

Moving towards Independent Housing with Floating Support for Social Relief and Protected Housing Clients

A qualitative multiple-case study of three governance networks
wherein municipalities and housing corporations develop governance
arrangements to realize their goals

Master Thesis

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Abstract

Since 2015, Dutch municipalities have received extended responsibilities in order to realize a transition from intramural care to independent housing with floating support for clients of Social Relief and Protected Housing (WMO, 2015). Whereas there are multiple approaches to house (homeless) people, the lack of housing constrains even the best solutions (Gaetz, 2012), and thereby evictions cause an influx back to intramural settings, or the streets (Van Straaten, 2016). A close collaboration between municipalities and housing corporations, therefore, has been recommended (Wonen, C. T. B. , 2015). In order to solve wicked problems like homelessness, stakeholders collaborate in governance networks and develop governance arrangements, varying in policy, structure and management aspects (Boesveldt, 2015). qualitative multiple case study has been conducted to research how the network's governance arrangements can explain the realization of independent housing. Three governance networks were researched, existing of eight municipalities and seven housing corporations. Both document analysis and semi-structured interviews have been conducted to retrieve the policy and social aspects of the arrangements. In order to realize independent housing, it turns out that the following aspects are crucial: evaluating the housing demand and supply, developing housing-output-agreements, evaluating the neighborhood resilience, developing rental-triangle-contracts (involving care institutes), realizing Skaeve Huse and finally, making agreements with all stakeholders to prevent, signal and solve nuisance and debts. Housing corporations prioritize a fair housing division, good living conditions for the whole neighborhood and their income over the client. However, pluriform goals and perspectives do not have to hinder the solutions (Verweij et al., 2013). If the management involves all stakeholders, and gathers all interests and perspectives, networks can gain the capacity insights that are necessary to set realistic goals. For both policymakers as well as researchers in the field, this study provided a framework of the governance arrangements that can explain the transition towards independent housing.

Introduction

Around 31.000 people are predicted to be homeless in the Netherlands (CBS, 2016), more than 60.000 people need the support of Social Relief (*Maatschappelijke Opvang*) (Federatie Opvang, 2016) and 22.575 people reside in Protected Housing (*Beschermd Wonen*) facilities (CBS, November 2017). These vulnerable groups of people often struggle with an accumulation of psycho-sociological and financial problems, all of which restrict their self-reliance. Therefore they often reside in (expensive) intramural settings instead of living independently (Van Straaten, 2016).

Since the entrance of the Social Relief Act (WMO) in 2015 and the deinstitutionalization of the Dutch Health Care sector, municipalities have received extended responsibilities regarding the support of these vulnerable citizens: a transition should take place from intramural care to independent housing with floating support (*ambulante zorg en steun*) (Trimbos, 2018; WMO, 2015). Municipalities have to organize this transition and whereas the larger (center) municipalities will now be responsible for both Social Relief as Protected Housing, the smaller (regional) municipalities will also be responsible to provide the floating support (*ambulante zorg*) citizens need to live independently (WMO, 2015).

Research in metropolitan cities and the four largest cities in the Netherlands found that local governments approach the problem of homelessness in different ways (Boesveldt, 2015; Hulsbosch, Planije and Tuynman, 2014). Whereas the traditional staircase model is being used to train the target group for independent housing (Treatment First), Housing First (the idea of prioritizing housing before treatment) has turned out to be an effective and cost-saving alternative (Padgett et al., 2016). Nevertheless, Wonen, C. T. B. (2015) noted that there is no structural approach yet in the Netherlands . In addition, a lack of available, suitable and affordable housing-variants turns out to be a constraint to house homeless people regardless of the approach (Gaetz, 2012). At the same time, evictions cause an influx of people back to intramural settings or on to the streets (Fitzpatrick, 2005; Van Straaten, 2016). A close collaboration between multiple municipalities and housing corporations is therefore advised (Wonen, C. T. B. , 2015).

Stakeholders involved in wicked problems (like homelessness) collaborate in governance networks and develop governance arrangements to realize their goals (Boesveldt, 2015; Klijn, 2008). These arrangements vary in policy, structure, and management and can explain the accomplishment of networks' desired outputs and outcomes. However, the pluriform goals and perspectives, in line with the allocation of responsibilities, can make the

collaboration a complex process (De Bruijn, 2002). Stakeholders can all positively or negatively affect outcomes, therefore stakeholder involvement is crucial (Verweij et al., 2013).

Even though many theories have discussed the problem of homelessness and the complexity of collaboration in governance networks, the role of housing corporations in these theories has not been researched extensively. Furthermore, little is known about how local center- and regional municipalities who have only recently received their extended responsibilities try to realize independent housing with floating support.

Housing homeless people

Homeless people can struggle with an accumulation of health, psychological, psychosociological, addiction or financial problems (Trimbos, March 2018; Van Straaten, 2016). If, people cause nuisance, or debts, they risk eviction (Van Straaten, 2016). Rental arrears caused 4800 evictions in 2016 (AEDES, April 2017). If evictions are not prevented, more people will lose their homes and the number of homeless people will grow.

