So, qualitatively and quantitatively insufficient housing is one of the four migration related problems. This problem does have its causes and its effects. In the coming two sections more about causes and effects respectively.

## **1.2 Causes of the housing problem**

According to the Commissie Lessen (2011, p. 73-75), there are several reasons why the housing problem regarding the CEE migrants occurred. The influx of the number of CEE migrants is too big for the existing housing stock. As a consequence, municipalities are forced to tolerate undesirable situations, such as overcrowding of dwellings and excessive concentrations of migrants in vulnerable neighbourhoods. Municipalities reacted too late on the way in which the employers gave meaning to the responsibility for housing CEE migrants. Some employers were not able to take on the responsibility which was laid down in the enforcement framework. The problem of housing CEE migrants was not recognized yet in 2009. Municipalities do not have sufficient insight into the exact number of migrant workers within their boundaries. One can speak of incomplete registration in municipal administrations. The reason for non-registration is that there is no incentive to register yourself. On contrary, one has to pay municipal taxes. Moreover, registrations and deregistrations are bureaucratic. Some municipalities have to deal with an influx of CEE migrants who are not employed in that municipality. Municipalities are struggling to take a coordinating role in those areas where the necessity is not felt by all the stakeholders. (Regional) cooperation between stakeholders develops slowly and is considered to be a cause of the housing problem. Municipalities may impose administrative and criminal sanctions. However, the use of these legal instruments is time-consuming. Moreover, some municipalities see building and spatial planning regulations as obstacles.

## **1.3 Effects of the housing problem**

Overcrowding of houses is a consequence of qualitatively and quantitatively insufficient housing. This overcrowding can in its turn lead to an increased risk of fire and a lack of privacy for the CEE migrants themselves (Burgers et al., 2011, p. 8). An illustrative example; in the summer of 2012, a historical building in Amsterdam went up in flames. The building was official inhabited by six CEE migrants, but at the time of the fire, there were eleven people present (Parool, 2012). The owner is known as a slumlord. This does not necessarily mean that the fire is caused by the presence of those eleven people; it is however a situation that is frequently encountered. In addition to overcrowding, there is a higher chance of nuisance in neighbourhoods where these migrants are living. One could think of a lot of noise during the night and parking problems. Migrants do most of the times live in vulnerable neighbourhoods; their presence is seen as a negative contribution to the existing low quality of living (Burgers et al., 2011, p. 4). Nuisance is concentrating in neighbourhoods with a large number of CEE migrants (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 76). According to professor of criminology, dr. D.J. Korf, the main cause of nuisance is the poor housing situation (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 77). Moreover, the illegal occupation of houses by CEE circular migrants can be seen as an effect of insufficient housing. Illegal housing is accepted by the migrant worker, because he or she is committed to the lowest housing costs. As consequence of the illegal circuit, the municipalities cannot check whether there are abuses of housing situations (Donner, 2011). As a consequence of qualitatively and quantitatively insufficient housing, a link is established between the job of the migrant and his housing situation. This makes the migrant worker more dependent on the employer or employment agencies (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 74). This can in its turn lead to overcrowding. Moreover, rent is charged directly to the salary. This allows the employer or employment agency to exploit the migrant worker. In the case of dismissal, the migrant worker loses not only his job but also his place to live. So, the increased dependency of the employee on the employer can also lead to an increase in the number of homeless migrants (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 74).

## **1.4 Agenda-setting**

The downside of circular migration of CEE migrants became more and more visible in recent years. In the period of September 2009 and September 2011, the Nicis Institute conducted a research on the social living conditions; the accommodation perspective and the employment position of CEE

migrants. The Institute worked together with researchers from the Erasmus University of Rotterdam and municipalities with a high degree of CEE migrants. These findings were presented in separate reports regarding to a specific region which was included in the research. On November the 14th of 2011 there was an Olympiade conference regarding to the housing of labour migrants from Central- and East-European countries. Regarding to Movisie (2011, p. 3) there is a lack of adequate housing. In addition to these studies, the Dutch parliament wanted to know the ins and outs of the problems regarding the (circular) migrants from CEE countries. A temporary parliamentary committee of inquiry examined the consequences of labour migration from CEE countries for inter alia housing, labour market, integration, education etcetera. In the previous sections, I explained the main findings regarding the housing of CEE migrants.

## **1.5 Responsibility of stakeholders**

In 2007, social partners and the state secretary of Social Affairs and Employment agreed on an enforcement framework regarding the free movement of migrant workers from CEE countries that gained access to the European Union in 2004. This enforcement framework concerns inter alia the responsibility for the housing of temporary working migrants. Regarding this, emphasis is laid on the cooperation between different social partners and the government. The lack of (regional) cooperation of actors is a cause of qualitatively and quantitatively insufficient housing, because actors are interdependent or dependent on each other when it comes to the resources they possess; this (inter)dependency is recognized in the national letter of intent which is signed by different stakeholders in 2012 (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, 2012). In this sense, we can speak of a governance approach regarding the housing of CEE migrants. In this section more about the responsibility and tasks of different stakeholders.

### **1.5.1 Government related stakeholders**

The *national government* applies a generic policy; there are enough (legal) options in order to cope with the influx of CEE migrants. It is up to the CEE migrants themselves, the employers, the municipalities and the owners of houses in order to utilize these options (Minister van Wonen, Wijken & Integratie, 2010, p. 3). According to the Minister van Binnenlandse Zaken & Koninkrijksrelaties (2011, p. 40), migrant workers are primarily responsible for finding adequate housing. However, I stated earlier that the Dutch government has, on a macroeconomic scale, the constitutional task to care for adequate housing facilities. Moreover, the national government provides support in the form of an initiated network of municipalities for data exchange regarding CEE migrants and a taskforce, in Dutch: praktijkteam (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 73). Like the national government, *provincial government* does also have a framework-setting role. It coordinates the distribution of housing between urban and rural areas in the province and like the national government they cooperate in the establishment of information exchange between municipalities. Some municipalities experience the role of the province as problematic. This is the case when a provincial government disagrees with an exemption to a municipal 'bestemmingsplan' (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 73). So, the higher levels of government passed on the responsibility and concrete implementation of policy frameworks regarding the housing of CEE migrant workers to the *municipal governments* (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 72). Municipalities do have a control function regarding the housing of migrants and are responsible for maintaining public order in the case of harassing migrants (Middelkoop van, 2010). Municipalities with many migrant workers are expected to have a vision for the long-run and are expected to make performance agreements with the housing associations regarding the construction of accommodations (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 72). The control function also refers to the coordination of the cooperation between stakeholders. Moreover, the enforcement of the housing quality standards is a municipal task. The inspectorate of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning & Environment takes care for the second-line supervision. This inspectorate redirects serious abuses to the relevant municipality (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 64).

### **1.5.2 Employment related stakeholders**

According to the government, the *employee* himself is primarily responsible for finding an accommodation. However, this depends on the way in which they come to the Netherlands. Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian migrants often come on their own to the Netherlands and arrange an accommodation through the use of informal and social contacts. Migrants can also come to Netherlands with the help of an employment agency. In that case, an accommodation can be arranged by the employment agency. In many cases one can speak of a dual dependency; the employee is for both work and housing dependent on the employer. Employees are represented by labour unions or by other *interest groups*, like 'Stichting Pools Overlegplatform in Nederland (PLON)'. *Employment agencies* are intermediary companies on the labour market. They mediate between unemployed people who are looking for a (temporary) job and companies that need (temporary) employees. Employment agencies are also involved in employing working migrants from CEE migrants. These agencies even recruit migrants in the native countries on behalf of some employers. The employment agencies do have the best ins and outs regarding to the need for housing of migrants. In addition to the fact that a migrant (employee) does have his own responsibility in looking for an appropriate accommodation, the employment agency does also have some responsibilities. There are two situations regarding this responsibility of the employment agency. First, the situation in which the employment agency has to request an employment permit for his/her employee; this is the case for Bulgarian and Romanian labour migrants. The Dutch social security agency (UWV) can refuse or withdraw this employment permit in the case of inappropriate housing; the latter must be determined by the municipality. The UWV is primarily responsible for the administration and implementation of employee insurances. It is also responsible for issuing employment permits. Second, the situation in which an employment permit is not necessary; this is the case for Polish labour migrants. Then, the employment agency has only the moral responsibility to take care for the housing of his employees, because there is no legal obligation to house someone who is working for you. However, there is an exception. Employment agencies are, on the basis of a collective labour agreement, obliged to make efforts to provide groups of employees that do not permanently live in the Netherlands, housing at reasonable costs and in accordance with the legal requirements for adequate housing (Stichting van de Arbeid, 2007, p. 9-10); the 'Woningwet' and 'Bouwbesluit' form the bottom-line. These laws aim to regulate the quality standards of a dwelling; an extensive discussion of the content of these laws goes beyond the scope of this study. *Individual employers* are persons or firms that, without the intervention of an intermediary, immediately employ working migrants. Like the employment agencies, they have the obligation to request an employment permit for their Bulgarian and/or Romanian employee(s). So, in those cases they also have the obligation to take care for adequate housing facilities. The individual employers do not have an obligation to take care for the accommodation of Polish working migrants. Some individual employers accommodate working migrants on their own plots; others arrange the housing of their employees with real estate owners, like owners of recreational parks. Individual employers that do not make use of employment agencies are in some cases affiliated with *interest groups* like LTO (agricultural and horticultural organization). LTO is involved by the housing of CEE migrants when it comes to performance agreements, but does not have a direct role in the fulfilment of those agreements. Individual employers want to get rid of providing employment on the one hand and providing housing on the other hand.

### **1.5.3 Housing related stakeholders**

*Real estate owners* are also stakeholders regarding the housing of CEE migrants. An important part of the need for housing is fulfilled by the private housing sector (Movisie, 2011, p. 5). However, private owners do not have any responsibility in relation to the migrants. They are only obliged to meet the legal requirements imposed on housing such as quality standards and the local housing regulation. *Housing associations*, with their core businesses, may seem not that important for temporary

migrant workers, like the seasonal and circular migrants. The core business of housing associations is managing the social rental sector of the housing market. When housing associations offer services they must meet the standard of the general economic interest. Housing associations play more often a role regarding the migrants who want to stay permanently in the Netherlands. Those migrants fall under the regular housing allocation. However, it is difficult to be eligible for this social rental sector. Migrants who want to stay permanently have to demonstrate that they have a permanent contract and a detectable residential history in the Netherlands (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 70). The seasonal and circular migrants need so-called short stay facilities. The only condition is that one has to be registered in the municipal administration. The construction of those short stay facilities is considered to be a commercial activity and does not meet the standard of the general economic interest. As a result, financial risks regarding the construction of short stay facilities are fully on behalf of the housing association. This is the reason why housing associations are cautious in the creation of short stay facilities (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 71). However, municipalities are expected to make performance agreements with the housing associations regarding the construction of those accommodations. So, there is a discrepancy between the actual role of the housing associations and the expectations of the government about that role.

In summary, the different stakeholders regarding the housing of CEE migrants are: the national government, the provincial government, the municipal government, the employee, employment agencies, individual employers, real estate owners and housing associations.

## **1.6 Examples of policies & instruments**

Policies are made and policy instruments are used in order to cope with the incoming stream of migrants. In this section a general overview of some instruments used and examples of local policy directions. This provides an image and is therefore useful background information for this study. Of course, policies are made at several levels. Regarding to housing there is a distinction between the municipal and provincial level of responsibility. At the municipal level there is an assumed integrated approach between housing, law and order, liveability and integration. At the provincial level there is a so-called provincial 'housing policy' which gives the province an opportunity to stimulate structural forms of housing of migrants (Movisie, 2011, p. 5). Municipalities can use existing national regulations in order to house migrant workers. Several regulations are: 1) Huisvestingswet, 2) Woningwet and Bouwbesluit and 3) Bestemmingsplan.

Through the 'Huisvestingswet', it is possible to steer on the composition of the housing stock and the distribution of housing (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 66). In order to steer, municipalities must have a local housing regulation (huisvestingsverordening). For sub-letting a home, one needs a license from the Board of Mayor & Aldermen. One also needs a license when a house is divided into rooms which in turn are rented to migrant workers. Such a license stimulates the quality of housing, but restricts the quantity of housing. It would be logical, in the case of quantitative insufficient housing, not to require licenses at all. Moreover, a municipality can determine whether they want to have such a development at all. The Huisvestingswet is only applicable when the functional use of a building is destined as 'residential use'. The functional use of buildings and plots can be arranged by a so-called 'bestemmingsplan', which in turn has to be approved by the municipal council. The 'Woningwet' and the 'Bouwbesluit' contain quality standards regarding housing. As mentioned earlier, it is a municipal task to enforce these housing standards. An administrative penalty may be imposed when the Huisvestingswet and Woningwet and Bouwbesluit are violated.

Municipalities are trying to solve the problems regarding the housing of CEE migrants (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 68). Regarding its policy, Rotterdam opts for distribution of migrant workers. In some neighbourhoods, it is not allowed to accommodate more than three migrants per house. Moreover, Rotterdam, together with housing associations, established a method for temporary

housing. Honest employment agents are able to use this method (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 68). Rotterdam also has a covenant with employment agencies in order to realize 1500 new homes for temporary migrant workers. Future policy includes a proactive use of legal instruments. In response to the illegal housing of CEE migrants, the municipality of The Hague eased the regulations regarding the rental of rooms and facilitated temporary housing projects (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 69). In municipalities in rural areas employers are more likely to take care of the housing of migrant workers (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 69). These migrant workers are often seasonal workers. Housing is concentrated on recreational parks, campsites, private owners or at the land of the employer. This way of housing is relatively cheap for both the employee and employer. The Commissie Lessen formulated several recommendations regarding the housing of CEE migrants. Those recommendations should be as far as possible implemented. Provinces and municipalities should jointly develop regional housing policies. Increase the realization of and access to short stay accommodations. Use the surplus regarding the regular housing supply in order to cope with the problems of temporary housing. Develop an adequate certification system for employment agencies who want to house their employees. Decouple the relation between work and housing. Municipalities should intervene actively regarding the housing problem.

On 18 November 2011, the Minister of Social Affairs and Labour responded to the findings of the Commissie Lessen. He announced that the Ministry of Home Affairs and Kingdom Relations is in consultation with eight regions about the supply of temporary accommodations. Moreover, this ministry is in consultation with the umbrella organization for housing associations, Aedes, about the deployment of housing associations. Stakeholders are, as we have seen in the previous section, interdependent for the construction of temporary accommodations. In order to increase the sense of urgency, the Ministry of Home Affairs and Kingdom Relations took the initiative to come to a 'national letter of intent' regarding the housing of migrant workers. By signing this letter of intent, municipalities, employers, employees, housing associations and the national government recognize the problem of housing and underline the importance of the joint approach. This will result in agreements at the local and regional level (Minister van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, 2011, p.12-13). Moreover, the government maintains the obligatory employment permit for migrant workers from Bulgaria and Romania until its final date, 1 January 2014. From then, migrant workers from Bulgaria and Romania are, just like the Polish migrants nowadays, not obliged to have an employment permit.



## 2. Research question

Now that I have outlined the housing of CEE migrants, it is useful to delineate the housing problem, which will be the subject of this study, a little bit more.

### 2.1 Problem definition and research aim

Defining a policy problem offers the possibility to delineate the subject; it is the basis of the thesis. Moreover, it leads to a research aim. A policy problem can be defined as a discrepancy between a standard (i.e. a principle, norm or goal) and the representation of an existing situation or an expected situation (Bekkers, 2007, p. 124). As we have seen in the previous chapter, housing circular migrants is a permanent issue. Regarding the housing of CEE migrants, I notice two common standards, namely 1) stakeholders must take care of a quantitatively and qualitatively adequate supply of (short stay) accommodations and 2) stakeholders should cooperate in order to realize this adequate supply of (short stay) accommodations. We have also seen that the existing situation can be improved. The overall conclusion of the temporary parliamentary committee of inquiry is that there is qualitatively and quantitatively insufficient housing for migrant workers.

I have summarized the causes and (indirect) effects of the housing problem of CEE migrants in the following figure 3. The housing problem has to be considered as the quantitatively and qualitatively insufficient housing for migrant workers. Note that an increased dependency of the employee on the employer can also lead to overcrowding. So, overcrowding is mentioned twice in the figure; as a direct effect and as an indirect effect. It is also noteworthy that the indirect effect of homelessness is also a part of the liveability problem.

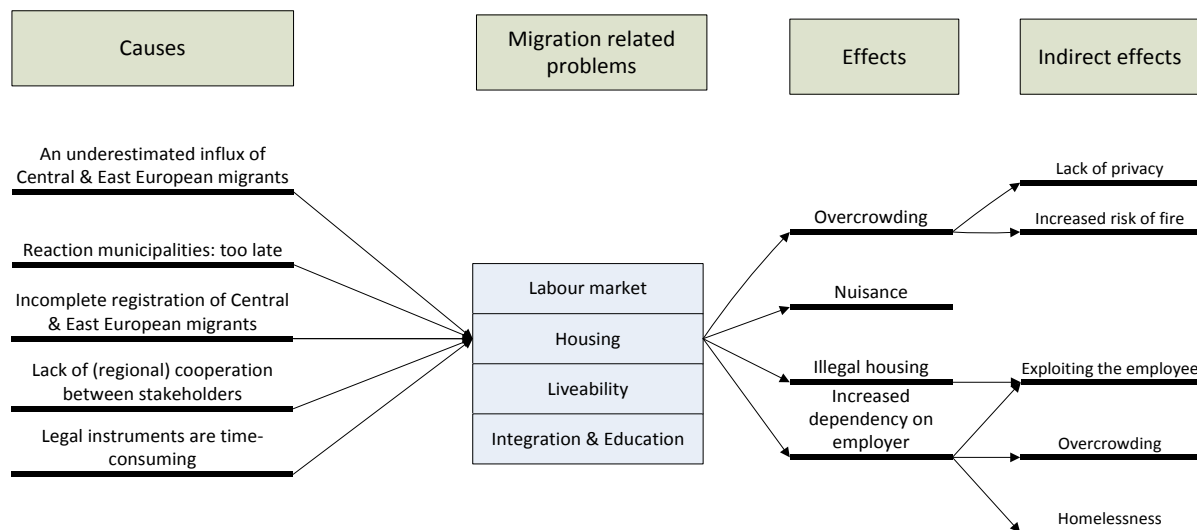


Figure 3: causes and (indirect) effects of the housing problem.

Moreover, there is a lack of (regional) cooperation between different stakeholders. So, there is a discrepancy between on the one hand the standard that local stakeholders have to cooperate in order to realize qualitatively and quantitatively sufficient housing for CEE migrant workers and on the other hand the representation of the existing situation, namely that both cooperation between stakeholders and realization of qualitatively and quantitatively sufficient housing are not always the case. We can speak of a policy problem. However, this discrepancy occurs on a national scale. This does not necessarily mean that this is the case in every municipality. There are examples of good collaboration between municipalities, employers and housing associations regarding the realization

of adequate housing for CEE migrants. According to the Commissie Lessen, the municipality of Horst aan de Maas is one of them. The municipality implemented successfully a policy with the aim of promoting adequate housing for and integration of migrant workers (Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 69). In this sense it is interesting to investigate to what extent the Dutch local policies are successful in addressing the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. And it is interesting to find out to what extent this successfulness is due to differences among those policies and the way in which the local stakeholders successfully cooperate.

CEE migrants are migrants from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania; I consider Malta and Cyprus Southern European countries. In this study I made from the beginning the selection of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian migrants. The reason for this is the negligible share of migrants from other Central or East European countries rather than from Poland, Bulgaria or Romania; based on figure 1 (i.e. official numbers) the influx of migrants from other Central or East European countries in the period 2003-2009 is about 5.000 persons. It is not possible to look at all the Dutch local policies regarding this topic. So, I have to choose for a certain period of time. The choice to look at local policies from 2007 onwards is due to the fact that the employment permit for Polish working migrants is not necessary anymore since 2007. The employment permit for Bulgarian and Romanian working migrants remains required until 2014. The obligation should have an effect on the housing situation of migrants. In the case of an employment permit, there is some kind of control on housing by the social security agency (UWV). Since the employment permit was not necessary anymore for Polish working migrants, the annual influx of those migrants grew rapidly and there is no control on the housing situation by the social security agency. The underestimated annual influx of Poles is an important cause of the housing problem. It is plausible that the obligation of an employment permit makes a distinction between (part of) policies aimed at the housing of Polish migrants on the one hand and (part of) policies aimed at the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants on the other hand. It is utopian to think that all the municipalities do have the same policy goals. Variation in policy goals can also be a consequence of the extent to which municipalities are aware of the housing problem and the extent to which they want and can address the problem. In the next two chapters, more attention will be paid on goal attainment in relation to variation in policy goals. The distinction in (part of) policies also may entail different responsibilities of stakeholders regarding the housing of Polish migrants on the one hand and housing of Bulgarian and Romanian migrants on the other hand.

The aim of this study is to obtain an overview of 1) the Dutch local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants and 2) the network forms used. Moreover, the aim is to examine whether policy goals of the municipalities Steenbergen, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants are attained and to what extent this is due to the content of those policies and the operation of organizational network forms.

## **2.2 Research question**

Based on the problem definition and research aim, the following main research question can be formulated. Note that the selection of the three municipalities, that are included in the main research question, is explained later on.

*To what extent are the policy goals of the municipalities Steenbergen, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants attained and is this a consequence of the content of those policies and the operation of organizational network forms, in the period 2007-2012?*

In this question a dependent and two independent variables can be distinguished. The independent variable can assume different values, but is presumed to cause or determine a dependent variable.

The dependent variable is presumed to be caused by the independent variable(s) (Babbie, 2007, p. 18). The dependent variable in the main research question is the goal attainment of the policy goals of the municipalities of Steenbergen, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. The independent variables are: 1) the content of those policies and 2) the operation of organizational network forms. Note that these independent variables could intertwine to a certain degree; through the use of policies it is possible to anticipate on the different roles and responsibilities of stakeholders. This is the reason to combine these variables in one sub-question. This main research question will be answered on the basis of the following sub-questions:

1. *In what way varies the content of the Dutch local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants from each other?*
2. *In what way are organizational network forms used in relation to those local policies?*
3. *To what extent are policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants in the municipalities Steenbergen, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas attained?*
4. *To what extent is that degree of goal attainment a consequence of the content of those local policies and the operation of the local organizational network forms?*

The first two sub-questions have to be answered in order to get a general overview of the way in which Dutch municipalities give content to their policies and how they organize the implementation of these policies. The first and second sub-questions are going to be answered by a general questionnaire. The third and fourth sub-questions are totally focused on the three cases. These cases are selected on the basis of the outcome of the general questionnaire. For now, these three cases are given: Steenbergen, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas. In the fourth chapter more is explained on the operational part of this study.

### **2.3 Relevance of research**

Geurts (1999, p. 133) makes a distinction between the scientific relevance of research, the social relevance of research and the personal relevance of research. The scientific relevance of research is the usefulness of the research results for the science. In the literature there are various contributions made on the economic effects of the arrival of CEE migrants in Western European countries; the reasons why they came here and for how long the migrants want to stay. However, little is known about the content of local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. This study tries to measure the goal attainment of three local policies and at the same time explain that by the content and organizational network form in order to contribute to the scientific literature. The social relevance is the usefulness of the research results for the client and possibly for the society in general. This study does not have a specific client, but is carried out under the supervision of the School of Management & Governance of the University Twente. At the end of this thesis I formulate some recommendations; these recommendations might be useful in order to enhance the local policies or the organizational network form. This study does not entail a certain personal relevance of research. It is nevertheless an interesting topic which motivated me very much. Moreover, writing this thesis contributed to my personal development.

### **2.4 Outline**

In the next chapter, a theoretical framework is established. This framework, which will consist of a literature study, is the building block of this thesis. The empirical part of this study is described in the chapters 5 up to 9. In chapter 5 the first sub-question will be answered; in chapter 6 the second sub-question. The third and fourth sub-question are answered in three case studies, which can be found in chapter 7, 8 and 9. In chapter 10, a conclusion will be drawn and some remarks are made. In chapter 11, I will formulate some recommendations on the basis of the empirical part of this study.

### **3. Theoretical framework**

In this chapter I will outline the theoretical framework of this study. Theoretical insights are necessary in order to focus on which data to be gathered and they are necessary in order to analyse the data gathered. This will eventually lead to an answer to the main research question. First of all I will elaborate on the concept of circular migrants. This study is about Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants, so we have to know what is said about them in the literature. Secondly, I will discuss the concept of policy evaluation; this study is a policy evaluation study. Therefore, it should be clear which aspects of policy evaluation will be used in order to answer the research question. Moreover, explaining the concept of policy evaluation helps in choosing an adequate research design. I will also lay emphasis on the concept of goal attainment. Goal attainment of local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants is the dependent variable in this study. Thirdly, I will consider some theoretical insights regarding the content of policies. Fourthly, attention will be paid to the organizational form of policies. These independent variables are assumed to have an effect on the goal attainment of local policies.

#### **3.1 Circular migrants**

Movisie (2011, p. 5) distinguishes three types of migrants. The first group are the so-called seasonal migrants; these migrants are working for several months in the Netherlands. The second group are migrants who are staying for a several years in the Netherlands in order to earn money; these are the so-called circular migrants. The third group are migrants who are willing to stay permanently in the Netherlands. In this study the focus will be on the circular migrants. The current situation differs from other 'accession waves' of new European member states. According to Favell (2008, p. 703), the accession of Spain, Portugal and Greece did not lead to floods of new migrants. Instead, there were manageable flows of migrants and high levels of return or circular migration. This smooth connection of new member-states was an inspiration for later enlargements. The current opinion in Brussels most influential policy advocacy is that Europe will only benefit from the East-West migrants. East European migrants, like Poles, Bulgarians and Romanians are not seen as immigrants but as so-called free movers who are engaging in temporary circular and transnational mobility. The economic demand is more likely to determine the flow of migrants rather than the long-term permanent migration (Favell, 2008, p. 703). However, there is a crucial distinction between the free movement of persons and the free movement of workers. The free movement of persons means that one is able to travel across the EU without facing any inside borders. The free movement of workers refers to the concept of one European labour market and the corresponding right to look for a job in other member states and the rights to work and reside there for that purpose. The focus of this study lies on the free movement of workers. In the Netherlands, the free movement of workers is restricted for Bulgarians and Romanians in contrast to Poles. This is already explained in the previous chapter (i.e. employment permit). According to Favell (2008, p. 704), the West European states try to reduce their reliance on non-white, non-European immigrants by the development of a more internal and regional European labour market. The so-called 3D (Dirty, Dangerous and Dull) jobs are fulfilled by the Poles, Romanians and Bulgarians, because their willingness to accept low paid jobs with an associated lower status and because of the ethnical 'similarities' between West and East Europeans. Favell (2008, p. 705-706) conceives the East-West migration in the concept of a new European migration system. It encourages circular and temporary migration trends and does not require long-term settlement or naturalization of migrants. Post-colonial theories regarding to race, multiculturalism and ethnicity are not relevant against the background of the new movements in Europe.

## **3.2 Policy evaluation**

In this section I explain what is meant by goal attainment. Moreover, I explain how goal attainment can be measured. However, it is useful to explain first which place goal attainment takes in the whole discourse of policy evaluation.

### ***3.2.1 Types of policy evaluation***

Policy evaluation can be described as assessing the perceived content, processes, or effects of a policy on the basis of certain criteria (Bressers & Hoogerwerf, 1995, p.22). Later on, they add the organization of a policy to this definition. This is also supported by Arentsen (1995, p. 46): 'in addition to the content, processes, effects of a policy, the organization of a policy can also be the subject of evaluation'. Evaluating a policy usually begins with an analysis of the policy content; the reconstruction of the policy theory from the policy practice is usually an important part of the policy evaluation (Arentsen, 1995, p. 44). A policy theory can be described as 'the total set of assumptions which form the basis of a policy' (Bressers & Hoogerwerf, 1995, p. 28). The statements of policymakers about the policy effects constitute (a part of) a policy theory. In a policy evaluation, focused on the policy effects, some of those assumptions are empirically tested. On contrary, the policy content can also be assessed with a view to the accessibility of it or against the background of ideologies such as the welfare state or the rule of law (Arentsen, 1995, p. 44). Policy processes can be evaluated by looking at the policy preparation, policy formulation or policy implementation. The organization of a policy can also be a subject of evaluation. One examines the extent to which an organization influences the policy. The evaluation of the effects of a policy is a common type of policy evaluation; later more about this. For now, it is important to notice that these four aspects of policy evaluation are interrelated. The content, process and organization of a policy influence the effects of a policy. Bressers (1993, p. 166) argues: 'in principle, each of these three can be evaluated individually, in practice this rarely happens...most of the policy evaluations focus on the effects of a policy. When one is limited to evaluating the policy process, this is usually due to the lack of data on the policy effects'. Moreover, it is noteworthy that policy evaluation is a stage of a policy cycle. According to Bekkers (2007, p. 61), the policy cycle starts with a social problem of which the effects are not desirable. After a successful agenda-setting, policymakers start with the policy preparation. They develop policy proposals that aim to cope with the social problem in question. In the policy formulation phase, the politicians determine which measures have to be taken. Then, a policy should be implemented and enforced. Policy evaluation is the last phase of the policy cycle. The results of the evaluation are intended as input for the agenda-setting.

As mentioned earlier, we look more closely at the evaluation of the policy effects. Regarding the evaluation of the effects of a policy Bressers & Hoogerwerf (1995, p. 24-25) distinguish three types, namely 1) the goal attainment of a policy, 2) the effectiveness of a policy and 3) the efficiency of a policy. Goal attainment is the extent to which certain goals are achieved. In the next section more about goal attainment. The effectiveness of a policy is the extent to which a policy or policy instrument contributes to the attainment of a policy goal; confounding variables reduce the effectiveness of a policy or policy instrument. A policy is efficient when it achieves more benefits with fewer costs. Bressers (1993, p. 172-177) describes a number of these aspects in a 'roadmap' for the evaluation of policy effects. According to the author, the policy and the policy field can be described systematically. This can be done with reference to an impact model or a policy theory. Then, one should examine whether the established criteria are met (goal attainment). Therefore, criteria have to be operationalized and data should be gathered in order to test the criteria. Thereafter, one should determine the effectiveness of a policy. It is worth mentioning that, because of the exclusive position of the government, it is not always difficult to attribute the effects of a policy to the deployment of collective goods and services. The effectiveness is often not clear regarding policies

which are focused on behavioural changes. As mentioned earlier, confounding variables also play a role in the outcome of a specific behaviour. And finally, the effectiveness of a policy should be explained. With the support of so-called instrument theories it is possible to explain the effectiveness of a policy systematically. Thus, policy evaluation is a complex matter. In the following figure I represent the several aspects of policy evaluation and the associated relations.

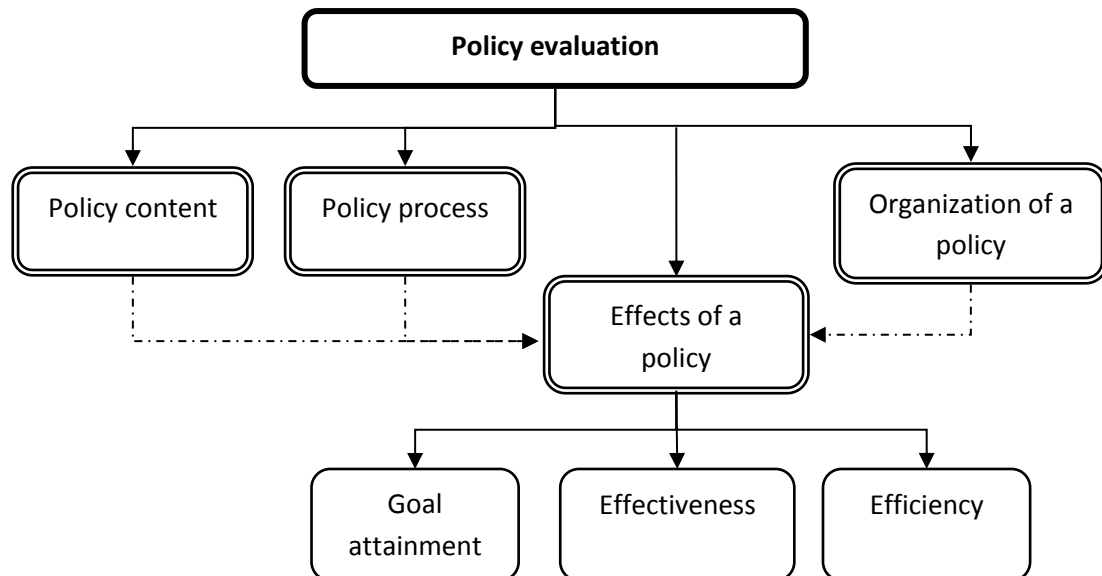


Figure 4: aspects of policy evaluation.

You have to have evaluation criteria in order to evaluate the perceived content, processes, effects or organization. A policy does have an intended aim, so the goals of a policy contain possible criteria for the policy evaluation (Bressers & Hoogerwerf, 1995, p. 23). Evaluation criteria are thus derived from the policy goals. It is also possible to derive evaluation criteria from policy goals of others or from principles and standards. In the case of evaluating policy processes, criteria can be derived from general principles of good governance or the principle of legal equality. Another example, in the case of evaluating the organization of a policy, criteria can be derived from organizational-theoretical insights (Arentsen, 1995, p. 44-46). Let me reflect more in detail on the evaluation criteria which are derived from the policy goals. One must keep in mind that official policy goals not always represent what the policymakers actually want to achieve (Bressers, 1993, p. 168). However, regardless of what the policymakers really want to achieve, the official policy goals continue to shape the legitimacy of a policy in the democratic process. In the case of policy goals which are indirectly influenced by the policy, one can increase the usefulness of those policy goals as evaluation criteria by measuring the effects in intermediate steps. Moreover, some scholars argue for the goal free evaluation method. This method also involves the unintended effects of a policy; they can be positive or negative. However, Bressers (1993, p. 169) argues that a goal free policy evaluation is also not able to assess a policy as a whole. From a scientific point of view it is not acceptable to evaluate something without having a certain standard at all; regardless of having policy goals as evaluation criteria.

### 3.2.2 Goal attainment

In this section I will describe the concept of goal attainment. In order to examine the extent to which the organization of a policy and content of a policy have contributed to the goal attainment, we have to know to what extent the local policy goals are attained. As just described, there is a difference between goal attainment and the effectiveness of a policy. According to Bekkers (2007, p. 301), effectiveness can be described as the extent to which the measures taken and the resources used

actually led to the realization of the intended output (targets) or the intended outcome (results). According to Bressers & Hoogerwerf (1995, p. 24), the degree of goal attainment is the extent to which certain goals have been achieved. Moreover, these authors describe effectiveness as: 'the degree of goal attainment that is due to the corresponding policy'. So, effectiveness assumes a causal relationship between the implemented policy and the outcomes while goal attainment includes the possibility of external factors. The effectiveness of a certain policy can be less than the degree of goal attainment. The other way around, a policy can be very effective even without some degree of goal attainment; it prevents a degradation of a situation that otherwise would have been caused by other external factors (Bressers & Hoogerwerf, 1995, p. 24).

According to Lulofs (1995, p. 70) the most common approach for the determination of goal attainment is the confrontation of the actual situation in the policy field with the official goals. In the previous section I have already said something about that. The determination of goal attainment of official policy goals represents a so-called top-down approach of evaluation. The bottom-up approach regarding the determination of goal attainment implies that there are more sources of evaluation criteria rather than the official policy goals. Both approaches do have their strengths and weaknesses. In the case of a strong top-down approach, one risks a situation whereby goals are not easily measurable and the sense of reality is totally disappeared. A bottom-up approach risks the possibility that no one recognizes himself in the evaluation outcome. According to Lulofs (1995, p. 71-72) it is important that there is a balance between the two approaches. This can be achieved by choosing a stakeholders approach; different inputs regarding the right evaluation criteria converge. As a consequence, there will not be an evaluation from the point of view of only one stakeholder.

Moreover, Lulofs (1995, p. 74-75) points at three aspects that are important in operationalizing the chosen evaluation criteria:

- There must be a strong relationship between the goal attainment criteria and the indicators.
- The evaluation criterion should be as much as possible encompassed by the chosen indicators.
- There should be no intervening factors that change the picture made by the indicator.

In the case of a qualitative research design, it is less necessary to use sharply defined criteria and indicators (Lulofs, 1995, p. 76). However, one must be careful that this has no consequences for the comparability of the units of analysis.

The following aspect of measuring goal attainment is that what one considers to be attained. One can distinguish several variables which can be compared with the situation reached (S). The period in which the policy was executed is called the evaluation period (Lulofs, 1995, p. 81). The following variables are suitable to be compared with the situation reached:

1. The initial situation at the beginning of the evaluation period (U).
2. The intended situation for the end of the evaluation period (B).
3. The intended situation for a later point of time (B').
4. The ideal/perfect situation (B'')

The comparison measurement between the two variables can be expressed in absolute and relative terms. The achieved improvement can be expressed by U-S; the intended improvement is the difference between the intended and achieved situation and can be expressed by B-S. Then, a comparison can be made between the achieved and intended improvement. Of course, it is also possible to calculate a percentage of the intended situation that has been reached. Similar

calculations can be made with the intended situation for a later point of time (B') and the ideal/perfect situation (B'').

Lulofs (1995, p. 81-82) argued that S and U are factual variables and are not normative variables. So, the outcome of the achieved improvement (U-S) is not dependent on the ambition level of the goals set; it is a possible effect of the policy. The variables B, B' and B'' are derived from the level of ambition of the policy. When one wants to examine the effectiveness of a policy, these variables could be less interesting, because a part of the explanation is not due to the factual situation and the influence of the policy on this. As said earlier, because of political reasons the ambition level of the policy goals can be deliberately kept low. So, the normative aspect regarding the goal attainment must be taken into account. Lulofs (1995, p. 83) argued that normative variables are usable only when they are used as a supplement to the factual variables S and U (i.e. U-S). Moreover, the author noticed that it is possible to use data on dichotomous and ordinal measurement level; the degree of goal attainment can be determined if the direction of the change is known.

### **3.3 Content of policies**

First of all, it is useful to reflect on what is written about a 'policy'. A policy can be seen as 'achieving certain goals with certain means and certain time choices' (Bressers & Hoogerwerf, 1995, p. 19). Bressers & Klok (1993) took a closer look at those three aspects of policy and the underlying relationships between those three aspects.

#### **3.3.1 Goals**

A goal can be described as 'a wish that a person or group has decided to achieve' (Bressers & Klok, 1993, p. 53). According to the authors, setting a goal implies that one is trying to achieve this goal. Moreover, official goals are often not a pure representation of the wishes of which it was decided to achieve them. Bressers & Klok (1993, p. 53) explain why this is the case. As a result of insufficient means, goals can be more symbolic than realistic. It can also be the case that goals are set too high, and as a consequence additional means could become available. In order to avoid criticism arising from a lack of goal attainment, one can set very vague goals or one can set goals which can be influenced partially by the applied policy. Moreover, one can set goals which can be conflicting with other goals. Bressers & Klok (1993, p. 54) also make a distinction between certain kind of goals. They lay emphasis on a distinction between internal and external goals on the one hand, and a distinction between singular and permanent goals on the other hand. Internal goals are those goals with an effect on the work environment of the government itself; external goals are goals which are related to a situation outside the government. Singular goals are goals which have the following effect: a policy may be ended when the goals are achieved. Regarding permanent goals, on contrary, an on-going effort is needed in order to continue to meet a certain goal. The authors further note that it is important to specify the goals as much as possible; it helps when determining the goal attainment. Moreover, the level of ambition is closely related to the ease of achieving a goal. Urgency is the term to indicate that priority is given to a certain goal at the expense of another goal (Bressers & Klok, 1993, p. 54-55).

#### **3.3.2 Means**

Means, the second aspect of a policy, can be described as 'that what an actor uses, or can use, in order to foster the attainment of goal(s)' (Bressers & Klok, 1993, p. 55). Policy instruments can be seen as a synonym for means. Bressers & Klok (1993, p. 55-56) make a distinction between direct policy instruments and indirect policy instruments. Direct policy instruments contribute to goal attainment without the intervention of other instruments. These direct instruments are focused on



behavioural changes or the production of certain collective goods and services. Indirect policy instruments are instruments which make it possible to use other instruments.

According to Bekkers (2007, p. 189-190) there is a famous typology of policy instruments derived from Van de Doelen. This typology makes a distinction between three different steering models. The first model is the *legal* steering model; actors are forced to conform to certain norms which are included in legislation and regulation. Rights and duties can be derived from legislations and regulations and sanctions can be imposed. An agreement is an example of a legal policy instrument. The *economic* steering model aims to change the cost-benefit analysis of actors. This means that choice alternatives are influenced positively or negatively, for instance by subsidies and taxes respectively. The *communicative* steering model aims to change the behaviour of actors by changing the information and knowledge base of these actors. Informing, education and advice are communicative policy instruments. Subsequently, per model three dimensions can be distinguished (Bekkers, 2007, p. 190). The first dimension refers to the realization of goals. The question is whether the government take measures itself in order to attain the goals (constituent) or whether the government affects the behaviour of other actors in such a way that those actors contribute to the attainment of a goal which is set by the government (directing). The second dimension refers to the target group to which the instrument is applied. The question is whether the instruments are focused on a specific actor (individual) or on a multitude of actors (general). The third dimension refers to influencing behaviour with the help of policy instrument. The question is whether policy instruments want to stimulate desired behaviour or discourage certain behaviour.

### **3.3.3 Time choices**

Time choices form the third aspect of a policy. Bressers & Klok (1993, p. 56-57) notice three important dimensions; point of time, pace and time sequence. In addition to the attainment of a goal, the point of time at which it is attained is in some cases equally or even more important. Different points of time determine the pace at which the goals have to be attained or policy instruments have to be applied. Differences in points of time do also affect the time sequence of the goal attainment or the application of the policy instruments. This all has to do with the urgency of a certain goal.

### **3.3.4 Final relations**

A policy theory can be defined as the set of assumptions of a certain actor that underlie a particular policy (Bressers & Hoogerwerf, 1995a, p. 61). According to these authors, the failure of many policies – not attaining goals - can be partial explained by the fact that policies are often based on false assumptions. The policy theory consists of three relations (Bressers & Hoogerwerf, 1995a, p. 62):

- Final relations (between goals and means)
- Causal relations (between causes and effects)
- Normative relations (between principles and norms / between existing and expected situations)

Final relations imply causality; a certain mean is expected to contribute to a certain goal. This does not exclude that there are confounding influences that also affect the degree of goal attainment. In order to assess the final relations, one needs to detect the explicit assumptions about the goal – means relations in the statements of policy (decision) makers; in particular it concerns the content of the policy and the argumentation for the policy (Bressers & Hoogerwerf, 1995a, p. 63).

### 3.4 Organizational form of policies

In this section I will elaborate more on the operation of networks by describing the theory of network effectiveness, thereby looking at effective modes of governance (Provan & Kenis, 2008) and effectiveness at the network and participant level (Provan & Milward, 2001).

#### 3.4.1 Policy networks

The policy network approach has gained a prominent place in the discourse of the policy sciences. The government is not the only actor at the top of the society; the problem-solving ability is not only in the hands of the government, but also in the hands of the market, society and citizens. This shift can be termed as the shift from government to governance (Bekkers, 2007, p. 210). The policy network approach is an approach in line with the idea of governance. Networks can be defined as 'more or less stable patterns of social relations between interdependent actors, which take shape around policy problems and/or policy programmes' (Klijn, 1994, p. 16). This definition is supported by Koppenjan, Bruijn & Kickert (1993, p. 19): policy networks are 'patterns of interactions between interdependent actors, which take shape around policy problems and/or policy programmes'. According to Klijn (1994, p. 16) networks exist because of interdependencies between actors; networks consist of a variety of actors each with their own goals; networks consist of relations of a more or less lasting nature between actors. Klijn & Koppenjan (2001, p. 184) complement these theoretical principles. According to these authors, the relations between the network actors are sustainable. The sustainability of the interactions creates an allocation of resources between the actors. Moreover, this interdependency ensures a certain veto power among several actors. The interactions create rules that will regulate the behaviour of actors. And because of the allocation of resources and rule formation, the policy network is closed for actors outside the network. According to Provan et al. (2005, p. 607) the centrality of network members is used to 'assess power in networks based on the control of resources and information'.

The success criterion of a policy network is whether or not a joint problem approach can be established; the failure factor of a policy network is the possibility of blockages caused by a lack of incentives for cooperation (Koppenjan, Bruijn & Kickert, 1993, p. 22). Klijn & Koppenjan (2001, p. 186) argued that the structure of the network can be an explanation for the success and/or failure of policy (i.e. goal attainment). Moreover, Klijn & Koppenjan (2001, p. 189) argued that it is not obvious that there is an evaluation on the basis of the goals of just one actor; the evaluation criterion should take into account the multi-actor character of interaction within the networks and the corresponding dynamics. In addition, Klijn & Koppenjan (2001, p. 190) also argued that it is untenable to assume that the success and failure of a policy can only be measured by the goal attainment of one actor (the government). They propose to use the criterion of 'satisficing' (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2001, p. 191). This means that outcomes, like goal attainment, are assessed by looking at the subjective judgements of all actors individually. These subjective judgements should then be checked against the results attained and related to the interests of the actors involved. Klijn & Koppenjan (2001, p. 191) pretend that they have found the egg of Columbus: satisficing 'solves simultaneously the problems related to the measurability, consideration and dynamics'. I disagree with that; goal attainment is not always easy to measure but that does not instantaneously mean that you have to choose for a bottom-up approach. This risks the possibility that actors do not recognize themselves in the evaluation outcome, in this case of others (given the subjective judgements regarding the outcomes). So, let's have a look at the theory of Provan & Kenis (2008), which focus on network governance and the critical contingency components that are likely to explain governance form effectiveness.

According to Provan & Kenis (2008, p. 230), network effectiveness can be defined 'as the attainment of positive network level-outcomes that could not normally be achieved by individual organizational participants acting independently'. As stated earlier, different stakeholders (related to the housing of

Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants) have to take care of a quantitatively and qualitatively sufficient housing and stakeholders should cooperate in order to realize this. Within this network, focused on the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants, interactions among participants are logical. However, a form of network governance is needed to ensure that something in common is attained. The governance of networks 'involves the use of institutions, structures of authority and collaboration to allocate resources and to coordinate and control joint action across the network as a whole' (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 231). Governance of networks is critical for effectiveness. Provan & Kenis (2008, p. 231) sharpen the definition of a network and assume that a network consists of three or more legally autonomous organizations that work together to attain, in addition to their own goals, a collective goal. In their study, the authors consider a network as a variable, they examine different network governance configurations and the conditions for the effectiveness of each form (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 232). With reference to the authors I will first explain three basic forms/modes of network governance. In the subsequent section, I will explain four contingency conditions that are likely to affect the successful adoption of each governance form. In addition, the use of a certain governance form over another does have its effect on network effectiveness.

### ***3.4.2 Modes of network governance***

Networks can be categorized along two dimensions (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 233). This first dimension is whether network governance is brokered or not. On the one hand, a network is governed completely by all the organizations of the network; it is called shared governance. On the other hand, a network can be highly brokered. There are a few interactions between organizations. This means that network governance occurs by one single, highly centralized, organization. This lead organization does have interactions with other network members regarding issues of network maintenance. The second dimension is whether a network is participant governed or externally governed. Participant-governed networks are governed by the network members themselves (shared governance) or by a single network member (lead organization). Externally governed networks are governed by an unique network administrative organization (NAO). Thus, these two distinctions lead to a typology of three forms of network governance (see figure 5). Below I will explain these three forms more in detail.

#### *Shared governance networks*

This type of network is governed by all the network members; it depends even on the involvement and commitment of all. Network members are themselves responsible for managing the internal and external network relations. Shared governance networks are common in human and health services, because they are an important way to build community capacity. Network members are only committed to the goals of the network when all network members are participating. Power in the network is more or less symmetrical distributed. Moreover, the network acts collectively and the network is not represented by one single entity (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 234-235).

#### *Lead organization networks*

This type of network is not governed by all the network members; one organization plays a lead role. In business, lead organizations are those organizations that are big in vertical buyer-supplier relationships. For instance, there are several suppliers; one of them is very powerful and is considered to be the lead organization. In horizontal multilateral networks, the organization that has enough resources and legitimacy plays a lead role. In the case of the presence of a lead organization, network governance becomes brokered and highly centralized; power is distributed asymmetrical. Moreover, a lead organization takes care of the network administration. It also facilitates the activities of network members in order to attain the network goals. These network goals are often closely related to the goals of the lead organization. Costs of network administration are covered by the lead organization itself; by resource contributions from network members or by grants or

government funding. The role of a lead organization may emerge from a mandate given by an external funding source or may emerge from the network members themselves (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 235-236).

*Network Administrative Organization*

This type of network governance embraces the idea of separate administrative entity that governs the network and its activities. The network administrative organization (NAO) is a network broker that coordinates and sustains the network; in contrast to a lead organization, it is not a member organization for the purpose of providing its own services. The NAO is established through a mandate or by the network members themselves for the exclusive purpose of network governance. The NAO can be a non-profit or a government entity, which is often the case when the members are all for-profit organizations. The NAO can be a formal or informal. An informal NAO is often an individual that may be called the network broker or facilitator. A formal NAO does have an executive, a board and staff and is established in order to enhance the network legitimacy; to deal with complex problems and to cope with the complexity of a shared governance network. In the case of a board structure, all network members are included in the board. A NAO as a government entity is often created in order to ensure that network goals are met (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p.236).

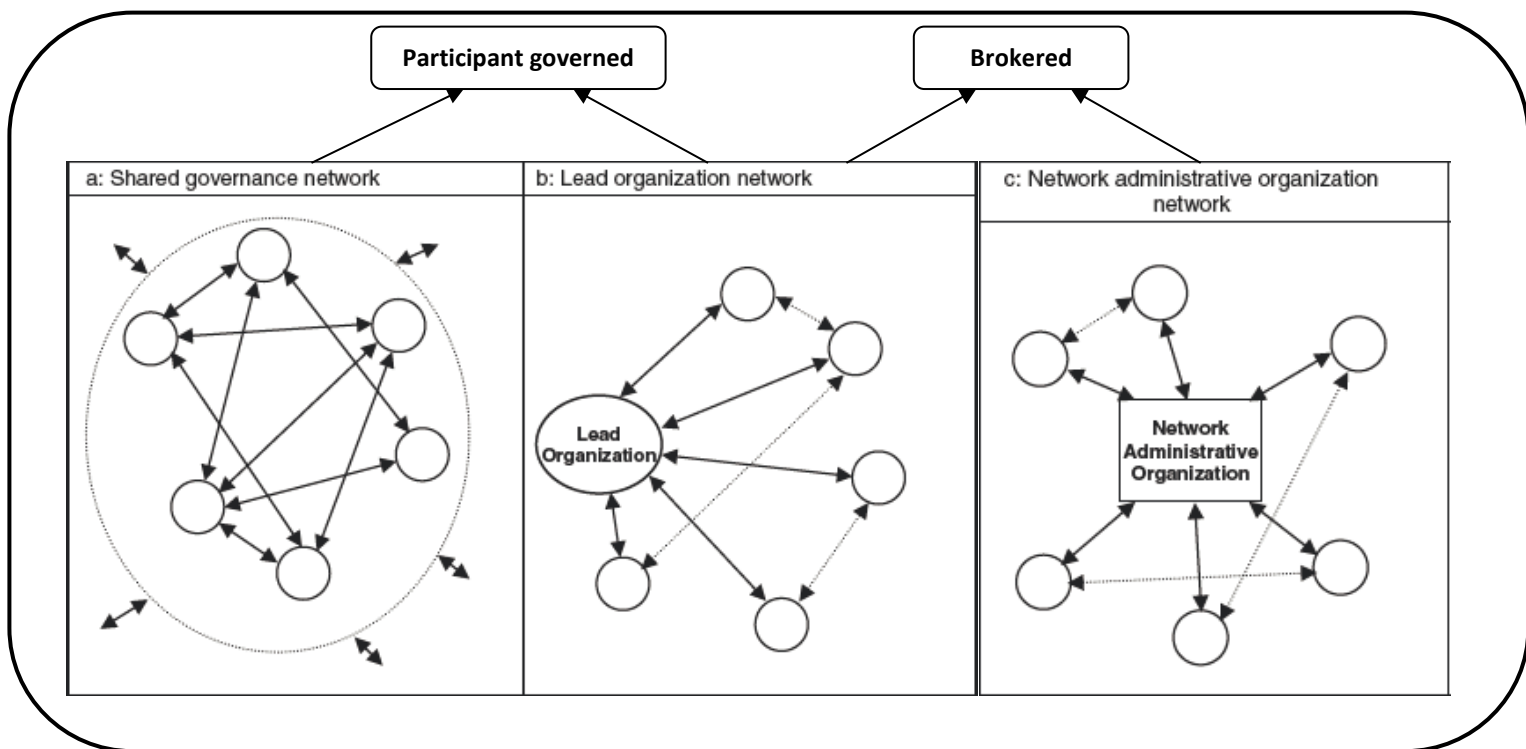


Figure 5: three types of network governance

**3.4.3 Explaining effective modes of network governance.**

According to Provan & Kenis (2008, p.236), certain critical contingencies are decisive whether or not a particular form of network governance is likely to be effective. Trust, size (number of participants), goal consensus and the nature of the task (network-level competencies) are the four contingencies that should lead to a successful adoption of a certain form of network governance (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 237). It is noteworthy that the authors do not claim that these contingencies are the only contingencies that are relevant. However, they argued that these contingencies are the most important factors that can explain the variance in the choice of one governance form over another.

### *Trust*

Trust is the 'the willingness to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations about another's intentions or behaviors' (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 237). In order to understand network interactions, the distribution of trust is critical. Trust density means that many network members trust one another within the network, thereby providing a dense web of trust-based ties. We can speak of a high density of trust relations when trust is widely distributed across network members. A low density of trust relations occurs when trust is narrowly distributed; between two network members or within certain cliques (i.e. subgroups of three or more fully interconnected organizations). Network governance must be consistent with the general level of trust density that occurs across the network as a whole. A shared governance network is not effective when there is a low density of trust relations since there is no basis for collaboration. In the case of a lead organization network, the trust relations have to be only present between the lead organization and the network member (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 237-238).

### *Number of participants*

As the number of participants in a network increases, the number of potential relationships between network members increases exponentially. Thus, governability becomes complex. Shared governance is in this sense only effective when the number of participants is not that high. In the case of many network participants, shared governance becomes an ineffective form of network governance because participants are spending a lot of time on coordinating organizations. A solution to this problem is to centralize the network governance activities around a network broker, like a lead organization or a NAO. The network members do not have to spend their time anymore on the coordination of network-level activities. There is no exact number of participants that is likely to be sufficient for each form of network governance. Shared governance forms are most likely to be effective with fewer than six to eight network members. The NAO is likely to be most effective in the case of many network participants (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 238-239).

### *Goal consensus*

Goal consensus is about the extent to which network members agree on (network) goals. Goal consensus and domain similarity lead to better performance of network members than when there is a conflict about these issues. However, network members form relationships for many reasons. In the case of goal-directed networks, as discussed by the authors, not only goals of network members themselves but also goals at the network-level guide organizational action. Network goals can be result-oriented, but also process-oriented. When there is consensus about the network goals, network members are more likely to be involved and committed to the network and more likely to work together. It must be mentioned that high goal consensus can be an advantage, but networks can still be effective with moderate levels of goal consensus. So, it depends on the way how networks are governed. Shared governance is likely to be effective when participants can generally agree on network-level goals. At intermediate levels of goal consensus a NAO or lead organization network is likely to be more appropriate. A lead organization is suitable when there is moderately low goal consensus among the network members. A NAO is suitable when there is moderately high goal consensus among the network members. This difference is due to the specific nature of a NAO; a NAO requires more involvement of network members than a lead organization does (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 239-240).

### *Need for network-level competencies*

Network organizations want to attain goals which they could not attain independently. An important aspect of this is the attainment of competencies in order to achieve network-level goals. Two issues play an important role in this. First, the nature of tasks being performed by network members. Second, the external demands and needs which are related to the network. If a network's task requires interdependence among network members, then the need for network-level skills will be

great. This means that ‘shared governance will be less likely to be an effective governance form when interdependent task requirements are high, since demands will be placed on individual network members for skills they may not possess, like conflict resolution’. On contrary, a lead organization or a NAO are more able to develop skills which are related to network-level needs. Various demands require different degrees of network level competencies; protecting the network from environmental shocks, such as a shift in funding, is one of them. In such a case, centralized action can be desirable and can even create more legitimacy. A shared governance network cannot deal with this. A NAO or lead organization is better in undertaking centralized action. However, a lead organization may have its own set of skills that do not precisely match the collective needs of the network members (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 240-241).

This results in four propositions about the relationships (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 241):

1. ‘The greater the inconsistency between critical contingency factors and a particular governance form, the less likely that that particular form will be effective, leading either to overall network ineffectiveness, dissolution, or change in governance form.
2. Shared network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is widely shared among network participants, when there are relatively few network participants, when network-level goal consensus is high and when the need for network-level competencies is low.
3. Lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared among network participants, when there are relatively moderate number of network participants, when network-level goal consensus is moderately low, and when the need for network-level competencies is moderate.
4. A NAO network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is moderately to widely shared among network participants, when there are a moderate number to many network participants, when network-level goal consensus is moderately high, and when need for network-level competencies is high’.

These relations are summarized by Provan & Kenis (2008, p. 237) in the following table 1.

*Table 1: key predictors of effectiveness of network governance forms*

Governance Forms	Trust	Number of Participants	Goal Consensus	Need for Network-Level Competencies
Shared governance	High density	Few	High	Low
Lead organization	Low density, highly centralized	Moderate number	Moderately low	Moderate
Network administrative organization	Moderate density, NAO monitored by members	Moderate to many	Moderately high	High

Provan & Kenis (2008, p. 242-245) do also explain three basic network-level tensions that are related to the effectiveness of a network. The management of these tensions is critical for the network effectiveness. Networks face a tension between the need for administrative efficiency and the need to include as much as possible actors in decision making. Shared governance networks are more likely to focus on the inclusiveness of actors, while lead organizations focus on administrative efficiency. A NAO is more balanced, but focuses more on efficiency. Networks face a tension between the need for internal legitimacy in order to cooperate and external legitimacy in order to impress the external funder, for instance. Shared governance networks are better in addressing internal legitimacy; lead organizations are better in addressing external legitimacy. A NAO can deal

with both. Lastly, networks face a tension between the need for flexibility in order to compete and the need for stability in order to maximize outcomes. It is up to the network management to recognize these tensions in each governance form and to solve them if necessary.

In summary, the main contention of Provan & Kenis (2008, p. 247) is that 'when focusing on collectively generated, network-level outcomes, the form of network governance adopted and the management of tensions related to that form are critical for explaining network effectiveness'.

#### ***3.4.4 Effectiveness at three levels***

Provan & Milward propose a framework for network evaluation. According to Provan & Milward (2001, p. 416) the evaluation of network effectiveness can be viewed at three levels of analysis: the community level; the network level and the organization/participant level. Within this framework the authors identify criteria per level of analysis which are indicators of network effectiveness at that specific level. Network effectiveness is based on interactions across all three levels of analysis; network effectiveness at one level does not ensure effectiveness at the other two levels (Provan & Milward, 2001, p. 421).

##### **The community level**

Network effectiveness at the community level is about the contribution a network makes to the community it is trying to serve (Provan & Milward, 2001, p. 416). In this sense, a community can be defined as a local area that is served by a network. Network effectiveness at the community level has to be evaluated by assessing the aggregate outcomes for the target group being served by the network on the one hand and assessing the total costs of the service for that target group within a given community on the other hand. In other words, 'a network must satisfy the needs and expectations of those groups within the community that have both a direct and indirect interest in seeing that client needs are adequately met' (Provan & Milward, 2001, p. 417). Note that instead of client needs in terms of health we talk about the needs of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants regarding their housing. In this study the degree of network effectiveness at the community level can be expressed by the degree of goal attainment of local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. The contribution the local networks should make is resolving the problem of qualitatively and quantitatively insufficient housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants.

##### **The network level**

Effectiveness at the network level is about the effectiveness of a network as an organizational form. According to Provan & Milward (2001, p. 418-419) there are several effectiveness criteria regarding the network level: network membership growth; the range of actual services provided; the absence of service duplication; strength of relations (multiplexity); the creation and maintenance of a NAO; integration and coordination of services; costs of network maintenance and member commitment to network goals. It is useful to explain those criteria which are relevant for this study and those who are not. Some of these criteria are also covered by the theory of Provan & Kenis (2008). In the early growth of a network it is important that a network attract and retain network members. An effective network will maintain a limited core of network members that provide critical services; 'after surpassing a certain size, any network will become less effective because of increasing coordination costs, especially in the absence of a NAO' (Provan & Milward, 2001, p. 418). However the number of network participant is already covered by the theory of Provan & Kenis. Provan & Milward (2001, p. 418) argued that 'a broad range of services can collectively address the full needs of clients' and that network effectiveness can be assessed by 'the extent to which services that are actually needed by clients are provided by the network'. Service duplication is not desirable. Network level effectiveness can be measured by looking at the strength of relations between network members. A network is more effective when the relations between network members are strong. At the beginning of

network formation the ties between the members are cautious, because the members test each other's commitment and reliability. According to Provan & Milward (2001, p. 419), network members face a period of 'transitional commitment as they move from informal, casual, and easily broken ties to relationships that are either formalized or ones that are less formal but based on trust and commitment built on a history of interactions'. Multiplexity refers to the strength of ties between network agencies (Provan & Milward, 2001, p. 419). Two organizations have multiplex ties if they maintain more than one connection. This is for example the case when two organizations, like the Public Prosecution and the police, cooperate on two different programmes. So, they have two ties. If they decide not to cooperate anymore on one program, they still have one tie left. Effective networks might have a majority of members 'connected through two or three different types of programmes as well as through general information sharing and friendship' (Provan & Milward, 2001, p. 419). According to Provan et al. (2005, p. 608) the strength of ties can be measured in two ways, through link confirmation and through the just mentioned multiplexity.

According to Provan & Milward (2001, p. 419), the presence of a NAO is not critical for network success, but it indicates that a network is 'viable'. Moreover, it does have its advantage in the case of large networks. As a consequence of the absence of a NAO the network is likely to produce weak network outcomes. Also in this case, the theory of Provan & Kenis is more comprehensive; it takes also into account other modes of network governance, like shared governance and lead organizations. Moreover, the networks regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants consist not only of full publicly funded organizations/participants. So, the role of NAO, broker or core agency regarding the distribution of funds is not at stake. The costs of network maintenance are explained at the organization/participant level. Member commitment to network goals refers to the degree in which network members want to invest in the attainment of those goals. This is significantly something different than goal consensus. Goal consensus is reached when every network member agrees with the network goals. But an agreement on goals is something different than taking action in order to attain those goals. 'A non-NAO network requires more commitment to network goals and cooperation by network members' (Provan & Milward, 2001, p. 419).

### **The organization/participant level**

It is important to recognize that individual network members are always partial motivated by self-interest. Also in this study, there are stakeholders that do only have self-interest. Effectiveness at the organization/participant level is about the benefits a network member can get from network involvement (Provan & Milward, 2001, p. 420). The key question regarding this level is: how can network involvement benefit my organization (Provan & Milward, 2001, p. 420)? Here, a distinction is made between four effectiveness criteria: client outcome, legitimacy, resource acquisition and costs. Network members join a network in order to enhance their legitimacy in the community. Becoming part of a network can lead to more status for and acceptability of the network member. Such a member could acquire this level of status and acceptability on its own only after many years of efforts (Provan & Milward, 2001, p. 420). General fundraising can be done far more efficiently and effectively when it is centralized through a network than if network members individually attempted to raise funds on their own (Provan & Kenis, 2001, p. 420). Moreover, a network can also lead to multiplier effects regarding to the funding of its activities and services. Benefits of network membership are most apparent to smaller network members. However, these smaller network members do also face the greatest costs. Large network members get less out of network involvement, but their costs are likely to be lower. Network membership makes sense only when the benefits in the form of increased legitimacy and more resources are considered relative to the costs. The client outcome is about the integration of services. In general, it is attractive for agencies to join a network in the case that leads to a better service level for their clients through the integrated services provided by the network members. Moreover, agencies want to join a network when they can offer their services more efficiently and effectively (Provan & Milward, 2001, p. 420).



### 3.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, the concept of circular migrants and different types of policy evaluation are explained. This study examines the policy effects (i.e. goal attainment), but the content of a policy and the organizational form of policy are also involved. Both can give explanations why a policy is, in terms of goal attainment, successful or not. Goal attainment can be measured in different ways, so in the operationalization a choice has to be made. Regarding the organizational form of policy, I described the theory of network governance, thereby looking at the impact of modes of governance on network effectiveness (Provan & Kenis, 2008) and I described, in the context of network evaluation, effectiveness at three levels of analysis, namely: the community, the network and participant level with reference to Provan & Milward (2001). In the following table 2 you can find a summary of the theory of Provan & Milward (2001) applied to the research question of this thesis. In this study the degree of network effectiveness at the community level can be expressed by the degree of goal attainment of local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants instead of client needs in terms of health.

*Table 2: summary of the Provan & Milward (2001) framework for network evaluation applied to the research question of this thesis.*

<b>Effectiveness</b>	<b>Measurement</b>	<b>Applicable indicators</b>
Community level	The contribution a network makes to the community it is trying to serve.	The degree of goal attainment of local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants.
Network level	The effectiveness of a network as an organizational form.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The extent to which services that are actually needed by clients are provided by the network.</li> <li>- The absence of service duplication.</li> <li>- The strength of relations between network members.</li> <li>- The degree in which network members want to invest in the attainment of those goals.</li> </ul>
Organization/participant level	The benefits a network member can get from network involvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- More status for and acceptability of the network member / enhanced legitimacy in the community.</li> <li>- Benefits from general fundraising.</li> <li>- Costs of network involvement.</li> <li>- Better service level in a more efficient and effective way through the integration of services.</li> </ul>

All these theoretical insights have to be operationalized. This will be done in the next chapter. Figure 6 illustrates the theoretical model which can be derived from all the theoretical insights described in this chapter. Note that the arrows in the figure represent explanations. So, the effectiveness at the

network level is explained by the effectiveness at the participant level and the contingency factors as mentioned by Provan & Kenis (2008). Those authors outlined four critical contingency factors that are likely to explain governance form effectiveness. Effectiveness at the community level, of which is determined that this is expressed by the degree of goal attainment of local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants, is explained by the policy content on one hand and the effectiveness at the network level on the other hand. Note that in the following figure, effectiveness at the network level is a combination of the indicators mentioned by Provan & Milward (2001) and the effectiveness of the mode of network governance (Provan & Kenis, 2008).

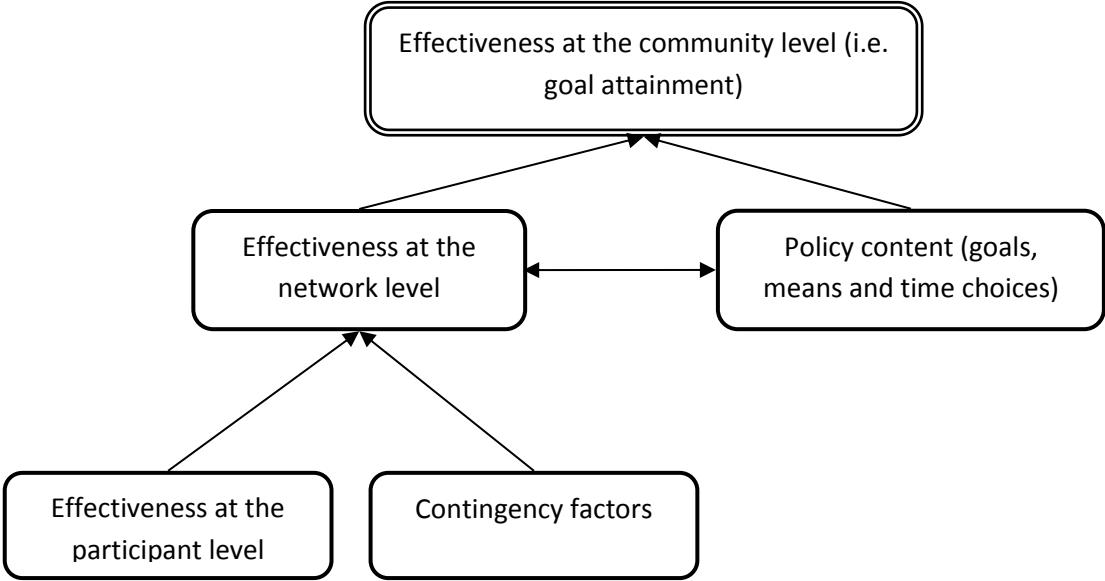


Figure 6: theoretical model

## 4. Methodology

In this chapter, the methodological aspect of this study will be explained. This is about the way in which the research questions are going to be answered. Moreover, this chapter has the function of justifying the corresponding choices. First of all, the research design will be explained. Then, the way in which the data will be collected is determined. Attention is also paid to the way in which the data are going to be analysed. Thereafter, the concepts from the previous chapter will be operationalized. This results in a survey and in a structured questionnaire for the purpose of interviews. In the last section, a few words on the threats of the methods and techniques chosen.

### 4.1 Research design

Babbie (2007, p. 87-90) distinguishes three purposes of research: exploration, description and explanation. In explorative studies one tries to understand a specific new phenomenon. It also tests the feasibility of undertaking a more extensive study. A descriptive study focuses more on the description of situations and events. Such a study is about answering questions like what a specific situation is and where, when and how a specific situation occurred. Explanatory studies look beyond this kind of questions and focuses on why a specific situation occurred. For instance, it tries to explain certain kinds of behaviour or choices made by a government. This study contains a mix of descriptive and explanatory questions. Moreover, it also has a certain explorative character, because there is no scientific information on meta-level about the content and organization of policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. It should be also determined who or what is being studied; these are the unit of analysis (Babbie, 2007, p. 94); units of observations are the units upon which one collects or analyses data. Individuals are the most common units of analysis. In this study the units of analysis are the local policies; these can be denoted as social interactions. However, the local policies are not the only ones that are observed. The units of observations are the local policies themselves, but also the network members. Regarding the time dimension, this study is cross-sectional by nature; the observations will represent one single point of time (Babbie, 2007, p. 102). This study focuses on the content of policies (with corresponding goals) and the organizational form of these policies. In order to understand why a certain degree of goal attainment is achieved, I have to look beyond the quantitative numbers (if there are any). Policy documents and modes of network governance are not sufficiently suitable for quantitative analysis. However, the survey results can be analysed quantitatively. This study predominantly requires qualitative research methods. Moreover, this study focuses on the one hand on a general picture regarding the content of local policies and how policies are organized (i.e. sub-questions 1 and 2). On the other hand, I will look in-depth at three cases in order to determine the contribution of the content of a policy and/or organizational form to the goal attainment of this very policy (i.e. sub-questions 3 and 4). It is also worth mentioning that this study will not experimentally test relationships between variables through pre- and post-testing in experimental or control groups. So, I conclude that the design of this study is a mixture of survey research and a multiple case study (see figure 7).

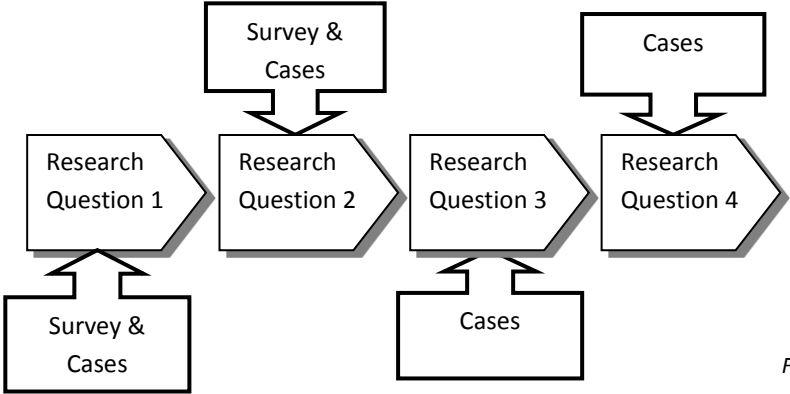


Figure 7: Research design

## **4.2 Data collection**

The national government does have a taskforce ('praktijkteam') in order to facilitate the network of municipalities for data exchange, as mentioned in the first chapter, and to facilitate municipalities individually. This taskforce does have the contacts with the municipalities that are involved in this network and they provided me the contact details of those municipalities. It is noteworthy that the municipalities within the network for data exchange are expected to recognize the problems regarding the housing and integration of CEE working migrants. All these municipalities received the survey and were kindly asked to fill in this survey. Among the respondents, a selection is made in order to study more in depth; the multiple case study. This means that data collection will take place on voluntary basis. It also means that there will be no data collection from municipalities (and cases) which are not associated with this nationwide network of data exchange regarding CEE migrants. In this section, the data collection methods used in this study are explained. I also included an explanation of the way in which the three cases were selected.

### **4.2.1 Survey**

According to Babbie (2007, p. 245) surveys include the use of a questionnaire. A questionnaire may consist of open-ended questions and close-ended questions. Open-ended questions might be useful in order to get in-depth information. Close-ended questions have to aim to make a selection between answers. Moreover, close-ended questions provide a greater uniformity of responses and are more easily processed than open-ended questions. Close-ended questions can simple mean that an answer has to be given, like 'yes' or 'no'. However, it is also possible to design the close-ended questions in such a way so that the respondent can make a nuance in his answer. The questionnaire I designed contains only close-ended questions. It also makes use of the so-called Likert scale (Babbie, 2007, p. 170-171) which improves the levels of measurement through the use of standardized response categories in order to determine the relative intensity of different items. An example: answering propositions with a range of strongly agree to strongly disagree. Babbie (2007, p.245-257) also gives useful tips for the construction of questionnaires, like avoiding ambiguities, double-barrelled questions, negative items and biased items. I tried to integrate these tips as much as possible. The survey was designed using the Institute for Innovation and Governance Studies (IGS) Datalab. This Datalab 'offers researchers and students of the University of Twente the soft and hardware to collect data through online surveys on its own secure server' ("[IGS Datalab Survey Server]," n.d.).

The online survey was sent to all the 69 municipalities which are connected to the network for data exchange regarding CEE migrants. This survey aims to get a general answer to the first and second sub-question of this study. That is the reason why I chose for close-ended questions; follow-up questions are to be asked in the interviews or are answered by the use of documents. Moreover, the survey aims to ask questions that will lead to a selection of municipalities (and corresponding networks) for further examination. In annex II you can find the table stating for which variables, the survey, as data collection method, is used. In annex III you can find the survey questionnaire and in annex IV the table with detailed survey response. 39 out of the 69 municipalities responded, which means that the response rate is 56.52%. According to Babbie (2007, p. 262) a response rate of 50 percent is adequate for analysis and reporting; a response rate of 60 percent is good. So, 56.52% is a fine response rate.

### **4.2.2 Case selection**

The cases are necessary in order to determine the contribution of both the content of a policy and organizational network form to the goal attainment of this very policy. After the general answers to the first and second sub-question of this study, there will be specific answers to these sub-questions

based on the cases; this will become clear in chapter five. It is useful to say something about the way in which the cases were selected. Of course, it does not fit within the scope of this research to analyse all the cases in which there is some kind of policy regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. I am looking for cases where the government indicates that there is a network; so there should be more or less stable patterns of social relations between interdependent actors, which take shape around the policy problem of housing Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; and where the government indicates that there is a policy which is mature. These are the independent variables in this study; they have to be reflected in the cases. It is also possible to select cases in which no use is made of networks and policies. Then for example, the study tries to point at the effects of using a network or not. However, this is not consistent with the research aim of this study. Cases without mature policies or networks are excluded, because the rationale of this study is that characteristics of local policies and networks do matter. Moreover, it would be desirable if a case can be selected that does have a policy with parts aimed at the housing of Polish circular migrants on the one hand and parts aimed at Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand. So, in the following table 3 you can find the selection criteria for cases which are eligible for selection.

*Table 3: minimum selection criteria*

<b>Selection criteria</b>	<i>Leading to eligibility for selection ↓</i>	<i>Leading to exclusion before selection ↓</i>
Willingness of municipalities to participate in the case study?	Yes	No
Willingness of municipalities to provide contact details of other network members?	Yes	No
Presence of goals?	Yes	No
Goals laid down in policy documents?	Yes	No
Use of means?	Yes	No
Cooperation with organizations or individuals?	Yes	No
A certain kind of maturity regarding its policy.	Goals set ≤ 2010	Goals set ≥ 2011

These criteria form the bottom-line for selection, because otherwise the research questions cannot be answered properly. In order to measure goal attainment, it is fair that a policy has had a chance to prove itself; maturity refers to this. Time choices regarding goals and means could be important for explaining why certain goals are attained or not. However, they are not that important that they should form a selection criterion. It is also important that municipalities are willing to participate in the case study; thereby providing the required policy documents. And that these municipalities are willing to provide the contact details of other network members. Otherwise, conducting in-depth research would be very difficult. In the survey, questions regarding these criteria are asked. After the selection of cases on the basis of the just mentioned criteria, I selected cases based on controlled variation. So, then I prefer to select cases 1) where there is a distinction between parts of policies aimed at the housing of Polish circular migrants and parts aimed at the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants and 2) where there is a distinction modes of network governance. With regard to this study random sampling does not make sense. It should be avoided that cases are selected which are not relevant for answering the research questions.

The following municipalities met the just mentioned criteria: Bladel, Horst aan de Maas, Peel en Maas, Roosendaal, Steenbergen and Den Haag (The Hague). Within those six municipalities I looked for variation on modes of network governance and distinction between target groups (Poles vs.

Bulgarians and Romanians). Because there is also a limit to the scope of this study in terms of time, I have to limit myself to 3 cases. This led to the selection of Steenberg, Peel en Maas and Horst aan de Maas. Of those six municipalities, only the municipality of Steenberg indicates that the network is governed by a lead organization. The municipalities Peel en Maas and Horst aan de Maas indicate that there is a certain degree of distinction between goals and/or means aimed at the housing of Poles on the one hand and goals and/or means aimed at the housing of Bulgarians and Romanians on the other hand. However, after some inquiries I came to the conclusion that Horst aan de Maas and Peel en Maas do nearly have the same policies due to a regional approach. So, Bladel is additionally selected. Geographic and demographic data about the municipalities selected are described in chapters 7, 8 and 9.

#### **4.2.3 Documents**

The cases are already selected. All the relevant documents regarding the housing policy of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants have to be analysed in order to describe the cases and to prepare the interviews of all relevant network members. It is expected that the relevant documents will correspond to the characteristics of a policy, namely: goals, means and time choices. For instance, official policy goals can logically be found in policy documents like framework constituent memos (approved by city councils). The documents are used for the first, second and maybe the third sub-question. Regarding the first two sub-questions, the documents serve the purpose of giving a specific answer to those two questions per case, next to the general answers which are derived from the survey results. Regarding the third sub-question of this study, the documents could reveal the goal attainment per case in terms of the initial situation at the beginning of the evaluation period (the period in which the policy was executed) and the situation reached at that moment; complementary information will be derived from the interviews. In annex II you can find the table stating for which variables, documents, as data collection method, are used. All the relevant documents are requested by e-mail. In annex V you can find the relevant documents per case.

#### **4.2.4 Interviews**

According to Babbie (2007, p. 264), interviews are situations in which one person (an interviewer) asks questions of another (respondent). The presence of interviewers in the data-collection process must have no effect on the responses given to the questionnaire items. Interviews make it possible to ask questions that cannot be easily incorporated in survey questionnaires. Interviews also allow the interviewer to ask follow-up questions in the case that an answer is not clear or in the case that an answer does have a social desirable component. In this study, interviews are used in order to confirm the information I found in the documents and to complement the answers given on the first three sub-questions of this study. Note that this part focuses on municipalities only. Most of the interviews are focused on non-governmental network members. So, the interviews are largely dedicated to the fourth sub-question, which tries to explain goal attainment by measuring characteristics of networks; the contingency factors that are important for an effective mode of governance (Provan & Kenis, 2008); criteria of network effectiveness at the three levels (Provan & Milward, 2001). Some questions do have the opportunity to be answered on the basis of a four point Likert scale in order to generate comparable results.

In order to generate comparable data, the interviews are structured. The structured interviews are held with representatives of municipalities and other network members. So, there are two types of interviews. The interviews held with municipalities are a little bit more extensive than the interviews held with other network members, because municipalities are also asked questions that are related to the first three sub-questions of this study. In annex II you can find the table stating for which variables, interviews, as data collection method, are used. In annex VI you can find the structured questionnaires for the purpose of interviewing. Eventually, I interviewed three municipalities and

eleven network members (i.e. those organizations of which the municipal respondents said that they collaborated with those organizations regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants). Two organizations refused to be interviewed: housing association De Zaligheden (case Bladel) did not have time; village council Nieuw-Vossemeer (case Steenberg) does not recognize the municipality of Steenberg as a partner nor does it have a formal opinion about the housing of working migrants. In annex VII you can find a table stating which organizations per case were interviewed, the date of the interviews, the length of the interviews and the location. All the interviews were, with permission of the interviewees, recorded with my iPhone. Transcripts were made out of the audio records and sent to the interviewees for adjustments and approval. Seven out of the fourteen interviewees responded and six made some minor adjustments in the transcripts by means of the Word-function 'track changes'; I approved all the proposed changes since they did not affect the meaning of the answers given to the interview questions. I assume that the other seven interviewees agreed upon the transcripts.

### **4.3 Data analysis**

In this section, I will describe the way in which the data collected are analysed. The data which are collected are largely going to be analysed qualitatively. However, the survey aims to provide the general answers to the descriptive sub-questions of this study. So, the data derived from the survey can be analysed on a quantitative way; for example describing how many municipalities do actually have a policy network around the problem of housing Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Moreover, on the basis of the survey results it is possible to provide insight into relationships between some variables. A way to do that is by means of the Chi Square tests (Babbie, 2007, p. 466). The Chi Square test is a measure of the difference between the observed cell frequencies and the expected cell frequencies. For instance, it is possible to test the significance of a relationship between having goals and using means. However, it is more useful to describe the observed cell frequencies than testing a relationship. Some expectations regarding the variables can be formulated. Then, it is possible to look how many respondents answered in line with the expectations. An example: it is plausible that a municipality with policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants also takes measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; a municipality that does not have policy goals is expected not to take measures. Final relations (between goals and means) could only be present in those municipalities that indicate to have policy goals and to take measures.

Babbie (2007, p. 378) describes qualitative analysis as a method for the treatment of research data without transferring them into a numerical format. In this study, a so-called case-oriented analysis (Babbie, 2007, p. 379) will be part of this. This analysis 'aims to understand a particular case or several cases by looking closely at the detail of each'. This case-oriented analysis is supported by a content analysis of the documents. Moreover, the data out of the interviews is transformed into a standardized form by the use of a coding technique (Babbie, 2007, p. 325). This technique is called open coding. Open coding is the initial classification and labelling of concepts; the codes are suggested by the researcher's examination and questioning of data (Babbie, 2007, p. 385). I subsequently open coded the latent content of the data. This is more useful than coding the manifest content, because latent content focuses on the underlying meanings of words expressed. Instead, manifest content is about the visible content. For example, goal consensus can be determined when a value judgement about this is clearly mentioned in the interview (manifest content), but goal consensus can also be determined on the basis of signals and suggestive remarks regarding this topic (latent content). Coding implies that the interviews (i.e. the audio records) are transformed into transcripts; I made transcripts of all the fourteen interviews, as I mentioned in the previous section. I coded the transcriptions of the interviews by means of the qualitative data analysis program ATLAS.ti version 7. Per case, transcripts are imported into a hermeneutic unit. Code families were created on the level of variables as mentioned in Annex II. An example: goal consensus is a code family. This

family consists of three codes which are in line with the questions asked regarding goal consensus: 1) agreement with policy goals, 2) these goals in line with own goals and 3) acting in accordance with those goals. Per case, I read and scanned the transcripts for sentences on which these codes are applicable. This is an iterative process for all the codes / code families. Once the job was done, query reports per code family (variable) were obtained in order to get an overview of all the quotations per case about that variable. In such way you can get an answer to for instance the degree of goal consensus in that case.

#### **4.4. Operationalization**

Several theoretical concepts are explained in the previous chapter. These theoretical concepts are only valuable if they can be measured. In this section I will describe how I operationalized those concepts. In annex II you can find the operationalization itself, which in its turn is specified by the survey questionnaire (annex III) and the structured questionnaires for the interviews (annex VI). Operationalization is one step beyond conceptualization (previous chapter), and is 'the process of developing operational definitions, or specifying the exact operations involved in measuring a variable' (Babbie, 2007, p. 44). The operationalization of the relevant concepts will be reflected in the questionnaire of the survey and in the structured questionnaire for the interviews.

##### ***4.4.1 Goal attainment***

Goal attainment is the extent to which certain goals have been achieved. The degree of goal attainment is operationalized as the difference between the situation reached on the one hand and the initial situation at the beginning of the evaluation period (the period in which the policy was executed) on the other hand, because this achieved improvement is not dependent on the ambition level of the goals set (intended improvement). This improves the comparability of the results. In the previous chapter I have explained why this improves the comparability of the results. So, in the interviews with the municipal interviewees questions are asked about the initial situation regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants before the policy was implemented and the situation reached regarding this.

##### ***4.4.2 Policy content***

In the previous chapter I explained that a policy is about 'achieving certain goals with certain means and certain time choices'. So, we have to know what are the goals, means and time choices of local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. A general picture of this can be derived with the use of the survey. Per case, the content of the policies can be specified. In operationalizing policy goals, I take into account the possible distinction between goals aimed at housing Polish circular migrants and goals aimed at housing Bulgarian and Romanian migrants. The same applies to the policy instruments. Moreover, attention is paid to the degree to which instruments actually seek to contribute to the policy goals (final relations).

##### ***4.4.2 Network characteristics***

It is also necessary to determine whether there are networks around the problem of housing Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. So, we have to know whether municipalities are engaged in interactions with other stakeholders regarding the problem of housing Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. This can be done with the use of a survey. Note, that networks regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants are considered from a municipal perspective, because municipalities are asked whether they are engaged in interactions with other stakeholders. Moreover, it is useful to measure the centrality of network members, by looking at the degree to which a network member is involved in the network. Networks can be categorized along two dimensions. The first dimension is whether network governance is brokered (lead organization



or NAO) or not (shared governance or not). If it is not brokered, a network is governed completely by all the network members. If network governance is brokered, the network is governed by and through one single organization. The second dimension is whether a brokered network is governed by one network member (lead organization) or governed by an external organization (NAO). So, it is asked in the survey (according to the municipal respondent) which mode of network governance is adapted.

#### 4.4.3 Contingency factors

The contingency factors are: trust, number of network members, goal consensus and need for network-level competencies. Trust is about the willingness to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations about another's intentions or behaviour (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 237). So, it is useful to ask questions about whether a network member can rely on the commitment of another network member regarding the network activities. Three questions regarding the concept of trust are defined in the interview questionnaires. All these three questions can be answered on a four point scale. The answer options are weighted as follows: very sure/full extent = 3, sure/large extent = 2, probably/reasonable extent = 1 and not sure/no extent = 0. The sum of the three answers to the three questions is the level of trust of one network member in the other, with a maximum score of 9 and a minimum score of 0. Trust density is the degree in which network members trust one another. The density of trust-based ties between the network members can be high, moderately or low (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 237). High density means that trust is widely distributed across network members; low density means that trust is narrowly distributed across network members: between dyads and cliques (see theoretical framework). However, the authors fail to operationalize the concept of trust and the corresponding three categories. In my opinion, one network member trusts another network member when his overall score on the three questions regarding the concept of trust is 5 or more. There is no question of a trust relation if this score is below 5. The density of trust-based ties depends on the number of network members involved. I already mentioned that I interviewed fourteen organizations, divided by three cases. The case Horst aan de Maas contains 6 interviewees, the case Steenberg 5 interviewees and the case Bladel 3 interviewees. This means that in the case Horst aan de Maas, there are 30 ( $6^2 - 6$ ) possible trust relations; in the case Steenberg 20 and in the case Bladel 6. In the following table 4 you can find per case the number of trust relations related to the three levels of density of trust.

Table 4: operationalization of density of trust

Case	Low density of trust	Moderate density of trust	High density of trust
Horst aan de Maas	0-10 trust relations	10-20 trust relations	20-30 trust relations
Steenbergen	0-7 trust relations	7-13 trust relations	13-20 trust relations
Bladel	0-2 trust relations	2-4 trust relations	4-6 trust relations

The number of participants can be determined easily and will be part of the survey questionnaire and the interviews with the municipalities. Within a network, there can be a few network members, a moderate number of members and many members. Provan & Kenis (2008, p. 239) are again vague about the operationalization of these categories: 'there is no specific number of organizations that is likely to be correct for each form of governance'. According to them a few network members are 6 to 8 members at most. In order to clarify this, I consider 0-6 network members as 'few members'; 7-9 network members is considered to be a 'moderate number' and 10 or more network members is considered to be 'many members'. Goal consensus means that not only organizational goals but also network-level goals guide organizational action (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 239). As network-level goals, I consider the goals laid down in policy documents. There are two reasons for this. First of all, research questions are answered from a municipal perspective. Secondly, I found no explicit network-level goals that were laid down in a separate document, owned by all the network members. In order to measure goal consensus, 1) it needs to be measured whether network

members agree with the 'network-level goals' of the municipalities; 2) it needs to be measured whether the organizational goals of the other network members are in line with the network-level goal' of the municipalities and 3) it needs to be measured whether network members act in accordance with the 'network-level goals'. According to Provan & Kenis (2008, p. 240) goal consensus can be high, moderate and low. Also regarding this factor, they do not operationalize when goal consensus within a network is high, moderate or low. Per case, the other network members are asked about goal consensus: in the case Horst aan de Maas 5 members were asked, in the case Steenberg 4 and in the case Bladel 2. The answers to the just mentioned three measurements of goal consensus (open questions) lead to an overall picture of the level of goal consensus of one network member. This level of goal consensus of one network member can be divided into 5 categories: high (5), moderately high (4), moderate (3), moderately low (2), low (1). Since the answers are qualitative, I have to estimate which category is applicable for a certain network member based on the statements made by that very network member. So, each network member gets a score in this range of 1-5. The level of goal consensus within the network can be calculated as follows: the total score of all the network members divided by the number of network members; this is the level of goal consensus within a certain network (case). Regarding the need for network-level competencies two issues are important: the nature of tasks being performed by the network members and the external demands and needs which are related to the network. The nature of tasks being performed by the network members refers to the interdependency among network members. So, it must be asked whether a network's task requires the interdependency of network members. Moreover, the question should be asked whether network members have to deal with external demands and needs which are related to the network, like administrative pressure. The need for network-level competencies can be high, moderate and low (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 240-241). They do not operationalize when the need for network-level competencies is high, moderate or low. First of all, it is important to determine what network's tasks are. In this study, the network task is to provide housing for Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants in that municipality. The three municipalities are asked in the survey to what extent they are dependent on other organizations/individuals regarding the attainment of their policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants (answer options: no extent (1), very small extent (2), small extent (3), reasonable extent (4), large extent (5), very large extent (6) and full extent (7)). In the interviews, the municipalities were asked whether there are other factors that played a role. Moreover, in the survey the municipalities were asked to what extent they think that other organizations/individuals are dependent on the municipality in order to attain their own goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants (answer options: no extent (1), very small extent (2), small extent (3), reasonable extent (4), large extent (5), very large extent (6) and full extent (7)). Per case, the network members were asked whether they recognize themselves in the answer given (by the municipalities) to this latter question; they were also asked whether there are other factors that played a role. Per case, this leads to a level of interdependency for providing housing for Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Starting points for determining this level is the perceived level of interdependency according to the municipality, which is the average of the two answers (7 answer options) to the questions asked in the survey. I will nuance or reinforce that average if statements from the interviews give reasons to this. The level of interdependency is low when the average is 1-2, the level is moderate when the average is 3-5 and the level is high when the average is 6-7. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network can be categorized as follows: high, moderate and low. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network is high in the case that several network members mention different demands and/or needs. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network is moderate in the case that a few network members mention different demands and/or needs. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network is low in the case that no network members mention any demands and/or needs. So, the level of interdependency within a network and the level of external demands and needs being faced by the network have to be combined in order to indicate the need for network-level competencies. This automatically leads to

five categories of network-level competencies instead of the three (high, moderate and low) mentioned in the table of Provan & Kenis (see table 1 of this thesis). In table 5 the operationalization of the need for network-level competencies.

Table 5: operationalization of need for network-level competencies

<i>Need for network-level competencies</i>	<i>Level of interdependency</i>	<i>Level of external demand/needs being faced by the network</i>
High	High	High
Moderately high	Moderate	High
	High	Moderate
Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
	Low	High
	High	Low
Moderately low	Moderate	Low
	Low	Moderate
Low	Low	Low

#### **4.4.4 Network effectiveness at three levels**

The effectiveness at the community level, network level and participant level must also be measured. The effectiveness at the community level is about the contribution a network makes to the community it is trying to serve. In the third chapter, I have already indicated that in this study the level of network effectiveness at the community level can be expressed by the degree of goal attainment of local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Per case, the degree of goal attainment will be estimated based on the statements made by the municipal interviewee. Moreover, statements made by other network members regarding the situation reached and/or the initial situation are used in order to confirm or disprove the answers given by the municipal interviewees. The categories that are used to express the degree of goal attainment are: to a large extent, to a reasonable extent and to a small extent (see table 6).

Table 6: operationalization of network effectiveness at the community level

<i>Effectiveness at the community level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Degree of goal attainment	Large extent	Reasonable extent	Small extent

The effectiveness of a network as an organizational form can be measured by: the extent to which services that are actually needed by clients are provided by the network; the absence of service duplication; the strength of relations between network members and the degree in which network members want to invest in the attainment of those goals; these indicators are derived from the framework made by Provan & Milward (2001). Note that network effectiveness at the network level is based on these indicators and stands apart from the effectiveness of network governance; both are indicators of network effectiveness at the community level. Interviews with municipalities and other network members are necessary in order to measure those indicators. However, the level of effectiveness at the network level needs to be determined. I operationalized the extent to which services that are actually needed by clients are provided by the network as follows: the extent to which that the network provides sufficient result in order to meet housing needs of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants (according to the network members themselves). The answers given by the network members lead to an overall picture, which can be categorized as follows: sufficient result, improvable result and insufficient result. The absence of service duplication is operationalized as the extent to which network members consider that services/tasks being offered within the

network are redundant. The answers given by the network members lead to an overall picture, which can be categorized as follows: none, some or many services/tasks that are being duplicated. The strength of relations can be operationalized by multiplexity and link confirmation (Provan et al., 2005, p. 608). Link confirmation is measured from a municipal point of view. The three municipalities indicated that they cooperate with some organizations regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants in their municipality. Those organizations were asked with whom of that enumeration they, in their turn, cooperate regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Multiplexity is measured by the extent to which partners of confirmed relations both indicate that they cooperate in other policy fields with each other. The strength of relations within a network is considered to be strong, when all or almost all links as indicated by the municipality are confirmed and when there are many multiplex relations. The strength of relations within a network is considered to be medium, when some links as indicated by the municipality are confirmed and when there are some multiplex relations. The strength of relations within a network is considered to be weak, when none links or a single link as indicated by the municipality are/is confirmed and when there are no multiplex relations. Member commitment to network goals is measured by the importance for network members that the 'network-level' goals are attained and the willingness of network members to invest in and thus to contribute to the attainment of 'network-level' goals even if this is at expense of the investment opportunities of their own organizations. In the case Horst aan de Maas, member commitment is high when 5 or 4 members consider it important that the network-level goals are attained and are prepared to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals. For the cases Steenbergen and Bladel the required number of members are 4 or 3 and 2 respectively. In the case Horst aan de Maas, member commitment is moderate when 3 or 2 members consider it important that the network-level goals are attained and are prepared to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals. For the cases Steenbergen and Bladel the required number of members are 2 and 1 respectively. In the case Horst aan de Maas, member commitment is low when 1 or 0 members consider it important that the network-level goals are attained and are prepared to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals. For the cases Steenbergen and Bladel the required number of members are 1 or 0 and 0 respectively. In table 7 the operationalization of network effectiveness at the network level.

*Table 7: operationalization of network effectiveness at the network level*

<i>Effectiveness at network level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Services provided	Sufficient	Improvable	Insufficient
Service duplication	None	Some	Many
Strength of relations	Strong	Medium	Weak
Member commitment to network goals	High	Moderate	Low

Effectiveness at the participant level is about the benefits a network member can get from network involvement. According to Provan & Milward (2001), this can be measured by the following indicators legitimacy, resource acquisition, service level and costs of network involvement. Network members join a network in order to enhance their legitimacy in the community. Becoming part of a network can lead to more status for and acceptability of the network member. A network member is aimed at an enhancement of its legitimacy when it tries to increase its status in society through network involvement and when it tries to become more accepted in society through network involvement. A network member is aimed at a slight enhancement of its legitimacy when it tries to increase its status in society through network involvement or when it tries to become more accepted in society through network involvement. A network member is aimed at keeping its legitimacy stable when it does not try to increase its status in society through network involvement and when it does not try to become more accepted in society through network involvement. Resource acquisition can be done far more efficiently and effectively when it is centralized through a network than if network

members individually attempt to raise funds on their own. So, in the interviews it is asked whether the network could attract or has attracted more funding for the housing of those migrants than that network members individually attempt to raise funds on their own. And if so, whether this is due to joint action within the network. If a network member indicates that the network could attract or has attracted more funding, then joint resource acquisitions is considered to be beneficial. If a member indicates that the network could not attract or has not attracted more funding, then joint resource acquisition is considered to be not beneficial; however, this does not mean that loss is suffered. If a member indicates that it is better to attempt to raise funds on its own, then joint resource acquisition is considered to be counterproductive. If a network member perceives an improvement in the service level through the integration of services/tasks within the network, then for this network member (and its clients) the service level is enhanced. If a network member perceives no improvement in the service level through the integration of services/tasks within the network, then for this network member (and its clients) there is no difference regarding the service level. If a network member perceives deterioration in the service level because services/tasks are mismatched within the network, then for this network member (and its clients) the service level is worsened. Regarding the costs of network involvement there are three options. The perceived benefits (whether or not in social terms) obtained through cooperation can exceed the costs of cooperation. The perceived benefits obtained through cooperation can be equal to the costs of cooperation. And the perceived benefits obtained through cooperation can be less than the costs of cooperation. In table 8 the operationalization of network effectiveness at the participant level.

*Table 8: operationalization of network effectiveness at the participant level*

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	Slight enhancement	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	Benefits	No benefits	Counterproductive
Service level	Enhanced	Stable	Worsened
Costs	Benefits > costs	Benefits = costs	Benefits < costs

Per case, for each network member the network effectiveness at the participant level can be different: high, medium or low. Moreover, per case an average of network effectiveness at the participant level can be calculated. Note that network effectiveness is based on interactions across all three levels of analysis; network effectiveness at one level does not ensure effectiveness at the other two levels.

#### **4.5 Validity & reliability**

It is useful to pay attention to the methodological concept of validity (Babbie, 2007, p. 146-149). Validity is about the extent to which the empirical measure reflects the concept it intended to measure.

Content validity is a relevant type of validity in this study and refers to the degree to which a measure covers the range of meanings included within a concept. I have explained the variables of this study. These variables are linked to several theoretical concepts. I just explained the operationalization of these concepts. This does not exclude that measurements may indicate unknown meanings that should be included in the concept and corresponding operationalization. So, there is not much to say about this in advance. I will reflect on this in the discussion chapter.

According to Babbie (2007, p. 230) internal validity refers to the possibility that the conclusions drawn from study results may not accurately reflect what has gone on in the study itself. He states that 'the threat of internal invalidity is present whenever anything other than the experimental stimulus can affect the dependent variable'; the experimental stimulus is the independent variable.

In this study there are two independent variables that are assumed to have influence on the dependent variable. The two independent variables are: 1) the content of those policies and 2) the operation of organizational network forms. The dependent variable in this study is the goal attainment of the policy goals of the municipalities of Steenbergen, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. In the main research question of this study, I assume a causal relationship between those two independent variables and the dependent variable. However, it is plausible that there are also other variables or 'threats' that influence the dependent variable. So, the conclusions of this study have to be read with this in mind. Nevertheless, I believe that the two independent variables identified are the most relevant ones.

Reliability is about whether a research technique continuously produces the same result (Babbie, 2007, p. 143). In the design of both the survey and structured questionnaire for the purpose of interviewing, I took utmost account of the reliability of the questions. I did this by avoiding possible ambiguities in the questions. The IGS Datalab online survey tool makes use of so-called tokens. It means that respondents were not able to pollute the data by filling in the survey several times. This increased the reliability of the data obtained. Moreover, I used the qualitative data analysis program ATLAS.ti version 7 in order to code the transcriptions of the interviews. As a consequence, data are continuously processed in standardized way which increases the reliability of the data presented.

Babbie (2007, p. 281) argued that survey research offers the possibility to collect a lot of data. It also allows the researcher to sample a large population; which is partly the case in this study when we talk about the municipalities that are connected in the network for data exchange. Moreover, survey research facilitates standardization of the data collected, which is also a strong point. On the other hand, survey research is a little bit artificial and relatively inflexible. Survey research is considered to be weak on validity, but strong on reliability. A case study is a form of qualitative field research. Qualitative field research does have more validity compared with surveys and experiments, but less reliability (Babbie, 2007, p.315). So, the mix of methods in one design does compensate the weaknesses.

## 5. Content of local policies

This chapter answers the first sub-question: *In what way varies the content of the Dutch local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants from each other?* First of all, the results of the survey are described in order to get a general overview of the local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Moreover, on the basis of the survey results it is possible to provide insight into the relationship between 1) having policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants and 2) taking measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. The content of the local policies of the municipalities of Steenberg, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas are described more detailed in the chapters 7, 8 and 9.

### 5.1 An overview of the local policies

It is already mentioned that 39 out of the 69 municipalities filled in the survey; more specifically the employees of those municipalities filled in the survey. In this context, municipalities and employees of municipalities are synonymous. The employees who filled in the survey are all policy advisors and policy makers with the exception of one alderman. Those 69 municipalities are affiliated with the national network for data exchange regarding CEE migrants. Thus, I assume that they recognize the housing and integration related problems regarding CEE migrants.

#### 5.1.1 Policy goals

It is not always obvious that municipalities that recognize housing and integration related problems regarding CEE migrants do have local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. 39 municipalities filled in the first compulsory question; 24 out of 39 municipalities (61.54%) do have local policy goals regarding this topic and 15 out of 39 municipalities (38.46%) do not have such local policy goals. 17 municipalities filled in the question regarding the year in which the goals have been set. The local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular have been set in the period between 2005 (minimum) and 2013 (maximum). The median M is the midpoint of a distribution; half of the observations lies beneath this point and the other half above it (Moore & McCabe, 2008, p. 27). The median M of our distribution regarding the years in which the local policy goals were set is 2010. In 2005, the municipality of Horst aan de Maas was the first to set policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. The Board of Mayor and Aldermen of the municipality of Wierden approved the policy goals regarding this topic in November 2012, but the city council has the right to adopt the policy definitively in the beginning of 2013. Q1 and Q3 are the medians of the observations, respectively, left and right from the global median M. Q1 and Q3 are respectively 2009 and 2011. So, both the centre and the spread of distribution of those years in which policy goals were set can be summarized as follows:

[2005 (minimum), 2009 (Q1), 2010 (M), 2011 (Q3), 2013 (maximum)]

24 out of 39 municipalities (61.54%) laid down local policy goals in policy documents. 14 municipalities did not answer this question and 1 municipality answered negatively. Those 15 municipalities are probably those who did not have local policy goals at all, because in the survey they were asked to skip all the goal-related questions in the case they did not have local policy goals regarding this topic. Now we know that there are 24 municipalities with policy goals, it is interesting to know on which aspects of housing these policy goals are aimed. In the survey this was a multiple-choice question; 24 municipalities filled in this question. In figure 8, you can find the absolute numbers per answer option. The four most frequently mentioned aspects of housing on which policy goals are aimed are: the quality of housing (21/24, 87.5% of the 24 respondents mentioned this),

nuisance in neighbourhoods (70.83%), illegal housing (66.67%) and the amount of available dwellings/accommodations (58.33%). So, qualitatively and quantitatively insufficient housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants is recognized through incorporation in local policy goals. Homelessness, as an aspect of housing, is barely incorporated in local policy goals; 2 out of the 24 municipalities do have policy goals regarding this aspect of housing. Besides the standard answer options, respondents had the opportunity to give an own answer by checking 'other'. Three additional answers were given: 1) 'enforcement and controls on housing and possible nuisance', 2) 'location criteria semi-permanent facilities' and 3) 'the opportunity to realize housing on agricultural plots'. In my opinion, the first two answers are policy instruments. Enforcement and control belong to the legal steering model. Location criteria are likely used for stimulating or preventing certain developments; in this sense they also belong to the legal steering model. The opportunity to realize housing on agricultural plots can be a separate policy goal; it can also be seen as a sub-goal of the amount of available housing.

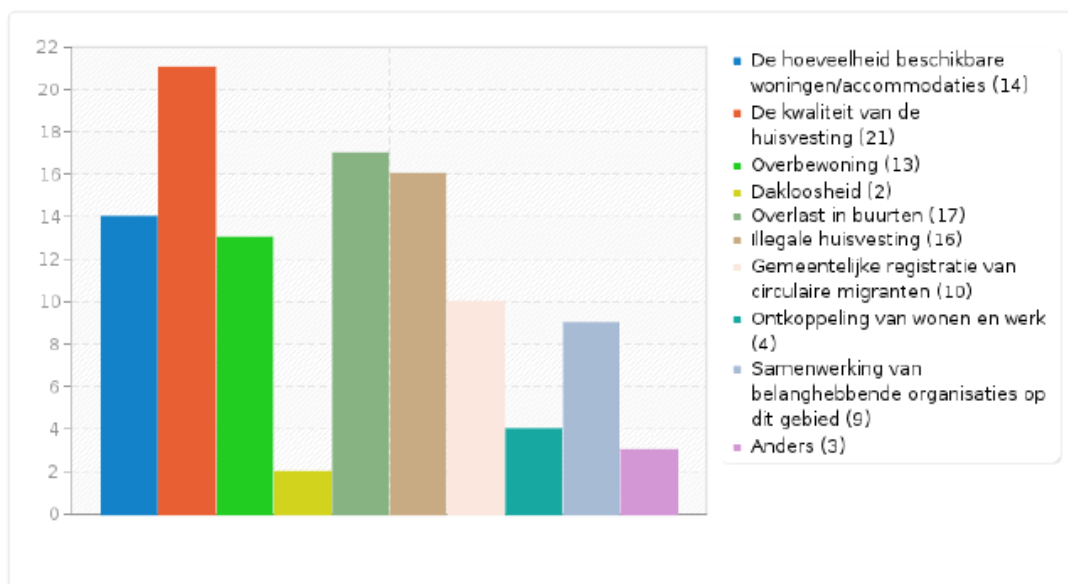


Figure 8<sup>2</sup>: housing aspects in relation to policy goals (the survey tool did not allow that the caption of this figure would be translated; the same applies to figure 9 and 17, so see footnote for translation).

The policy advisors and makers are pretty confident about the realism of the goals set. On a five point Likert scale of 'a very small extent' to 'a very large extent', 10 respondents (41.67%) consider the local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants reasonably realistic. 13 (54.17%) respondents consider the local policy goals to a large extent realistic. 1 respondent (4.17%) considers the local policy goals of his municipality to a very small extent realistic. The answer options 'a small extent' and 'a very large extent' were not checked.

### 5.1.2 Means

It is also not obvious that municipalities that recognize housing and integration related problems regarding CEE migrants do take measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; those measures are the so-called means. 27 out of 39 municipalities (69.23%) do

<sup>2</sup> From left to right: the amount of available dwellings/accommodations (blue), the quality of housing (red), overcrowding (green), homelessness (ochre), nuisance in neighbourhoods (dark green), illegal housing (brown), municipal registration of circular migrants (pink), decoupling of housing and work (turquoise), cooperation of stakeholders (mauve), other (violet purple).



currently take measures regarding this topic. 12 out of 39 municipalities (30.77%) do not take measures. 24 municipalities do have local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarians and Romanians circular migrants; 27 municipalities do currently take measures regarding the housing of those people. However, the question is how many municipalities that do have local policy goals also take measures; this question is answered in section 5.1.5. In line with the question about the aspects of housing on which local policy goals are aimed, I formulated a question about the categories to which the measures according to the respondents belong. This categorization is derived from the policy instruments that are mentioned in the Commissie Lessen report. Moreover, this categorization matches with the typology of policy instruments derived from Van de Doelen (see: Bekkers, 2007). In the survey this was a multiple-choice question; 30 municipalities filled in this question. This is remarkable, because three respondents answered that they currently do not take measures, but they filled in this question regarding the types of measures taken. So, an explanation could be that they did take measures in the past. In figure 9, you can find the absolute numbers per answer option. The three most frequently mentioned categories to which the measures taken belong are: enforcement of laws and regulations (23/30, 76.67% of the 30 respondents mentioned this), local regulations (70%) and covenants and performance agreements (63.33%). Measures like subsidies (10%) and taxes (6.67%) are not mentioned that often. Information provision (30%) is used as policy instruments in almost one in three cases.

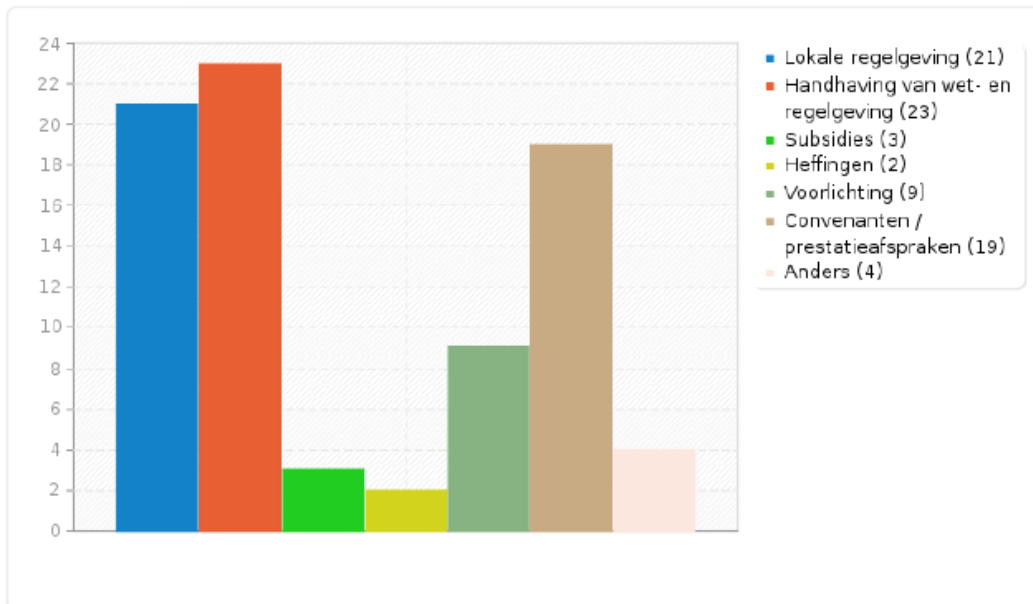


Figure 9<sup>3</sup>: categories to which measures taken belong

Besides the standard answer options, respondents had the opportunity to give an own answer by checking 'other'. Four additional answers were given: 1) 'consultation with initiator to find out how plans can become concrete', 2) 'regional approach', 3) 'regional agreements' and 4) 'platform + stimulate housing'. In the survey there were also question asked about the three dimensions which are mentioned by Bekkers (2007). The first dimension refers to the realization of goals. The question is whether municipalities take measures themselves in order to attain the local policy goals (constituent) or whether municipalities affect the behaviour of other actors in such a way that those actors contribute to the attainment of local policy goals which are set by those very municipalities

<sup>3</sup> From left to right: local regulations (blue), enforcement of laws and regulations (red), subsidies (green), taxes (ochre), information provision (dark green), covenants and performance agreements (brown), other (pink).

(directing). 28 municipalities answered this question; remarkably, there are two more respondents than in the previous question. 2 out of the 28 respondents (7.14%) indicated that their municipalities take measures themselves in order to attain the local policy goals. An overwhelming majority of 26 out of the 28 respondents (92.86%) indicated that their municipalities affect the behaviour of other actors in such a way that those actors contribute to the attainment of local policy goals which are set by those municipalities. The second dimension refers to the target group to which the measures apply. The question is whether the instruments are focused on a specific actor (individual) or on a multitude of actors (general). 30 municipalities answered this question. 8 out of the 30 respondents (26.67%) indicated that their municipalities take measures which are predominantly focused on specific actors. 22 out of the 30 respondents (73.33%) indicated that their municipalities take measures which are predominantly focused on a multitude of actors. The third dimension refers to influencing behaviour with the help of measures taken. The question is whether the measures taken want to stimulate desired behaviour or discourage certain behaviour. 29 municipalities answered this question. 21 out of 29 respondents (72.41%) indicated that their municipalities take measures that predominantly want to stimulate desired behaviour. 8 out of the 29 respondents (27.59%) indicated that their municipalities take measures that predominantly want to discourage certain behaviour.

In the multiple case study (the three cases), I will elaborate on the final relations between goals and means, because it does not fit in the scope of this study to detect the explicit assumptions about goal – mean relations of all the municipalities that have both goals and means regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. For that, all the relevant documents of all those municipalities have to be examined. By means of the survey it is possible to ask general questions about the existence of such relations and the underlying argumentation regarding those relations. Moreover, it is possible to ask a question about the extent to which the measures taken, in the opinion of the respondents, contribute to the attainment of local policy goals. 29 municipalities answered the question about the extent to which policy documents explicitly indicate which measures contribute to which local policy goals; see figure 10 for the results. On a seven point Likert scale of ‘no extent’ to ‘full extent’, 3 out of 29 respondents (10.34%) answered ‘a very small extent’; 6 out of 29 respondents (20.69%) answered ‘a small extent’; 11 out of 29 respondents (37.93%) answered ‘a reasonable extent’; 6 out of 29 respondents (20.69%) answered ‘a large extent’; 2 out of 29 respondents (6.90%) answered ‘a very large extent’ and 1 out of 29 respondents (3.45%) answered ‘full extent’.

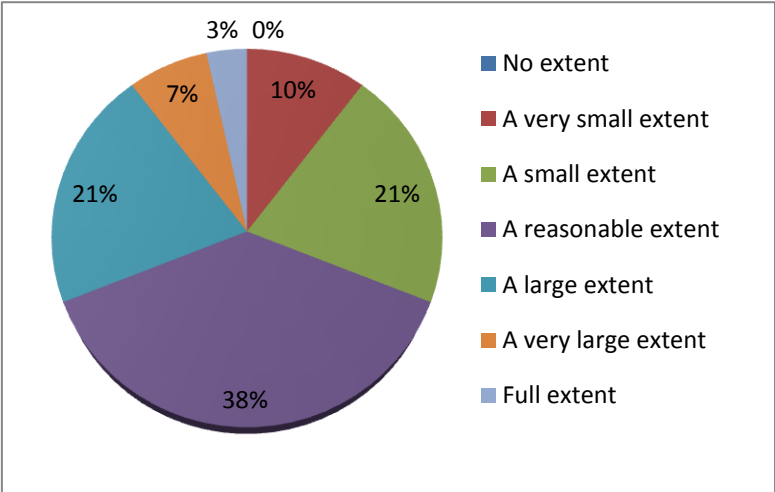
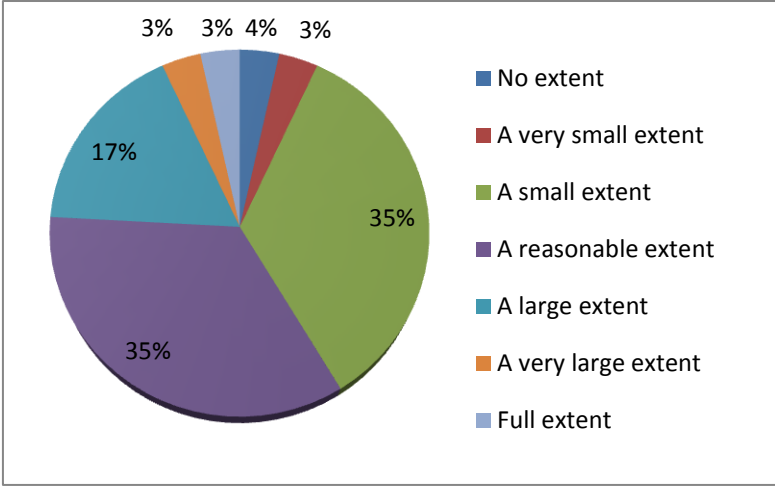


Figure 10: indication which measures contribute to which goals

On a scale of 1-7 (1 for no extent and 7 for full extent) an average of the answers given can be calculated. The average of the answers given regarding this question is 4.03. This means that, on average and according to the municipal respondents, the extent to which policy document explicitly indicate which measures contribute to which goal is reasonable.

Also 29 municipalities answered the question about the extent to which it is explicitly argued in policy documents which measures contribute to which local policy goals; see figure 11 for the results. On a seven point Likert scale of ‘no extent’ to ‘full extent’, 1 out of 29 respondents (3.45%) answered ‘no extent’; 1 out of 29 respondents (3.45%) answered ‘a very small extent’; 10 out of 29 respondents (34.48%) answered ‘a small extent’; 10 out of 29 respondents (34.48%) answered ‘a

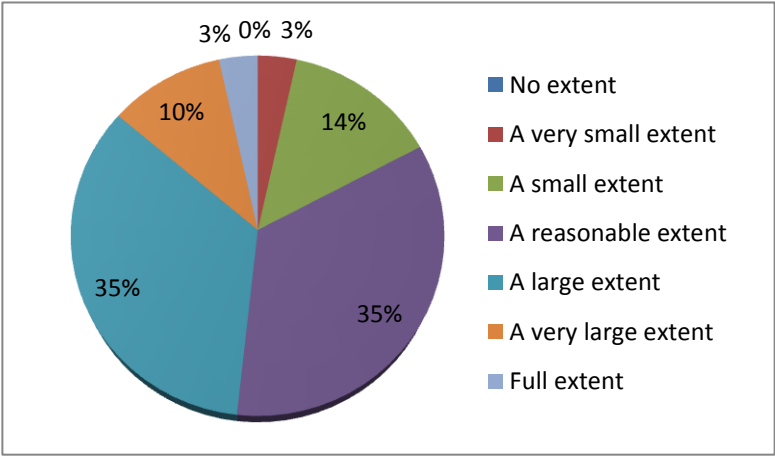
reasonable extent'; 5 out of 29 respondents (17.24%) answered 'a large extent'; 1 out of 29 respondents (3.45%) answered 'a very large extent and 1 out of 29 respondents (3.45%) answered 'full extent'. On a scale of 1-7 (1 for no extent and 7 for full extent) an average of the answers given can be calculated. The average of the answers given regarding this question is 3.83. This means that, on average and according to the municipal respondents, the extent to which it is explicitly argued in



policy documents which measures contribute to which local policy goals is almost reasonable. So, on average, there is not that much difference between the extent to which policy documents explicitly indicate which measures contribute to which local policy goals and the extent to which it is explicitly argued in policy documents which measures contribute to which local policy goals.

Figure 11: argumentation goals – means in policy documents

Then, a question was asked about the opinion of respondents regarding the goal-mean relations. 29 municipalities answered the question about the extent to which the measures taken, in their opinion, contribute to the attainment of local policy goals; see figure 12 for the results. On a seven point Likert scale of 'no extent' to 'full extent', 1 out of 29 respondents (3.45%) answered 'a very small extent'; 4 out of 29 respondents (13.79%) answered 'a small extent'; 10 out of 29 respondents (34.48%) answered 'a reasonable extent'; 10 out of 29 respondents (34.48%) answered 'a large extent'; 3 out of 29 respondents (10.34%) answered 'a very large extent and 1 out of 29 respondents



(3.45%) answered 'full extent'. On a scale of 1-7 (1 for no extent and 7 for full extent) an average of the answers given can be calculated. The average of the answers given regarding this question is 4.45. This means that, on average and according to the municipal respondents, the extent to which the measures taken, in their opinion, contribute to the attainment of local policy goals is reasonable large.

Figure 12: opinion about goal – mean relations

**5.1.3 Time choices**

Time choices form the third aspect of a policy. There are time choices regarding goals and there are time choices regarding means. Regarding the local policy goals it was asked whether those have to be attained within a certain period of time. 24 respondents answered this question. 13 out of the 24 respondents (54.17%) indicated that the policy goals of their municipalities have to be attained

within a certain period of time; 11 out of 24 respondents (45.83%) indicated that their policy goals do not have such deadlines, which of course is also a time choice. From those 13 municipalities, 2 respondents indicate that their policy goals have to be attained within a year (short-term); 9 respondents indicate that their policy goals have to be attained within one to three years (medium term) and another 2 respondents indicate that their policy goals have to be attained in the long run (3 years or more). 24 respondents answered the question about the time sequence in which policy goals have to be attained. 7 out of the 24 respondents (29.17%) indicated that certain local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants have to be attained earlier than other local policy goals regarding the same topic. 17 out of the 24 respondents (70.83%) indicated that this is not the case regarding their local policy goals. 28 respondents answered the question about the time sequence in which measures have to be taken. 10 out of the 28 respondents (35.71%) indicated that certain measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants have to be taken earlier than other measures regarding the same topic. 18 out of the 28 respondents (64.29%) indicated that this is not the case regarding the measures taken by their municipalities.

**5.1.4 Poles vs. Bulgarians/Romanians**

In the first chapter I have already mentioned the implications of the housing of Poles on the one hand and the housing of Bulgarians and Romanians on the other hand. A final survey question regarding the local policies of municipalities is about the extent to which a municipality makes a distinction between policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Polish circular migrants on the one hand and policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand. 38 municipalities answered this compulsory question; see figure 13 for the results. In some particular way, one respondent was able to upload her answers without getting the notification that he/she still had to fill in this question. Anyway, on a seven point Likert scale of ‘no extent’ to ‘full extent’, 28 out of 38 respondents (73.68%) answered ‘no extent’; 2 out of 38 respondents (5.26%) answered ‘a very small extent’; 3 out of 38 respondents (7.89%) answered ‘a small extent’; 3 out of 38 respondents (7.89%) answered ‘a reasonable extent’ and 2 out of 38 respondents (5.26%) answered ‘full extent’. On a scale of 1-7 (1 for no extent and 7 for full extent) an average of the answers given can be calculated. The average of the answers given regarding this question is 1.76. This means that, on average and according to the municipal respondents, the municipalities make rarely (1.76 is between no extent and a very small extent) a distinction in their policies (i.e. goals and means) between the housing of Polish circular migrants on the one hand and the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand. The municipalities that make such a distinction to ‘a reasonable extent’ and ‘to a full extent’ respectively are: Rotterdam, Zundert, Peel en Maas, Horst aan de Maas and Hoorn.

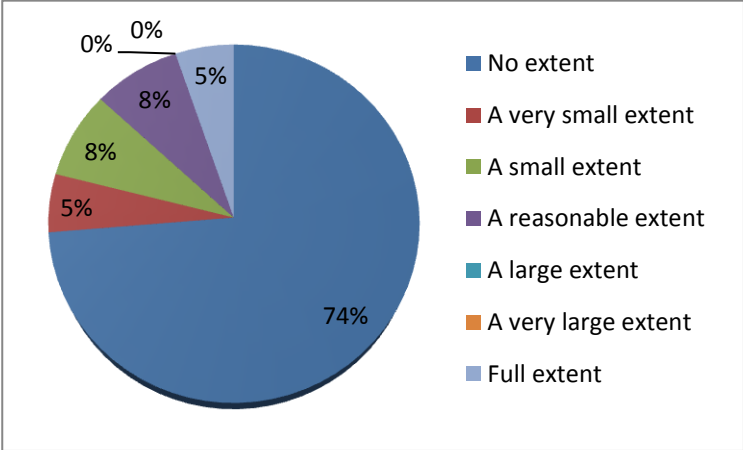


Figure 13: distinction between goals and/or means aimed at Poles vs. Bulgarians and Romanians

**5.1.5 Relations between variables (I)**

In this section and section 6.1.3 three relations between variables are highlighted. The relationship

between having policy goals and taking measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants is examined in this section. First of all, it is useful to formulate some expectations. One expects that a municipality with policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants also takes measures; a municipality that does not have policy goals is expected not to take measures. In the context of goal-mean relations it is not expected that municipalities take measures without having policy goals or that municipalities do have policy goals but they do not take measures. In table 9 one can see the observed cell frequencies based on the survey results. 20 out of the 39 municipalities do have policy goals and take measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; 8 out of the 39 municipalities do not have policy goals and do not take measures. This means that half the respondents indicate that their municipality does have a policy regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; about a quarter of the respondents indicate that their municipality does not have a policy. So, 28 out of the 39 municipalities filled in the survey questions in line with the expectations. 7 out of the 39 municipalities do not have policy goals, but do take measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; 4 out of the 39 municipalities do have policy goals, but do not take measures. So, 11 out of the 39 municipalities filled in the survey question contrary to the expectations. There are several possible explanations why this is the case. Municipalities could have local policy goals but may lack the financial resources in order to take measures. The other way around it is possible that municipalities do take measures, but do not have the administrative capacity in order to formulate policy goals in a policy document. However, this is just speculation. So, further research should reveal the actual explanations.

Table 9: cell frequencies of municipalities with/without policy goals and with/without measures

		Having policy goals?		
		Yes	No	Total
Taking measures?	Yes	<b>20</b>	7	27
	No	4	<b>8</b>	12
	Total	24	15	39

### 5.2 Conclusion

In this section a general conclusion will be drawn regarding the first sub question: *In what way varies the content of the Dutch local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants from each other?*

It is not always obvious that municipalities that recognize housing and integration related problems regarding CEE migrants do have local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; 24 out of 39 municipalities (61.54%) do have local policy goals. The four most frequently mentioned aspects of housing on which policy goals are aimed are: the quality of housing, nuisance in neighbourhoods, illegal housing and the amount of available dwellings/accommodation. Based on this I conclude that qualitatively and quantitatively insufficient housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants is recognized through incorporation in local policy goals. Policy advisors and makers are pretty confident about the realism of the goals set. It is also not obvious that municipalities that recognize housing and integration related problems regarding CEE migrants do take measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian

circular migrants; 27 out of 39 municipalities (69.23%) do currently take measures regarding this topic. The three most frequently mentioned categories to which the measures taken belong are: enforcement of laws and regulations, local regulations and covenants and performance agreements. Based on this, I conclude that the legal steering model is popular among the responding municipalities; through the use of local regulations and the enforcement of laws and regulations actors are forced to conform to certain norms. The economic steering model is not that popular; subsidies and taxes are barely used. So, municipalities do not want to influence the choice alternatives of actors regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. The communicative steering model is used in about a third of the cases, which means that in those cases municipalities want to change the behaviour of actors regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants by changing the information and knowledge base. Subsequently, per model three dimensions can be distinguished (Bekkers, 2007, p. 190). Based on the results of the survey an image emerges that measures taken are predominantly focused on a multitude of actors; affect the behaviour of other actors in such a way that those actors contribute to the attainment of local policy goals and want to stimulate desired behaviour. This seems to be at odds with the most frequently mentioned categories to which the measures taken belong: enforcement of laws and regulations and local regulations. Instead, covenants and performance agreements are in line with this image. Municipal respondents are very much divided about the extent to which policy documents explicitly indicate which measures contribute to which local policy. On average, the extent to which policy document explicitly indicate which measures contribute to which goal is reasonable (4.04 on a scale of 1-7). The same applies to the extent to which it is explicitly argued in policy documents which measures contribute to which local policy goals. On average, the extent to which it is explicitly argued in policy documents which measures contribute to which local policy goals is almost reasonable (3.83 on a scale of 1-7). Based on the survey results, there is no clear picture of the existence of final relations and the underlying argumentation regarding those relations. This means that improvements can be made; ideally, respondents should predominantly answer positive regarding those questions. In addition, respondents are more positive about the extent to which the measures taken, in their opinion, contribute to the attainment of local policy goals. On average, the extent to which the measures taken, according to the opinion of the respondents, contribute to the attainment of local policy goals is reasonable large (4.45 on a scale of 1-7). This does not seem to be explained by the existence of clear and argued final relations. In general, it seems that policy advisors and policy makers have confidence in the measures taken. It is not always obvious that local policy goals have to be attained within a certain period of time. And if so, goals have predominantly to be attained in the medium term. Moreover, it is predominately not the case that certain local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants have to be attained earlier than other local policy goals regarding the same topic. Nor is it predominantly the case that certain measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants have to be taken earlier than other measures regarding the same topic. On average, it can be concluded that municipalities make rarely a distinction between policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Polish circular migrants on the one hand and policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand. This was contrary to the expectation that municipalities make such a distinction, because an employment permit is obligatory for Bulgarian and Romanian migrant workers and not for Polish migrant workers. The Dutch social security agency (UWV) can refuse or withdraw this employment permit in the case of inappropriate housing; the latter must be determined by the municipality. So, it was plausible to think that municipalities incorporated this in their policies by making a distinction. Apparently, this is largely not the case. Finally, one expects that a municipality with policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants also takes measures and a municipality that does not have policy goals is expected not to take measures. Based on the survey results, this is largely the case.

## 6. Organizational network forms

This chapter answers the second sub-question: *in what way are organizational network forms used in relation to those local policies?* First of all, the results of the survey are described in order to get an overview of the organizational network forms which are used by implementing the local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Moreover, on the basis of the survey results it is possible to provide insight into the relationship between 1) having local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants and 3) the actual collaboration between municipalities and other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the one hand and between 2) currently taking measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants and 3) the actual collaboration between municipalities and other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand. The organizational network forms within the municipalities of Steenberghe, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas are described more detailed in the chapters 7, 8 and 9.

### 6.1 An overview of organizational network forms

#### 6.1.1 Interdependency

The first two questions regarding the organizational network form are about the degree of interdependency between municipalities and other organizations / individuals expressed in terms of own goals. The question about the degree of the municipality's dependency on other organizations / individuals regarding the attainment of the local policy goals is answered by 38 municipalities; see figure 14 for the results. On a seven point Likert scale of 'no extent' to 'full extent', 5 out of 38 respondents (13.16%) answered 'no extent'; 2 out of 38 respondents (5.26%) answered 'a small extent'; 4 out of 38 respondents (10.53%) answered 'a reasonable extent'; 11 out of 38 respondents (29.95%) answered 'a large extent'; 10 out of 38 respondents (26.32%) answered 'a very large extent and 6 out of 38 respondents (15.79%) answered 'full extent'. On a scale of 1-7 (1 for no extent and 7 for full extent) an average of the answers given can be calculated. The average of the answers given regarding this question is 4.84. This means that, on average and according to the municipal respondents, the extent of the municipality's dependency on other organizations / individuals regarding the attainment of the local policy goals is almost large.

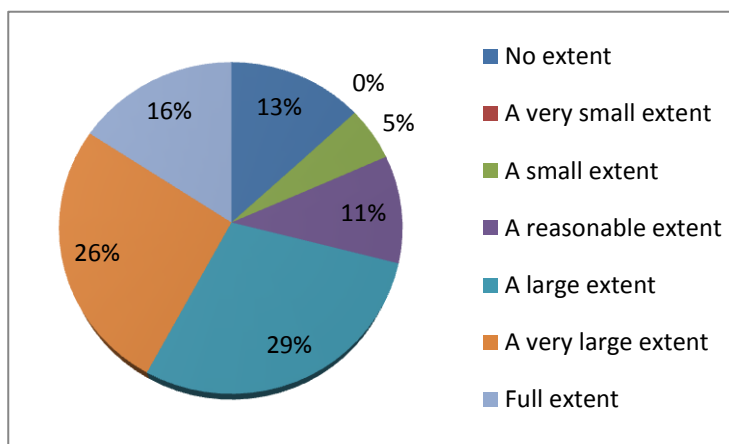


Figure 14: municipality's dependency on other organizations and/or individuals

The question about the degree of other organizations / individuals' dependency on municipalities regarding the attainment of their own goals is also answered by 38 municipalities; note that the answers are the opinions of the respondents; see figure 15 for the results. On a seven point Likert scale of 'no extent' to 'full extent', 2 out of 38 respondents (5.26%) answered 'no extent'; 3 out of 38 respondents (7.89%) answered 'a very small extent'; 3 out of 38 respondents (7.89%) answered 'a small extent'; 17 out of 38 respondents (44.74%) answered 'a reasonable extent'; 8 out of 38 respondents (21.05%) answered 'a large extent'; 4 out of 38 respondents (10.53%) answered 'a very large extent and 1 out of 38 respondents (2.63%) answered 'full extent'. On a scale of 1-7 (1 for no extent and 7 for full extent) an

average of the answers given can be calculated. The average of the answers given regarding this question is 4.11. This means that, on average and according to the municipal respondents, the extent of other organizations / individuals' dependency on municipalities regarding the attainment of their own goals is a little bit more than reasonable. On average, the dependency of the municipality on other organizations and/or individuals regarding the attainment of the local policy goals is higher

(4.84) than the perceived dependency of other organizations and/or individuals on the municipality regarding the attainment of their own goals (4.11). So, according to the municipal respondents there is a degree of interdependency. However, it is also clear that the municipality is more dependent on other organizations and/or individuals than the other way around.

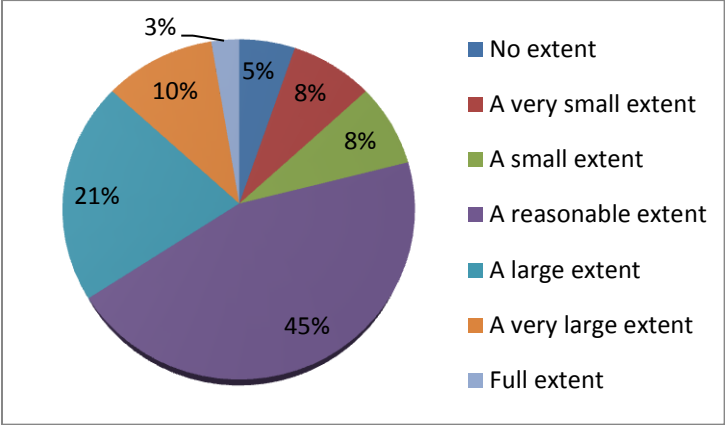


Figure 15: other organizations and/or individuals' dependency on municipalities

**6.1.2 Network characteristics and modes of network governance**

A logical follow-up question is about the actual collaboration between municipalities and other organizations and/or individuals. 38 respondents of municipalities answered this question. 31 out of the 38 respondents (81.58%) indicated that they do cooperate with organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; 7 out of the 38 respondents (18.42%) indicated that they do not cooperate. It is interesting to know whether there are relations between the actual collaboration and having local policy goals and taking measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants respectively. In section 6.1.3 these relations are highlighted. 31 out of the 38 respondents answered the question about which kind of cooperation they participating in. 19 out of the 31 respondents (61.29%) indicated that they cooperate with continuously the same organizations and/or individuals; 12 out of the 31 respondents (38.71%) indicated that they cooperate with continuously varying organizations and/or individuals. 31 municipalities filled in the question regarding the number of network participants. Respondent indicated that the number of network participants lies between 1 (minimum) and 25 (maximum). The median M of our distribution regarding the number of network participants is 6. The respondents of the municipalities Utrecht and Sliedrecht indicated that they cooperate with 1 organization or individual. The respondents of the municipalities Horst aan de Maas, Aalburg and Den Haag (The Hague) indicated that they cooperate with 25 organizations or individuals. Q1 and Q3 are the medians of the observations, respectively, left and right from the global median M. Q1 and Q3 are respectively 5 and 10. So, both the centre and the spread of distribution of the number of network participants can be summarized as follows:

[1 (minimum), 5 (Q1), 6 (M), 10 (Q3), 25 (maximum)]

It was also asked how often a municipality cooperates with organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. This question is answered by 31 municipalities; see figure 16 for the results. On a five point Likert scale of 'almost never' to 'very often', 1 out of 31 respondents (3.23%) answered 'almost never'; 8 out of 31 respondents (25.81%) answered 'occasionally'; 12 out of 31 respondents (38.71%) answered



'regularly'; 5 out of 31 respondents (16.13%) answered 'often' and also 5 out of 31 respondents (16.13%) answered 'very often'.

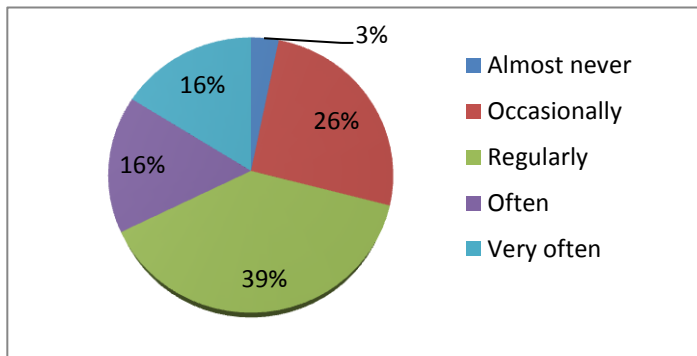


Figure 16: frequency of cooperation

In line with the questions about the aspects on which local policy goals are aimed and the kind of policy instruments, I formulated a question about the types of organizations and/or individuals with which the municipalities cooperate. This multiple-choice question is answered by 31 municipalities; see figure 17 for

the results. The two most frequently mentioned types of organizations are: neighbour municipalities (27/31, 87.10% of the 31 respondents mentioned this) and housing associations (67.74%). Then, some types are mentioned quite often, namely: the national government (66.67%), employment agencies (58.06%), the provincial government (51.61%) and individual employers (51.61%). It is clear that the real estate owners (29.03%), the labour related interest groups (22.58%) and the Dutch social security agency UWV (22.58%) are less frequently seen as cooperation partners regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Besides the standard answer options, respondents had the opportunity to give an own answer by checking 'other'. Seven additional answers were given: 1) 'Immigration Police, Labour Inspectorate and Tax Administration', 2) 'Safety partners and the target group itself', 3) 'Police and urban region Eindhoven', 4) 'Housing company', 5) Platform 31 (a merger organization of research institutes), 6) Business platform and 7) Tax Administration and Labour Inspectorate within the regional intervention team'. Some of these answers are redundant. Nevertheless, those answers predominantly point at types of organizations that are active in the safety and enforcement environment, which is logical because most of the municipalities take measures regarding the enforcement of laws and regulations.

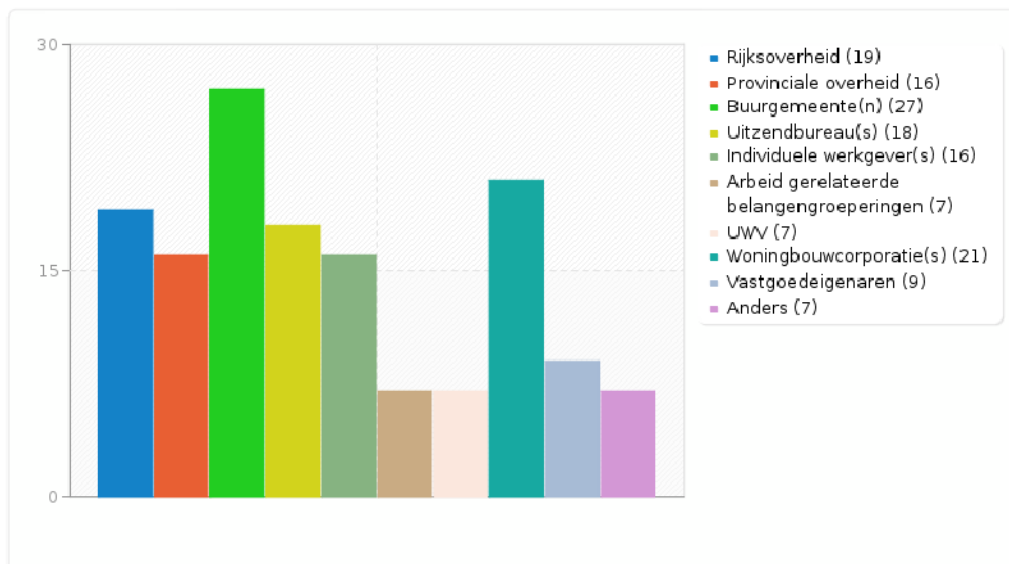


Figure 17<sup>4</sup>: types of organizations and/or individuals as partners.

<sup>4</sup> From left to right: national government (blue), provincial government (red), neighbour municipalities (green), employment agencies (ochre), individual employees (dark green), labour related interest groups (brown),

Finally, a question was formulated about the mode of network governance. 31 municipalities answered this question. 17 out of the 31 respondents (54.84%) indicated that the networks their municipalities are participating in are governed by all the participating organizations within the network. In other words, 54.84% of the networks take a shared governance form. 11 out of the 31 respondents (35.48%) indicated that the network is governed by one of the participating organizations within the network. So, 35.48% of the networks do have a lead organization that governs the network. And 3 out of the 31 respondents (9.68%) indicated that the network is governed by one organization that was specifically created for governing a network; a so-called Network Administrative Organization. It is interesting to know that regarding the topic of this study there are not many NAO's and there are some lead organizations. However, the lion's share of the networks is governed by all network participants.

### ***6.1.3 Relations between variables (II)***

In this section two relations between variables are highlighted. The relationship between 1) having local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants and 3) the actual collaboration between municipalities and other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants and the relationship between 2) currently taking measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants and 3) the actual collaboration between municipalities and other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Also in this case, it is useful to formulate some expectations. One expects that a municipality with policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants collaborates with other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; a municipality that does not have policy goals is expected not to collaborate. It is not expected that municipalities with policy goals do not collaborate or that municipalities that do not have policy goals do collaborate. The same applies for taking measures; one expects that a municipality which takes measures at this moment regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants also collaborates with other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; a municipality that does not take measures at this moment is expected not to collaborate. It is not expected that municipalities which takes measures at this moment do not collaborate or that municipalities that do not take measures at this moment do collaborate. In table 10 and 11 one can see the observed cell frequencies based on the survey results. 21 out of the 39 municipalities do have policy goals and collaborate with other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; 6 out of the 39 municipalities do not have policy goals and do not collaborate. So, 27 out of the 39 municipalities filled in the survey questions in line with the expectations. 9 out of the 39 municipalities do not have policy goals, but do collaborate with other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; 3 out of the 39 municipalities do have policy goals, but do not collaborate. So, 12 out of the 39 municipalities filled in the survey question contrary to the expectations. The perceived level of interdependency (between the municipality and other organizations and individuals) might help us explaining why this is the case. The average of the interdependency scores of those 3 municipalities that do have policy goals, but do not collaborate are: 5 (instead of 4.84) and 3.67 (instead of 4.11); see section 6.1.1. The 3 respondents believe even stronger than other respondents that their municipality is more dependent on other organizations and/or individuals than the other way around. One should expect that the opposite was true: the municipalities do not collaborate, because the respondents believe that their municipalities are not

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Dutch social security agency UWV (pink), housing association(s) (turquoise), real estate owners (mauve), other (violet purple).

dependent at all on other organizations and/or individuals. So, further research should reveal the actual explanation why those 3 municipalities do not collaborate while 1) there are local policy goals and 2) their respondents believe that their municipality is more dependent on other organizations and/or individuals than the other way around. The average of the interdependency scores of those 9 municipalities that do not have policy goals, but do collaborate with other organizations and/or individual are: 5.11 (instead of 4.84) and 3.33 (instead of 4.11). The 9 respondents believe even stronger than other respondents that their municipality is more dependent on other organizations and/or individuals than the other way around. This could explain why they do cooperate despite the fact that they do not have policy goals. However, it is quite strange that they are able to judge that they are dependent regarding the attainment of local policy goals while they actually do not have those local policy goals. 23 out of the 39 municipalities take measures at this moment and collaborate with other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; 5 out of the 39 municipalities do not take measures and do not collaborate. So, 28 out of the 39 municipalities filled in the survey questions in line with the expectations. 7 out of the 39 municipalities do not take measures at this moment, but do collaborate with other organizations and/or individual regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; 4 out of the 39 municipalities do take measures, but do not collaborate. So, 11 out of the 39 municipalities filled in the survey question contrary to the expectations. The perceived level of interdependency (between the municipality and other organizations and individuals) might help us explaining why this is the case. The average of the interdependency scores of those 4 municipalities that do take measures, but do not collaborate are: 4 (instead of 4.84) and 3.5 (instead of 4.11); see section 6.1.1. The 4 respondents believe less than other respondents that their municipality is more dependent on other organizations and/or individuals than the other way around. However, they still believe it. One should expect that the opposite was true: the municipalities do not collaborate, because the respondents believe that their municipalities are not dependent at all on other organizations and/or individuals; in that case the value which is now 4 should be lower than the value which is now 3.5. So, further research should reveal the actual explanation why those 4 municipalities do not collaborate while 1) they take measures and 2) their respondents believe that their municipality is more dependent on other organizations and/or individuals than the other way around. The average of the interdependency scores of those 7 municipalities that do not take measures, but do collaborate with other organizations and/or individual are: 4.71 (instead of 4.84) and 3.29 (instead of 4.11). The 7 respondents believe stronger than other respondents that their municipality is more dependent on other organizations and/or individuals than the other way around. This could explain why they do cooperate despite the fact that they do not take measures. Still, it is quite strange that seven municipalities do not take measures at this moment, but indicate that they do collaborate regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Collaboration implies that each partner in one way or another contributes to the policy problem at stake by means of the use of resources they possess. In my opinion, in the case of municipalities using resources is approximately equivalent to taking measures. An alternative explanation why municipalities do not take measures at this moment, but do collaborate might be the too narrow interpretation of taking measures 'at this moment'. It might be that those municipalities took measures in the past instead of at this moment. This could be an error in that very question. Further research should clarify this.

Table 10: cell frequencies of municipalities with/without policy goals and actual collaboration or not

		Having local policy goals?		
		Yes	No	Total
Actual collaboration?	Yes	<b>21</b>	9	30
	No	3	<b>6</b>	9 <sup>5</sup>
	Total	24	15	39

Table 11: cell frequencies of municipalities with/without measures and actual collaboration or not

		Taking measures?		
		Yes	No	Total
Actual collaboration?	Yes	<b>23</b>	7	30
	No	4	<b>5</b>	9 <sup>6</sup>
	Total	27	12	39

## 6.2 Conclusion

In this section a general conclusion will be drawn regarding the second sub question: *in what way are organizational network forms used in relation to those local policies?*

Regarding the extent of interdependency between municipalities and other organizations / individuals expressed in terms of own goals, municipal respondents recognize in general that their municipalities are to a large extent (4.84) dependent on other organizations / individuals when it comes to the attainment of local policy goals. Moreover, municipal respondents consider the dependency of other organizations / individuals on municipalities in order to attain their own goals as reasonable (4.11). In general, the perceived level of interdependency between the municipalities and other organizations and/or individuals on the attainment of own goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants is reasonable large (4.48). It is also shown that a large majority of the respondents indicated that they cooperate with organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. This could be a consequence of the level of perceived (inter)dependency; at least these pictures are in line with each other. Municipalities cooperate more often with continuously the same organizations and/or individuals instead of with continuously varying organizations and/or individuals. According to the respondents, the number of network participants varies a lot; the number of network

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<sup>5</sup> There was one non-respondent regarding this question; in order to equalize the totals, I suppose that the respondent filled in a negative answer, because the respondent filled in the questions regarding the policy goals and measures taken both negatively.

<sup>6</sup> See footnote 4.

participants lies between 1 (minimum) and 25 (maximum). In the case studies, it will appear that it is arbitrary what the respondent counts as network participants; more about that in the following chapters. A lot of variation is also the case regarding the frequency of cooperation. Based on the results, there is not a clear direction regarding the frequency of cooperation. So, it cannot be concluded that a large majority of the municipalities cooperates often to very often or occasionally to almost never. The two most frequently mentioned types of organizations are with which the municipalities cooperate: neighbour municipalities and housing associations. Then, some types are mentioned quite often, namely: the national government, employment agencies, the provincial government and individual employers. It is clear that the real estate owners, the labour related interest groups and the Dutch social security agency UWV are less frequently seen as cooperation partners regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Regarding the mode of network governance adopted, more than half of the respondents indicated that the networks their municipalities are participating in are governed by all the participating organizations within the network (i.e. shared governance). 35% of the respondents indicated that their network is governed by one of the participating organizations within the network (i.e. lead organization). And 10% indicated that the network is governed by one organization that was specifically created for governing a network; a so-called Network Administrative Organization. Finally, one expects that a municipality with policy goals collaborates with other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; a municipality that does not have policy goals is expected not to collaborate. Moreover, one expects that a municipality which takes measures at this moment also collaborates with other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; a municipality that does not take measures at this moment is expected not to collaborate. Based on the survey results, it can be concluded that respondents largely answered in line with those expectations. Those municipalities that do not collaborate, but do have local policy goals and/or do take measures do not believe that they are independent of other organizations and/or individuals regarding the attainment of local policy goals. Those municipalities that do collaborate, but do not have local policy goals and/or do not take measures believe even stronger than other municipalities that they are dependent on other organizations and/or individuals regarding the attainment of local policy goals. However, it is quite strange that the respondents are able to judge that they are dependent regarding the attainment of local policy goals while they indicated that they actually do not have those local policy goals. Moreover, it is quite strange that municipalities do not take measures, but indicate that they do collaborate. Collaboration implies that each partner in one way or another contributes to the policy problem at stake by means of the use of resources they possess. In my opinion, in the case of municipalities using resources is approximately equivalent to taking measures.



## 7. The case Steenbergen

Steenbergen is a municipality in the province of Noord-Brabant. It is located in the southwest of the Netherlands, 40 km south of Rotterdam. The municipality has 23.442 inhabitants (reference date: 1 November 2012) and consists of the former municipalities Steenbergen and Kruisland, Dinteloord and Prinsenland and Nieuw-Vossemeer; they merged in 1997. Moreover, the municipality has a number of villages, such as Welberg. According to the municipal respondent, there are about 1.000 working migrants that are housed in the municipality. In Steenbergen, migrants are predominately working in the agriculture and horticulture sector.

### 7.1 The policy of the municipality Steenbergen

#### Survey results

According to the respondent, the municipality Steenbergen does have local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants, since 2009. Those local policy goals are laid down in policy documents. The local policy goals of Steenbergen are focused on both the quantitative and qualitative aspect of housing and overcrowding. According to the respondent, the local policy goals are considered to be to a large extent realistic. The local policy goals do not have to be attained in a certain period of time. There is not a time sequence in the attainment of those goals. According to the respondent, the municipality Steenbergen takes measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants at this moment. Those measures fall within the following categories: local regulations and enforcement of laws and regulations. The measures are predominantly focused on influencing other organizations and/or individuals in such a way that they contribute to the local policy goals. Moreover, the measures are predominantly focused on a multitude of actors and they predominantly want to stimulate desired behaviour. According to the respondent, policy documents explicitly indicate to a large extent which measures contribute to which local policy goals. Moreover, to a reasonable extent it is explicitly argued in policy documents which measures contribute to which local policy goals. According to the respondent, the measures taken contribute to a large extent to the attainment of local policy goals. There are no measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants that have to be taken earlier than other measures regarding the same topic. Steenbergen makes to a very small extent a distinction between policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Polish circular migrants on the one hand and policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand.

Several policy documents (adopted in the period 2007-2012) were studied. The most important policy document is the 'Beleidsnota Huisvesting Arbeidsmigranten gemeente Steenbergen' (Steenbergen, 2010). In the annual budget 2013 (Steenbergen, 2012) and in 'the quick-scan working migrants in West-Brabant: municipal policy analysis' (Gerrichhauzen & partners, 2012) there is also relevant information regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. According to Gerrichhauzen & partners (2012, p. 5), the municipality Steenbergen does have a well-developed policy.

#### Goals

The goals which are formulated in the 'Beleidsnota Huisvesting Arbeidsmigranten gemeente Steenbergen' are:

1. 'Ensuring that housing of working migrants can be realized in a socially responsible way for both the migrants themselves as for the environment' (Steenbergen, 2010, p. 9).
2. 'Counteracting irresponsible forms of housing' (Steenbergen, 2010, p. 9).

Indicators of socially responsible housing are: compliance with existing laws and regulations; the housing form should match with the demand for working migrants (only for migrants who work within the municipal boundaries); the housing form should better reflect the demand of the working migrants; the housing form should fit within the environment and the municipality only cooperates with reliable employment agencies (Steenbergen, 2010, p. 19-20). The just mentioned local policy goals are indeed focused on the quantitative and qualitative aspect of housing and in an indirect way on overcrowding.

### Means

First of all, it is noteworthy that the municipality takes a facilitating role regarding the housing of working migrants; it supports initiatives (Steenbergen, 2010, p. 19). The municipality Steenbergen (2010, p. 4 & 21) makes a distinction between seasonal migrants and circular migrants on the one hand and migrants who want to stay permanently on the other hand; this is also recognized by Gerrichhauzen & partners (2012, p. 13-14). Those temporary working migrants (including circular migrants) can be housed in pensions and accommodation buildings or on the plot of the agrarian company (up to 40 people; within the building block). Permanent working migrants should live in normal houses. Steenbergen (2010, p. 24) makes use of local regulations, like zoning plans, the 'bouwverordening' (building ordinance) and the 'APV' (general local ordinance) in order to steer on this. Moreover, Steenbergen (2010, p. 26) maintains laws and regulations in order to counteract illegal housing. Enforcement occurs on the municipality's own initiative or in response to complaints. In the case of an urgent interest (lack of fire safety) the municipality shall enforce immediately. In the case of a non-urgent situation, the case will be addressed on a project base. Legalization of illegal housing (in conflict with the zoning plan) is also a policy instrument which is used (Steenbergen, 2010, p. 26). Steenbergen has also signed the 'Covenant Huisvesting uitzendmigranten West-Brabant'; stakeholders commit themselves to proper regulation of the housing of working migrants. In the annual municipal budget 2013 (Steenbergen, 2012, p. 43), it is stated that the municipality continues with the implementation of covenants and regional cooperation. The just mentioned local policy instruments fall indeed within the indicated categories. However, the respondent did not indicate that his municipalities signed a covenant (he had this opportunity in the survey). Nor did he mention that his municipality supports housing initiatives.

### Time choices

Time choices were made regarding the time sequence of the attainment of local policy goals and the measures to be taken as well as the period in which the local policy goals have to be attained. Those choices consciously made or not, have as a result that there are no sequences or deadlines. This is in line what the respondent answered in the survey.

### Final relations

According to the respondent (survey results), policy documents explicitly indicate to a large extent which measures contribute<sup>7</sup> to which local policy goals. Although, it is guessable which measures contribute to which goals it is in my opinion not explicitly indicated. This can be illustrated by the fact that the goals in the policy document are in chapter 3 of the document and the measures are explained in separate chapters without referring to which goal(s) they contribute. In the absence of goal-mean indications, argumentation about which measures contribute to which local policy goals is not an issue at all.

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<sup>7</sup> In this context it is about the intended contribution and not the determined contribution (effectiveness). This footnote applies to the rest of the thesis.

### Policy in practice

According to the municipal respondent (interview results) I correctly summarized the policy goals of and the measures taken by the municipality Steenbergem regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. The respondent considers the policy goals to a large extent realistic. In the interview, he argued this consideration with the claim that 'the policy goals are not too ambitious'. Moreover, he considers the implementation realistic, because of the appointed locations for housing those migrants. In the interview, the respondent was not able to argue why he answered in the survey that the measures taken contribute to a large extent to the realization of the policy goals. In the interview, the respondent confirms his survey answer that the municipality makes to a small extent a distinction between policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Polish circular migrants on the one hand and policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand: 'Mainly, there are Poles in the municipality Steenbergem. We do not say: Poles are allowed; Bulgarians are not. The employment permit does not play a role in the housing policy'. On contrary, the respondent of employment agency Goodmorning mentioned that they do house Romanians.

According to the municipal respondent, the criterion of socially responsible consists of several sub criteria: 'the fulfilment of the laws and regulations is the minimal sub criterion and is objective. The sub criterion that housing of working migrants has to fit into the environment is very subjective; it is filled in by the local aesthetics committee and/or in consultation with the environment, such as the village council and inhabitants'. Respondent is not that afraid of the not-in-my-backyard-effect: 'if all the requirements of reasonableness are met, then the housing project will continue. At this moment, there are no major problems regarding this, because consultation takes place in a constructive way and wishes of the environment are met as much as possible'. Respondent mentioned that the municipality wants that housing of the migrants takes place outside the cores of the villages, because then the nuisance is limited. According to the respondent, some agricultural companies house their migrant workers on their own agricultural plots. According to the respondent it is hard to find investors for the expansion of the housing capacity within the municipality. It is not allowed to house families of migrant workers in guesthouses: 'they belong in a family house within the village core'. Up to now, there are no problems detected regarding this. The respondent mentioned that there has been an enforcement action on a farm last year; 'the farmer did not meet the standards of decent housing'. The municipality prefers centralized housing of migrants instead of decentralized housing of migrants in and between normal houses, because it reduces nuisance and in the latter case there are fewer facilities for the migrants themselves. The coupling of housing and work is not experienced by the respondent as problematic: 'in practice, it is convenient that the two coincide; through this way unacceptable situations can be prevented'. The municipality tries to avoid shady situations by providing cooperation.

At the time of the interviews (see annex VII), there is a dispute going between the municipality and cooperative association Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer<sup>8</sup>. According to the municipal respondent, 'the housing activities on Sunclass are in conflict with the zoning plan. However, the municipality is willing to cooperate in a legalization procedure, but it wants to impose some requirements. Until 31 March 2013, the horticulturists do have time to submit a new zoning plan. Meanwhile, some German recreationists, who are owners of a minor share of the total number of cottages on the park, are submitting enforcement requests. No major offences were detected during inspections by the municipality. The controversy is about housing more than one working migrant in a cottage. In the case of Sunclass, investments in the quality of housing are not made, because they want clarity about

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<sup>8</sup> Cooperative association *Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer* accommodates working migrants of its members (predominately horticulturists) in cottages on recreational park *Sunclass*; see 'network in practice' in section 7.2.



what is allowed and what not'. Moreover, the municipal respondent considers a revised zoning plan in favour of the horticulturists: 'planning blight, the horticulturists are hinting at this, will not be compensated. However, the costs of the revision of the zoning plan should be at the expense of the municipality'. One of the owners, with the largest share of the total number of cottages on the park, and also spokesman of the cooperative association Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer has a very different perspective on the dispute. 'the zoning plan, which was applicable at the time we bought the cottages, was revised unchanged in 2010. One of the German owners submitted an enforcement request to the municipality. About 1 April 2011 the former alderman expressed itself in the media: at the Sunclass park there is an illegal situation; we are going to enforce that situation. We, as owners, remembered the municipality to a letter dating from 2007 in which it was confirmed by the municipality that the way in which we housed our people was allowed. Local regulations are interpreted in two ways and that caused the conflict. They (the municipality) want the owners of Sunclass to come with an initiative proposal in order to revise the current zoning plan. Moreover, they offer the possibility that enforcing the situation is not needed, which can be considered as a helping hand. However, it just seems that way because the municipality must reserve money (15.000 euro) in order to proceed to enforcement and that is just not what they want. We are accused of something illegal; we doubt that'. The respondent of farmers association ZLTO Steenberg - Bergen op Zoom confirmed that the municipality is not that active regarding the enforcement of situations: 'the municipality does have a problem at the Sunclass-park. However, up till now the municipality did not play an active role regarding the enforcement of situations'. The Sunclass respondent continued: 'taking the lead in the revision of a zoning plan seems the world upside down; the current zoning plan dates back to 1984 (including an unchanged revision in 2010 in the context of legal validity). In the meantime, nothing has changed in the zoning plan and now we are supposed to resolve the problems'. Moreover, the respondent, on behalf of the horticultural members of the cooperative association Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer, mentioned that they did not receive an official prior notice regarding enforcement actions by the municipality yet despite repeated requests from Sunclass itself: 'then we can go to court to seek verification of the disputed definitions in the zoning plan'. According to the respondent, they are not taken seriously by the municipality: 'a potential initiative proposal has as a precondition that it must be broadly supported. The five Germans at the park are opposed to legalization, just as the village council Nieuw-Vossemeer; they think that recreation is the salvation of Nieuw-Vossemeer'.

Another housing project in Steenberg is the former Stella Maris monastery, which is located in Welberg. Although, the municipal respondent did not say that much about the policy process regarding this project in the interview (afterwards we visited the project), it was clear to me that this project is the municipal flagship. According to the respondent of employment agency Goodmorning, the zoning plan allowed Goodmorning to exploit that accommodation. In other words, the municipality did not have the opportunity to block the developments as proposed by Goodmorning. The respondent of Goodmorning: 'the number of residents in that accommodation is not limited in the zoning plan. It was allowed that the buildings cover maximum 50% of the construction field of the plot; we have reduced this to 42%, because we want to house 400 migrant workers at that location. We (the municipality, the village council Welberg and Goodmorning) have agreed that at the moment when the new building is realized we, Goodmorning, are going to cooperate in the development of a new zoning plan that captures the current 42% of the construction field as a maximum. And if one wishes, we are also willing to capture the maximum number of residents in the new zoning plan' (i.e. the intended 400). The respondent of the village council Welberg, who was also involved in the policy implementation regarding the Stella Maris monastery, is a little bit sceptical about the policy in practice: 'at this moment, there is a house for sale in our village. We receive signals from the villagers that apparently the owner of the house sublet it to working migrants. So, an ordinary house is used as a kind of pension. In that case, what is the value of the municipal policy?' The respondent argued that the village council advised positively about the intended developments by Goodmorning at the Stella Maris plot on the condition that no other pensions will arise in the

village; 'and now you see things happen which are against the appointments made. This is the moment to test the willingness of the municipality to enforce such situations. Villagers did not submit enforcement request, so I did on behalf of them'. Moreover, the respondent of the village council Welberg confirmed that the municipality struggles with the financial consequences of the housing policy: 'in a conversation with the new mayor of Steenbergen, she indicated that it should be possible to nail down the appointments made without revising the zoning plan, because the latter has of course quite some financial implications'.

#### Theoretical interpretation of the policy

A distinction can be made between internal and external goals on the one hand and between singular and permanent goals on the other hand (see chapter 3). Internal goals are those goals with an effect on the work environment of the government itself; external goals are goals which are related to a situation outside the government. Singular goals are goals which have the following effect: a policy may be ended when the goals are achieved. Regarding permanent goals, on contrary, an on-going effort is needed in order to continue to meet a certain goal. The first goal of the municipality Steenbergen can be characterized as an external, permanent goal. The second goal of the municipality Steenbergen can be characterized as an internal, permanent goal.

Based on the policy instruments used, the municipality of Steenbergen is merely using the legal steering model. A distinction can be made between direct policy instruments and indirect policy instruments (see chapter 3). Direct policy instruments contribute to goal attainment without the intervention of other instruments. These direct instruments are focused on behavioural changes or the production of certain collective goods and services. Indirect policy instruments are instruments which make it possible to use other policy instruments. The policy instruments used by the municipality of Steenbergen can almost all be characterized as direct policy instruments; supporting housing initiatives and covenants can be characterized as indirect policy instruments. Policy instruments used by the municipality such as the 'bouwverordening' (building ordinance), the 'APV' (general local ordinance), zoning plans and enforcement of these regulations are constituent in nature; Steenbergen takes measures itself in order to attain the goals. Policy instruments such as supporting housing initiatives and the covenants are directing; Steenbergen affects the behaviour of other actors in such a way that those actors contribute to the attainment of goals set by Steenbergen. So, Steenbergen takes measures which are predominately constituent; this is contrary to what the respondent indicated in the survey (predominantly directing). Policy instruments such as the support of housing initiatives, enforcement, (partial) zoning plan, and legalization are focused on specific actors (individual). Policy instruments such as the 'bouwverordening' (building ordinance) and the 'APV' (general local ordinance) are focused on a multitude of actors (general). So, Steenbergen takes measures which are predominately focused on specific actors; this is contrary to what the respondent indicated in the survey (predominately focused on a multitude of actors). Policy instruments such as supporting housing initiatives, covenants and legalization want to stimulate desired behaviour (i.e. realizing housing in a socially responsible way for both the migrants themselves as for the environment); policy instruments such as enforcement of regulations, 'bouwverordening' (building ordinance), the 'APV' (general local ordinance) and zoning plans want to discourage certain behaviour (i.e. irresponsible forms of housing). In the survey, the respondent answered that the measures taken predominantly want to stimulate desired behaviour instead of discourage certain behaviour. Based on the instruments used, I disagree on that.

In summary, one can conclude that the municipality Steenbergen formulated an internal and external permanent goal; the policy instruments used correspond in general to the legal steering model. The municipality of Steenbergen is using a mix of direct/indirect, constituent/directing, individual/general and stimulating/discouraging policy instruments.

## 7.2 The network form of the municipality Steenbergen

According to the respondent (survey results), the municipality Steenbergen is to a very large extent dependent on other organizations and/or individuals regarding the attainment of the local policy goals. Moreover, the respondent indicated that other organizations and/or individuals are to a large extent dependent on the municipality of Steenbergen regarding the attainment of their own goals. The municipality Steenbergen cooperates with other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; to be more precise, with continuously the same organizations and/or individuals. The respondent indicated that its municipality cooperates 'often' with 10 organizations and/or individuals. These organizations and/or individuals are: the national government, the provincial government, neighbour municipalities, employment agencies and individual employers. The network around which is concerned with the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants is governed by one of the participating organizations within the network (i.e. lead organization).

### Network in practice

Based on other sources, a more nuanced picture arises. Of course, one should consider the regional context of the municipal network, but according to the municipal respondent the most important organizations with which the municipality cooperates within its own municipal borders are: 'employment agency Goodmorning, cooperative association Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer, village council Welberg, village council Nieuw-Vossemeer and farmers association ZLTO Steenbergen – Bergen op Zoom'. This is quite logical; the other organizations with which the municipality 'cooperates', such as the provincial government, are not directly involved in the implementation of the municipal policy. Figure 18 is a visual representation of the municipal network regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. In this figure, a distinction is made between confirmed relations (colour: black) and non-confirmed relations (colour: grey). The most central network member is the municipality; this is not surprising when you analyse the network from a municipal perspective. Moreover, one can observe a clique between the following organizations: village council Welberg, Goodmorning and the municipality Steenbergen. The village council Nieuw-Vossemeer refused to participate in an interview; for that reason I do not involve it in the network evaluation which is conducted in section 7.4 in order to explain the degree of goal attainment. Otherwise, data is taken into account that provides a one-sided and incomplete picture. In figure 18, by means of the green circle it is indicated which organizations are involved in the further analysis; the red circle indicates that the village council Nieuw-Vossemeer is not involved. The village council Nieuw-Vossemeer responded to my request as follows: 'the village council does not cooperate with the municipality Steenbergen regarding the housing of working migrants. The village council does not have an opinion about the way in which housing of working migrants should look like. The village council is against the housing of working migrants in cottages which are located at the Sunclass park'. This confirms the position of the village council Nieuw-Vossemeer as explained by the respondent of the cooperative association Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer in the previous section.

According to the municipal respondent, the housing associations are not willing to cooperate in this policy field: 'they evade their responsibility. In neighbouring municipalities, there are housing associations that participate in this field'. Moreover, the respondent mentioned that the cooperation with some partners is going well and with other partners the cooperation proceeds with difficulty. The municipal respondent mentioned that there is frequent contact with farmers association ZLTO on the subject of communication towards their members: 'board members of ZLTO also agreed that housing should be arranged in a proper way. They do not have an active role regarding the realization of proper housing itself, but do have a communicative / mediating role regarding it'. Regarding the Stella Maris housing project, the municipal respondent mentioned that Goodmorning, village council Welberg and the municipality gathered every month: 'the village council Welberg played a very important role, because there was very much resistance within the village against the

development of Stella Maris'. Regarding the development at the Sunclass park, the village council Nieuw-Vossemeer was also invited to participate in the policy process: 'but they are against any development at all, so they cannot cooperate in the optimizing of outcomes'. On contrary to the rather positive perception of the municipal respondent regarding the functioning of the network, the respondent of the cooperative association Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer wonders how to interpret the cooperation with the municipality: 'you get into situations that make it almost impossible to work together with the municipality. At the end of 2010, there has been a municipal inspection at the park; five months later a story pops up in the local newspaper that this situation is illegal and that the municipality intends to enforce this situation: I do not call that cooperation. However, several conversations have taken place and progress has been made in those conversations. Fighting the authorities does not make sense. You should try to solve the problems together: only how'? Moreover, the respondent of the cooperative association Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer mentioned that they do not cooperate with ZLTO Steenberg – Bergen op Zoom: 'ZLTO was not open for a joint approach; that is the reason why I am not a member of ZLTO anymore'.

Goodmorning offers the possibility that other employment agencies can use their housing, albeit through long-term contracts: 'however, we are not there yet, because we need our full capacity at this moment'. The respondent of Goodmorning mentioned that they cooperate very well with the municipality: 'occasionally there were some struggles, but that is quite natural between an entrepreneur and a municipality'. Regarding the cooperation with the village council Welberg, the respondent of Goodmorning mentioned the following: 'after our announcement that we would come to Steenberg, the village council Welberg mobilized the public opinion: we do not want this development. However, when our approach became clear and when it became clear that there was nothing to be done legally, the village council adopted a cooperative attitude. However, they are critical to our behaviour. As long as that behaviour falls within the agreements made, there is no cloud in the sky'. The respondent of the village council Welberg confirmed this: 'the fact that we were involved in the development (despite the fact that the development was allowed already) has ensured that we looked positively towards the development'. But at the same time he indicated that 'if the zoning plan did not allow this development, then our attitude was different. 100 residents is an acceptable number, but then we had used all possible means in order to stop the expansion of the building to a capacity of 400 residents. 400 residents at that location are not in proportion to the 1100 inhabitants of the village. The village council Welberg did not exist at the time when the zoning plan was adopted'. The respondent of farmers association ZLTO Steenberg – Bergen op Zoom mentioned that they cooperate with the municipality and with some owners of the cooperative association Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer. According to the respondent, horticulturists are divided on the way in which housing should be arranged: 'at the plots of agricultural companies or not'. Moreover, he confirmed that 'housing associations have never done anything regarding the housing of migrant workers'.

In the survey, the municipal respondent mentioned that the network is governed by one of the participating organizations within the network (i.e. lead organization). When I recapitulate the characteristics of the three modes of network governance as mentioned in section 3.4.2 and when I look at the visual representation of the network in figure 18, the survey answer of the respondent is plausible. Indeed, power is distributed asymmetrical and the network goals are closely related to the goals of the lead organization. In fact, the network goals are the goals of the lead organization (i.e. the municipality).

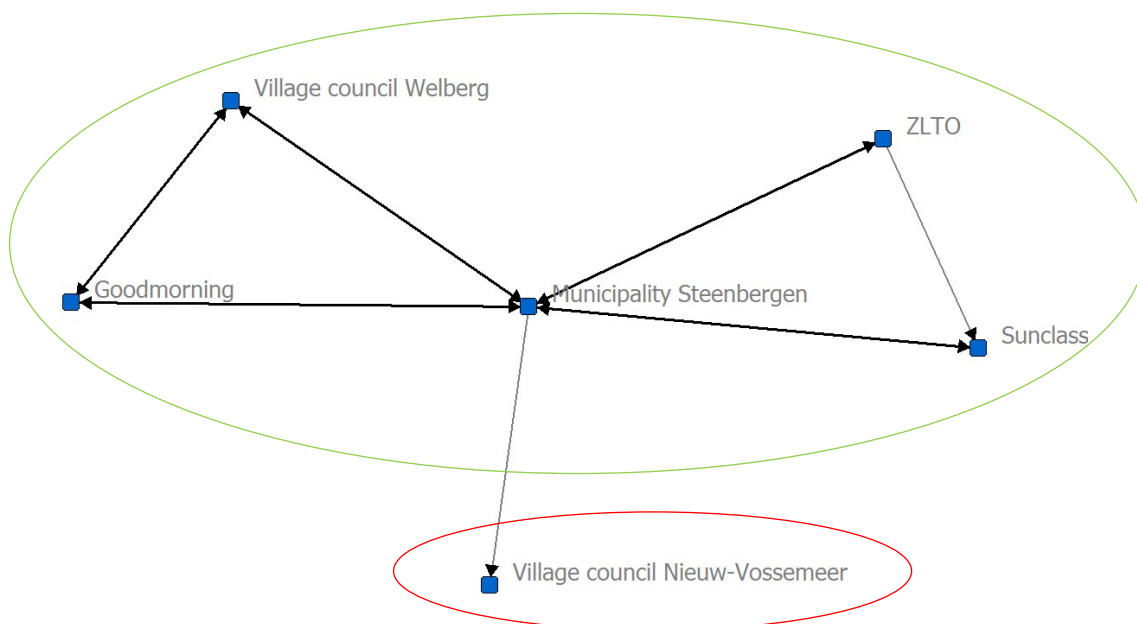


Figure 18: the municipal network regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants.

### 7.3 Goal attainment in the municipality Steenbergen

This section answers partial the third sub-question: *to what extent are policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants in the municipalities of Steenbergen, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas attained?* In this chapter it is about the goal attainment within the municipality Steenbergen. The degree of goal attainment is operationalized as the difference between the situation reached on the one hand and the initial situation at the beginning of the evaluation period (the period in which the policy was executed) on the other hand, because this achieved improvement is not dependent on the ambition level of the goals set (intended improvement). Since there is no information about the initial situation and the situation reached in the policy documents, I have to rely on the interviews.

#### 7.3.1 Initial situation

‘Before 2010, when there was another board of mayor and aldermen, all housing initiatives were thwarted on all kinds of possibilities’. According to the municipal respondent, the first working migrants were housed at the Sunclass park: ‘horticulturalists bought some cottages in order to house Poles. At the Stella Maris location working migrants were also housed in a miserable way; fortunately that has come to an end. The basis of the policy was not the situation that working migrants were sleeping in haystacks. I do not claim that it never happened within this municipality, but it was not a structural problem’.

#### 7.3.2 Situation reached

The municipal respondent mentioned that when the policy framework was adopted and a new board of mayor and aldermen came into office, a positive attitude towards housing initiatives was established. The municipal respondent: ‘it is obvious to say that working migrants are better housed than before. There can be no guarantee that the municipality is aware of all illegal housing. The cooperation from the municipality regarding housing initiatives has improved significantly. The number of complaints received by the municipality is negligible. A process of improvement regarding the quality and quantity of housing is initiated by means of a policy framework; it goes slowly in the right direction’. The municipal respondent is satisfied with the progress regarding the quality of housing. On contrary, he is not satisfied with the quantity of housing: ‘at this moment there are not

enough accommodations; in the long run, by far not enough. At the moment, there is room for 1.000 working migrants (including the expansion at the Stella Maris location and the legalization of housing at the Sunclass park). In time, another 1.000 working migrants have to be housed as a consequence of the expansion at the agro-food cluster Nieuw-Prinsenland. The municipality approaches entrepreneurs with migrant workers whether they want to invest together in the housing of those people but without success'. Nevertheless, at the Stella Maris location the capacity increases from 100 to 400 residents: 'previously, there were 300 migrant workers housed in the same compartment where now 100 migrants are housed; that is not optimal housing'. Moreover, the municipal respondent mentioned that regarding the housing initiatives taken, employers perceived a positive attitude of the municipality, but they also perceived that requirements are set: 'it can be said that the quality is improving slowly'. Regarding the development at the Stella Maris location he said: 'consensus has been reached on the development. The atmosphere and cooperation in Welberg changed in such way that once the license for the Stella Maris location came into the appeal procedure, there were no objections at all'.

That something has been reached is confirmed by farmers association ZLTO: 'the municipality has well anticipated on the developments regarding the arrival and housing of migrant workers, although they have taken a long time for it'. The respondents of Goodmorning and cooperative association Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer both point at the impact of agro-food cluster Nieuw-Prinsenland on the housing needs. The respondent of the cooperative association Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer: 'we covered our needs, but if Nieuw-Prinsenland is going to grow, additional housing is needed'. The respondent of Goodmorning stated: 'the municipality makes no secret of the fact that they want a second housing location of Goodmorning, also in the light of the Nieuw-Prinsenland development'.

### **7.3.3 Degree of goal attainment**

A lot has been said about the achieved improvement in ensuring the realization of housing and the socially responsible way in which this should be done for both the working migrant and the environment. The attitude of the municipality towards housing initiatives has improved significantly. I have seen it with my own eyes, the Stella Maris project is a very good example of increasing the quantity and quality of housing and involving the environment in such way that the development was accepted. The situation at the Sunclass park is different regarding the acceptance of the environment, but irresponsible forms of housing at the Sunclass park is out of the question. The municipality is willing to legalize the situation. However, demanding initiative proposals in order to modify the zoning plan is at odds with the public task of the municipality and its positive attitude towards housing initiatives. The same applies to the zoning plan of Stella Maris; the municipality has not secured the results achieved. Not that much has been said about the initial situation and the situation reached regarding counteracting irresponsible forms of housing. Working migrants sleeping in haystacks was not a structural problem. But at the moment of the interview the municipality could not guarantee that it is aware of all illegal housing. The municipality tries to avoid shady situations by providing cooperation, but that does not exclude that irresponsible housing exists. Achieved improvement regarding this is not detectable.

Based on the interviews, I conclude that the degree of goal attainment, in terms of the achieved improvement, can be expressed as a reasonable extent (i.e. effectiveness at the community level is considered to be medium).

## **7.4 Explanation of degree of goal attainment**

This section answers partial the last sub-question: *to what extent is that degree of goal attainment a consequence of the content of those local policies and the operation of the local organizational network forms?*

### **7.4.1 Content of the policy**

The reasonable extent of goal attainment can be explained by the content of the policy. First of all, there is a separate structured policy document in which the municipality laid down its policy regarding the housing of working migrants. However, I have concluded earlier that there are no explicit goal-mean indications within the policy documents. It is guessable which measures contribute to which goals, but that is not enough. In a sophisticated policy document, it should be explicitly mentioned which means contribute to which goals. Moreover, it should be argued why this is the case. So, yes it is good that there is a separate policy document, but the policy itself can be considered as incoherent. Secondly, I have described extensively the way in which the policy works in practice (perceived by the interviewees). The municipality prefers centralized housing instead of decentralized housing. It is plausible that management of centralized housing reduces nuisance. This could be a reason why eventually such developments are socially accepted. Decentralized housing is due to its scale often unmanaged; it is plausible that this leads to more nuisance in streets and neighbourhoods. The municipality tries to avoid shady situations by providing cooperation. Although this prevent not all undesirable situations, it does make sense. The revision of zoning plan is a public task. Shifting this responsibility (and corresponding financial consequences) to employers does not contribute to the attainment of policy goals. Moreover, it is not clear how often the municipality proceeds to enforcement (the municipal respondent mentioned only one case) and whether the municipality tried to identify irresponsible forms of housing. This makes it difficult to determine whether the municipality indeed counteracts irresponsible forms of housing. Thirdly, the municipality of Steenbergem formulated an internal and external permanent goal and is using a mix of direct/indirect, constituent/directing, individual/general and stimulating/discouraging policy instruments. It shows that the policy instruments used are not one-sided; they form a toolkit that can be applied to any situation. Moreover, this mix of policy instruments recognizes that goal attainment is not only dependent on municipal action, but also on the behaviour of others.

### **7.4.2 Four contingency factors**

According to Provan & Kenis (2008), lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared among network participants, when there are relatively moderate number of network participants, when network-level goal consensus is moderately low, and when the need for network-level competencies is moderate.

#### **Number of network participants**

Within a network, there can be a few network members, a moderate number of members and many members. In the operationalization chapter (see section 4.4.3) I mentioned that I consider 0-6 network members as 'few members'; 7-9 network members is considered to be a 'moderate number' and 10 or more network members is considered to be 'many members'. The number of network participants in this case is 5 (excluding the village council Nieuw-Vossemeer). A fundamental problem of network governance is that the activities and needs of multiple organizations have to be coordinated. Given the number of participants in this network, coordination seems not that problematic. Lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when there are a relatively moderate number of network participants. In this network, there are a few number of participants (5) instead of a moderate number (7-9). So, the number of network participants in this case is not in line with the expectation of Provan & Kenis (2008) that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when there is relatively moderate number of network participants.

#### **Trust**

Three questions regarding the concept of trust are defined in the interview questionnaires. All these three questions can be answered on a four point scale. The answer options are weighted as follows:

very sure/full extent = 3, sure/large extent = 2, probably/reasonable extent = 1 and not sure/no extent = 0. The sum of the three answers to the three questions is the level of trust of one network member in the other, with a maximum score of 9 and a minimum score of 0. In my opinion, one network member trusts another network member when his overall score on the three questions regarding the concept of trust is 5 or more. There is no question of a trust relation if this score is below 5. This case contains 5 interviewees; this means that there are 20 ( $5^2 - 5$ ) possible trust relations. If have related the number of trust relations to the three levels of density of trust (see section 4.4.3). In this case we can speak of low density of trust when there are 0-7 trust relations; moderate density of trust when there are 7-13 trust relations and high density of trust when there are 13-20 trust relations.

In the next table one can see the for each network member the level of trust of the network member in others. When indicated that there is no relationship, I filled in an 'X'. The trust relations are coloured green and the relations in which there is some trust, but not sufficient to call it trust relations, are coloured red.

Table 12: density of trust within the housing network Steenbergen

→ Trust of organization (row) in other organizations (columns)	Municipality Steenbergen	Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer	Goodmorning	Village council Welberg	ZLTO
Municipality Steenbergen	X	2	9	4	7
Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer	2	X	X	X	X
Goodmorning	9	X	X	9	X
Village council Welberg	4	X	4	X	X
ZLTO	9	5	X	X	X

Based on this table I conclude that there are 6 trust relations; this means that there is a low density of trust within the network. Lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared (low density) among network participants; this is the case. However, the presence of trust relations between the lead organization and the network members is crucial. The municipality's trust in the village council Welberg and in Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer is low. The municipal respondent argued his answers regarding the trust in the village council Welberg as follows: 'village councils are voluntary clubs; they do not always keep to the appointments made'. The other way around, the trust of the village council Welberg and Sunclass Nieuw-Vossemeer in the municipality is also low. The respondent of Sunclass is not sure whether the municipality will actually fulfil the agreements made. Regarding the suitability of the municipality in performing (public) tasks; he said: 'they really want to do something, but on the other hand they want us to come with an initiative proposal'. The respondent of village council Welberg mentioned that they made far-reaching agreements: 'but until now, nothing is formalized in the zoning plan. What if Goodmorning sells Stella Maris? We do have appointments with Goodmorning, not with new owners. Until now, neither the municipality nor Goodmorning want to abandon the agreements made, but we shall see. You could have a gentlemen's agreement, but it does not feel



comfortable. The announcement of the arrival of Goodmorning and the expansion until 400 residents by means of the press is considered as a false start. Regarding the defence of the common interest, the municipality does also have an own interest; 400 more inhabitants simply provides additional money for the municipal budget (via the so-called 'Gemeentefonds').

So, the density of trust within this network is in line with the expectation of Provan & Kenis (2008) that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared (low density) among network participants. Moreover, trust of all network members in the lead organization (i.e. the municipality) is crucial; this is not the case.

### **Goal consensus**

Network members were asked about goal consensus: in the case Steenberg 4 members were asked. In order to measure goal consensus, 1) it needs to be measured whether network members agree with the 'network-level goals' of the municipality; 2) it needs to be measured whether the organizational goals of the other network members are in line with the 'network-level goals' of the municipality and 3) it needs to be measured whether network members act in accordance with the 'network-level goals'. The answers to the just mentioned three measurements of goal consensus (open questions) lead to an overall picture of the level of goal consensus of one network member. The level of goal consensus of one network member can be divided into 5 categories: high (5), moderately high (4), moderate (3), moderately low (2), low (1). Since the answers are qualitative, I have to estimate which category is applicable for a certain network member based on the statements made by that very network member. So, each network member gets a score in this range of 1-5. The level of goal consensus within the network can be calculated as follows: the total score of all the network members divided by the number of network members; this is the level of goal consensus within the housing network Steenberg.

The respondent of Sunclass agrees with the network-level goals of the municipality: 'I totally agree'. Regarding their own goals he said: 'we fully support adequate housing. If you are good for your people (read: working migrants), then they are also good for you'. Moreover, he said that 'our cottages are all certified; each year they are inspected. I am a member of the NBBU<sup>9</sup>. Within the association it is decided to make a plan of action. We want to professionalize the board of the association, we want to outsource the administration, we want to incorporate eight owners of cottages who are not members of our association and we want to arrange the maintenance of the park. So, yes we are acting in accordance with the policy goals'. The respondent did not mention something to make the housing at the Sunclass park more socially accepted by the environment nor did he argue why he agreed that housing should be arranged in a socially responsible way for environment. Nevertheless, I assess the overall level of goal consensus of this network member as moderately high (4).

The respondent of Goodmorning also agrees with the network-level goals of the municipality: 'yes, wholeheartedly'. Goodmorning supports the first goal explicitly; the second goal (counteracting irresponsible forms of housing) a little less: 'it is a governmental job to counteract irresponsible forms of housing'. Moreover, Goodmorning acts in accordance with the policy goals: 'what we offer in Steenberg is of a very high level and complies with all laws and regulations'. I assess the overall level of goal consensus of this network member as high (5).

The respondent of the village council Welberg agrees upon the network-level goals as they are written down: 'but we also find out that it is explicable in many ways. The policy goals are in line with our own thoughts provided that deviating situations will be enforced'. Primary, the village council did

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<sup>9</sup> Nederlandse Bond van Bemiddelings- en Uitzendondernemingen.

not act in accordance with the policy goals: 'we were against the Stella Maris developments, but we changed our opinion and attitude because of adequate management of the building, the way in which migrants are housed, house rules, access control and the parking policy of Goodmorning'. I assess the overall level of goal consensus of this network member as moderate (3).

The respondent of farmers associations ZLTO also agrees upon the network-level goals set by the municipality: 'on that we agree, of course. As ZLTO, we propagate adequate housing, but ultimately it is up to the entrepreneurs to act in line with that'. This indicates that the policy goals are in line with the own goals of ZLTO. Moreover, the respondent mentioned that the members of ZLTO keep themselves quite well to the goals: 'It could sometimes happen that a member does not comply with the rules, but in general you see that employers in our sector comply with the rules'. I assess the overall level of goal consensus of this network members as moderately high (4).

The total score of all the network members is 16; divided by the number of network members (4) is 4. The level of goal consensus within the housing network Steenbergen is moderately high. So, the level of goal consensus in this case is not in line with the expectation of Provan & Kenis (2008) that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when network-level goal consensus is moderately low.

### **Need for network level competencies**

The need for network level competencies can be measured by two indicators: the nature of tasks being performed by the network members (interdependency) and the external demands and needs which are related to the network. Starting point for determining the level of interdependency is the average of the two answers (7 answer options) to the questions asked in the survey. I will nuance or reinforce that average if statements from the interviews give reasons to this. The level of interdependency is low when the average is 1-2, the level is moderate when the average is 3-5 and the level is high when the average is 6-7. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network can be categorized as follows: high, moderate and low. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network is high in the case that several network members mention different demands and/or needs. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network is moderate in the case that a few network members mention different demands and/or needs. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network is low in the case that no network members mention any demands and/or needs. So, the level of interdependency within a network and the level of external demands and needs being faced by the network have to be combined in order to indicate the need for network-level competencies. This automatically leads to five categories that indicate the need for network-level competencies.

#### *Level of interdependency*

According to the municipal respondent (survey result), the municipality of Steenbergen is to a very large extent (6) dependent on other organizations/individuals regarding the attainment of the policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. The municipal respondent argued his choice as follows: 'it all happens, because you need each other. You cannot without the cooperation of each'. Moreover, the respondent indicated that other organizations and/or individuals are to a large extent (5) dependent on the municipality of Steenbergen regarding the attainment of their own goals. All the respondents recognize themselves in the qualification made by the municipal respondent. The respondent of Sunclass: 'Yes, that is right. The municipality can make or break you when it comes to regulations'. The respondent of Goodmorning: 'Yes, you are dependent on its policy and its responsibilities derived from public law. Yes, I recognize myself in that answer'. The respondent of the village council Welberg: 'Yes, the municipality determines, we can try to affect that by means of a dialogue'. The respondent of ZLTO: 'our members are dependent on the municipality. If the municipality decides that housing at the plots of agricultural companies is not allowed anymore, then it is over'. The average of the two answers is 5.5. The unambiguous

confirmation of the interdependency justifies it to round this average on a 6. The level of interdependency in this case is considered to be high. Other factors that played a role in the establishment of cooperation are related to self-interest: 1) more or less the anxiety that opposing the municipality regarding this subject can affect the operations of the company in other ways (for instance: environmental licenses); both respondents of Sunclass and ZLTO pointed at this and 2) the willingness to create an exemplary project out of Stella Maris; the respondent of Goodmorning pointed at this.

#### *External demands and needs*

The municipal respondent mentioned that the pressure from society is a factor that can be considered as an external demand. All the respondents indicated that there are no external demands and needs that are related to the relationships in which they are involved. The respondent of Goodmorning mentioned that they do not have to cope with changes in funding like housing associations do at this moment. Moreover he mentioned that in specific situations there are no real demands from umbrella organization ABU<sup>10</sup>. The respondent of ZLTO also mentioned that there are no restrictions from their umbrella organization LTO<sup>11</sup>. So the level of external demands and needs is considered to be low.

Based on the level of these two indicators the need for network level competencies is moderate: the level of interdependency is high; the level of external demands and needs is low (see table 5 in section 4.4.3). So, the need for network level competencies in this case is in line with the expectation of Provan & Kenis (2008) that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when the need for network-level competencies is moderate.

#### **7.4.3 Effectiveness at the network level**

The effectiveness of a network as an organizational form can be measured by: the extent to which services that are actually needed by clients are provided by the network; the absence of service duplication; the strength of relations between network members and the degree in which network members want to invest in the attainment of those goals.

#### **Range of services provided**

The range of services provided is measured by the extent to which the network provides sufficient result in order to meet housing needs of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants (according to the network members themselves). The municipal respondent answered: 'not enough at this moment; in the long run, by far not enough'. It was mentioned earlier in section 7.3.2; the expansion at the agro-food cluster Nieuw-Prinsenland is expected to cause a doubling of the number of working migrants within the municipality and thus a doubling of the housing need. The respondent of Sunclass confirmed this: 'we covered our need, but for the municipality Steenbergem it is a different story. If agro-food cluster Nieuw-Prinsenland grows, then additional housing is needed. Moreover, it is dangerous that a lot of entrepreneurs keep their mouths shut; where are those people housed and in what way?' The respondent of Goodmorning mentioned that they also covered their need: 'I observe that the municipality does not hide its eagerness to have a second accommodation of Goodmorning within its borders, also in the light of the development at the agro-food cluster Nieuw-Prinsenland. For us, it is important to fill the expanded Stella Maris accommodation before thinking about a second accommodation'. The village council does not have an opinion whether the network provides sufficient result in order to meet the housing need. The respondent of ZLTO is less sceptical: 'I think there are enough possibilities in order to cope with the growth'.

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<sup>10</sup> Algemene Bond Uitzendondernemingen.

<sup>11</sup> Land- en Tuinbouworganisatie.

It could be the case that some of the network members covered their own needs, but that says nothing about the coverage of the needs of all migrants within the municipal borders; apparently, several respondents (including the municipal respondent) have concerns about that. Based on this, I draw the conclusion that the network provides improvable result in order to meet housing needs of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants.

### **Service duplication**

The absence of service duplication is operationalized as the extent to which network members consider that services/tasks being offered within the network are redundant. In general, there is no duplication of services/tasks within the network; all five the respondents confirmed this. The respondents of the municipality and ZLTO made two additional remarks. The municipal respondent: 'it would be easier for the municipality when the village councils join forces on this issue'. The respondent of ZLTO refers to the pervasive nature of this subject: 'the meeting culture and participation process each time a document has to be adopted, in my opinion it is not necessarily'.

Based on this, there are none substantial services/tasks that are being duplicated.

### **Strength of relations**

The strength of relations is measured by the degree of multiplexity and link confirmation. 4 out of the 5 links, as indicated by the municipality, are confirmed (see figure 18, section 7.2). Multiplexity is measured by the extent to which partners of confirmed relations cooperate in other policy fields. In total, there are 5 confirmed links within the network (see figure 18, section 7.2); this fifth confirmed link is between the village council Welberg and Goodmorning. The respondent of the municipality said that the municipality cooperates in other policy fields with ZLTO and village council Welberg. The respondent of Sunclass mentioned that he cooperates with the municipality in other policy fields: 'regarding business-related matters we cooperate with the municipality'. However, he answered not in his role as respondent of Sunclass, so from that point of view there is no multiplex relation. The respondent of Goodmorning mentioned that they do not cooperate yet in other policy fields with the municipality and village council Welberg, but it could be the case in the future: 'when it comes to welfare policy and accommodation policy'. The respondent of the village council Welberg mentioned that they cooperate in other policy fields with the municipality: 'regarding the village development plan and subsidy expenditure for the village'. The respondent of ZLTO also said that they cooperate with the municipality in other policy fields. So, 2 out of 5 confirmed links are multiplex in nature.

Almost all links as indicated by the municipality are confirmed. However, there are not that many multiplex relations. So the strength of relations within the network is not strong or medium; the strength of the relations is considered to be in between those two qualifications: medium-strong.

### **Member commitment**

Member commitment to network goals is measured by the importance for network members that the 'network-level' goals are attained and the willingness of network members to invest in and thus to contribute to the attainment of 'network-level' goals even if this is at expense of the investment opportunities of their own organizations.

The respondent of Sunclass considers it important that the network-level goals, as set by the municipality, are attained: 'very important. Our housing is decently certified. Overcrowding in villages causes nuisance and that should be counteracted'. The respondent of Sunclass already invested in the attainment of those goals: 'maintenance, replacements and certifying the cottages cost me money every year. So yes, I already invest in socially responsible housing'. Moreover, the respondent indicated that he is willing to invest more in the Sunclass park, but that depends on the zoning plan procedure: 'money is available, but you do not invest when there is commotion

regarding the zoning plan. In itself, we are also prepared to invest some in the initiative proposal, but we also expect something of the municipality'. I assess that this member considers it important that the network-level goals are attained and that this member is prepared to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals.

The respondent of Goodmorning also considers it important that the network-level goals are attained: 'the first goal is essential. The second goal is less important to us, unless you look at the image problem; then, it also becomes our interest. Any violation committed by a migrant worker is widely reported in the newspapers. Unacceptable situations of others should be avoided'. The respondent of Goodmorning mentioned that they already invested in the attainment of those goals: 'Yes. We consider this as an exemplary project and we were prepared to invest in it. The basement under the accommodation (for leisure) was a huge investment, but promise is a promise'. I assess that this member considers it important that the network-level goals are attained and that this member is prepared to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals.

The respondent of village council Welberg also considers it important that the network-level goals are attained: 'very important'. However, the respondent also said that they do not invest in terms of money but rather in terms of time: if additional time is needed for this issue, we just make time so that we can be present. As village council, we are prepared to make that effort. We are prepared to remain in contact regarding this issue'. I assess that this member considers it important that the network-level goals are attained and that this member is prepared to invest in terms of time and thus prepared to contribute to the attainment of those goals.

More or less the same applies to the respondent of ZLTO. He also considers it important that the network-level goals are attained: 'I think that the first goal is more important than the second goal, but both have to be attained'. Regarding the willingness to invest in the attainment of those goals he said: 'investment is not the right word. I would rather talk about the contribution to the attainment of those goals. We guide our members and we send them in that direction of adequate housing'. Again, I assess that this member considers it important that the network-level goals are attained and that this member is prepared to invest in terms of time and thus prepared to contribute to the attainment of those goals.

All four respondents consider it important that the network-level goals are attained and are prepared to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals. In this case, member commitment to network goals is considered to be high.

In table 13, I show in bold the assessment of the indicators of effectiveness at the network level for this case. Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the network level for the case Steenbergen is medium-high (M/H).

Table 13: network effectiveness at the network level, case Steenbergen

<i>Effectiveness at network level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Services provided	Sufficient	<b>Improvable</b>	Insufficient
Service duplication	<b>None</b>	Some	Many
Strength of relations	<b>Strong</b>	<b>Medium</b>	Weak
Member commitment to network goals	<b>High</b>	Moderate	Low

#### **7.4.4 Effectiveness at the participant level**

Effectiveness at the participant level is about the benefits a network member can get from network involvement. This can be measured by the following indicators legitimacy, resource acquisition, service level and costs of network involvement. Per case, for each network member the network effectiveness at the participant level can be different: high, medium or low. Moreover, per case an average of network effectiveness at the participant level can be calculated.

##### **Legitimacy**

Network members join a network in order to enhance their legitimacy in the community. Becoming part of a network can lead to more status for and acceptability of the network member.

According to the municipal respondent, the municipality did not try to increase its status in society through network involvement: 'Enhancing the status of our organization in society has never been the objective'. However, the municipality did try to become more accepted by society through network involvement: 'If a municipality does not cooperate well with other stakeholders, then you get a lot of objections. In that sense, you cooperate to get more acceptance for municipal actions'. I conclude that this network member is aimed at a slight enhancement of its legitimacy. The respondent of Sunclass indicated that Sunclass did not try to increase its status in society through network involvement: 'No, we housed migrants before the municipality got started with this issue'. On the question whether Sunclass tried to become more accepted by society through network involvement he answered: 'No, although we have had a conversation with the village council Nieuw-Vossemeer, but there was no honour to be gained'. This answer implies that Sunclass tried to become more accepted in society; this stands apart from the question whether or not it was a successful attempt. I conclude that this network member is aimed at a slight enhancement of its legitimacy. The respondent of Goodmorning said that Goodmorning did not try to increase its status in society through network involvement: 'No, it is not about status. Just pragmatic grounds, when you asked if it was about the creation of support, then I would have said yes'. Thus Goodmorning did try to become more accepted by society through network involvement: 'Yes, absolutely. It was necessary. Without the cooperation with the municipality and the village council this was never succeeded'. I conclude that this network member is aimed at a slight enhancement of its legitimacy. The respondent of village council Welberg said that the village council Welberg did not try to increase its status in society through network involvement. However, the respondent said that the village council Welberg did try to become more accepted by society through network involvement. I conclude that this network member is aimed at a slight enhancement of its legitimacy. The respondent of ZLTO said that ZLTO did not try to increase its status in society through network involvement, but it did try to become more accepted by society through network involvement: 'Of course, it is not the main target. The main target is that migrants are properly housed. And if that is the case, then your organization is more accepted by society'. I conclude that this network member is aimed at a slight enhancement of its legitimacy and that of its members.

##### **Resource acquisition**

Resource acquisition can be done far more efficiently and effectively when it is centralized through a network than if network members individually attempt to raise funds on their own.

The respondent of the municipality mentioned that the network did not attract more funding yet, but that it could be the case in the future: 'The cooperation of several employers in one housing initiative could perhaps attract subsidies of the province, the state or Europe'. The respondent of Sunclass said that joint resource acquisition is not applicable. The respondent of Goodmorning also agrees that joint resource acquisition will not be beneficial: 'No, I do not think that a financial gain can be obtained for this cooperation. The Ministry of Housing made funds available, but that was worthless because Steenberghe was already at that time. The region West-Brabant has made use of

the subsidy opportunities of the ministry in order to pay a research (report)’. The respondent of village council Welberg also mentioned that joint resource acquisition is not applicable. The respondent of ZLTO answered approximately the same as the municipal respondent: ‘at this moment, there is no subsidization. Perhaps there are some possibilities in the future regarding this’.

### **Service level**

In general, it is attractive for agencies to join a network in the case that leads to a better service level for their clients through the integrated services provided by the network members.

The respondent of the municipality believes that the service level is enhanced due to the integration of tasks within the network. However, he could not argue why he believes that. The respondent of Sunclass said that an improvement in the service level is not applicable. The same applies for the respondent of village council Welberg. The respondent of Goodmorning mentioned an improvement in the service level due to the integration of tasks: ‘The registration of our employees in the municipal personal records database (in Dutch: GBA) takes place at our location in the evening. This prevents that migrants have to go to town hall during working hours in order to register themselves; that often does not work. The municipality also benefits from this, because they know how many migrants are at our location and they provide the municipality a higher contribution from the Municipal Fund’ (in Dutch: Gemeentefonds). According to the respondent of ZLTO, ZLTO sends newsletters and e-mails with information about housing to its members; he considers it as an integration of tasks which increases the service level.

### **Costs**

Through network involvement, benefits can be gained that otherwise could not be obtained. For some members the benefits exceed the costs of network involvement; for others it just can be the other way around.

The respondent of the municipality initially believes that the benefits (in terms of social effects) derived from cooperation do not exceed the costs associated with cooperation, although he mentioned that ‘the registration of migrants in the municipal personal records (in Dutch: GBA) at the Stella Maris location yields additional revenues from the Municipal Fund’. In that sense, the respondent admits that the benefits exceed the costs associated with cooperation. The respondent of Sunclass is totally not convinced that the benefits exceed the costs associated with cooperation: ‘No, we are too much opposed at this moment. In the case of the initiative proposal we have to pay all the costs, including the preparation costs of the officials (50.000 euro). Such an initiative proposal costs a lot of money and energy, while the migrants are already housed in a proper way’. The respondent of Goodmorning: ‘In terms of social effects, the cooperation is well worth it. Although, it is difficult to quantify it. You save so much money through cooperation than you just fight each other’. The respondent of the village council Welberg: ‘it was worth it in terms of social effects (social benefits versus time investment made by the village council), but we must still see whether this zoning plan revision will actually happen’. The respondent of ZLTO: ‘It always delivers benefit as you cooperate’.

In the tables 14a – 14e, I show in bold the assessment of the indicators of effectiveness at the participant level for each network member.

*Table 14a: network effectiveness at the participant level, municipality Steenbergen*

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	<b>Slight enhancement</b>	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	<b>Benefits</b>	No benefits	Counterproductive
Service level	<b>Enhanced</b>	Stable	Worsened

Costs	<b>Benefits &gt; costs</b>	Benefits = costs	Benefits < costs
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Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: municipality Steenbergen is high (H).

*Table 14b: network effectiveness at the participant level, Sunclass*

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	<b>Slight enhancement</b>	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	Benefits	<b>No benefits</b>	Counterproductive
Service level	Enhanced	<b>Stable</b>	Worsened
Costs	<b>Benefits &gt; costs</b>	Benefits = costs	<b>Benefits &lt; costs</b>

Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: Sunclass is medium (M).

*Table 14c: network effectiveness at the participant level, Goodmorning*

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	<b>Slight enhancement</b>	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	Benefits	<b>No benefits</b>	Counterproductive
Service level	<b>Enhanced</b>	Stable	Worsened
Costs	<b>Benefits &gt; costs</b>	Benefits = costs	Benefits < costs

Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: Goodmorning is medium-high (M/H).

*Table 14d: network effectiveness at the participant level, village council Welberg*

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	<b>Slight enhancement</b>	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	Benefits	<b>No benefits</b>	Counterproductive
Service level	Enhanced	<b>Stable</b>	Worsened
Costs	<b>Benefits &gt; costs</b>	Benefits = costs	Benefits < costs

Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: village council Welberg is medium (M).

*Table 14e: network effectiveness at the participant level, ZLTO*

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	<b>Slight enhancement</b>	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	<b>Benefits</b>	No benefits	Counterproductive
Service level	<b>Enhanced</b>	Stable	Worsened
Costs	<b>Benefits &gt; costs</b>	Benefits = costs	Benefits < costs

Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: ZLTO is high (H).

For two members the effectiveness at the participant level is high; for another two members the effectiveness at the participant level is medium and for one member the effectiveness at the



participant level is medium-high. On average the effectiveness at the participant level is medium-high (M/H) in this case.

## 7.5. Conclusion

In this section a partial conclusion will be drawn regarding the third and fourth sub question of this study:

- *To what extent are policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants in the municipalities of Steenbergen attained?*
- *To what extent is that degree of goal attainment a consequence of the content of those local policies and the operation of the local organizational network form?*

In section 7.3.3 I concluded that the degree of goal attainment, in terms of the achieved improvement, can be expressed as a reasonable extent (i.e. effectiveness at the community level is considered to be medium).

In this case, the content of the policy affects the extent of goal attainment, which is reasonable in this case. First of all, the policy is laid down in a separate structured policy document, but the policy itself can be considered as incoherent due to the absence of clear goal-mean indications and underlying argumentation why a certain measure contribute to a certain goal. Secondly, in practice the municipality prefers centralized housing instead of decentralized housing. It is plausible that management of centralized housing reduces nuisance. This could be a reason why eventually such developments are socially accepted. Decentralized housing is due to its scale often unmanaged; it is plausible that this leads to more nuisance in streets and neighbourhoods. The municipality tries to avoid shady situations by providing cooperation. Although this prevent not all undesirable situations, it does make sense. The revision of zoning plan is a public task. Shifting this responsibility (and corresponding financial consequences) to employers does not contribute to the attainment of policy goals. Moreover, it is not clear how often the municipality proceeds to enforcement (the municipal respondent mentioned only one case) and whether the municipality tried to identify irresponsible forms of housing. This makes it difficult to determine whether the municipality indeed counteracts irresponsible forms of housing. Thirdly, the policy instruments used are not one-sided and thus form a toolkit that can be applied to any situation. This mix of policy instruments recognizes that goal attainment is not only dependent on municipal action, but also on the behaviour of others.

Regarding the mode of network governance, I observed that the network is governed by a lead organization. Lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared among network participants, when there are relatively moderate number of network participants, when network-level goal consensus is moderately low, and when the need for network-level competencies is moderate (Provan & Kenis, 2008). Indeed, there is a low density of trust within this network; this matches with the expectation that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared (low density). However, the presence of trust relations between the lead organization and the network members is crucial and that is insufficient in this case; two out of four network members do not trust the lead organization. Within this network there are a few number of network participants; this differs from the expectation that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when there is relatively moderate number of network participants. The level of goal consensus within the housing network Steenbergen is moderately high. This also differs from the expectation that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when network-level goal consensus is moderately low. In this case, the need for network level competencies is moderate. This matches with the expectation that lead organization network governance will be most effective

for achieving network-level outcomes when the need for network-level competencies is moderate. In short, in this case two out of the four contingency factors do not match with the expectations regarding lead organization network governance as formulated by Provan & Kenis (2008). Besides, the level of trust in the lead organization (i.e. the municipality) is insufficient. According to Provan & Kenis (2008, p. 241), 'the greater the inconsistency between critical contingency factors and a particular governance form, the less likely that that particular form will be effective, leading either to overall network ineffectiveness, dissolution, or change in governance form'. Based on this, it is questionable whether the mode of network governance in this case is effective for achieving network-level outcomes and whether the network is effective. In this study the level of network effectiveness at the community level can be expressed by the degree of goal attainment of local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. So in this case, the level of network effectiveness at the community level is medium (M). In section 7.4.3 and based on the indicators provided by Provan & Milward (2001), I concluded that the network effectiveness at the network level for this case is medium-high (M/H). In this case, there is no service duplication; the relations within the network can be characterized as medium-strong and member commitment to network goals is high; the range of services provided in order to meet the housing needs is improvable. Based on the causal model (see section 3.5), it is likely that a medium-high level of network effectiveness at the network level (Provan & Milward, 2001) affects the extent of goal attainment, which is reasonable in this case. It seems that the policy content and the medium-high level of network effectiveness at the network level are both determining for the extent of goal attainment. This case also shows that a network could be effective to a certain degree even if there is a significant inconsistency between critical contingency factors and the lead organization governance form. In this case, the theory of Provan & Kenis (2008) is not valid. I will come back on this in chapter 10.

Moreover, I concluded in section 7.4.4 and based on the indicators provided by Provan & Milward (2001), that, on average, the network effectiveness at the participant level is medium-high (M/H) in this case. On average, network members are involved in this network because they want to increase their legitimacy slightly, to improve the service level for the working migrants (or at least to keep it stable) and the benefits exceed the costs of involvement; members are not involved in the network to gain more resources. Based on the causal model (see section 3.5) it is likely that a medium-high level of network effectiveness at the participant level affects the level of network effectiveness at the network level, which is also medium-high in this case. If every network member benefits from network involvement it is plausible that the network functions better than if this is not the case.



## 8. The case Bladel



Bladel is a municipality in the province of Noord-Brabant. It is located in the south of the Netherlands and borders to Belgium. The municipality has 19.627 inhabitants (reference date: 1 November 2012) and consists of the former municipalities Bladel and Netersel and Hoogeloon, Hapert and Casteren; they merged in 1997. Besides these five villages, the municipality consist of one more village: Dalem. In this case it is not clear how many working migrants are housed in the municipality. In Bladel, migrants are predominately working in the industrial sector.

### 8.1 The policy of the municipality Bladel

#### Survey results

According to the respondent, the municipality Bladel does have local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants, since 2009. Those local policy goals are laid down in policy documents. The local policy goals are focused on the quantitative aspect of housing and the qualitative aspect of housing. According to the respondent, the local policy goals are considered to be to a large extent realistic. The local policy goals have to be attained in the medium term (1-3 years). Within the local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants there are goals which have to be attained sooner than others. According to the respondent, the municipality Bladel takes measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants at this moment. Those measures fall within the category of covenants and performance agreements. The measures are predominantly focused on influencing other organizations and/or individuals in such a way that they contribute to the local policy goals. Moreover, the measures are predominantly focused on a multitude of actors and they predominantly want to stimulate desired behaviour. According to the respondent, policy documents explicitly indicate to a small extent which measures contribute to which local policy goals. Moreover, to a small extent it is explicitly argued in policy documents which measures contribute to which local policy goals. According to the respondent, the measures taken contribute to a reasonable extent to the attainment of local policy goals. There are measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants that have to be taken earlier than other measures regarding the same topic. Bladel makes to a very small extent a distinction between policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Polish circular migrants on the one hand and policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand.

Several policy documents (adopted in the period 2007-2012) were studied. The most important policy documents are the housing policies: 'Woonvisie 2009' (Bladel, 2009a) and the 'Woonvisie 2012' (Bladel, 2012). The 'Woonvisie 2009' does have an appendix 'Bijlage Woonvisie 2009: uitvoeringsplan 2009-2013' (Bladel, 2009b). The Woonvisie 2009 is evaluated, but regarding the housing of circular migrants there are no notable comments. Moreover, on the regional scale there are also policy documents available which have been agreed by the municipality Bladel, like the 'Voorstel gezamenlijke aanpak huisvesting arbeidsmigranten 2011' (SRE, 2011).

#### Goals

In the housing policy 'Woonvisie 2009' the following goal was formulated 'a catch up is needed regarding the realization of housing [for working migrants]' (Bladel, 2009a, p. 17). This goal was very quantitatively oriented which resulted in a sub-goal: 'the construction of 30 regular houses for the realization of structural housing of migrant workers'. Besides, a sub-goal was formulated regarding the housing of migrant workers who want to stay permanently in the municipality of Bladel, but this is not subject of study. In the 'Woonvisie 2012', which is the current housing policy of the municipality Bladel, the only goal which is formulated is '...too large concentrations of migrant

workers are not allowed' (Bladel, 2012, p. 27). The other part of this sentence refers to measures to be taken. On a regional scale, Bladel agreed with the goal: 'to come to as good as possible, appropriate and unambiguous housing of working migrants in the region' (SRE, 2011, p. 3). The just mentioned policy goals are indeed focused on the quantitative and qualitative aspect of housing as well as on overcrowding.

### Means

Bladel (2009b, p. 3) tries to attain goal of the construction of 30 houses by providing cooperation to housing associations and employers in such way that they can realize structural housing for working migrants. 'In the context of the housing of working migrants, the municipality will support initiatives and wherever the municipality sees opportunities it will approach partners actively...' (Bladel, 2012, p. 27). So, Bladel also takes a facilitating role regarding the housing of working migrants. Bladel agreed with covenants on a regional scale, like the 'Voorstel gezamenlijke aanpak huisvesting arbeidsmigranten 2011' and the regional declaration regarding the integration, welfare and housing of working migrants in the region (Bladel, 2012, p. 27). By means of these covenants one tries to standardize the housing policies of the participating municipalities in the regional cooperation: region Eindhoven. Moreover, it is an endorsement of the housing problem of working migrants. Municipalities recognize that there is quantitatively and qualitatively insufficient housing (SRE, 2011, p. 2) and that measures have to be taken by all relevant stakeholders. The just mentioned local policy instrument falls indeed within the indicated category: covenants/performance agreements. However, the other means (for example supporting initiatives and the construction of 30 houses) imply the use of other policy instruments, like local regulations such as zoning plans.

### Time choices

According to the appendix of the housing policy 'Woonvisie 2009', the local policy (sub) goal which was set in the 'Woonvisie 2009' had to be attained before 2013. Meanwhile, a new housing policy is adopted with no deadlines in it. Time choices which were made regarding the time sequence of the attainment of local policy goals and the measures to be taken are not reflected in both the housing policies as well as in the appendix of the housing policy 'Woonvisie 2009'.

### Final relations

According to the respondent, policy documents explicitly indicate to a small extent which measures contribute to which local policy goals. The same applies for the corresponding argumentation. In the case of the Woonvisie 2009 and the corresponding appendix it is more or less indicated which measures have to be taken regarding the housing of migrants. This is not the case in the 'Woonvisie 2012'. Argumentation about which measures contribute to which goals is not detected.

### Policy in practice

According to the municipal respondent (interview results) I correctly summarized the policy goals of and the measures taken by the municipality Bladel regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. The respondent considers the policy goals to a large extent realistic. In the interview, he argued this 'there is commitment to do something about this problem and there is pressure from the employers'. The respondent answered in the survey that the measures taken contribute to a reasonable extent to the realization of the policy goals. In the interview he argued that 'improvement can be made regarding taking measures in order to attain goals. The policy goals have to be laid down in a document, otherwise nothing will happen. Enforcement is an example of a measure that needs to be used more. There is no separate policy document for this issue although the city council wants it; they argue that the policy goal regarding the too large concentrates of migrant workers is vague and open ended'. In the interview, the respondent confirms his survey answer that the municipality makes to a small extent a distinction between policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Polish circular migrants on the one hand and policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand: 'The

reason for this is that the employment permit will disappear in 2014. Moreover, we noticed that up to now employment agencies are focused on Poles. This will undoubtedly shift when the borders are really open’.

The municipality Bladel does have a lot of working migrants in the industry instead of the agriculture and horticulture. The respondent of the municipality said that ‘the municipality encourages employers to provide adequate housing, because a good image of working migrants reflects positively on the company. We support housing initiatives by means of the use of local regulations. Finding a suitable location is the responsibility of the employer; the municipality assesses whether the location is suitable. Employment agency Metaal Flex has put forward several locations. Our Board of Mayor and Aldermen agreed with those locations under the conditions that on the location no more than 80 to 100 migrants are housed and that there is permanent supervision/management. A number of projects failed as a consequence of those conditions. High land prices are also a problem for housing initiatives’. The municipal respondent also mentioned that there has been a study on the housing needs in five municipalities (the so-called Kempen-municipalities): ‘As a result of that study it became clear that something had to be done. In municipality Eersel (a neighbouring municipality), housing association De Zaligheden and employment agency Metaal Flex started a housing project. The rest of the municipalities took a cautious attitude, because of the possibility that the employment agency would drop out as a consequence of too expensive housing costs. Once this project became serious, we said that we also have to go for it. So, we came in contact with a private landowner whose initial exploitation of that area was rejected by the province. We asked the landowner whether it would be an idea to house working migrants at that location. It seems to happen; the process of zoning plan revision has started’. Moreover, the municipal respondent mentioned migrants are housed predominately in normal houses at the moment. Employment agency Axell rent a former hotel in order to house their employees. The respondent also said that ‘there is no consistent enforcement of illegal housing situations. The department enforcement of this municipality does not care about it currently; they will not drive down the street in order to check whether migrants are housed illegally. The municipality has the will to regulate it well, but you have to offer alternatives/solutions before you can enforce situations. The city council wanted a policy framework, but the alderman has discouraged this and asked to judge concrete projects separately’. The respondent asked himself: ‘why would the municipality Bladel develop its own policy while one develops a policy on the regional scale?’ (i.e. region Eindhoven). According to the municipal respondent, the aim of the policy goal that was laid down in the former housing policy (Woonvisie 2009) was to establish cooperation with the housing associations and to put pressure on the province in order to build more housing; housing on campsites and recreational parks has to be avoided.

Metaal Flex is an employment agency which houses working migrants in the municipality Bladel. They rent sixteen houses from private homeowners. The respondent of Metaal Flex: ‘At this moment, we are already eight years in conversation with the municipality Bladel. We proposed three housing locations, but they all have not made it. There is little willingness of the municipality. Moreover, there is too much resistance of the inhabitants of Bladel due to the policy of the municipality which is aimed at incorporating the migrants in the villages. The municipality has not enough willingness to face to protests against developments’. The respondent of Metaalflex mentioned that within the municipality there are apparently ambiguous opinions about that policy goal of too large concentrations: ‘Yesterday I had a conversation with the alderman. The municipality approves a housing project on the corner of this industrial park. This accommodation has a capacity of more than 150 persons. I think this is totally inconsistent with their policy goal. Moreover, it will take place within the urban area of the municipality’. Moreover, the respondent believes that a regional approach is used to disguise that the municipality runs away from its responsibility to solve complex/difficult situations. ‘The municipality states that they support housing initiatives, but Metaal Flex has had no support from the municipality the last eight years’. The respondent of Metaal Flex

mentioned that municipalities in general prefer small concentrations of migrant workers (decentralized housing), but that is from a cost-benefit point of view not feasible; large scale accommodations (centralized housing) must be properly managed. He also mentioned that decoupling of housing and work is useless: 'You should punish employers, who cause undesirable situations, much harder and the supervision/enforcement on employers needs to be improved. At this moment, the municipality does not enforce undesirable situations'. He blames the municipality that it has absolutely no idea what housing costs: 'The decoupling of housing and work is more expensive for the working migrants; as a consequence you drive them into the arms of slumlords'. The respondent of Metaal Flex experiences a kind of inequality between farmers, who are allowed to house their employees on their agricultural plots, and industrialists, who have to house their employees in the village cores. The respondent also points at the fact that the municipality Bladel does not apply licenses for subletting houses: 'they should do that, but the alderman said that there are no problems'.

Axell is an employment agency that houses 800 working migrants of which 38 working migrants in the municipality Bladel, to be more precise: in a former hotel next the town hall of Bladel. The respondent of Axell stated that Axell has the same problems with all municipalities. 'The construction of new accommodation is usually not feasible due to high land prices or resistance from the municipality in which you want that new accommodation. That are the reasons why we also often search for hotels that already have an occupancy license (in Dutch: gebruikersvergunning) and operating licence (in Dutch: exploitatievergunning). The municipality does not realize that we are dealing with an enormous time pressure in order to house our employees; a regular process of building a new accommodation takes 2-3 year, that is too long'. At the time that Axell announced that they hired the hotel in Bladel, there was much resistance among the neighbours: 'before you started you encounter problems. I have seen letters to the editor in which parents write that their child cannot get a house in Bladel, but migrants 38 can. The municipality has investigated whether they could stop the housing of migrant workers at this location, but they couldn't because it does have licenses and it meets the safety requirements as imposed by the fire department'. Moreover the respondent mentioned that about 300 working migrants are housed in Bladel: 'but that is not known by the municipality. Passing on housing costs is an important issue; when they become too high, migrants are more likely to switch to the illegal housing circuit'. The respondent of Axell also mentioned that in the case it is not possible to house migrant workers in a certain municipality, they move to other municipalities in order to fulfil the housing needs.

#### *Theoretical interpretation of the policy*

A distinction can be made between internal and external goals on the one hand and between singular and permanent goals on the other hand (see chapter 3). Internal goals are those goals with an effect on the work environment of the government itself; external goals are goals which are related to a situation outside the government. Singular goals are goals which have the following effect: a policy may be ended when the goals are achieved. Regarding permanent goals, on contrary, an on-going effort is needed in order to continue to meet a certain goal. The first goal in the 'Woonvisie 2009' can be characterized as an external, singular goal. The sub-goal related to this goal can also be characterized as an external and singular goal. The goal formulated in the 'Woonvisie 2012' can be characterized as an internal, permanent goal. The goal formulated on the regional scale can be characterized as an external, permanent goal.

Based on the policy instruments used and indicated by the municipal respondent, it seems that the municipality of Bladel is merely using the communicative steering model. However, some means (for example supporting initiatives and the construction of 30 houses) imply the use of other policy instruments, like local regulations such as zoning plans; they are not mentioned explicitly by the municipal respondent though. In that sense they are also using policy instruments that belong to the legal steering model. As mentioned earlier, a distinction can be made between direct policy

instruments and indirect policy instruments. Providing cooperation to housing associations and employers can be characterized as a direct policy instrument; supporting housing initiatives, the active approach of partners and covenants can be characterized as indirect policy instruments. Providing cooperation to housing associations and employers is constituent in nature; Bladel takes measures itself in order to attain the goals. Policy instruments such as supporting housing initiatives, the active approach of partners and covenants are directing; Bladel affects the behaviour of other actors in such a way that those actors contribute to the attainment of goals set by Bladel. So, Bladel takes measures which are predominately directing; this is in line with the respondent's answer indicated in the survey (predominantly directing). The policy instruments used by Bladel are all focused on specific actors (individual). This is contrary to what the respondent indicated in the survey (predominantly general). Moreover, the policy instruments want to stimulate desired behaviour (i.e. realizing a catch up and to come to as good as possible, appropriate and unambiguous housing of working migrants in the region). And this is in line with the respondent's answer indicated in the survey (predominately stimulate desired behaviour).

In summary, one can conclude that the municipality Bladel formulated external, singular goals in the Woonvisie 2009; in the Woonvisie 2012 the municipality formulated an internal, permanent goal. On regional scale an external, permanent goal has been formulated. The policy instruments used correspond merely to the communicative steering model. The municipality of Bladel is predominantly using indirect and directing policy instruments. The instruments used can all be characterized as individual based and stimulating.

## **8.2 The network form of the municipality Bladel**

According to the respondent (survey results), the municipality Bladel is to a very large extent dependent on other organizations and/or individuals regarding the attainment of the local policy goals. Moreover, the respondent indicated that other organizations and/or individuals are to a reasonable extent dependent on the municipality of Bladel regarding the attainment of their own goals. The municipality Bladel cooperates with other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; to be more precise, with continuously the same organizations and/or individuals. The respondent indicated that its municipality cooperates 'regularly' with 5 organizations and/or individuals. These organizations and/or individuals are: neighbour municipalities, employment agencies, labour related interest groups, the Dutch social security agency (UWV) and housing associations. The network around which is concerned with the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants is governed by all the participating organizations within the network (i.e. shared governance).

### Network in practice

Based on other sources, a more nuanced picture arises. Also in this case, one should consider the regional context of the municipal network such as collaboration of the region Eindhoven (21 municipalities in the south-east of the province Noord-Brabant) and neighbouring 'Kempen' municipalities (Bergeijk, Bladel, Eersel, Oirschot and Reusel-De Mierden), but according to the municipal respondent (interview results) the most important organizations with which the municipality cooperates within its own municipal borders are: 'employment agency Metaal Flex, employment agency Axell and housing association De Zaligheden'. Although, the municipal respondent considers the word 'cooperation' 'a little bit overrated'. Figure 19 is a visual representation of the municipal network regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. As in figure 18, a distinction is made between confirmed relations (colour: black) and non-confirmed relations (colour: grey).

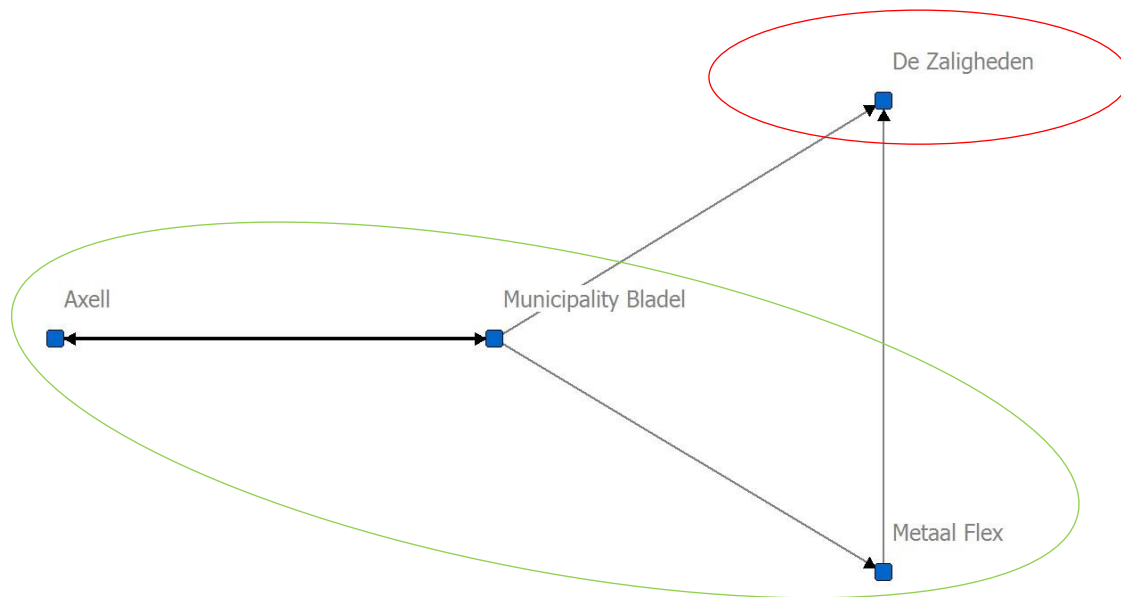


Figure 19: the municipal network regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants.

It is remarkable that both the employment agencies have difficulty with recognizing the municipality as a partner; Metaal Flex even refuses that. You could ask yourself whether this is a real network. But in fact, there are patterns of interactions between at least three interdependent actors around a certain policy problem. Housing association De Zaligheden refused to participate in an interview; for that reason I do not involve it in the network evaluation. In figure 19, by means of the green circle it is indicated which organizations are involved in the further analysis; the red circle indicates that housing association De Zaligheden is not involved. Housing association De Zaligheden responded to my request as follows: ‘due to the implementation of a new IT-system we do not have time for this kind of requests’.

The respondent of the municipality considers housing association De Zaligheden as a solid partner: ‘together with Metaal Flex they set up a hotel/accommodation in the neighbouring municipality Eersel; we would like to do business with them’. Moreover, he mentioned that Metaal Flex is very fanatic in putting forward possible housing locations. According to the municipal respondent they started the cooperation with partners in order to deal with the housing problem: ‘we ourselves do not know how we have to cope it’. He also points at consultations regarding this issue in at the regional scale.

The respondent of Metaal Flex: ‘There is no cooperation with the municipality Bladel. The 16 houses in Bladel in which we house our employees are arranged without interference of the municipality. We do cooperate with the municipality Eersel and housing association De Zaligheden; the latter does have a vision on the housing of working migrants and can be entitled as partner. This project (Flex Logies Hotel) is the first project between a housing association, a municipality and a private partner and we are proud on it. This project is unique and shows that housing could be better and must be better. Employment agency Axell is our competitor and not a partner. Besides, we cooperate well with the municipality Meijel’.

The respondent of Axell stated that municipalities often recognize that working migrants are good for their local economies, but at the same time they believe that the housing of those migrants is not their responsibility, but a responsibility of the employers: ‘we have a different opinion about that; we need the cooperation of the municipality’. The respondent of Axell mentioned that Axell introduced itself by the municipality before signing the rental agreement with the hotel owners: ‘we wanted to



know whether it was possible to house working migrants in that hotel; and it was possible. From the moment we signed the contract we started to cooperate with the municipality regarding the compliance with the licenses'. Axell does not cooperate with Metaal Flex regarding the housing of working migrants: 'employment agencies seldom cooperate with each other regarding this issue, because they snatch the employees from each other; you see it often at recreational parks'.

In the survey, the municipal respondent mentioned that the network is governed by all of the participating organizations within the network (i.e. shared governance). When I recapitulate the characteristics of the three modes of network governance as mentioned in section 3.4.2 and when I look at the visual representation of the network in figure 19, the survey answer of the respondent is incorrect. In my opinion network governance within the network is weak, but if it is governed then it is governed by a lead organization (i.e. the municipality).

### **8.3 Goal attainment in the municipality Bladel**

This section answers partial the third sub-question: *to what extent are policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants in the municipalities of Steenberg, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas attained?* In this chapter it is about the goal attainment within the municipality Bladel. The degree of goal attainment is operationalized as the difference between the situation reached on the one hand and the initial situation at the beginning of the evaluation period (the period in which the policy was executed) on the other hand, because this achieved improvement is not dependent on the ambition level of the goals set (intended improvement). Since there is no information about the initial situation and the situation reached in the policy documents, I have to rely on the interviews.

#### **8.3.1 Initial situation**

The respondent of the municipality describes the initial situation as a situation in which there was no recognition of the housing problem of the working migrants in this municipality: 'We had some housing on recreational parks and on the countryside and we were asking ourselves: is it our concern? The employer is nonetheless responsible for this? So, initially the subject was held off the agenda. In a neighbouring municipality a Pole burned to death while he was sleeping in a barn; it sparked the discussion. Within our own municipality working migrants were housed in caravans and in normal houses (eight persons); it became more visible. We thought those migrants worked in the horticulture, but most of them worked in the industry. The industry increased the pressure on the municipality to take action'.

#### **8.3.2 Situation reached**

The municipal respondent: 'there is no traceable result regarding the goal regarding the construction of 30 regular houses'. He also mentioned that political support emerged for this issue: 'it was a process of growth. In the period of 2009 until now, there has been a lot of discussion about the responsibility of housing. The public support for the housing of working migrants has been increased, but there is virtually nothing done the realization of adequate housing. Gradually, awareness and support grow. There are still working migrants on the recreational parks; it is allowed to live in a bungalow for 3 months, but they avoid regulation by moving to another bungalow'. The respondent of Metaal Flex: 'Most of the fellow employment agencies do not care about adequate housing. Meanwhile, dozens maybe hundreds of working migrants are not housed properly within the municipality Bladel. The alderman believes that the housing project on the corner of this industrial park covers the housing needs for the next 10 years while there are enough housing related problems in Bladel. The last 8 years, in the south-east of Brabant, 9 working migrants died partial as a consequence of poor housing (for instance: lack of fire protection). Poor housing is common in Bladel

with the knowledge of the municipality. I am taking responsibility for my organization; the municipality should also do that'. The respondent of Axell: 'the fact that the municipality wrote down as a policy goal that a catch up is needed, indicates that they found it out too late. The influx of working migrants will only increase; this means that they also need to be housed. In general, municipalities have it all on paper, but within a few municipalities housing for working migrants is actually realized. There is a need for adequate housing for those people, but this need is currently insufficiently covered'.

### ***8.3.3 Degree of goal attainment***

In short, it means that there have been a lot of discussions, political support emerged, but up to now no housing for working migrants is realized. The working migrants who are housed are housed without interference from the municipality Bladel. The 'catch up' is not realized, neither the construction of 30 regular houses. Too large concentrations of working migrants are not allowed, but the Board of Mayor and Aldermen approved a housing project on the corner of an industrial park in Hapert with an objectively determinable large concentration (150 working migrants).

Based on the interviews, I conclude that the degree of goal attainment, in terms of the achieved improvement, can be expressed as a small extent (i.e. effectiveness at the community level is considered to be low).

## **8.4 Explanation of degree of goal attainment**

This section answers partial the last sub-question: to what extent is that degree of goal attainment a consequence of the content of those local policies and the operation of the local organizational network forms?

### ***8.4.1 Content of the policy***

The small extent of goal attainment can be explained by the content of the policy. First of all, there is no separate structured policy document in which the municipality laid down its policy regarding the housing of working migrants; the alderman even discouraged a separate policy in order to assess every housing initiative separately. Intentionally or unintentionally, this could cause arbitrariness, because the policy goal in the 'Woonvisie 2012' is too vague: what is exactly a 'too large concentration'? Also in this case there is a lack of explicit goal-mean indications within the relevant policy documents. Even worse, some legal policy instruments which are used in practice are not mentioned in the policy documents. Argumentation about which measures contribute to which goals is not detected. The policy of Bladel can be considered as incomplete and incoherent. Secondly, I have described extensively the way in which the policy works in practice (perceived by the interviewees). The municipality apparently prefers decentralized housing and if it is centralized, then too large concentrations of working migrants are not allowed. It is remarkable that the municipal respondent mentioned that initiatives of employment agency Metaal Flex were rejected, because they did not meet the condition of maximum 80-100 migrants to be housed while the private landowner did get permission for developing an accommodation with a maximum capacity of 150 migrants. Housing by Metaal Flex and Axell is arranged without the interference of the municipality Bladel; the municipality Bladel does not apply licenses for subletting houses. Moreover, there is no consistent enforcement of illegal housing situations. Thirdly, the municipality Bladel formulated external, singular goals in the Woonvisie 2009; in the Woonvisie 2012 the municipality formulated an internal, permanent goal. On regional scale an external, permanent goal has been formulated. The policy instruments used correspond merely to the communicative steering model. The municipality of Bladel is predominantly using indirect policy instruments and predominately using directing policy instruments. The instruments used can all be characterized as individual based and stimulating. As

mentioned earlier, the policy is incomplete. This also means that from a theoretical point of view improvements can be made in the use of policy instruments.

#### **8.4.2 Four contingency factors**

According to Provan & Kenis (2008), lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared among network participants, when there are relatively moderate number of network participants, when network-level goal consensus is moderately low, and when the need for network-level competencies is moderate.

##### **Number of network participants**

Within a network, there can be a few network members, a moderate number of members and many members. In the operationalization chapter (see section 4.4.3) I mentioned that I consider 0-6 network members as 'few members'; 7-9 network members is considered to be a 'moderate number' and 10 or more network members is considered to be 'many members'. The number of network participants in this case is 3 (excluding housing association De Zaligheden). A fundamental problem of network governance is that the activities and needs of multiple organizations have to be coordinated. Given the number of participants in this network, coordination seems not that problematic. Lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when there are a relatively moderate number of network participants. In this network, there are a few number of participants (3) instead of a moderate number (7-9). So, the number of network participants in this case is not in line with the expectation of Provan & Kenis (2008) that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when there is relatively moderate number of network participants.

##### **Trust**

Three questions regarding the concept of trust are defined in the interview questionnaires. All these three questions can be answered on a four point scale. The answer options are weighted as follows: very sure/full extent = 3, sure/large extent = 2, probably/reasonable extent = 1 and not sure/no extent = 0. The sum of the three answers to the three questions is the level of trust of one network member in the other, with a maximum score of 9 and a minimum score of 0. In my opinion, one network member trusts another network member when his overall score on the three questions regarding the concept of trust is 5 or more. There is no question of a trust relation if this score is below 5. This case contains 3 interviewees; this means that there are 6 ( $3^2 - 3$ ) possible trust relations. If have related the number of trust relations to the three levels of density of trust (see section 4.4.3). In this case we can speak of low density of trust when there are 0-2 trust relations; moderate density of trust when there are 2-4 trust relations and high density of trust when there are 4-6 trust relations.

In the next table one can see the for each network member the level of trust of the network member in others. When indicated that there is no relationship, I filled in an 'X'. The trust relations are coloured green and the relations in which there is some trust, but not sufficient to call it trust relations, are coloured red.

Table 15: density of trust within the housing network Bladel

	Municipality Bladel	Employment agency Metaal Flex	Employment agency Axell
→ Trust of organization (row) in other organizations (columns)			
Municipality Bladel	X	6	6
Employment agency Metaal Flex	X	X	X
Employment agency Axell	1	X	X

Based on this table I conclude that there are 2 trust relations; this means that there is a low density of trust within the network. Lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared (low density) among network participants; this is the case. However, the presence of trust relations between the lead organization and the network members is crucial. The respondent of Metaal Flex did not want to recognize the municipality Bladel as partner and in that sense the respondent of Metaal Flex did not want to answer the three questions regarding the concept of trust. The respondent of employment agency Axell does not trust the municipality. Regarding the suitability of the municipality in performing (public) tasks; the respondent said: 'it should be a full extent, but is a reasonable extent'. Moreover, the respondent cannot count on the municipality when it comes to defending the common interest of the cooperation.

So, the density of trust within this network is in line with the expectation of Provan & Kenis (2008) that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared (low density) among network participants. Moreover, trust of all network members in the lead organization (i.e. the municipality) is crucial; this is entirely not the case.

### **Goal consensus**

Network members were asked about goal consensus: in the case Bladel 2 members were asked. In order to measure goal consensus, 1) it needs to be measured whether network members agree with the 'network-level goals' of the municipality; 2) it needs to be measured whether the organizational goals of the other network members are in line with the 'network-level goals' of the municipality and 3) it needs to be measured whether network members act in accordance with the 'network-level goals'. The answers to the just mentioned three measurements of goal consensus (open questions) lead to an overall picture of the level of goal consensus of one network member. The level of goal consensus of one network member can be divided into 5 categories: high (5), moderately high (4), moderate (3), moderately low (2), low (1). Since the answers are qualitative, I have to estimate which category is applicable for a certain network member based on the statements made by that very network member. So, each network member gets a score in this range of 1-5. The level of goal consensus within the network can be calculated as follows: the total score of all the network members divided by the number of network members; this is the level of goal consensus within the housing network Bladel.

The respondent of Metaal Flex partly agrees with the network-level goals of the municipality: 'Yes, more and better housing is needed. However, we do not agree with the goal of the municipality that too large concentrations of working migrants are not allowed. A large scale is needed in order to get a project break even'. Regarding the own organizational goals he said: 'for us, the adequate housing of our employees is very important'. Moreover, Metaal Flex acts partly in accordance with the policy goals of the municipality: 'in normal houses in Bladel we house no more than 6 persons with a maximum of 2 persons on 1 room. We do not have illegal housing locations. The accommodation in Eersel is under construction and will meet all requirements'. Due to the restriction of large scale concentrations Metaal Flex does not contribute to the catch up regarding the realization of housing. I assess the overall level of goal consensus of this network member as moderate (3).

The respondent of Axell also partly agrees with the network-level goals of the municipality: 'it is obvious that a catch up is needed. However, we do not agree with the policy goal of the municipality that too large concentrations of working migrants are not allowed; it is quite vague. What are too large concentrations?' Axell endorses the importance of adequate housing for working migrants: 'we fully support that and we are fulltime concerned with that'. Axell acts in accordance with the policy goals of Bladel: 'the former hotel in Bladel complies with the policy rules of the ABU. Three migrants sleep in one room, there is a common kitchen and living room'. I assess the overall level of goal consensus of this network member as moderate (3).

The total score of all the network members is 6; divided by the number of network members (2) is 3. The level of goal consensus within the housing network Bladel is moderate. So, the level of goal consensus in this case is almost in line with the expectation of Provan & Kenis (2008) that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when network-level goal consensus is moderately low.

### **Need for network level competencies**

The need for network level competencies can be measured by two indicators: the nature of tasks being performed by the network members (interdependency) and the external demands and needs which are related to the network. Starting point for determining the level of interdependency is the average of the two answers (7 answer options) to the questions asked in the survey. I will nuance or reinforce that average if statements from the interviews give reasons to this. The level of interdependency is low when the average is 1-2, the level is moderate when the average is 3-5 and the level is high when the average is 6-7. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network can be categorized as follows: high, moderate and low. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network is high in the case that several network members mention different demands and/or needs. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network is moderate in the case that a few network members mention different demands and/or needs. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network is low in the case that no network members mention any demands and/or needs. So, the level of interdependency within a network and the level of external demands and needs being faced by the network have to be combined in order to indicate the need for network-level competencies. This automatically leads to five categories that indicate the need for network-level competencies.

#### *Level of interdependency*

According to the municipal respondent (survey result), the municipality of Bladel is to a very large extent (6) dependent on other organizations/individuals regarding the attainment of the policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. The municipal respondent argued his choice as follows: 'the municipality does not own houses or accommodation itself in order to house working migrants. So in that sense we are dependent on partners'. Moreover, the

respondent indicated that other organizations and/or individuals are to a reasonable extent (4) dependent on the municipality of Bladel regarding the attainment of their own goals.

Both the respondents recognize themselves in the qualification made by the municipal respondent. The respondent of Metaal Flex: 'the 16 houses are rented from private owners. We proposed several locations; in that sense you are dependent on the cooperation of the municipality for the revision of zoning plans'. The respondent of Axell: 'on the one hand that is correct; on the other hand it is not. In the case of our accommodation in Bladel we are not dependent on the municipality'. The average of the two answers is 5. The level of interdependency in this case is considered to be moderate.

#### *External demands and needs*

The municipal respondent considers the quality standards and the decoupling of housing and work as external demands. He also mentioned that there are currently developments in the financing of housing associations: 'this can affect the investment potential of the housing associations and thus possible housing initiatives'. This might be the case, but I was not able to let that confirm by housing association De Zaligheden. To other two respondents indicated that there are no external demands and needs that are related to the relationships in which they are involved. So, the level of external demands and needs is considered to be low.

Based on the level of these two indicators the need for network level competencies is moderately low: the level of interdependency is moderate; the level of external demands and needs is low (see table 5 in section 4.4.3). So, the need for network level competencies in this case is, just as the previous contingency factor, almost in line with the expectation of Provan & Kenis (2008) that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when the need for network-level competencies is moderate.

### **8.4.3 Effectiveness at the network level**

The effectiveness of a network as an organizational form can be measured by: the extent to which services that are actually needed by clients are provided by the network; the absence of service duplication; the strength of relations between network members and the degree in which network members want to invest in the attainment of those goals.

#### **Range of services provided**

The range of services provided is measured by the extent to which the network provides sufficient result in order to meet housing needs of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants (according to the network members themselves). The municipal respondent answered: 'it could be better'. Moreover, he argued that the accommodations in Eersel (neighbouring municipality) and in Hapert (village within the municipality Bladel) will cover the needs at the moment they are realized. However, this is not due to the municipal network within Bladel. The respondent of Metaal Flex: 'we covered our need, but it is a question whether this is also the case for the municipality Bladel'. The respondent of Metaal Flex mentioned earlier that working migrants are still housed poorly within this municipality. The respondent of Axell mentioned that they also covered their need: 'there is a need for adequate housing, but this need is currently insufficiently covered'.

Employment agencies Metaal Flex and Axell covered their own needs, but also in this case, it says nothing about the coverage of the needs of all migrants within the municipal borders. Concerns about this are expressed by both the respondents of the employment agencies. I draw the conclusion that the network provides insufficient result in order to meet housing needs of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants.

### Service duplication

The absence of service duplication is operationalized as the extent to which network members consider that services/tasks being offered within the network are redundant. The municipal respondent mentioned that there are no tasks that are being duplicated within the network: 'it is more likely that tasks are not performed'. The respondents of Metaal Flex and Axell mentioned that service duplication is inapplicable. Based on this, there are no services/tasks that are being duplicated.

### Strength of relations

The strength of relations is measured by the degree of multiplexity and link confirmation. 1 out of the 3 links, as indicated by the municipality, is confirmed (see figure 19, section 8.2). Both the respondent of the municipality as the respondent of Axell indicated that they do not cooperate with each other in in other policy fields. So, the confirmed link is not multiplex in nature. The strength of relations within this network is considered to be weak.

### Member commitment

Member commitment to network goals is measured by the importance for network members that the 'network-level' goals are attained and the willingness of network members to invest in and thus to contribute to the attainment of 'network-level' goals even if this is at expense of the investment opportunities of their own organizations.

The respondent of Metaal Flex considers it important that the network-level goal regarding adequate housing is attained: 'it is 100% important that the goal regarding adequate housing is attained. In order to attain such a goal you need all stakeholders'. Moreover, it considers it not important that the goal regarding too large concentrations is attained: 'a ridiculous goal'. The respondent of Metaal Flex invested three million euros in adequate housing in the municipality Eersel, not in Bladel: 'for the time being, we are not going to invest in Bladel'. I assess that this member considers it semi-important that the network-level goals are attained and that this member is not prepared to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals.

The respondent of Axell does not have an opinion about the importance of the attainment of the network-level goals. Regarding the investment in the attainment of network-level goals he said: 'we are prepared to keep in conversation with the municipality'. The commitment of this member to network goals is hard to assess. I assume that he would have let me know if he really considers the network goals important.

No respondent considers it really important that the network-level goals are attained and are prepared to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals. In this case, member commitment to network goals is considered to be low.

In table 16, I show in bold the assessment of the indicators of effectiveness at the network level for this case. Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the network level for the case Bladel is medium-low (M/L).

Table 16: network effectiveness at the network level, case Bladel

<i>Effectiveness at network level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Services provided	Sufficient	Improvable	<b>Insufficient</b>
Service duplication	<b>None</b>	Some	Many
Strength of relations	Strong	Medium	<b>Weak</b>
Member commitment to network goals	High	Moderate	<b>Low</b>

#### **8.4.4 Effectiveness at the participant level**

Effectiveness at the participant level is about the benefits a network member can get from network involvement. This can be measured by the following indicators legitimacy, resource acquisition, service level and costs of network involvement. Per case, for each network member the network effectiveness at the participant level can be different: high, medium or low. Moreover, per case an average of network effectiveness at the participant level can be calculated.

##### **Legitimacy**

Network members join a network in order to enhance their legitimacy in the community. Becoming part of a network can lead to more status for and acceptability of the network member.

According to the municipal respondent, the municipality tries to increase its status in society through network involvement. Moreover, the municipality tries to become more accepted by society through network involvement: 'as a consequence of the cooperation with a housing association it is likely that a housing project is more accepted by society. A housing association is more trusted by society than a normal company'. I conclude that this network member is aimed at an enhancement of its legitimacy. The respondent of Metaal Flex indicated that Metaal Flex tries to increase its status in the society of Eersel through network involvement (i.e. the expected clique between Metaal Flex, housing association De Zaligheden and the municipality Eersel). Moreover, the municipality tries to become more accepted by society through network involvement: 'unfortunately, the sector has a bad name'. I conclude that this network member is aimed at an enhancement of its legitimacy, but that this refers to the cooperation within the municipality Eersel and not to the cooperation within Bladel because the latter does not exist. I do not take this into account regarding the assessment of the network effectiveness at the participant level. The respondent of Axell indicated that Axell tries to become more accepted by society through network involvement: 'Yes, the cooperation with the municipality originated from that mind-set, to get the housing of working migrants in the former hotel more accepted. The municipality organized an information evening; we provided our cooperation to that'. The respondent of Axell did not mention that Axell tried to increase its status in society through network involvement. I conclude that this network member is aimed at a slight enhancement of its legitimacy.

##### **Resource acquisition**

Resource acquisition can be done far more efficiently and effectively when it is centralized through a network than if network members individually attempt to raise funds on their own.

The respondent of the municipality believes that the network could attract more funding, 'but at this moment there is no external funding'. The respondent of Metaal Flex does not believe that the network could attract more funding. The respondent of Axell said that joint resource acquisition is not applicable.

##### **Service level**

In general, it is attractive for agencies to join a network in the case that leads to a better service level for their clients through the integrated services provided by the network members.

The respondent of the municipality does not believe that the service level is enhanced due to the integration of tasks within the network: 'in the future it could be enhanced'. The respondent of Metaal Flex mentioned that the service level increased due to the integration of tasks, but he did not argue why he believes that. Moreover, I think that he refers again to the cooperation with housing association De Zaligheden and the municipality Eersel. So, I also do not take this into account regarding the assessment of the network effectiveness at the participant level. The respondent of Axell said that an improvement in the service level is not applicable.



## Costs

Through network involvement, benefits can be gained that otherwise could not be obtained. For some members the benefits exceed the costs of network involvement; for others it just can be the other way around.

The respondent of the municipality initially believes that the benefits (in terms of social effects) derived from cooperation exceed the costs associated with cooperation, but ‘under the condition that everyone agrees with each other. In the past, many housing projects did not continue, so the costs associated with cooperation exceed the benefits. In fact, there were no benefits’. The respondent of Metaal Flex: ‘if you weigh the costs against the benefits, then is the cooperation in Eersel beneficial. In Bladel the costs exceed the benefits; it cost us a lot of time and energy, but there are no results’. The respondent of Axell: ‘no, on the contrary, we thought it was smart to seek the cooperation with the municipality, but it only yielded criticism. It cost us a lot of time and energy to counteract that’.

In the tables 17a – 17c, I show in bold the assessment of the indicators of effectiveness at the participant level for each network member.

Table 17a: network effectiveness at the participant level, municipality Bladel

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	<b>Enhancement</b>	Slight enhancement	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	<b>Benefits</b>	No benefits	Counterproductive
Service level	Enhanced	<b>Stable</b>	Worsened
Costs	Benefits > costs	Benefits = costs	<b>Benefits &lt; costs</b>

Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: municipality Bladel is medium (M).

Table 17b: network effectiveness at the participant level, Metaal Flex

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	Slight enhancement	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	Benefits	<b>No benefits</b>	Counterproductive
Service level	Enhanced	Stable	Worsened
Costs	Benefits > costs	Benefits = costs	<b>Benefits &lt; costs</b>

It is noteworthy that two of those indicators (legitimacy and service level) are answered by the respondent of Metaal Flex in the role of network member in Eersel (i.e. the expected clique between Metaal Flex, housing association De Zaligheden and municipality Eersel). So, I do not express those in bold. I assess the network effectiveness at the participant level based on the two indicators (joint resource acquisition and costs) that do have common ground with this case. Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: Metaal Flex is medium-low (M/L).

Table 17c: network effectiveness at the participant level, Axell

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	<b>Slight enhancement</b>	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	Benefits	<b>No benefits</b>	Counterproductive

Service level	Enhanced	<b>Stable</b>	Worsened
Costs	Benefits > costs	Benefits = costs	<b>Benefits &lt; costs</b>

Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: Axell is medium-low (M/L).

For one members the effectiveness at the participant level is medium; for two members the effectiveness at the participant level is medium-low. On average the effectiveness at the participant level is medium-low (M/L) in this case.

## 8.5 Conclusion

In this section a partial conclusion will be drawn regarding the third and fourth sub question of this study:

- To what extent are policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants in the municipalities of Bladel attained?
- To what extent is that degree of goal attainment a consequence of the content of those local policies and the operation of the local organizational network form?

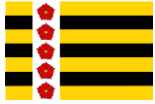
In section 8.3.3 I concluded that the degree of goal attainment, in terms of the achieved improvement, can be expressed as a small extent (i.e. effectiveness at the community level is considered to be low).

In this case, the content of the policy affects the extent of goal attainment, which is small in this case. First of all, there is no separate structured policy document in which the municipality laid down its policy regarding the housing of working migrants; also in this case there is a lack of explicit goal-mean indications within the relevant policy documents. Even worse, some legal policy instruments which are used in practice are not mentioned in the policy documents. Argumentation about which measures contribute to which goals is not detected. The policy of Bladel can be considered as incomplete and incoherent. Secondly, the small extent of goal attainment is due to the way in which the policy works in practice. The municipality apparently prefers decentralized housing and if it is centralized, then 'too large concentrations of working migrants are not allowed'. This policy goal is not demarcated and it seems that it is used when it suits the municipality. On the one hand, the municipality said that employers have to come up with housing projects themselves. Once this happened such projects were rejected based on the scale: too large concentrations. On the other hand the municipality itself approaches partners actively when the municipality sees opportunities for housing. The result of this is that the municipality recently approved a housing project (at the corner of an industry park in Hapert) on a scale which was previously rejected. Moreover, housing by Metaal Flex and Axell is arranged without the interference of the municipality Bladel; the municipality Bladel does not apply licenses for subletting houses. Moreover, there is no consistent enforcement of illegal housing situations.

Regarding the mode of network governance, I observed that the network is governed weakly by a lead organization instead of shared governance. Lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared among network participants, when there are relatively moderate number of network participants, when network-level goal consensus is moderately low, and when the need for network-level competencies is moderate. (Provan & Kenis, 2008). Indeed, there is a low density of trust within this network; this matches with the expectation that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared (low density). However, the presence of trust relations between the lead organization and the network members is crucial and

that is insufficient in this case; both the network members do not trust the lead organization while the lead organization does trust them. Within this network there are a few number of network participants; this differs from the expectation that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when there is relatively moderate number of network participants. The level of goal consensus within the housing network Bladel is moderate. This is almost in line with the expectation that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when network-level goal consensus is moderately low. In this case, the need for network level competencies is moderately low. This is, just as the previous contingency factor, almost in line with the expectation that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when the need for network-level competencies is moderate. In short, in this case one out of the four contingency factors does not significantly match with the expectations regarding lead organization network governance as formulated by Provan & Kenis (2008); two contingency factors differ slightly from the expectations. Besides, the level of trust in the lead organization (i.e. the municipality) is absent. According to Provan & Kenis (2008, p. 241), 'the greater the inconsistency between critical contingency factors and a particular governance form, the less likely that that particular form will be effective, leading either to overall network ineffectiveness, dissolution, or change in governance form'. Based on this, one should expect that the mode of network governance in this case is pretty effective for achieving network-level outcomes and that the network is also pretty effective. In this study the level of network effectiveness at the community level can be expressed by the degree of goal attainment of local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. So in this case, the level of network effectiveness at the community level is low (L). In section 8.4.3 and based on the indicators provided by Provan & Milward (2001), I concluded that the network effectiveness at the network level for this case is medium-low (M/L). In this case, there is no service duplication; the relations within the network can be characterized as weak and member commitment to network goals is low; the range of services provided in order to meet the housing needs is insufficient. Based on the causal model (see section 3.5), it is likely that a medium-low level of network effectiveness at the network level (Provan & Milward, 2001) affects the extent of goal attainment, which is small in this case. It seems that the policy content and the medium-low level of network effectiveness at the network level are both determining for the extent of goal attainment. This case also shows that, based on the reasonable consistency between the critical contingency factors and the lead organization governance form, one would expect that the mode of network governance in this case is pretty effective for achieving network-level outcomes and that the network is also pretty effective. However, the latter is unfortunately not the case. Also in this case, the theory of Provan & Kenis (2008) is not valid. I will come back on this in chapter 10.

Moreover, I concluded in section 8.4.4 and based on the indicators provided by Provan & Milward (2001), that, on average, the network effectiveness at the participant level is medium-low (M/L) in this case. On average, network members are involved in this network because they want to increase their legitimacy slightly; members are not involved in the network to gain more resources, to improve the service level for the working migrants or because the benefits exceed the costs of involvement, on contrary. Based on the causal model (see section 3.5), it is likely that a medium-low level of network effectiveness at the participant level affects the level of network effectiveness at the network level, which is also medium-low in this case. It seems that the self-interest of the municipality is better served by network involvement than that is the case for the two employment agencies. If not all, or in this case, just one network member benefits from network involvement it is plausible that the network functions worse than if this is not the case.



## 9. The case Horst aan de Maas

Horst aan de Maas is a municipality in the province of Limburg. It is located in the southeast of the Netherlands, 50 km east of Eindhoven. The municipality has 41.820 inhabitants (reference date: 1 November 2012) and consists of the former municipalities Horst aan de Maas, Sevenum and a part of Meerlo-Wanssum; they merged in 2010. The former municipality Horst aan de Maas was in its turn a combination of the municipalities Horst, Broekhuizen and Grubbenvorst. The current municipality Horst aan de Maas consists of sixteen villages, such as Meterik and Tienray. According to the municipal respondent, there are 2.500-3.000 working migrants that are housed in the municipality. In Horst aan de Maas, migrants are predominately working in the agriculture and horticulture sector.

### 9.1 The policy of the municipality Horst aan de Maas

#### Survey results

According to the respondent (survey results), the municipality Horst aan de Maas does have local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants, since 2005. Those local policy goals are laid down in policy documents. The local policy goals of Horst aan de Maas are focused on both the quantitative and qualitative aspect of housing; overcrowding; nuisance in neighbourhoods, illegal housing, municipal registration of circular migrants, decoupling of housing and work and the cooperation of stakeholders regarding the housing of those migrants. According to the respondent, the local policy goals are considered to be to a large extent realistic. The local policy goals do not have to be attained in a certain period of time. There is also not a time sequence in the attainment of those goals. According to the respondent, the municipality Horst aan de Maas takes measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants at this moment. Those measures fall within all the categories which were mentioned in the survey; local regulations, enforcement of laws and regulations, covenants and performance agreements, subsidies, taxes and information provision. The measures are predominantly focused on influencing other organizations and/or individuals in such a way that they contribute to the local policy goals. Moreover, the measures are predominantly focused on a multitude of actors and they predominantly want to stimulate desired behaviour. According to the respondent, policy documents explicitly indicate to a large extent which measures contribute to which local policy goals. Moreover, to also a large extent it is explicitly argued in policy documents which measures contribute to which local policy goals. According to the respondent, the measures taken contribute to a very large extent to the attainment of local policy goals. There are no measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants that have to be taken earlier than other measures regarding the same topic. Horst aan de Maas makes to a full extent a distinction between policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Polish circular migrants on the one hand and policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand. To be honest, some of these survey results seem to give a brighter representation of reality. So, let us have a look at the policy documents.

Several policy documents (adopted in the period 2007-2012) were studied. The most important policy documents are: 'Beleidskader Huisvesting Arbeidsmigranten gemeente Horst aan de Maas 2010' (Horst aan de Maas, 2010) and the 'Regionale woonvisie Venray en Horst aan de Maas (Horst aan de Maas, 2012a). There is also relevant information in the municipal annual budget 2013 (Horst aan de Maas, 2012b).

#### Goals

In the 'Beleidskader Huisvesting Arbeidsmigranten gemeente Horst aan de Maas 2010' the following goal is formulated: 'finding an optimal balance between numbers of migrants to be housed and the

social support for the location' (Horst aan de Maas, 2010, p. 1). This goal is very similar to the policy goal of the municipality Steenberghe. In addition, 'an essential part of the social support is the presence of adequate management. Management of the building is a responsibility of the respective entrepreneur' (Horst aan de Maas, 2010, p. 1). Other indicators of social support are: housing is only realized for legal migrant workers who are staying temporarily; housing is only realized for migrants who work within the municipal boundaries; no tents or caravans on the plot of the agrarian company; the environment should be taken into account when a housing form is realized (Horst aan de Maas, 2010, p. 4-5). In the municipal annual budget 2013 (2012b, p. 37) the following is stated: 'working migrants who are staying temporary, are housed in a proper way'. In the regional housing policy it is stated as follows: 'all the inhabitants of the region Venray, even if they are only temporarily here, are housed safely and responsibly' and '...it is important to house working migrants properly' (Horst aan de Maas, 2012a, p. 8). Moreover, the municipality wants to 'bind working migrants to the region by providing decent housing' (Horst aan de Maas, 2012a, p. 8). However this relates to migrants who want to stay permanently and not to circular migrants. The just mentioned local policy goals are focused on the quantitative and qualitative aspect of housing. No policy goals have been found in the documents which are directly focused on the other aspects, like overcrowding; nuisance in neighbourhoods etc. (which was mentioned by the respondent in the survey).

### Means

The municipality Horst aan de Maas (2010, p. 3) does also support initiatives regarding the housing of working migrants. It formulated, in line with the municipality Bladel, starting points for the housing of working migrants. This means that permanent working migrants should live in normal houses. Temporary (i.e. seasonal and circular) migrants can be housed in many different ways like in pensions and accommodation buildings or on the plot of the agrarian company. Requirements are formulated regarding the housing forms. Horst aan de Maas (2010, p. 6) also makes use of local regulations, like 'gebruiksvergunning' (an occupancy license), 'omgevingsvergunning' (an environment license), 'exploitatievergunning' (an operating license), zoning plans and the 'APV' (general local ordinance) or existing national laws in order to steer on this. Municipal authorities do have the right to approve (or not) the way in which the management of buildings is arranged (Horst aan de Maas, 2010, p. 4). In the policy documents, there is remarkably no word about the enforcement of regulations and laws. According to the municipal annual budget 2013 (Horst aan de Maas, 2012b, p. 38) it seems that the 'Beleidskader Huisvesting Arbeidsmigranten gemeente Horst aan de Maas 2010' is a measure itself: 'we shall give effect to the policy framework regarding the housing of working migrants who want to stay temporarily'. Horst aan de Maas (2012a, p. 8) also signed the covenant 'Kerkeboske' and it is stated that 'the implementation of [the covenant] is jointly taken up with civil society organizations like Stichting Arka, Synthese, Wonen Limburg etc.

### Time choices

Also in this case, time choices were made regarding the time sequence of the attainment of local policy goals and the measures to be taken as well as the period in which the local policy goals have to be attained. Those choices consciously made or not, have as a result that there are no sequences or deadlines.

### Final relations

According to the respondent, policy documents explicitly indicate to a large extent which measures contribute to which local policy goals. This is the case regarding the annual budget due to a clear structure: what do we want (i.e. goals) and what are we going to do for it (i.e. means). It is not the case regarding to the 'Beleidskader Huisvesting Arbeidsmigranten gemeente Horst aan de Maas 2010'; measures are incidentally mentioned and not coupled to policy goals. In the annual budget it is indicated which measures contribute to which local policy goals, but it is not argued.

### Policy in practice

According to the municipal respondent (interview results) I correctly summarized the policy goals of and the measures taken by the municipality Horst aan de Maas regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Although, he mentioned an overarching goal of which he knows that it is beyond the scope of this study: 'The municipality has to ensure that there is sufficient workforce in several sectors; working migrants are desperately needed to keep afloat the economic activity. And when we need them, we also have to care for proper housing'. The respondent considers the policy goals to a large extent realistic. In the interview, he argued this 'I consider them to a large extent realistic, because there is no resistance among the inhabitants of Horst aan de Maas to the working migrants'. The respondent answered in the survey that the measures taken contribute to a very large extent to the realization of the policy goals. In the interview he admits that the means are not always coupled to the goals. However, he argued his answer that 'the integral approach results in goal attainment. This means that we do not only take measures regarding the housing of working migrants, but we also take measures in other policy fields such as social welfare'. In the interview, it became clear that the municipality makes no distinction between policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Polish circular migrants on the one hand and policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand. This is contrary to what the respondent indicated in the survey: 'we do have general policy goals that are not specifically aimed at housing of Poles on the one hand or aimed at housing of Bulgarians/Romanians on the other hand'. The employment permit does not play a role in the housing policy; the municipality tries to gain insight into the number of working migrants within the municipality by means of a night-registry. The respondent admits that this is also not a 100% waterproof system. According to the respondent there are between 2.500 and 3.000 working migrants in Horst aan de Maas: '95% is Pole, there are a couple of Bulgarians and no Romanians'.

The policy of the municipality is approximately the same as the policies in four other municipalities<sup>12</sup> in the northern of Limburg, because they wrote it together and the policy was adopted by the separate city councils; although, there are differences in emphasis. Moreover, the municipal respondent emphasizes the importance of the working migrants for the municipality Horst aan de Maas: 'we try to create the atmosphere that they are really needed. We do have 300 unemployed inhabitants. Imagine that they are all prepared to work and that they get work in the sector in which the working migrants are currently working; even then we still need about 2.700 working migrants in order to keep agricultural companies running'. According to the respondent of the municipality there are at this moment 101 housing locations in Horst aan de Maas: 'most of them are at agricultural plots and do not comply with the zoning plan'. Currently, *BMC Advice and Management* is doing research on the extent to which those locations comply with the municipal policy: 'some of those locations have to be closed; others have to make adjustments to their housing accommodations in order to become legalized. When this process is finished, then all the temporary working migrants are housed legally and properly'. Recently, there have been nine enforcement actions on locations of which the municipality thought it was 'not right'. The municipal respondent: 'four of them have to close down; five can be legalized. You have to have a lot of capacity in order to enforce all undesirable situations. That is not possible, so we enforce randomly in order to demonstrate that we take it seriously.' According to the respondent, the housing of temporary working migrants is often done by the employment agencies or agrarians; the housing of long-stay migrants or of those who doubt is done by the housing associations. He also argued that the decoupling of housing and work is not realizable at this moment: 'this is only possible if there is enough supply of proper/adequate housing'. The respondent mentioned that the municipality tries to get as much as possible working migrants registered in the municipal personal records database (in Dutch: GBA): 'sometimes we encourage this by visiting the employers. In this way we know where migrants are housed and are we

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<sup>12</sup> Bergen, Peel en Maas, Venlo and Venray

able to check the housing locations of those migrants'. Moreover, the respondent mentioned that unregistered people are not seen as inhabitants of the municipality and have to pay tourist tax (€ 1.25 per person per night). Just as in the case Steenberg, it shows that the municipality also benefits financially from the working migrants. The municipality does have a service centre in Meterik: 'an originally Polish woman provides working migrants with information and helps them in concrete situations; also in the case when a working migrant needs housing. She works for this service centre 16 hours per week. She also works several hours for housing association Wonen Limburg'. Moreover, a digital housing intermediary is set up by housing association Wonen Limburg. On this site, which is also offered in the Polish language, the need of working migrants can match suppliers of permanent and temporary housing.

According to the respondent of housing association Wonen Limburg, Wonen Limburg is subletting normal houses to employment agencies; those agencies are allowed to house 4 people in one house without that a license is required. Besides, between 700 and 900 working migrants subscribe themselves at Wonen Limburg; 350 families are housed by Wonen Limburg. Note that Wonen Limburg is active as a housing association in more municipalities. The respondent of Wonen Limburg: 'you see more and more that employment agencies do not rely on the policy of the municipality, because they fear resistance'.

Farmers association LLTB is concerned about the fact that municipalities each have different rules regarding the housing of working migrants: 'if your agricultural company lies within two municipalities, then you have a problem'. LLTB tries to influence the municipality that they adjust the policy to specific situations. Moreover the respondent of LLTB points at a problem regarding the current legalization process (conducted by *BMC Advice and Management*): 'employers are supposed to pay for the legalization of their housing situations (i.e. the revision of the zoning plan). On the one hand, the municipality does have a very decent policy; on the other hand they neglect the implementation of it'. With the latter the respondent refers to the tolerated illegal situations which have to be repaired in the zoning plans. The respondent of LLTB: 'it cost a lot of money and you might wonder whether it is fair to let the employers pay for it after so many years of tolerating'. The respondent of LLTB experiences a tension between proper housing and that what working migrants want: 'many working migrants come here to earn a lot of money in a short period and they come back the next year. They are faced with costs, including housing costs, and want to keep them as low as possible. Costs are leading in their considerations'. The respondent of the Arka Foundation (aimed at supporting working migrants in the social and cultural sphere) also mentioned this problem.

The respondent of employment agency Sun-Power disagrees with the toleration of illegal housing situations: 'there are working migrants on campsites and are housed in caravans. That is not allowed, but those situations are not enforced; that is unfair competition'. The respondent of Sun-Power: 'we accommodate 100 working migrants in a hotel in Tienray. Moreover, we accommodate 100 Polish students in the old poultry trade school (in Dutch: pluimveevakschool) and the rest of our employees are housed in eight normal houses. We prefer the housing of working migrants in large scale accommodations'.

The respondent of campsite De Reulsberg believes that the municipality does not know what they are talking about: 'the policy makers do not know what housing is exactly about'. According to the respondent of De Reulsberg houses are hired, eight/nine migrants are housed in it and it is not enforced. 'In the hamlet California, migrants are housed at the plots of the greenhouses while it is not allowed according to the zoning plans; it went wrong when the policy was made and it went wrong in the implementation of the policy'. Contrary to other respondents, the respondent of De Reulsberg argued that working migrants are willing to pay for proper housing. Moreover, the respondent stated that the decoupling of housing and work is the best way to deal respectfully with working migrants: 'the municipality does not notice that'. Moreover, the housing associations do

often not know that their houses are sublet. At campsite De Reulsberg working migrants are housed in mobile homes and in a group accommodation with separate rooms. The respondent told that they wanted to expand their campsite with cottages: 'the municipality absolutely loved it; before we knew the project became a pilot. However, the project failed because of a so-called smell circle (in Dutch: stankcirkel) of the neighbouring pig farm'. The respondent concludes that the policy regarding the housing of working migrants does not always work in practice.

#### Theoretical interpretation of the policy

A distinction can be made between internal and external goals on the one hand and between singular and permanent goals on the other hand (see chapter 3). Internal goals are those goals with an effect on the work environment of the government itself; external goals are goals which are related to a situation outside the government. Singular goals are goals which have the following effect: a policy may be ended when the goals are achieved. Regarding permanent goals, on contrary, an on-going effort is needed in order to continue to meet a certain goal. All the three goals of the municipality Horst aan de Maas, laid down in the 'Beleidskader Huisvesting Arbeidsmigranten gemeente Horst aan de Maas 2010', the municipal annual budget 2013 and in the regional housing policy, can be characterized as external, permanent goals.

Based on the policy instruments used, the municipality of Horst aan de Maas is merely using the legal steering model. As mentioned earlier, a distinction can be made between direct policy instruments and indirect policy instruments. The policy instruments used by the municipality of Horst aan de Maas can almost all be characterized as direct policy instruments; supporting housing initiatives and covenants can be characterized as indirect policy instruments. Policy instruments used by the municipality such as 'gebruiksvergunning' (an occupancy license), 'omgevingsvergunning' (an environment license), 'exploitatievergunning' (an operating license), zoning plans and the 'APV' (general local ordinance) are constituent in nature; Horst aan de Maas takes measures itself in order to attain the goals. Policy instruments such as supporting housing initiatives and the covenants are directing; Horst aan de Maas affects the behaviour of other actors in such a way that those actors contribute to the attainment of goals set by Horst aan de Maas. So, Horst aan de Maas takes measures which are predominately constituent; this is contrary to what the respondent indicated in the survey (predominantly directing). Policy instruments such as supporting housing initiatives, 'gebruiksvergunning' (an occupancy license), 'omgevingsvergunning' (an environment license), 'exploitatievergunning' (an operating license), zoning plans and covenants are focused on specific actors (individual). Policy instruments such the 'APV' (general local ordinance) and national laws are focused on a multitude of actors (general). So, Horst aan de Maas takes measures which are predominately focused on specific actors; this is contrary to what the respondent indicated in the survey (predominately focused on a multitude of actors). Policy instruments such as supporting housing initiatives and covenants want to stimulate desired behaviour (i.e. finding an optimal balance between numbers of migrants to be housed and the social support for the location); policy instruments such as 'gebruiksvergunning' (an occupancy license), 'omgevingsvergunning' (an environment license), 'exploitatievergunning' (an operating license), the 'APV' (general local ordinance) and zoning plans want to discourage certain behaviour (i.e. inappropriate housing). In the survey, the respondent answered that the measures taken predominantly want to stimulate desired behaviour instead of discourage certain behaviour. Based on the instruments used, I disagree on that.

In summary, one can conclude that the municipality Horst aan de Maas formulated external, permanent goals; the policy instruments used correspond in general to the legal steering model. The municipality of Horst aan de Maas is using a mix of direct/indirect, constituent/directing, individual/general and stimulating/discouraging policy instruments.



## 9.2 The network form of the municipality Horst aan de Maas

According to the respondent (survey results), the municipality Horst aan de Maas is to a full extent dependent on other organizations and/or individuals regarding the attainment of the local policy goals. Moreover, the respondent indicated that other organizations and/or individuals are to a full extent dependent on the municipality of Horst aan de Maas regarding the attainment of their own goals. The municipality Horst aan de Maas cooperates with other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; to be more precise, with continuously the same organizations and/or individuals. The respondent indicated that its municipality cooperates 'very often' with 25 (!) organizations and/or individuals. The respondent selected all the possible answer options: the national government, the provincial government, neighbour municipalities, employment agencies, individual employers, labour related interest groups, the Dutch social security agency (UWV), housing associations and real estate owners. Moreover, he added the following answers: 'safety partners' and 'the target group itself'. The network around which is concerned with the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants is governed by all the participating organizations within the network (i.e. shared governance).

### Network in practice

Based on other sources, a more nuanced picture arises. Also in this case, one should consider the regional context of the municipal network. 5 municipalities, of which Horst aan de Maas is one of them, do have approximately the same policy regarding the housing of working migrants. Those five municipalities and five other municipalities are affiliated with the regional approach concerning this topic; this approach is a result of the annual 'Kerkeboske conferences'. The most important organizations with which the municipality cooperates within its own municipal borders are: 'housing association Wonen Limburg, Arka Foundation, farmers association LLTB, employment agency Sun-Power and campsite De Reulsberg'. Note that there are 101 housing locations; it indicates that this network, as presented by the municipal respondent, is only the tip of the iceberg. Figure 20 is a visual representation of the municipal network regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. As in figures 18 and 19, a distinction is made between confirmed relations (colour: black) and non-confirmed relations (colour: grey).

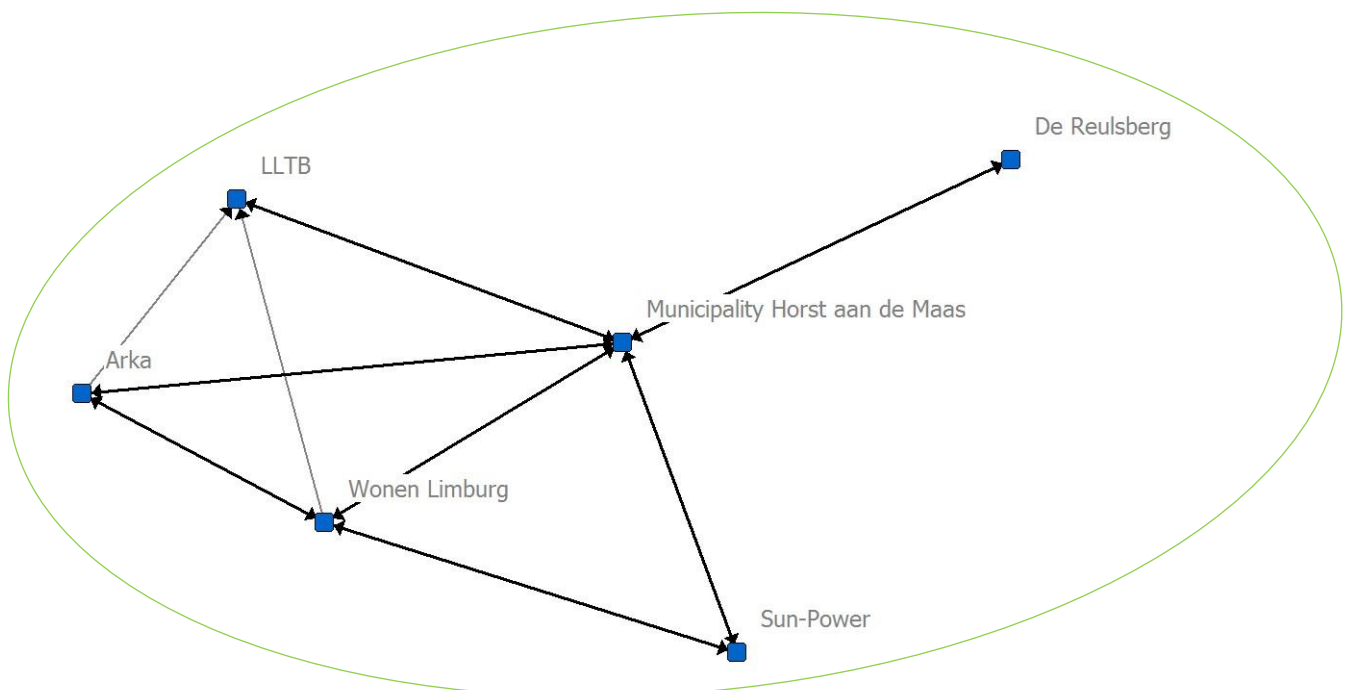


Figure 20: the municipal network regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants.

Regarding the regional approach of ten municipalities (the so-called Kerkeböske conferences), the respondent of the municipality mentioned that the five other municipalities are not that committed. The regional approach is concerned with the wellbeing of working migrants, which consists of several aspects; one of these aspects is housing. Moreover, the employers are currently hard to convince to invest in adequate housing. According to the municipal respondent, the municipalities do have an initiating role in getting the conversations between stakeholders started.

The respondent of Wonen Limburg said that they cooperate with the municipality Horst aan de Maas, the Arka Foundation, farmers association LLTB and employment agency Sun-Power: 'Arka is financed by the municipality and occasionally by Wonen Limburg. Housing is more than only the realization of housing; the foundation is a stakeholder and plays a role. We cooperate to a lesser extent with LLTB, because they do not recognize the housing problems. It is not surprising that LLTB does not recognize the problems, because its members predominately house their employees illegal'. Moreover, the respondent of Wonen Limburg mentioned that they cooperate with more employment agencies and other municipalities in the region. He considers the cooperation regarding the housing of working migrants as 'one big competition'.

According to the respondent of LLTB, LLTB only cooperates with the municipality: 'that is the only stakeholder from whom we want something. We do have consultations with Wonen Limburg, but that is not a stakeholder from whom we want something. The municipality has to fix things for our members. We try to influence the municipality in such way that it is acceptable for our members'.

The Arka Foundation is founded in 2008 by the Alderman of Welfare and some people he knew. The respondent of the Arka Foundation, aimed at supporting working migrants in the social and cultural sphere, also mentioned the regional approach regarding the housing of working migrants. 'Together with a regional welfare institution we did research on the wellbeing of working migrants. It became clear that the housing of working migrants is not always that well. Our report resulted in a regional approach which started with an annual conference in Helden (municipality Peel and Maas), the so-called Kerkeböske conferences. As Arka, we do not interfere directly with the realization of housing. Nevertheless, we are within the housing network'. The respondent of Arka mentioned that they cooperate with the municipality Horst aan de Maas, Wonen Limburg and LLTB.

The respondent of employment agency Sun-Power: 'in the past, we cooperated with campsite De Reulsberg, but that cooperation ended because it is a kind of bungalow park; that no longer meets our requirements. We cooperate more often with Wonen Limburg as a consequence of the digital housing intermediary; we support that initiative.

The respondent of campsite De Reulsberg does not cooperate sincerely with the municipality Horst aan de Maas: 'only regarding licenses'. The respondent confirmed that they cooperated with Sun-Power in the past. The respondent mentioned, in line with the respondent of Wonen Limburg, that all interest must count. The respondent concludes that too often is taken sides in favour of employers. Moreover, the respondent mentioned that Arka is not an independent organization: 'the people that are involved do have too much self-interest'.

In the survey, the municipal respondent mentioned that the network is governed by all of the participating organizations within the network (i.e. shared governance). When I recapitulate the characteristics of the three modes of network governance as mentioned in section 3.4.2 and when I look at the visual representation of the network in figure 20, the survey answer of the respondent is incorrect. In my opinion the network is governed by a lead organization (i.e. the municipality); power is distributed asymmetrical and the network goals are closely related to the goals of the lead organization. In fact, the network goals are the goals of the lead organization (i.e. the municipality).

Moreover, figure 20 is very similar to figure 18. Note the clique between the municipality, Wonen Limburg and Sun-Power and the clique between the municipality, Wonen Limburg and Arka.

### **9.3 Goal attainment in the municipality Horst aan de Maas**

This section answers partial the third sub-question: *to what extent are policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants in the municipalities of Steenberg, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas attained?* In this chapter it is about the goal attainment within the municipality Horst aan de Maas. The degree of goal attainment is operationalized as the difference between the situation reached on the one hand and the initial situation at the beginning of the evaluation period (the period in which the policy was executed) on the other hand, because this achieved improvement is not dependent on the ambition level of the goals set (intended improvement). Since there is no information about the initial situation and the situation reached in the policy documents, I have to rely on the interviews.

#### **9.3.1 Initial situation**

According to the municipal respondent, the initial situation can be described as problematic: ‘we as municipality were confronted with working migrants who slept in barns at the agricultural plots. Then, it was about 200 working migrants. There was less public support of inhabitants towards working migrants. We got negative signals from the local society. Sometimes it occurred that a working migrant was sleeping on a park bench in the village or was sleeping in the woods. Those signals prompted to take action’.

#### **9.3.2 Situation reached**

The respondent of the municipality confirmed that, currently, working migrants are housed safely and responsibly: ‘all locations were checked by someone from the fire department and someone of the license department. Now, it is our task to legalize the locations which can be legalized by means of zoning plan revisions’. He also confirmed that there are no too large concentrations (10%) of working migrants housed within one street. ‘In the period 2007-2012, great strides forward were made. Although, I am concerned regarding the pace of delivery; it may be a little faster’. Up to now, the policy goals set by the municipality are all attained according to the respondent. The municipal respondent: ‘Nowadays, I observe that our inhabitants do not have problems with the presence of working migrants. We succeeded in getting the message: we need those migrants, into the limelight. There is public support for their presence. Rarely, we receive negative signals. Illegal housing sometimes happens, but through enforcement we limit this’.

Other respondent are not that enthusiastic regarding the achieved improvement. The respondent of Wonen Limburg: ‘Up to now, there is nothing realized in cooperation with the municipality Horst aan de Maas. It all goes very slow. However, there is more and more consciousness that working migrants have the right to be housed properly; the image regarding the working migrants is indeed improved. If you see what is actually realized in terms of housing; most of it is tolerated. Bad behaviour is rewarded, good behaviour is not. Housing projects often fail because of a too large time frame or a lot of discussion. Moreover, there is a lack of large scale development (i.e. housing projects). The respondent of LLTB is too short involved in order to assess whether there as has been an achieved improvement regarding the housing of working migrants: ‘I observe that the agricultural employers have to cope with a viscous process in order to get municipal permission for realizing housing on the agricultural plots; employers be bothered to take quick decisions. It takes a while, but eventually it is solved’. The respondent of Arka said that ‘a catch up can be made regarding the adequate housing of working migrants. On the other hand, there is a policy and attention is paid to this policy problem; that was previously not the case at all’. The respondent of Sun-Power: ‘the

image of working migrants is still not what it should be. LLTB could also play a role in it. Explain and be transparent why there are so many Polish working migrants in that sector instead of Dutch'. The respondent of the Reulsberg: 'the municipality is talking about 3.000 working migrants. I believe that there are 7.000 working migrants in this municipality. The municipality does only partially know what happens within its municipal borders. Migrants are housed in converted stables or cellars'.

### ***9.3.3 Degree of goal attainment***

The municipality anticipated well on the influx of working migrants. Negative signals about the way in which they were housed were taken seriously. It became accepted by the inhabitants of the municipality that working migrants are needed for the economy and that they have to be housed properly. However, this tells us nothing about the social support for the locations at which the migrants are housed currently. Between 2.500 and 3.000 working migrants are housed safely and responsibly; most of those locations (on agricultural plots) are contrary to the zoning plans. However, the municipality initiated a legalization process. There are also respondents who believe that working migrants are not all housed adequately and that not much has been realized. The pace at which results are achieved is concerning; the municipal respondent and other respondents agree on this. It implies that more adequate housing needs to be realized. Moreover, it has been difficult to realize large scale housing projects; on contrary, Sun-Power did realize two large scale accommodations.

Based on the interviews, I conclude that the degree of goal attainment, in terms of the achieved improvement, can be expressed as a reasonable extent (i.e. effectiveness at the community level is considered to be medium).

## **9.4 Explanation of degree of goal attainment**

This section answers partial the last sub-question: to what extent is that degree of goal attainment a consequence of the content of those local policies and the operation of the local organizational network forms?

### ***9.4.1 Content of the policy***

The reasonable extent of goal attainment can be explained by the content of the policy. First of all, there is a separate structured policy document in which the municipality laid down its policy regarding the housing of working migrants. However, I have concluded earlier that there are no explicit goal-mean indications within the 'Beleidskader Huisvesting Arbeidsmigranten'; measures are incidentally mentioned and not coupled to policy goals. In the annual budget it is indicated which measures contribute to which local policy goals, but it is not argued. In a sophisticated policy document, it should be explicitly mentioned which means contribute to which goals. Moreover, it should be argued why this is the case. So, yes it is good that there is a separate policy document, but as in the case Steenbergen, the policy itself can be considered as incoherent. Secondly, I have described extensively the way in which the policy works in practice (perceived by the interviewees). The municipality allows every form of housing under some conditions which are laid down in the policy framework. This probable explains why most of the working migrants are housed on agricultural plots. It shows that housing is almost always coupled to work. There is not enough housing in order to make a decoupling possible. The municipality tries to get as much as possible working migrants registered in the municipal personal record database (in Dutch: GBA). In this way and by means of the night-registries, the housing locations can be checked on safety and other requirements. The municipality enforces randomly in order to demonstrate that they take illegal and irresponsible forms of housing seriously. However, what is not registered can also not be checked and that is likely to explain why illegal housing occurs and why the municipality does not always knows what is happening. Thirdly, the municipality of Steenbergen formulated external permanent

goals and is using a mix of direct/indirect, constituent/directing, individual/general and stimulating/discouraging policy instruments. Just as in the case Steenbergen, it shows that the policy instruments used are not one-sided; they form a toolkit that can be applied to any situation. Moreover, this mix of policy instruments recognizes that goal attainment is not only dependent on municipal action, but also on the behaviour of others.

#### **9.4.2 Four contingency factors**

According to Provan & Kenis (2008), lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared among network participants, when there are relatively moderate number of network participants, when network-level goal consensus is moderately low, and when the need for network-level competencies is moderate.

##### **Number of network participants**

Within a network, there can be a few network members, a moderate number of members and many members. In the operationalization chapter (see section 4.4.3) I mentioned that I consider 0-6 network members as 'few members'; 7-9 network members is considered to be a 'moderate number' and 10 or more network members is considered to be 'many members'. The number of network participants in this case is 6. A fundamental problem of network governance is that the activities and needs of multiple organizations have to be coordinated. Given the number of participants in this network, coordination seems not that problematic. Lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when there are a relatively moderate number of network participants. In this network, there are a few number of participants (6) instead of a moderate number (7-9). So, the number of network participants in this case is not in line with the expectation of Provan & Kenis (2008) that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when there is relatively moderate number of network participants.

##### **Trust**

Three questions regarding the concept of trust are defined in the interview questionnaires. All these three questions can be answered on a four point scale. The answer options are weighted as follows: very sure/full extent = 3, sure/large extent = 2, probably/reasonable extent = 1 and not sure/no extent = 0. The sum of the three answers to the three questions is the level of trust of one network member in the other, with a maximum score of 9 and a minimum score of 0. In my opinion, one network member trusts another network member when his overall score on the three questions regarding the concept of trust is 5 or more. There is no question of a trust relation if this score is below 5. This case contains 6 interviewees; this means that there are 30 ( $6^2 - 6$ ) possible trust relations. If have related the number of trust relations to the three levels of density of trust (see section 4.4.3). In this case we can speak of low density of trust when there are 0-10 trust relations; moderate density of trust when there are 10-20 trust relations and high density of trust when there are 20-30 trust relations.

In the next table one can see the for each network member the level of trust of the network member in others. When indicated that there is no relationship, I filled in an 'X'. The trust relations are coloured green and the relations in which there is some trust, but not sufficient to call it trust relations, are coloured red.

Table 18: density of trust within the housing network Horst aan de Maas

	Municipality Horst a/d Maas	Wonen Limburg	LLTB	Sun-Power	Arka	De Reulsberg
→ Trust of organization (row) in other organizations (columns)						
Municipality Horst a/d Maas	X	5	7	9	9	9
Wonen Limburg	6	X	3	8	6	X
LLTB	6	X	X	X	X	X
Sun-Power	9	5	X	X	X	X
Arka	6	6	5	X	X	X
De Reulsberg	0	X	X	X	X	X

Based on this table I conclude that there are 14 trust relations; this means that there is a moderate density of trust within the network. Lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared (low density) among network participants; this is not the case. Moreover, the presence of trust relations between the lead organization and the network members is crucial; those relations are present with the exception that the respondent of De Reulsberg does not trust the municipality Horst aan de Maas: ‘I do not have confidence in the knowledge of the municipality to solve this policy problem. Moreover, you cannot count on them when it comes down to defending the common interest’.

The respondent of the municipality believes that housing association Wonen Limburg is less suitable in performing tasks regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants than other partners, because ‘they are focused on the permanent stayers or those who doubt to stay and not the circular, short-stay, migrants’. The respondent of Arka mentioned that Wonen Limburg does not share its expertise with other housing associations sufficiently: ‘they cannot solve the problem on their own, in that sense they are not fully suitable in performing task’. The respondent of Sun-Power said that Wonen Limburg has to prove itself. The respondent of Wonen Limburg makes a distinction in defending the common interest: ‘when it comes down to defending the image to the outside world, than we can count on the partners; but when it comes down to the realization of housing, than we cannot automatically count on the partners. There is a big difference between defending the common interest by means of words and defending the common interest by means of realization’. Furthermore, there are no noteworthy statements regarding the concept of trust.

So, the density of trust within this network is not in line with the expectation of Provan & Kenis (2008) that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared (low density) among network participants. Moreover the level of trust between the lead organization (i.e. the municipality) and the network members is almost perfect.

### **Goal consensus**

Network members were asked about goal consensus: in the case Horst aan de Maas 5 members were asked. In order to measure goal consensus, 1) it needs to be measured whether network members

agree with the 'network-level goals' of the municipality; 2) it needs to be measured whether the organizational goals of the other network members are in line with the 'network-level goals' of the municipality and 3) it needs to be measured whether network members act in accordance with the 'network-level goals'. The answers to the just mentioned three measurements of goal consensus (open questions) lead to an overall picture of the level of goal consensus of one network member. The level of goal consensus of one network member can be divided into 5 categories: high (5), moderately high (4), moderate (3), moderately low (2), low (1). Since the answers are qualitative, I have to estimate which category is applicable for a certain network member based on the statements made by that very network member. So, each network member gets a score in this range of 1-5. The level of goal consensus within the network can be calculated as follows: the total score of all the network members divided by the number of network members; this is the level of goal consensus within the housing network Steenbergen.

The respondent of Wonen Limburg initial does not agree with the network-level goals of the municipality: 'The policy goals and policy framework are aimed at short-stay migrants. The mid-stay migrants are forgotten'. Later on, the respondent said that 'Wonen Limburg appreciate adequate housing and social support for housing locations'; it may be inferred that Wonen Limburg agrees with the policy goals, but that they consider the policy as incomplete. Moreover, the respondent mentioned that 'Wonen Limburg has made a priority of the housing of working migrants. Other housing associations often ignore it. We house migrants who stay permanently and mid-stay (a few years) migrants directly or we sublet houses to employment agencies. Our housing stock meet the conventional standards'. So, the network-level goals of the municipality are largely line with the own organizational goals and Wonen Limburg, in its role, acts in accordance with the policy goals. I assess the overall level of goal consensus of this network member as moderately high (4).

The respondent of LLTB agrees with the network-level goals of the municipality. The respondent: 'the policy goals of the municipality are in line with the goals of LLTB regarding this issue. The most important for us is that housing at the agricultural plots remains a possibility. However, we believe that the number of working migrants to be housed have to be optimal and fit into the environment'. LLTB itself does not act in accordance with the policy goals: 'I cannot guarantee that every member of LLTB acts in accordance with the policy goals. However, we are in favour of proper housing and we do not proclaim a deviant message to our members. As LLTB, we are going to implement a certification for adequate housing'. I assess the overall level of goal consensus of this network member as moderately high (4).

The respondent of Arka agrees with the network-level goals of the municipality. However, the policy goals are not in line with the own goals of Arka: 'our goals are aimed at fostering social and cultural activities for working migrants'. The respondent mentioned that they do not act contrary to the policy goals of the municipality Horst aan de Maas. I assess the overall level of goal consensus of this network member as moderate (3).

The respondent of Sun-Power mentioned that the policy goals are formulated very vague; nevertheless, he agrees with the intention of those goals. According to the respondent the goals are 100% in line with the own organizational goals of Sun-Power regarding the housing of working migrants and do they act in accordance with the policy goals. I assess the overall level of goal consensus of this network member as moderately high (4).

The respondent of De Reulsberg does not agree with the network-level goals of the municipality: 'we do not agree with them, because the municipality does not know what they are talking about'. The goals seem to be in line with the own goals of De Reulberg regarding the housing of working migrants: 'we agree that working migrants need to be housed properly; we find that for 19 years'. I assess the overall level of goal consensus of this network member as moderately low (2).

The total score of all the network members is 17; divided by the number of network members (5) is 3.4. The level of goal consensus within the housing network Horst aan de Maas is between moderate and moderately high. So, the level of goal consensus in this case is not in line with the expectation of Provan & Kenis (2008) that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when network-level goal consensus is moderately low.

### **Need for network level competencies**

The need for network level competencies can be measured by two indicators: the nature of tasks being performed by the network members (interdependency) and the external demands and needs which are related to the network. Starting point for determining the level of interdependency is the average of the two answers (7 answer options) to the questions asked in the survey. I will nuance or reinforce that average if statements from the interviews give reasons to this. The level of interdependency is low when the average is 1-2, the level is moderate when the average is 3-5 and the level is high when the average is 6-7. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network can be categorized as follows: high, moderate and low. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network is high in the case that several network members mention different demands and/or needs. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network is moderate in the case that a few network members mention different demands and/or needs. The level of external demands and needs being faced by the network is low in the case that no network members mention any demands and/or needs. So, the level of interdependency within a network and the level of external demands and needs being faced by the network have to be combined in order to indicate the need for network-level competencies. This automatically leads to five categories that indicate the need for network-level competencies.

#### *Level of interdependency*

According to the municipal respondent (survey result), the municipality of Horst aan de Maas is to a full extent (7) dependent on other organizations/individuals regarding the attainment of the policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Moreover, the respondent indicated that other organizations and/or individuals are also to a full extent (7) dependent on the municipality of Horst aan de Maas regarding the attainment of their own goals. Not all the respondents recognize themselves in the qualification made by the municipal respondent. The respondent of Wonen Limburg: 'not entirely, the municipality is not involved in the allocation of houses. 4 working migrants in one house is simply allowed; there is no license required. Regarding large scale housing project we are fully dependent on the municipality, yes'. The respondent of LLTB recognizes himself in the qualification made by the municipal respondent. The respondent of Arka: 'despite the fact that we depend on a financial contribution of the municipality in order to attain our own goals, we are independent to respond to a policy change made by the municipality'. The respondent of Sun-Power: 'why am I dependent on the municipality? Most of the housing is arranged without interference of the municipality. But indeed, you are dependent on them when it comes down to public tasks'. The respondent of De Reulsberg: 'yes, fully. The dependency is not that high in the case you are an agrarian. Then, more interests do play a role. Most agrarians/farmers are funded by liabilities (Rabobank). So, it is of great importance that such agricultural companies not go bankrupt; there is an enormous pressure on the municipality that they allow housing of working migrants on agricultural plots in order to safeguard the persistence of those companies'.

The average of the two answers is 7. I will nuance this average based on the fact that not all respondents recognize themselves in the qualification made by the municipality (i.e. to a full extent dependent). The comments made by the respondents justify it to subtract one point. Still, the level of interdependency in this case is considered to be high. Other factors that played a role in the establishment of cooperation are: 1) an increasing policy problem 2) the demographic decline



regarding the original inhabitants 3) a possibility to influence the policy in practice and 4) sharing expertise.

#### *External demands and needs*

The municipal respondent mentioned that there are no administrative obligations regarding the financial resources they received from other governments. The respondent of Wonen Limburg: 'investments are hampered in the case our housing projects are not aimed at social housing; projects regarding the temporary housing of working migrants do not fall within the social housing category'. The respondent of LLTB mentioned that the national government changes the rules of the game sometimes: 'then, the municipality has to act differently; that is an change in the environment of the cooperation'. Moreover, the respondent of LLTB mentioned that the 'politics based on incidents' changes the environment of the cooperation now and then: 'when there is an incident regarding the housing of working migrants, the local decision makers are likely to respond by imposing more demands'. The respondent of Sun-Power: 'at this moment, there is a surplus on the housing markets, so it is easy to find enough houses in order to house working migrants. However, this could be a different story when the macroeconomic conditions change'. The other respondent did not mention any external demand or need. The level of external demands and needs within the case is considered to be moderate.

Based on the level of the two indicators the need for network level competencies is moderately high: the level of interdependency is high; the level of external demands and needs is moderate (see table 5 in section 4.4.3). So, the need for network level competencies in this case is, just as the previous contingency factor, almost in line with the expectation of Provan & Kenis (2008) that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when the need for network-level competencies is moderate.

#### **9.4.3 Effectiveness at the network level**

The effectiveness of a network as an organizational form can be measured by: the extent to which services that are actually needed by clients are provided by the network; the absence of service duplication; the strength of relations between network members and the degree in which network members want to invest in the attainment of those goals.

#### **Range of services provided**

The range of services provided is measured by the extent to which the network provides sufficient result in order to meet housing needs of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants (according to the network members themselves). The municipal respondent answered: 'it is now important to realize more housing. I am concerned about the supply of housing for permanent stayers which is offered by Wonen Limburg'. Moreover, the respondent points at several services which are offered: the digital housing intermediary, the service centre in Meterik, but also at the appointments made with the homelessness charity in the case a working migrant becomes homelessness due to drugs or alcohol'. The respondent of Wonen Limburg: 'insufficient result, while there are opportunities. The partners cannot realize enough housing at this moment in order to meet the housing needs; that is why all those housing locations have been tolerated'. The respondent of Arka: 'the hotel for working migrants in Tienray is not a solution if you are staying longer than several months'. The respondent of Sun-Power: 'the realization of the hotel made a major contribution; we covered our needs. However, in the upcoming seven years the number of East European migrants will double. So, the need for enough adequate housing will continue to grow'. The respondent of De Reulsberg: 'when you look at the housing need within this municipality and when you look at the supply of adequate housing, then the supply is insufficient'.

Almost all respondents are critical about the question whether the network provided sufficient result in order to meet the housing needs of the working migrants. Based on this, I draw the conclusion

that the network provides insufficient result in order to meet housing needs of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants.

### **Service duplication**

The absence of service duplication is operationalized as the extent to which network members consider that services/tasks being offered within the network are redundant.

In general, there is no duplication of services/tasks within the network; all six the respondents confirmed this. The municipal respondent: 'eliminating doublings in the policy making process was an argument to start the regional approach. Moreover, we are not writing policy documents that are related to the core business of Wonen Limburg (i.e. the housing of mid-stay migrants and permanent stayers)'. The respondent of Wonen Limburg: 'the only task that is being duplicated is the attempt to improve the image of working migrants, but that is just a good thing'. Based on this, there are none substantial services/tasks that are being duplicated.

### **Strength of relations**

The strength of relations is measured by the degree of multiplexity and link confirmation. All five links, as indicated by the municipality, are confirmed (see figure 20, section 9.2). Multiplexity is measured by the extent to which partners of confirmed relations cooperate in other policy fields. In total, there are 7 confirmed links within the network (see figure 20, section 9.2); the two additional confirmed links are between Wonen Limburg and Sun-Power and between Wonen Limburg and Arka.

The respondent of the municipality said that the municipality cooperates in other policy fields with Wonen Limburg, LLTB, Sun-Power and De Reulsberg. The respondent of Wonen Limburg mentioned that it cooperates in other policy fields with the municipality and with LLTB. However, the link between Wonen Limburg and LLTB is not a confirmed link. The respondent of LLTB mentioned that they do cooperate in other policy fields with the municipality: 'regarding spatial planning issues and area development'. The respondent of Arka said that Arka cooperates in other policy fields with the municipality: 'on the issues of social welfare and integration'. However, it is not confirmed by the municipality that they cooperate in other policy fields. The respondent of Sun-Power said that they do not cooperate with partners in other policy fields. The respondent of De Reulsberg mentioned that they do not cooperate with the municipality in other policy fields: 'no, fortunately not. We are independent; other network members cannot claim that'. So, 3 out of 7 confirmed links are multiplex in nature.

All links as indicated by the municipality are confirmed. However, there are not that many multiplex relations. So the strength of relations within the network is not strong or medium; the strength of the relations is considered to be in between those two qualifications: medium-strong.

### **Member commitment**

Member commitment to network goals is measured by the importance for network members that the 'network-level' goals are attained and the willingness of network members to invest in and thus to contribute to the attainment of 'network-level' goals even if this is at expense of the investment opportunities of their own organizations.

The respondent of Wonen Limburg considers it important that the network-level goals, as set by the municipality, are attained: 'However, as mentioned earlier: the policy goals are not complete'. The respondent of Wonen Limburg indicated that they invested in the attainment of those goals: 'we invested in many facets'. I assess that this member considers it important that the network-level goals are attained and that this member is prepared to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals.

The respondent of LLTB also considers it important that the network-level goals are attained: 'basically, we are strongly in favour of the realization of policy goals. However, the practical situation should also be taken into account. If conditions, which are laid down in the policy framework, cause problems for our members, then it is our task to influence the implementation of those conditions. Though, this does not necessarily mean that the realization of the policy goals is undermined; on contrary'. The respondent of LLTB mentioned that they contribute to the attainment of those goals by means of time-investment and human capacity. I assess that this member considers it important that the network-level goals are attained and that this member is prepared to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals.

The respondent of Arka considers it important that the network-level goals are attained: 'it is important that the goals are attained, because that has its impact on the welfare of working migrants. In fact, when everything runs smoothly, including the housing of working migrants, then Arka should be superfluous'. Arka is not able to contribute to the attainment of the policy goals: 'we do not have financial possibilities for that and it does not fit within our own organizational goals'. I assess that this member considers it important that the network-level goals are attained and that this member is not able to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals.

The respondent of Sun-Power also considers it important that the network-level goals are attained: 'I find it very important; the social support for housing projects is very important'. The respondent of Sun-Power mentioned that they 'fully' contribute to the attainment of those goals: 'we have invested considerable in the hotel in Tienray. So, we are working hard on the goals set by the municipality'. Again, I assess that this member considers it important that the network-level goals are attained and that this member is prepared to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals.

The respondent of De Reulsberg does not consider it important that the network-level goals are attained: 'unimportant, because the policy goals are incorrect; it is an unrealistic policy framework'. The respondent said that they invested a lot in the planning process, drawings, consultants, legal charges: 'the plans are ready, but they are frustrated'. I assess that this member does not consider it important that the network-level goals are attained and that this member is not prepared anymore to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals, although they invested a lot in the past (without direct result).

4 out of 5 respondents consider it important that the network-level goals are attained and are prepared to invest/contribute to the attainment of those goals; with the exception of Arka which is not able to invest. In this case, member commitment to network goals is considered to be high.

In table 13, I show in bold the assessment of the indicators of effectiveness at the network level for this case. Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the network level for the case Horst aan de Maas is medium-high (M/H).

Table 19: network effectiveness at the network level, case Horst aan de Maas

<i>Effectiveness at network level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Services provided	Sufficient	Improvable	<b>Insufficient</b>
Service duplication	<b>None</b>	Some	Many
Strength of relations	<b>Strong</b>	<b>Medium</b>	Weak
Member commitment to network goals	<b>High</b>	Moderate	Low

#### **9.4.4 Effectiveness at the participant level**

Effectiveness at the participant level is about the benefits a network member can get from network involvement. This can be measured by the following indicators legitimacy, resource acquisition, service level and costs of network involvement. Per case, for each network member the network effectiveness at the participant level can be different: high, medium or low. Moreover, per case an average of network effectiveness at the participant level can be calculated.

##### **Legitimacy**

Network members join a network in order to enhance their legitimacy in the community. Becoming part of a network can lead to more status for and acceptability of the network member.

According to the municipal respondent, the municipality did not try to increase its status in society through network involvement. However, the municipality did try to become more accepted by society through network involvement. I conclude that this network member is aimed at a slight enhancement of its legitimacy. According to the respondent of Wonen Limburg, Wonen Limburg did try to increase its status in society through network involvement: 'what is called status? There are housing associations that agree with Wonen Limburg in order to consider working migrants as a target group, but there are also housing associations that do not agree with that. The cooperation with partners helps to increase our status towards those housing associations'. Moreover, Wonen Limburg did try to become more accepted by society through network involvement, the respondent: 'that is the reason why I am employed at Wonen Limburg'. I conclude that this network member is aimed at an enhancement of its legitimacy. According to the respondent of LLTB, LLTB did not try to increase its status in society through network involvement, but to increase its status towards their members. Nevertheless, it points at willing to enhance its legitimacy. The municipality did not try to become more accepted by society through network involvement: 'we started to cooperate in order to get business done for our members'. I conclude that this network member is aimed at a slight enhancement of its legitimacy. According to the respondent of Arka, Arka did not try to increase its status in society through network involvement. Moreover, Arka did not try to become more accepted by society through network involvement. I conclude that this network member is not aimed at an enhancement of its legitimacy. According to the respondent of Sun-Power, Sun-Power did not try to increase its status in society through network involvement. However, Sun-Power did try to become more accepted by society through network involvement: 'we talked with the inhabitants of Tienray; there were very sceptical when we started with the hotel, but after nine months they were fully excited'. I conclude that this network member is aimed at a slight enhancement of its legitimacy. According to the respondent of De Reulsberg, De Reulsberg did not try to increase its status in society through network involvement. Moreover, De Reulsberg did not try to become more accepted by society through network involvement. I conclude that this network member is not aimed at an enhancement of its legitimacy.

##### **Resource acquisition**

Resource acquisition can be done far more efficiently and effectively when it is centralized through a network than if network members individually attempt to raise funds on their own.

The respondent of the municipality said that the network attracted funding that would otherwise be not obtained: 'the province contributed financially regarding the regional approach. And the national government is co-financier of the digital housing intermediary. So, opportunities get more funding are created if you pick up things together'. The respondent of Wonen Limburg confirms that the national government contributes financially to the digital housing intermediary: 'everyone participates financially (employment agencies, housing association, municipality), thus the ministry also co-finances'. The respondent of LLTB does not believe that joint resource acquisition is beneficial, nor does the respondent of Sun-Power: 'everyone should take care of its own funding'.

The respondent of Arka mentioned that a European subsidy played a role in setting up Arka. Moreover, he believes that through cooperation more funding can be attracted: 'you have seen it happen regarding the provincial financial contribution'. The respondent of De Reulsberg considers joint resource acquisition not applicable.

### **Service level**

In general, it is attractive for agencies to join a network in the case that leads to a better service level for their clients through the integrated services provided by the network members.

The respondent of the municipality believes that the service level is enhanced due to the integration of tasks within the network. He argued this as follows: 'we do have pleasant conversations with working migrants. They feel at home here and that is due to our integral approach regarding the working migrants; an approach with multiple facets including housing'. The respondent of Wonen Limburg also believes that the service level is enhanced: 'information is better available for working migrants'. The respondent of LLTB: 'in general, the service level for working migrants regarding the issue of housing increased over the past few years. However, I do not think this is due to the cooperation between the municipality and LLTB'. The respondent of Arka also mentioned an improvement in the service level due to the integration of tasks. The same applies for the respondent of Sun-Power: 'I think that the working migrants get better housing through the cooperation of several partners'. The respondent of De Reulseberg said that an improvement in the service level is not applicable.

### **Costs**

Through network involvement, benefits can be gained that otherwise could not be obtained. For some members the benefits exceed the costs of network involvement; for others it just can be the other way around.

The respondent of the municipality mentioned that the benefits derived from regional cooperation do not exceed the costs associated with that cooperation: 'the regional approach cost us more than other participating municipalities. In the coming period, the costs of measures taken have to be divided among all participating municipalities including the current freeriding municipalities'. Moreover, he mentioned that the benefits derived from the municipal network, in terms of social effects, exceed the costs of network involvement: 'cooperation always pays off'. The respondent of Wonen Limburg has the same opinion: 'if you look at the social effects, that is true. We invested a lot, but it does not pay off in terms of money. We do not want to make money out of the housing of working migrants. We only benefit from a better image as housing association'. The respondent of LLTB: 'Yes, as long as benefits are associated with the cooperation, we continue to cooperate. It cost us time-investment, but it results in situations of which our members are happy'. The respondent of Arka: 'yes, cooperation pays off. It is better to address the housing problem of working migrants together than that every organization address this on its own'. The respondent of Sun-Power: 'yes, it pays off in terms of social effects, although the cooperation is sometimes a viscous process'. The respondent of De Reulsberg mentioned that the benefits do not exceed the costs associated with cooperation: 'up to now, it has cost us a lot of money. We are prepared to invest in adequate housing, but we only got a negative response. So, the cooperation is not beneficial enough to exceed the efforts made and money invested'.

In the tables 20a – 20f, I show in bold the assessment of the indicators of effectiveness at the participant level for each network member.

Table 20a: network effectiveness at the participant level, municipality Horst aan de Maas

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	<b>Slight enhancement</b>	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	<b>Benefits</b>	No benefits	Counterproductive
Service level	<b>Enhanced</b>	Stable	Worsened
Costs	<b>Benefits &gt; costs</b>	Benefits = costs	Benefits < costs

Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: municipality Horst aan de Maas is high (H).

Table 20b: network effectiveness at the participant level, Wonen Limburg

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	<b>Enhancement</b>	Slight enhancement	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	<b>Benefits</b>	No benefits	Counterproductive
Service level	<b>Enhanced</b>	Stable	Worsened
Costs	<b>Benefits &gt; costs</b>	Benefits = costs	Benefits < costs

Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: Wonen Limburg is high (H).

Table 20c: network effectiveness at the participant level, LLTB

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	<b>Slight enhancement</b>	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	Benefits	<b>No benefits</b>	Counterproductive
Service level	<b>Enhanced</b>	Stable	Worsened
Costs	<b>Benefits &gt; costs</b>	Benefits = costs	Benefits < costs

Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: LLTB is medium-high (M/H).

Table 20d: network effectiveness at the participant level, Arka

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	Slight enhancement	<b>Stable</b>
Joint resource acquisition	<b>Benefits</b>	No benefits	Counterproductive
Service level	<b>Enhanced</b>	Stable	Worsened
Costs	<b>Benefits &gt; costs</b>	Benefits = costs	Benefits < costs

Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: Arka is medium-high (M/H).

Table 20e: network effectiveness at the participant level, Sun-Power

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	<b>Slight enhancement</b>	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	Benefits	<b>No benefits</b>	Counterproductive
Service level	<b>Enhanced</b>	Stable	Worsened
Costs	<b>Benefits &gt; costs</b>	Benefits = costs	Benefits < costs

Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: Sun-Power is medium-high (M/H).

Table 20f: network effectiveness at the participant level, De Reulsberg

<i>Effectiveness at participant level</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Medium</i>	<i>Low</i>
Legitimacy	Enhancement	<b>Slight enhancement</b>	Stable
Joint resource acquisition	Benefits	<b>No benefits</b>	Counterproductive
Service level	Enhanced	<b>Stable</b>	Worsened
Costs	Benefits > costs	Benefits = costs	<b>Benefits &lt; costs</b>

Based on the assessment of these indicators, I conclude that the network effectiveness at the participant level for network member: De Reulsberg is medium (M).

For two members the effectiveness at the participant level is high; for three members the effectiveness at the participant level is medium-high and for one member the effectiveness at the participant level is medium. On average the effectiveness at the participant level is medium-high (M/H) in this case.

**9.5 Conclusion**

In this section a partial conclusion will be drawn regarding the third and fourth sub question of this study:

- *To what extent are policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants in the municipalities of Steenbergen attained?*
- *To what extent is that degree of goal attainment a consequence of the content of those local policies and the operation of the local organizational network form?*

In section 9.3.3 I concluded that the degree of goal attainment, in terms of the achieved improvement, can be expressed as a reasonable extent (i.e. effectiveness at the community level is considered to be medium).

In this case, the content of the policy affects the extent of goal attainment, which is reasonable in this case. First of all, the policy is laid down in a separate structured policy document, but the policy itself can be considered as incoherent due to the absence of clear goal-mean indications and underlying argumentation why a certain measure contribute to a certain goal. We have seen this earlier in the case Steenbergen. Secondly, in practice the municipality allows every form of housing under some conditions which are laid down in the policy framework. This probable explains why most of the working migrants are housed on agricultural plots; a decentralized form of housing which is easy to realize. But it also shows that housing is almost always coupled to work. There is not enough housing in order to make a decoupling possible. The municipality tries to get as much as possible working migrants registered in the municipal record database and the night-registries. Based on that, the housing locations are checked on safety and other requirements. The municipality enforces randomly in order to demonstrate that they take illegal and irresponsible forms of housing seriously. However, what is not registered can also not be checked and that is likely to explain why illegal housing occurs and why the municipality does not always knows what is happening. Thirdly, the policy instruments used are not one-sided and thus form a toolkit that can be applied to any situation. This mix of policy instruments recognizes that goal attainment is not only dependent on municipal action, but also on the behaviour of others.

Regarding the mode of network governance, I observed that the network is governed by a lead

organization. Lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared among network participants, when there are relatively moderate number of network participants, when network-level goal consensus is moderately low, and when the need for network-level competencies is moderate (Provan & Kenis, 2008). Within this network there is a moderate density of trust; this differs from the expectation that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when trust is narrowly shared (low density). However, the presence of trust relations between the lead organization and the network members is crucial and that is almost perfect in this case. Within this network there are a few number of network participants; this differs from the expectation that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when there is relatively moderate number of network participants. The level of goal consensus within the housing network Horst aan de Maas is between moderate and moderately high. This also differs significantly from the expectation that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when network-level goal consensus is moderately low. In this case, the need for network level competencies is moderately high. This is almost in line with the expectation that lead organization network governance will be most effective for achieving network-level outcomes when the need for network-level competencies is moderate. In short, in this case three out of the four contingency factors do not match with the expectations regarding lead organization network governance as formulated by Provan & Kenis (2008) and the remaining contingency factors differs slightly from the expectation. According to Provan & Kenis (2008, p. 241), 'the greater the inconsistency between critical contingency factors and a particular governance form, the less likely that that particular form will be effective, leading either to overall network ineffectiveness, dissolution, or change in governance form'. Based on this, one should expect that the mode of network governance in this case is ineffective for achieving network-level outcomes and that the network is also ineffective. In this study the level of network effectiveness at the community level can be expressed by the degree of goal attainment of local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. So in this case, the level of network effectiveness at the community level is medium (M). In section 9.4.3 and based on the indicators provided by Provan & Milward (2001), I concluded that the network effectiveness at the network level for this case is medium-high (M/H). In this case, there is no service duplication; the relations within the network can be characterized as medium-strong and member commitment to network goals is high; the range of services provided in order to meet the housing needs is insufficient. Based on the causal model (see section 3.5), it is likely that a medium-high level of network effectiveness at the network level (Provan & Milward, 2001) affects the extent of goal attainment, which is reasonable in this case. It seems that the policy content and the medium-high level of network effectiveness at the network level are both determining for the extent of goal attainment. This case also shows that a network could be effective to a certain degree even if there is a significant inconsistency between critical contingency factors and the lead organization governance form. In this case, the theory of Provan & Kenis (2008) is not valid. I will come back on this in chapter 10.

Moreover, I concluded in section 9.4.4 and based on the indicators provided by Provan & Milward (2001), that, on average, the network effectiveness at the participant level is medium-high (M/H) in this case. On average, network members are involved in this network because they want to increase their legitimacy slightly, to enhance the service level for the working migrants and the benefits associated with network involvement exceed the costs; some members are not involved because they believe that joint resource acquisition is beneficial; others are. Based on the causal model (see section 3.5), it is likely that a medium-high level of network effectiveness at the participant level affects the level of network effectiveness at the network level, which is also medium-high in this case. If every network member benefits from network involvement it is plausible that the network functions better than if this is not the case.



## 10. Conclusion & Discussion

In this chapter a conclusion will be drawn regarding the main research question of this study:

*To what extent are the policy goals of the municipalities Steenbergen, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants attained and is this a consequence of the content of those policies and the operation of organizational network forms, in the period 2007-2012?*

In order to answer this main research question, I formulated four sub questions. Based on the conclusions of the first two sub questions, it was possible to select the three municipalities which are included in the main research question of this study. The first two sub question were aimed at obtaining a general picture of the content of local policies and the organizational network forms. Below, I recapitulate the main conclusions on the first two sub questions before drawing a conclusion on the main research question.

It is not always obvious that municipalities that recognize housing and integration related problems regarding CEE migrants do have local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Moreover, it is also not obvious that municipalities that recognize housing and integration related problems regarding CEE migrants do take measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. The legal steering model, instead of the economic steering or communicative steering models, is most popular among the responding municipalities; through the use of local regulations and the enforcement of laws and regulations actors are forced to conform to certain norms. Based on the results of the survey an image emerges that measures taken are predominantly focused on: 1) a multitude of actors; 2) affecting the behaviour of other actors in such a way that those actors contribute to the attainment of local policy goals and 3) stimulating desired behaviour. This seems to be at odds with the most frequently mentioned categories to which the measures taken belong: enforcement of laws and regulations and local regulations. Instead, covenants and performance agreements are in line with this image. Based on the survey results, there is no clear picture of the existence of final relations and the underlying argumentation regarding those relations. This means that improvements can be made; ideally, respondents should predominantly answer positive regarding those questions. In addition, respondents are more positive about the extent to which the measures taken, in their opinion, contribute to the attainment of local policy goals. This does not seem to be explained by the existence of clear and argued final relations. In general, it seems that the respondents (i.e. policy advisors and policy makers) have confidence in the measures taken. It is not always obvious that local policy goals have to be attained within a certain period of time. And if so, goals have predominantly to be attained in the medium term. Moreover, it is predominately not the case that certain local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants have to be attained earlier than other local policy goals regarding the same topic. Nor is it predominantly the case that certain measures regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants have to be taken earlier than other measures regarding the same topic. On average, it can be concluded that municipalities make rarely a distinction between policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Polish circular migrants on the one hand and policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand. This was contrary to the expectation that municipalities make such a distinction, because an employment permit is obligatory for Bulgarian and Romanian migrant workers and not for Polish migrant workers. Finally, one expects that a municipality with policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants also takes measures; a municipality that does not have policy goals is expected not to take measures. Based on the survey results, this is largely the case.

Regarding the extent of interdependency between municipalities and other organizations / individuals expressed in terms of own goals, municipal respondents recognize in general that their municipalities are to a large extent dependent on other organizations / individuals when it comes to the attainment of local policy goals. Moreover, municipal respondents consider the dependency of other organizations / individuals on municipalities in order to attain their own goals as reasonable. In general, the perceived level of interdependency between the municipalities and other organizations and/or individuals on the attainment of own goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants is reasonable large. It is also shown that a large majority of the respondents indicated that they cooperate with organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. This could be a consequence of the level of perceived (inter)dependency; at least these pictures are in line with each other. Municipalities cooperate more often with continuously the same organizations and/or individuals instead of with continuously varying organizations and/or individuals. According to the respondents, the number of network participants varies a lot; the number of network participants lies between 1 (minimum) and 25 (maximum). In the case studies, it will appear that it is arbitrary what the respondent counts as network participants. A lot of variation is also the case regarding the frequency of cooperation. Based on the results, there is not a clear direction regarding the frequency of cooperation. The two most frequently mentioned types of organizations are with which the municipalities cooperate: neighbour municipalities and housing associations. Real estate owners, the labour related interest groups and the Dutch social security agency UWV are less frequently seen as cooperation partners regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. Regarding the mode of network governance adopted, more than half of the respondents indicated that the networks their municipalities are participating in are governed by all the participating organizations within the network (i.e. shared governance). 35% of the respondents indicated that their network is governed by one of the participating organizations within the network (i.e. lead organization). And 10% indicated that the network is governed by one organization that was specifically created for governing a network; a so-called Network Administrative Organization. Finally, one expects that a municipality with policy goals collaborates with other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; a municipality that does not have policy goals is expected not to collaborate. Moreover, one expects that a municipality which takes measures at this moment regarding also collaborates with other organizations and/or individuals regarding the housing problem of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; a municipality that does not take measures at this moment is expected not to collaborate. Based on the survey results, it can be concluded that respondents largely answered in line with those expectations. Those municipalities that do not collaborate, but do have local policy goals and/or do take measures do not believe that they are independent of other organizations and/or individuals regarding the attainment of local policy goals. Those municipalities that do collaborate, but do not have local policy goals and/or do not take measures believe even stronger than other municipalities that they are dependent on other organizations and/or individuals regarding the attainment of local policy goals. However, it is quite strange that the respondents are able to judge that they are dependent regarding the attainment of local policy goals while they indicated that they actually do not have those local policy goals. Moreover, it is quite strange that municipalities do not take measures, but indicate that they do collaborate. Collaboration implies that each partner in one way or another contributes to the policy problem at stake by means of the use of resources they possess. In my opinion, in the case of municipalities using resources is approximately equivalent to taking measures.

Based on these survey results, I selected the municipalities Steenberg, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas for the case studies (see section 4.2.2). Below, emphasis is laid on the comparison of the three sub-conclusions in section 7.5, 8.5 and 9.5 respectively; together the answer the main research question.

The extent of goal attainment, in terms of the achieved improvement in the cases Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas is considered to be reasonable; the extent of goal attainment, in terms of the achieved improvement in the case Bladel is considered to be small. Not in any case, the extent of goal attainment was large. In this study the level of network effectiveness at the community level can be expressed by the degree of goal attainment of local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. So in the cases Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas, the level of network effectiveness at the community level is medium (M); in the case Bladel, the level of network effectiveness at the community level is low (L).

In the cases Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas, the policy is laid down in a separate structured policy document, but those policies are considered to be incoherent due to the absence of clear goal-mean indications and underlying argumentation why a certain measure contribute to a certain goal. In the case Bladel there is not a separate structured policy document in which the municipality laid down its policy regarding the housing of working migrants; also in this case there is a lack of explicit goal-mean indications within the relevant policy documents. Even worse, some legal policy instruments which are used in practice are not mentioned in the policy documents. Argumentation about which measures contribute to which goals is not detected. The policy of Bladel is considered to be incomplete and incoherent.

Steenbergen prefers centralized housing instead of decentralized housing. It is plausible that management of centralized housing reduces nuisance. This could be a reason why eventually such developments are socially accepted. Decentralized housing is due to its scale often unmanaged; it is plausible that this leads to more nuisance in streets and neighbourhoods. Bladel prefers decentralized housing and if it is centralized, then 'too large concentrations of working migrants are not allowed'. This policy goal is not demarcated and it seems that it is used when it suits the municipality. On the one hand, the municipality Bladel said that employers have to come up with housing projects themselves. Once this happened such projects were rejected based on the scale: too large concentrations. On the other hand the municipality Bladel itself approaches partners actively when the municipality sees opportunities for housing. The result of this is that the municipality recently approved a housing project (at the corner of an industry park in Hapert) on a scale which was previously rejected. Horst aan de Maas allows every form of housing under some conditions which are laid down in the policy framework. This probable explains why most of the working migrants are housed on agricultural plots; a decentralized form of housing which is easy to realize. But it also shows that housing is almost always coupled to work. There is not enough housing in order to make a decoupling possible.

In the case Steenbergen it is not clear how often the municipality proceeds to enforcement (the municipal respondent mentioned only one case) and whether the municipality tried to identify irresponsible forms of housing. This makes it difficult to determine whether the municipality Steenbergen indeed counteracts irresponsible forms of housing. In the case Bladel, there is no consistent enforcement of illegal housing situations. Horst aan de Maas tries to get as much as possible working migrants registered in the municipal record database and the night-registries. Based on that, the housing locations are checked on safety and other requirements. The municipality enforces randomly in order to demonstrate that they take illegal and irresponsible forms of housing seriously. However, what is not registered can also not be checked and that is likely to explain why illegal housing occurs and why the municipality does not always knows what is happening.

From a theoretical point of view the policies of Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas are well balanced; the policy instruments used are not one-sided and thus form a toolkit that can be applied to any situation. This mix of policy instruments recognizes that goal attainment is not only dependent on municipal action, but also on the behaviour of others. This cannot be said of the incomplete policy of the municipality Bladel.

Based on the indicators provided by Provan & Milward (2001), I concluded that the network effectiveness at the network level is medium-high (M/H) in the cases Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas; the network effectiveness at the network level is medium-low (M/L) in the case Bladel. In all three cases, there is no service duplication. In the cases Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas the relations within the network can be characterized as medium-strong; in the case Bladel the relations within the network can be characterized as weak. In the cases Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas member commitment to network goals is high; in the case Bladel member commitment to network goals is low. In the cases Bladel and Horst aan de Maas, the range of services provided in order to meet the housing needs is insufficient; in the case Steenbergen it is improvable.

Based on the indicators provided by Provan & Milward (2001), I concluded that, on average, the network effectiveness at the participant level is medium-high (M/H) in the cases Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas; on average, the network effectiveness at the participant level is medium-low (M/L) in the case Bladel. In the cases Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas, in which the network effectiveness at the participant level is medium-high, the members are, on average, involved because they want to increase their legitimacy slightly, to enhance the service level for the working migrants and because the benefits associated with network involvement exceed the costs; the members are not involved because they believe that joint resource acquisition is beneficial. In the case Bladel, network members are, on average, solely involved because they want to increase their legitimacy slightly.

According to Provan & Kenis (2008, p. 241), 'the greater the inconsistency between critical contingency factors and a particular governance form, the less likely that that particular form will be effective, leading either to overall network ineffectiveness, dissolution, or change in governance form'. In the case Steenbergen, two out of the four contingency factors do not match with the expectations regarding lead organization network governance as formulated by Provan & Kenis (2008). Besides, the level of trust in the lead organization (i.e. the municipality) is insufficient. Based on this, it is questionable whether the mode of network governance in this case is effective for achieving network-level outcomes and whether the network is effective. However, in this case we have seen that the level of network effectiveness at the community level is medium (M) and the level of network effectiveness at the network level is medium-high (M/H) even if there is a significant inconsistency between critical contingency factors and the lead organization governance form. In the case Bladel, one out of the four contingency factors does not match with the expectations regarding lead organization network governance as formulated by Provan & Kenis (2008); two contingency factors differ slightly from the expectations. Besides, the level of trust in the lead organization (i.e. the municipality) is absent. Based on this, one should expect that the mode of network governance in this case is relatively effective for achieving network-level outcomes and that the network is also relatively effective; the consistency between critical contingency factors and a particular governance form is larger than in the case Steenbergen. However, in this case we have seen that, contrary to the expectation, the level of network effectiveness at the community level is low (L) and the level of network effectiveness at the network level is medium-low (M/L). In the case Horst aan de Maas, three out of the four contingency factors do not match with the expectations regarding lead organization network governance as formulated by Provan & Kenis (2008) and the remaining contingency factors differs slightly from the expectation. Based on this, one should expect that the mode of network governance in this case is ineffective for achieving network-level outcomes and that the network is also ineffective. However, in this case we have seen that the level of network effectiveness at the community level is medium (M) and the level of network effectiveness at the network level is medium-high (M/H) even if there is a large inconsistency between critical contingency factors and the lead organization governance form. So, in all the three cases, the theory of Provan & Kenis (2008) is not valid. In section 10.1 I will critically discuss this theory.

- In both the cases Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas, it is likely that a medium-high level of network effectiveness at the network level affects the extent of goal attainment, which is reasonable in this case.
- In both the cases Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas, it seems that the policy content and the medium-high level of network effectiveness at the network level are both determining for the extent of goal attainment.
- In both the cases Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas, it is likely that a medium-high level of network effectiveness at the participant level affects the level of network effectiveness at the network level, which is also medium-high. If every network member benefits from network involvement it is plausible that the network functions better than if this is not the case.
- In the case Bladel, it is likely that a medium-low level of network effectiveness at the network level affects the extent of goal attainment, which is small in this case.
- In the case Bladel, it seems that the policy content and the medium-low level of network effectiveness at the network level are both determining for the extent of goal attainment.
- In the case Bladel, it is likely that a medium-low level of network effectiveness at the participant level affects the level of network effectiveness at the network level, which is also medium-low in this case. It seems that the self-interest of the municipality is better served by network involvement than that is the case for the two employment agencies. If not all, or in this case, just one network member benefits from network involvement it is plausible that the network functions worse than if this is not the case.

In the case Horst aan de Maas, contrary to the survey answer and in line with the conclusion in section 5.2, there is no distinction between policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Polish circular migrants on the one hand and policy goals and/or measures aimed at the housing of Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants on the other hand. I conclude that in the cases Steenbergen, Bladel and Horst aan de Maas and in general the obligation of an employment permit does not affect local housing policies in such way that a clear distinction between target groups is recognizable (i.e. Poles at the one hand and Bulgarian/Romanians at the other hand). Moreover, I formulated in section 2.2 the expectation that the independent variables in this study: 1) the content of those policies and 2) the operation of organizational network forms could intertwine to a certain degree; through the use of policies it is possible to anticipate on the different roles and responsibilities of stakeholders. In the case studies I did not detect a clear link between those independent variables. Policies are focused on housing forms instead of responsibilities and roles of stakeholders.

## 10.1 Discussion

Everything has its shortcomings, so has this study. The results of this study are discussed in this section. First of all, it is useful to reflect on the validity and reliability of this study; something has been said about this in section 4.5. Validity is about the extent to which the empirical measure reflects the concept it intended to measure. It struck me that all interviewees were talking about 'working migrants' instead of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian 'circular migrants'. It is questionable whether the results of this study are really related to the concept of circular migrants. My impression is that the results of this study tell us something about the housing of all working migrants within a certain municipality, regardless the duration of their stay, instead of the housing of circular migrants. This, despite the fact that I explained the concept of circular migrants in the online survey and the fact that I continuously used the concept of circular migrants in the questions of both the survey and questionnaire. Moreover, I have the impression that the answers given by the interviewees on the related questions regarding the concepts 'range of services provided' and 'external demands and needs' did not always reflect the meaning of those concepts. Another question regarding the concept of validity is the extent to which the results are generalizable. I am convinced that the answers given

on the first and second sub-question of this study are generalizable for those municipalities that did not fill in the survey and are also faced with the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants; 39 out of the 69 municipalities filled in the survey (response rate: 56.52%). On contrary, the answers given on the third and fourth sub-question and therefore also on the main research question are in my opinion not generalizable. The municipalities as presented in the case studies are simply not representative for all municipalities that are faced with the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants. The municipalities studied are all rural municipalities with different economic sectors. Those sectors do also have their impact on the way in which people are housed; for instance, housing on agricultural plots is allowed in Horst aan de Maas, while in Rotterdam there is not such an opportunity to house working migrants because there is no agricultural sector. Reliability is about whether a research technique continuously produces the same result. I did not notice any irregularities that undermined the reliability of the results. On contrary, I have had good experience with the IGS Datalab online survey tool and the qualitative data analysis program ATLAS.ti version 7. Moreover, I studied the network from a municipal perspective. The municipal policy goals regarding the housing of working migrants were considered to be the network-level goals, because there were no official network-level goals. This differs, but in my opinion not disruptive, from the ideal situation in which there are clear established networks with own network-level goals. Finally, in this study, I had to rely on statements of interviewees due to the absence of (quantitative) data in policy documents. As a result I had to estimate the degree of goal attainment, for instance. Although I did this with the greatest care, it shows that those results are not cast into concrete. Before discussing the theory of Provan & Kenis (2008) I would like to emphasize that I have measured the influence of, in my opinion, the two most relevant independent variables on the dependent variable. This does not exclude that there are also other variables or 'threats' that influence the dependent variable.

A network that is governed by a shared governance form can evolve to a brokered form and 'when governance becomes established as either a lead organization or NAO form, evolution to shared governance is unlikely' (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 246-247). The theory does not take situations into account in which the form of network governance is lead organization (or NAO) from the very beginning of the network. The rough rationale behind the theory of Provan & Kenis (2008) is that network governance is easy in situations in which the network has a few members, when trust among those members is high, when goal consensus among the members is high and when the need for network level competencies is low; then, the mode of network governance: shared governance is likely to be effective for attaining network-level outcomes. Network governance becomes complex in situations in which the network has many members, when trust among those members is not high, when goal consensus among the members is not high and when the need for network level competencies is high; then, a brokered form of network governance (lead organization or NAO) is likely to be effective for attaining network-level outcomes. The theory is unidirectional: from easy network governance situations to complex network governance situations; regarding the mode of network governance there is no way back once a brokered form of network governance is adopted. But what if a brokered form of governance (lead organization) is adopted in an easy network governance situation? This is for instance the case in Horst aan de Maas; the observed values of the contingency factors differ from the expected values (based on lead organization governance). For example, the density of trust is higher than the level that is required in order to have an effective governance form for achieving network-level outcomes. In a strict sense, these contingency factors are inconsistent with the lead organization governance form, which means that, according to the theory of Provan & Kenis (2008, p. 241), this governance form is 'less likely to be effective, leading to overall network ineffectiveness or change in governance form'. However, the network of Horst aan de Maas is relatively successful in achieving network-level outcomes; failure in achieving network-level outcomes is rather due to the policy of the municipality. The values of the contingency factors in the case Horst aan de Maas suggest that the network governance form evolves to shared governance, but according to the theory of Provan & Kenis (2008) that is unlikely. I also believe that

evolution to shared governance is unlikely, but that is driven by the fact that the municipality is more dependent on the network members for achieving own goals than the other way around. So, the municipality is more or less forced to take the lead. This study pointed out that, 1) despite the inconsistency between critical contingency factors and lead organization governance form, the network can be successful in achieving network-level outcomes (cases Horst aan de Maas and Steenbergen) and 2) despite the consistency between critical contingency factors and lead organization governance form, the network can be unsuccessful in achieving network-level outcomes (case Bladel). So, the theory of Provan & Kenis alone is not sufficient for explaining network-level outcomes; content (i.e. policy and its implementation) is equally important for the success in terms of network-level outcomes. Moreover, the theory of Provan & Kenis (2008) is incomplete; in easy network governance situations it is also possible that a brokered network governance form, such as lead organization network governance, could be successful.

## 11. Recommendations

Based on the conclusions drawn, I formulate several recommendations which can be picked up by all who it may concern.

- The municipality Bladel should formulate and adopt a separate policy document in which the policy regarding the housing of working migrants is laid down. Based on the cases Steenberg and Horst aan de Maas, a separate policy document contributes to the goal attainment regarding the housing of working migrants, because only then it is clearly indicated where housing of working migrants is allowed and in what manner. It avoids situations that give the appearance of arbitrariness and it is a good basis to enforce undesirable situations that do not comply with the rules.
- All the three municipalities should enhance the goal-mean relations in their policies. Policies are incoherent due to the absence of clear goal-mean indications and underlying argumentation why a certain measure contributes to a certain goal. According to Bressers & Hoogerwerf (1995a), the failure of many policies – not attaining goals - can be partially explained by the fact that policies are often based on false assumptions. Indicating which means contribute to which goals and arguing why this is the case stimulates to reflect on the underlying assumptions.
- Based on the case studies, I believe that large scale housing (centralized) should be allowed more within the municipalities. As the municipality Steenberg did, municipalities should dare to support these developments. Adequate management of centralized housing and enough parking facilities ensures that nuisance is limited. A large scale is necessary in order to afford continuous management and to keep the housing for the working migrants affordable; too high housing costs drive them into the arms of so-called slumlords. Involve current (neighbouring) inhabitants in those developments and make agreements with them regarding their participation.
- Registration of working migrants, who are intended to stay longer than 4 months in the Netherlands, in the municipal personal records database (in Dutch: GBA) should be a policy priority of the municipalities. The procedures regarding this registration have to be simplified and the registration itself should be promoted at every employer who employs working migrants. Moreover, municipalities should incorporate the obligation of keeping a night-registry into their the 'APVs' (general local ordinances) and enforce situations of housing providers that do not want to comply with it. By means of municipal personal records databases and night-registries it is possible to check housing locations and enforce housing situations that are for instance unsafe or do not meet the legal requirements.
- The municipality Horst aan de Maas enforces randomly based on official registrations. However, an intensification of enforcement is needed in order to counteract illegal and undesirable housing situations which are, for the municipality, not visible now; there are respondents who stated that there is more illegal and undesirable housing than the municipality knows. Municipalities benefit in financial terms from the registration of working migrants in the municipal personal records database; they receive a higher contribution from the Municipal Fund (in Dutch: Gemeentefonds). This means that they are also able to spend extra money on more enforcement capacity.
- Make it official! At this moment, the three networks in the three cases are not mentioned explicitly in the policy documents as networks regarding the housing of working migrants. It makes sense to start up an official housing network at the municipal level. The network should be aimed at incorporating as many as possible relevant stakeholders within a certain municipality. Regional networks are too big in order to cope with specific, municipal determined, situations. Moreover, in the case Bladel, the regional network is used as a cloak in order to avoid taking responsibility. Regional networks should be aimed at guarding consistency between local policies; this prevents that some employers move with their housing needs to other municipalities in which the policies are more attractive for them.



- In the cases Steenbergen and Horst aan de Maas one should try to keep the current levels of network effectiveness at the network level and network effectiveness at the participant level; and enhance these levels if this is possible. Try to make joint resource acquisition beneficial and anticipate on developments in order to meet the future housing needs of working migrants.
- In the case Bladel one should really try to enhance the current level of network effectiveness at the network level and network effectiveness at the participant level. I think this is only possible by starting again, with a clean sheet.
- If you study successfulness of a network in terms of the attainment of network-level outcomes, take also into account the content (i.e. policy and its implementation) which underlies cooperation. An effective mode of network governance alone (as suggested by Provan & Kenis, 2008) is not a guarantee for attaining network-level outcomes.
- The theory of Provan & Kenis (2008) is incomplete and should be complemented in such way that it does not exclude the effectiveness of brokered network governance forms in easy network governance situations; the 'unidirectionality' of the theory should be abandoned.

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## Annex I: Housing situation of Poles, Bulgarians and Romanians

	totaal	m.lang	kort	Polen	Bul/Roe
<b>Woonsituatie</b>					
Op een kamer	41,9	26,6	46,4	42,8	40,7
In zelfstandige woonruimte	37,6	60,1	30,9	33,1	51,9
In een recreatie of vakantiewoning	5,1	3,8	5,5	6,3	1,9
In een caravan, woonwagen	3,2	1,3	3,8	2,4	0,9
In een hotel/ hostel/ pension	10,6	7,6	11,5	14,0	2,8
Anders	1,6	0,6	1,9	1,4	1,9
<b>Met hoeveel personen deelt u uw slaapkamer?</b>					
0 of met partner	22,3	31,3	19,8	17,5	43,5
1 ander persoon	45,9	48,1	45,2	47,8	28,2
2 anderen	22,8	13,0	25,4	24,6	21,2
3 anderen en meer	9,1	7,6	9,5	10,2	7,1

Figure 2: Housing situation / type of migrant / origin (source: Commissie Lessen, 2011, p. 65).

## Annex II: Operationalization table

<b>Theoretical Concepts</b>	<b>Variables</b>	<b>Definition (context related)</b>	<b>Measurement</b>	<b>Data collection</b>
Effects of a policy	<b>Goal attainment</b>	'The extent to which certain goals have been achieved'.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>What is the actual situation regarding the goals set?</i></li> <li>- <i>What was the initial situation regarding the goals set, before policy implementation?</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Documents and interviews with municipalities</li> <li>- Documents and interviews with municipalities</li> </ul>
Policy content	<b>Goals</b>	'A wish that a person or group has decided to achieve'.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Do you have any local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants?</i></li> <li>- <i>Since when do you have set policy goals regarding this topic?</i></li> <li>- <i>Do you have the local policy goals laid down in policy documents?</i></li> <li>- <i>The local policy goals refer to the following categories: ... (several response options)?</i></li> <li>- <i>Are these goals realistic? And why/why not?</i></li> <li>- <i>Is there a distinction between policy goals aimed at the housing of Poles and policy goals aimed at the housing of Bulgarians &amp; Romanians?</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Survey</li> <li>- Survey</li> <li>- Survey</li> <li>- Survey &amp; documents</li> <li>- Survey &amp; interviews with municipalities</li> <li>- Survey, documents &amp; interviews with municipalities</li> </ul>
	<b>Means</b>	'That what an actor uses, or can use, in order to foster the attainment of	- <i>Do you currently use policy instruments regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants?</i>	- Survey



			<p>- <i>How often do you cooperate with those organizations and/or individuals?</i></p> <p>- <i>With which type of organizations and/or individuals do you cooperate?</i></p>	<p>- Survey</p> <p>- Survey</p>
	<b>Centrality</b>	'The degree to which a network member is involved in the network'	- <i>With which partners (according to the municipal respondent) does your organization have ties?</i>	- Interviews with other network members
	<b>Modes of network governance</b>	'The use of institutions, structures of authority and collaboration to allocate resources and to coordinate and control joint action across the network as a whole'.	- <i>The collaboration of organizations and/or individuals is governed by: all participating organizations /one of the participating organizations / an external organization?</i>	- Survey
Explaining effective modes of network governance	<b>Trust</b>	'The willingness to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations about another's intentions or behaviors'.	<p>- <i>Are you confident that other network members fulfill the agreements made within the network?</i></p> <p>- <i>The other network members are suitable partners?</i></p> <p>- <i>Can you rely on other network members when they have to defend the interest of the network?</i></p>	<p>- Interviews with municipalities and other network members</p> <p>- Interviews with municipalities and other network members</p> <p>- Interviews with municipalities and other network members</p>
	<b>Number of participants</b>	-	- <i>How many stakeholders are involved in the network?</i>	- Survey, documents, interviews with municipalities
	<b>Goal consensus</b>	'The extent to which network members	- <i>Do you agree with the local policy goals regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular</i>	- Interviews with other network members

		agree on (network) goals’.	<p><i>migrants?</i></p> <p>- Are these goals in line with the goals of your own organization?</p> <p>- To what extent does your organization act in accordance with the network level goal?</p>	<p>- Interviews with other network members</p> <p>- Interviews with other network members</p>
	<b>Need for network-level competencies</b>	‘The nature of tasks being performed by network members and the external demands and needs which are related to the network’.	<p>- To what extent are you dependent on other network members regarding the fulfillment of network related tasks?</p> <p>- Are there any external demands which are related to the functioning of the network? Examples: shift in funding; administrative requirements.</p>	<p>- Survey and interviews with other network members</p> <p>- Interviews with municipalities and other network members</p>
Effectiveness at the community level	<b>Aggregated outcomes</b>	‘The contribution a network makes to the community it is trying to serve.	- <i>i.e. goal attainment of local policies regarding the housing of Polish, Bulgarian and Romanian circular migrants.</i>	- Documents and interviews with municipalities
Effectiveness at the network level	<b>Range of services provided</b>	‘The extent to which services that are actually needed by clients are provided by the network’.	- <i>To what extent yield collaboration of organizations and/or individuals sufficient results in order to meet the housing needs of Poles, Bulgarians and Romanians?</i>	- Interviews with municipalities and other network members
	<b>Service duplication</b>	‘The absence of service duplication’.	- <i>Do you offer a service which is also provided by another network member of which you can say that it is not necessary that it is offered twice?</i>	- Interviews with municipalities and other network members
	<b>Strength of relations</b>	‘The degree to which relations are sustainable’.	<p>- <i>Are the relationships reported by an organization confirmed by its link partner?</i></p> <p>- <i>Does your organization maintain more than one connection with the other network members?</i></p>	<p>- Interviews with other network members</p> <p>- Interviews with municipalities and other network members</p>



	<b>Member commitment to network goals</b>	'The degree in which network members want to invest in the attainment of network goals'.	<p>- <i>How important is it for your organization to attain the network goals?</i></p> <p>- <i>Are you willing to invest in / contribute to the attainment of network goals even if it is at expense of the investment opportunities of your own organization?</i></p>	<p>- Interviews with other network members</p> <p>- Interviews with other network members</p>
Effectiveness at the participant level	<b>Legitimacy</b>	'Becoming part of a network can lead to more status for and acceptability of the network member.'	<p>- <i>Did you join the network in order to enhance your status in relation to the community?</i></p> <p>- <i>Did you join the network in order to enhance the acceptability of the measures taken in the community?</i></p>	<p>- Interviews with municipalities and other network members</p> <p>- Interviews with municipalities and other network members</p>
	<b>Resource acquisition</b>	'Can be done more efficiently and effectively when it is centralized through a network'	- <i>Do you think that the network raised more funds (or can raise more funds) than when your organization and other network members raised funds on their own? If so, do you think this is due to joint action in the form of the network?</i>	- Interviews with municipalities and other network members
	<b>Service level</b>	'Enhanced client outcomes'.	- <i>Do you think that through network involvement you can offer a better service level, because services are integrated?</i>	- Interviews with municipalities and other network members
	<b>Costs</b>	'Costs of network membership'.	- <i>Do you think that the benefits your organization derives from the network membership outweigh the costs of the membership? If not, why did you join the network?</i>	- Interviews with municipalities and other network members

### Annex III: Survey questionnaire (Dutch)

Uw naam:	
Gemeente:	
Functie:	

1. Heeft uw gemeente lokale beleidsdoelen met betrekking tot de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten?

- Ja  
 Nee (ga door naar vraag 8)

2. Sinds welk jaar hanteert u die lokale beleidsdoelen?

20..
------

3. Heeft uw gemeente deze lokale beleidsdoelen ook vastgelegd in beleidsdocumenten?

- Ja    Nee

4. Deze lokale beleidsdoelen hebben betrekking op de volgende gebieden van de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten (meerdere antwoorden mogelijk):

- De hoeveelheid beschikbare woningen/accommodaties  
 De kwaliteit van de huisvesting  
 Overbewoning  
 Dakloosheid  
 Overlast in buurten  
 Illegale huisvesting  
 Gemeentelijke registratie van circulaire migranten  
 Ontkoppeling van wonen en werk  
 Samenwerking van belanghebbende organisaties op dit gebied  
 Anders, namelijk: .....

5. In welke mate acht u deze lokale beleidsdoelen realistisch?

Zeer kleine mate	Kleine mate	Redelijke mate	Grote mate	Zeer grote mate
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Moeten de lokale beleidsdoelen met betrekking tot de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten binnen een bepaalde tijd gerealiseerd zijn?

- Ja, op korte termijn                      (≤ 1 jaar)

- Ja, op middellange termijn (1-3 jaar)
- Ja, op lange termijn (≥ 3 jaar)
- Nee

**7. Zijn er binnen de lokale beleidsdoelen met betrekking tot de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten beleidsdoelen die eerder gerealiseerd dienen te worden dan andere?**

- Ja  Nee

**8. Neemt uw gemeente op dit moment maatregelen met betrekking tot de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten?**

- Ja
- Nee (ga door naar vraag 16)

**9. Kruis aan wat van toepassing is. De maatregelen die uw gemeente neemt vallen volgens u in de volgende categorie/categorieën:**

- Lokale regelgeving
- Handhaving van wet- en regelgeving
- Subsidies
- Heffingen
- Voorlichting
- Convenanten / prestatieafspraken
- Anders, namelijk: .....

**10. Zijn de maatregelen overwegend gericht op zelfrealisatie (door uw gemeente) van de beleidsdoelen of overwegend gericht op het beïnvloeden van het gedrag van andere organisaties dan wel individuen zodat zij bijdragen aan de beleidsdoelen?**

- Overwegend zelfrealisatie
- Overwegend beïnvloeden van anderen

**11. Zijn de maatregelen overwegend toegespitst op specifieke organisaties/individuen (lees: individueel) of overwegend voor alle organisaties/individuen hetzelfde (lees: algemeen)?**

- Overwegend individueel
- Overwegend algemeen

**12. Willen de maatregelen overwegend bepaald gewenst gedrag stimuleren of willen ze overwegend bepaald gedrag ontmoedigen?**

- Overwegend stimuleren
- Overwegend ontmoedigen

**13a.** In welke mate wordt in beleidsdocumenten **expliciet aangegeven** welke maatregelen bijdragen aan welke lokale beleidsdoelen?

Geen enkele mate	Zeer kleine mate	Kleine mate	Redelijke mate	Grote mate	Zeer grote mate	Volledige mate
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**13b.** In welke mate wordt in beleidsdocumenten **beargumenteed** welke maatregelen bijdragen aan welke lokale beleidsdoelen?

Geen enkele mate	Zeer kleine mate	Kleine mate	Redelijke mate	Grote mate	Zeer grote mate	Volledige mate
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**14.** In welke mate dragen de maatregelen volgens u bij aan het realiseren van de lokale beleidsdoelen?

Geen enkele mate	Zeer kleine mate	Kleine mate	Redelijke mate	Grote mate	Zeer grote mate	Volledige mate
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**15.** Zijn er binnen de maatregelen met betrekking tot de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten maatregelen die eerder genomen dienen te worden dan anderen?

Ja  Nee

**16.** In welke mate maakt uw gemeente een onderscheid tussen beleidsdoelen en/of maatregelen gericht op de huisvesting van Poolse circulaire migranten enerzijds en beleidsdoelen en/of maatregelen gericht op de huisvesting van Bulgaarse & Roemeense circulaire migranten anderzijds?

Geen enkele mate	Zeer kleine mate	Kleine mate	Redelijke mate	Grote mate	Zeer grote mate	Volledige mate
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**17.** In welke mate is uw gemeente afhankelijk van andere organisaties dan wel individuen om de lokale beleidsdoelen inzake de huisvesting van Bulgaarse & Roemeense circulaire migranten te realiseren?

Geen enkele mate	Zeer kleine mate	Kleine mate	Redelijke mate	Grote mate	Zeer grote mate	Volledige mate
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**18.** In welke mate zijn andere organisaties dan wel individuen afhankelijk van uw gemeente om hun eigen doelen inzake de huisvesting van Bulgaarse & Roemeense circulaire migranten te realiseren?

Geen enkele mate	Zeer kleine mate	Kleine mate	Redelijke mate	Grote mate	Zeer grote mate	Volledige mate
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**19. Werkt u samen met organisaties en/of individuen rondom het huisvestingsprobleem van Poolse, Bulgaarse & Roemeense circulaire migranten?**

- Ja  
 Nee (u hoeft de vragen 20 e.v. niet te beantwoorden)

**20. Deze samenwerking is:**

- Een samenwerking met telkens dezelfde organisaties en/of individuen  
 Een samenwerking met telkens wisselende organisaties en/of individuen

**21. Met hoeveel organisaties en/of individuen werkt u samen?**

...
-----

**22. Hoe vaak werkt u samen met organisaties en/of individuen rondom het huisvestingsprobleem van Poolse, Bulgaarse & Roemeense circulaire migranten?**

Bijna nooit	Af en toe	Regelmatig	Vaak	Heel vaak
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**23. U gaf bij vraag 19 aan samen te werken met organisaties of individuen rondom het huisvestingsprobleem van Poolse, Bulgaarse & Roemeense circulaire migranten. Met welk type organisaties en/of individuen werkt u samen?**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rijksoverheid            | <input type="checkbox"/> Arbeid gerelateerde belangengroeperingen |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Provinciale overheid     | <input type="checkbox"/> UWV                                      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Burgemeente(n)           | <input type="checkbox"/> Woningbouwcorporatie(s)                  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Uitzendbureau(s)         | <input type="checkbox"/> Vastgoedeigenaren                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Individuele werkgever(s) | <input type="checkbox"/> Anders, namelijk: .....                  |
|   | .....   |

**24. Het samenwerkingsverband van alle organisaties en /of individuen wordt hoofdzakelijk bestuurd door:**

- Alle aan het samenwerkingsverband deelnemende organisaties  
 Eén van de deelnemende organisaties  
 Eén organisatie die speciaal is opgericht voor het besturen van het samenwerkingsverband

Op basis van deze enquête worden een aantal gemeenten en hun samenwerkingspartners geselecteerd om als separate 'case' te bestuderen.

**25. Bent u bereid mee te werken aan een interview en beleidsdocumenten ter beschikking te stellen, mocht uw gemeente geselecteerd worden?**

Ja  Nee

**26. Zo ja, bent u tevens bereid de contactgegevens van uw samenwerkingspartners ter beschikking te stellen (zodat ook die geïnterviewd kunnen worden)?**

Ja  Nee

- EINDE ENQUÊTE -

## Annex IV: Survey response

Municipalities											
Aalburg	Y	Den Haag	Y	Helmond	N	Oosterhout	N	Schiedam	N	Venray	N
Aalsmeer	N	Den Helder	N	Hendrik-Ido-Amb.	Y	Opmeer	N	Sch.-Duiveland	Y	Vlaardingen	N
Alphen-Chaam	Y	Deurne	Y	Hollands Kroon	Y	Oss	Y	Sliedrecht	Y	Waalwijk	Y
Amstelveen	N	Dordrecht	Y	Hoorn	Y	Papendrecht	Y	Someren	N	Werkendam	Y
Amsterdam	N	Drechterland	N	Horst a/d Maas	Y	Peel en Maas	Y	Stede Broec	Y	Westland	Y
Baarle-Nassau	N	Drimmelen	Y	Koggenland	N	Pijnacker-Nootdorp	N	Steenbergen	Y	Wierden	Y
Bergen op Zoom	N	Eindhoven	N	Maasgouw	N	Putten	Y	Tholen	N	Woudrichem	Y
Bernheze	N	Enkhuizen	N	Medemblik	Y	Roerdalen	N	Tiel	N	Zijpe	N
Best	Y	Geertruidenberg	Y	Nieuwkoop	Y	Roermond	N	Uden	Y	Zundert	Y
Bladel	Y	Gemert-Bakel	N	Nijmegen	Y	Roosendaal	Y	Utrecht	Y		
Boskoop	N	Harenkarspel	Y	Noordwijk	Y	Rotterdam	Y	Veghel	Y		
Breda	N	Heerhugowaard	Y	Nunspeet	Y	Schagen	N	Venlo	N		

69 municipalities were asked to fill in the survey in the period between November 17<sup>th</sup>, 2012 and December 1<sup>st</sup>, 2012. On November 24<sup>th</sup>, 2012 a reminder was sent to the municipalities that did not react until then. 39 out of the 69 municipalities filled in the survey; the **response rate is 56.52%**.

## Annex V: Documents used per case

Municipalities:	Documents:
Steenbergen	Beleidsnota Huisvesting Arbeidsmigranten gemeente Steenbergen (Steenbergen, 2010)
	Quick-scan arbeidsmigranten in West-Brabant: analyse gemeentelijk beleid (Gerrichhauzen & partners, 2012)
	Programmabegroting 2013 (Steenbergen, 2012)
Bladel	Woonvisie gemeente Bladel (Bladel, 2009a)
	Bijlage Woonvisie gemeente Bladel: uitvoeringsplan 2009-2013 (Bladel, 2009b)
	Evaluatie woonvisie gemeente Bladel
	Woonvisie gemeente Bladel (Bladel, 2012)
	Voorstel gezamenlijke aanpak huisvesting arbeidsmigranten (SRE, 2011)
Horst aan de Maas	Programmabegroting 2013 (Horst aan de Maas, 2012b)
	Beleidskader Huisvesting Arbeidsmigranten gemeente Horst aan de Maas (Horst aan de Maas, 2010)
	Regionale woonvisie Venray en Horst aan de Maas (Horst aan de Maas, 2012a)

## **Annex VI: Structured questionnaires for interviews (Dutch)**

### **I. Structured questionnaires for interviewing municipalities**

#### **Inleiding:**

- Voorstellen: Arjen Maathuis, masterstudent bestuurskunde UT.
  - Wat ben ik aan het doen? Onderzoek naar huisvestingsbeleid Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten.
  - Status van het onderzoek? Geen specifieke opdracht, dus vanuit Universiteit Twente (begeleiders: dr. Pieter-Jan Klok en dr. Veronica Junjan).
- 

*Wat betreft de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten heeft u aan gegeven bepaalde beleidsdoelen te stellen en maatregelen te nemen. In verschillende documenten heb ik doelen en maatregelen terug gevonden:*

#### **Doelen:**

- '.....'
- '.....'

#### **Maatregelen:**

- '.....'
- '.....'

1. Geef ik de doelen en maatregelen op de juiste wijze weer? Of zijn er nog andere?
2. Hoe wordt het beleid in de praktijk uitgevoerd?

#### **Beleid**

3. U gaf in de enquête aan dat uw beleidsdoelen met betrekking tot de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten in een ..... mate realistisch zijn. Welke argumenten liggen hieraan ten grondslag?
4. U gaf in de enquête aan dat de maatregelen die uw gemeente neemt in een ..... mate bijdragen aan het realiseren van de beleidsdoelen. Welke argumenten liggen hieraan ten grondslag?
5. U gaf aan dat uw gemeente in een ..... mate onderscheid maakt tussen beleidsdoelen en/of maatregelen gericht op de huisvesting van Poolse circulair migranten enerzijds en beleidsdoelen en/of maatregelen gericht op Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten anderzijds. Kunt u dit uitleggen?

#### **Doelbereiking (bereikte verbetering) in de periode 2007 tot 2012.**

6. Wat was de oorspronkelijke situatie wat betreft de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten, voordat uw beleid in werking trad?
7. Wat heeft uw gemeente op dit gebied tot op heden bereikt?

*Wat betreft de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten heeft u aan gegeven ..... samen te werken met organisaties en/of individuen (i.e. partners).*

8. Kunt u aangeven hoe dit in de praktijk werkt? Wie zijn de belangrijkste organisaties in dit samenwerkingsverband<sup>13</sup>?

### **Trust**

9. Kunt u voor elke partner aangeven in welke mate u er zeker van bent dat de gemaakte afspraken met betreffende partner (wat betreft de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten) ook daadwerkelijk nagekomen worden? Antwoordopties: heel zeker, zeker, waarschijnlijk, niet zeker.
10. Kunt u voor elke partner aangeven in welke mate de betreffende partner al dan niet geschikt is om taken met betrekking tot de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten uit te voeren? Antwoordopties: volledige mate, grote mate, redelijke mate, geen enkele mate.
11. Kunt u voor elke partner aangeven in welke mate u op desbetreffende partner kan rekenen wanneer deze partner het gemeenschappelijke belang van het samenwerkingsverband moet verdedigen? Antwoordopties: volledige mate, grote mate, redelijke mate, geen enkele mate.

### **Need for network level competencies**

*U gaf in de enquête aan dat uw gemeente in een ..... mate afhankelijk is van andere organisaties dan wel individuen om de lokale beleidsdoelen inzake de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten te realiseren. Tevens gaf u aan dat andere organisaties dan wel individuen in een ..... mate afhankelijk zijn van uw gemeente om hun eigen doelen inzake de huisvesting van huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten te realiseren.*

12. Zijn er nog andere factoren die een rol spelen waarom u tot het samenwerkingsverband bent gekomen?
13. Kunt u aangeven of het samenwerkingsverband te maken heeft met eisen van buitenaf (van organisaties die niet deelnemen aan het samenwerkingsverband) of veranderingen in de omgeving, zoals administratieve verplichtingen of wijziging in de financiering van huisvesting?

### **Effectiveness at the network level**

14. In hoeverre levert de samenwerking met partners voldoende resultaat op om aan de huisvestingsbehoefte van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten te voldoen?
15. In hoeverre zijn er volgens u diensten/taken die binnen het samenwerkingsverband worden uitgevoerd waarvan u zegt dat ze dubbelop worden aangeboden/gedaan?
16. Kunt u voor elke partner aangeven of uw gemeente met deze partner al dan niet op andere beleidsterreinen ook samenwerkt?

### **Effectiveness at the participant level**

17. Is uw gemeente op dit onderwerp gaan samenwerken met partners om zo de status van de gemeente in de samenleving te verbeteren?
18. Is uw gemeente op dit onderwerp gaan samenwerken met partners om zo meer acceptatie in de samenleving te krijgen voor het optreden van de gemeente aangaande dit onderwerp?

---

<sup>13</sup> Voor deze vraag is een lijstje van partners per gemeente nodig; vóór het interview met de gemeente is die lijst bij interviewer bekend (per e-mail opgevraagd).



19. Denkt u dat het samenwerkingsverband meer financiering kan aantrekken of heeft aangetrokken voor het huisvesten van die groep migranten dan dat iedere partner dat voor zichzelf gaat doen? Zo ja, is dat dan te danken aan het gezamenlijke optreden in de vorm van het samenwerkingsverband?
  20. Denkt u dat door samen te werken de dienstverlening naar een hoger niveau is getild, omdat diensten/taken geïntegreerd worden?
  21. Compenseren de baten die door samen te werken behaald worden de kosten die verbonden zijn aan het samenwerken? Zo niet, waarom bent u dan gaan samenwerken?
- 

### **Afsluiting**

22. Zijn er nog zaken die volgens u van belang zijn en waar we het in dit gesprek nog niet over gehad hebben?

Einde van het interview. Dank voor de beantwoording van de vragen.

\* \* \*

## **II. Structured questionnaires for interviewing other network members**

### **Inleiding:**

- Voorstellen: Arjen Maathuis, masterstudent bestuurskunde UT.
  - Wat ben ik aan het doen? Onderzoek naar huisvestingsbeleid Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten. Eerst gemeente geïnterviewd; nu samenwerkingspartners waarvan u er volgens de gemeente een van bent.
  - Status van het onderzoek? Geen specifieke opdracht, dus vanuit Universiteit Twente (begeleiders: dr. Pieter-Jan Klok en dr. Veronica Junjan).
- 

*Wat betreft de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten heeft de gemeente ..... bepaalde beleidsdoelen gesteld. Deze zijn:*

- '.....'
- '.....'

### **Goal consensus**

1. Bent u het eens met deze beleidsdoelen?
2. In hoeverre zijn deze beleidsdoelen in overeenstemming met de doelen van uw eigen organisatie? Kunt u voorbeelden noemen?
3. In welke mate handelt uw organisatie in overeenstemming met deze beleidsdoelen?

### **Centrality**

4. Kunt u per organisatie<sup>14</sup> 'X, Y, Z. etc.' aangeven of u met deze organisatie samenwerkt op het gebied van huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten?
- 

<sup>14</sup> Lijstje van partners waarvan de gemeente zegt dat ze hiermee samenwerkt.

## **Trust<sup>15</sup>**

5. Kunt u voor elke samenwerkingspartner op dit gebied aangeven in welke mate u er zeker van bent dat de gemaakte afspraken met betreffende partner (wat betreft de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten) ook daadwerkelijk nagekomen worden? Antwoordopties: heel zeker, zeker, waarschijnlijk, niet zeker.
6. Kunt u voor elke partner aangeven in welke mate de betreffende partner al dan niet geschikt is om taken met betrekking tot de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten uit te voeren? Antwoordopties: volledige mate, grote mate, redelijke mate, geen enkele mate.
7. Kunt u voor elke partner aangeven in welke mate u op desbetreffende partner kunt rekenen wanneer deze partner het gemeenschappelijke belang van het samenwerkingsverband moet verdedigen? Antwoordopties: volledige mate, grote mate, redelijke mate, geen enkele mate.

*De gemeente ..... gaf aan dat uw organisatie in een ..... mate afhankelijk is van de gemeente om uw eigen doelen inzake de huisvesting van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten te realiseren.*

## **Network level competencies**

8. Herkent u zich in dat beeld? Kunt u van die afhankelijkheid voorbeelden geven?
9. Zijn er nog andere factoren die een rol spelen waarom u tot het samenwerkingsverband bent gekomen?
10. Kunt u aangeven of het samenwerkingsverband te maken heeft met eisen van buitenaf (van organisaties die niet deelnemen aan het samenwerkingsverband) of veranderingen in de omgeving, zoals administratieve verplichtingen of wijziging in de financiering van huisvesting?

## **Effectiveness at the network level**

11. In hoeverre levert de samenwerking met partners voldoende resultaat op om aan de huisvestingsbehoefte van Poolse, Bulgaarse en Roemeense circulaire migranten te voldoen?
12. In hoeverre zijn er volgens u diensten/taken die binnen het samenwerkingsverband worden uitgevoerd waarvan u zegt dat ze dubbelop worden aangeboden/gedaan?
13. Kunt u voor elke partner aangeven of uw organisatie met deze partner al dan niet op andere beleidsterreinen ook samenwerkt?
14. Hoe belangrijk is het voor uw organisatie dat de beleidsdoelen, die de gemeente heeft geformuleerd, bereikt worden?
15. Bent u bereid te investeren in en dus bij te dragen aan doelbereiking van die beleidsdoelen; zelfs als het ten koste gaat van de investeringsmogelijkheden voor uw eigen organisatie?

## **Effectiveness at the participant level**

16. Is uw organisatie op dit onderwerp gaan samenwerken met partners om zo de status van uw organisatie in de samenleving te verbeteren?
17. Is uw organisatie op dit onderwerp gaan samenwerken met partners om zo meer acceptatie in de samenleving te krijgen voor het optreden van uw organisatie aangaande dit onderwerp?

---

<sup>15</sup> Alleen van toepassing op die organisaties waarmee samengewerkt wordt.

18. Denkt u dat het samenwerkingsverband meer financiering kan aantrekken of heeft aangetrokken voor het huisvesten van die groep migranten dan dat iedere partner dat voor zichzelf gaat doen? Zo ja, is dat dan te danken aan het gezamenlijke optreden in de vorm van het samenwerkingsverband?
  19. Denkt u dat door samen te werken de dienstverlening naar een hoger niveau is getild, omdat diensten/taken geïntegreerd worden?
  20. Compenseren de baten die door samen te werken behaald worden de kosten die verbonden zijn aan het samenwerken? Zo niet, waarom bent u dan gaan samenwerken?
- 

### **Afsluiting**

21. Zijn er nog zaken die volgens u van belang zijn en waar we het in dit gesprek nog niet over gehad hebben?

Einde van het interview. Dank voor de beantwoording van de vragen.

\* \* \*

## Annex VII: Interview details

Interviewee	Date	Length of the interview	Location of the interview
<b>Case Horst aan de Maas</b>			
Municipality Horst aan de Maas	10 January 2013	1h 26m 46s	Horst
Wonen Limburg	15 January 2013	1h 8m 20s	Roermond
LLTB	15 January 2013	46m 51s	Roermond
Stichting Arka	16 January 2013	59m 31s	Horst
Sun-Power	25 January 2013	45m 34s	Horst
De Reulsberg	25 January 2013	1h 19m 35s	Horst
<b>Case Bladel</b>			
Municipality Bladel	10 January 2013	1h 25m 45s	Bladel
Metaal Flex	17 January 2013	1h 11m 5s	Hapert
Axell	30 January 2013	1h 2m 51s	Tilburg
<b>Case Steenbergen</b>			
Municipality Steenbergen	11 January 2013	1h 20m 5s	Steenbergen
Sunclass	1 February 2013	1h 17m 49s	Steenbergen
Goodmorning	22 February 2013	27m 32s	Etten-Leur
Dorpsraad Welberg	26 February 2013	35m 4s	Rotterdam
ZLTO	8 March 2013	41m 30s	Kruisland
<i>Total</i>	-	<i>14h 28m 18s</i>	-
<b>Working visit</b>			
Monastery 'Stella Maris'	11 January 2013	Working visit to this renovated monastery where 400 East European migrants are housed; on the invitation of the alderman of the municipality Steenbergen.	Welberg
<b>Refused interviews</b>			
Case Bladel	De Zaligheden	Housing association	-
Case Steenbergen	Dorpsraad Nieuw-Vossemeer	Village council in the municipality of Steenbergen	-