In the Netherlands, homeless people reside in multiple places. They can ask Social Relief (*Maatschappelijke Opvang*) for support, where they can reside in shelters. When people are not able to live independently due to psychological or psychosocial problems they can reside in Protected Housing, where they receive intensive support, care and do daily activities (Van Hoof et al., 2017). Others stay with friends or relatives, reside in public buildings or sleep rough on the streets (Van Straaten, 2016; Trimbos, March 2018). Nevertheless, everyone will meet Social Relief, where people are provided with a (cheap) shelter, care, supervision, and practical assistance. Here, in line with the deinstitutionalization, the final goal is to stimulate everyone to live independently and reintegrate into society as soon as possible (Rijksoverheid, April 2018; WMO, 2018).

Because many people in these situations struggle with multiple, complex issues, not everyone is able to take care of themselves and live independently. Research conducted in Utrecht, however, found that 26% of the homeless people staying in the shelters of Social Relief was part of the ‘new group of homeless people’ (Van Everdingen, 2016). These people are homeless solely because of financial problems and a weak social network. Thereby, with improved floating support more people (90% of the homeless people in Utrecht according to Van Everdingen (2016) with more complex problems should be able to live independently.

Addressing homelessness

On an international level, the housing of homeless people is also an important aspect of research and policy (Boesveldt, 2015; Padgett et al., 2016). In the Netherlands, policies have mainly been focusing on ‘getting people off the streets’, placing them in (the by now congested) shelters. This is supposed to be only a temporary solution, but many people reside in shelters for many years (Hulbosch, Planije and Tuynman, 2014). The traditional approach to solve homelessness, the so-called ‘staircase model’ is a transition through multiple steps, as explained in Figure 1.

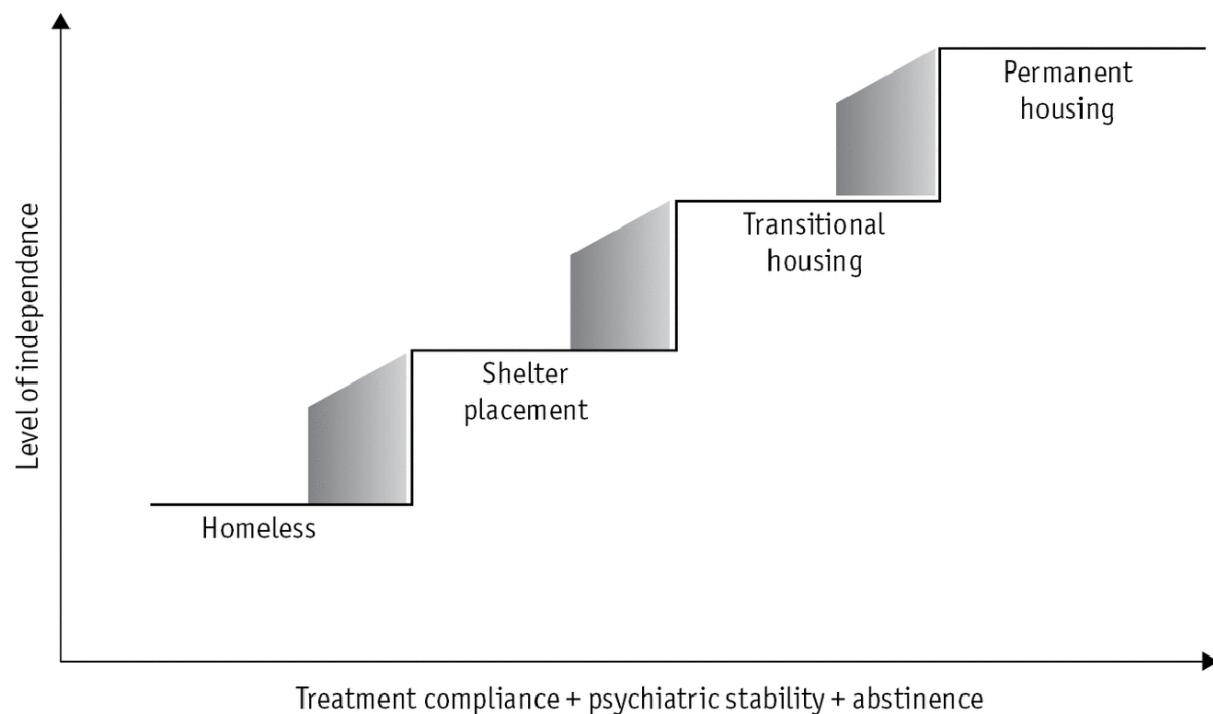


Figure 1: The continuum or staircase approach to solve homeless services (Padgett et al., 2016)

The assumption is that people must be ‘trained’ to live independently (again) (Boesveldt, 2015). Once they have accepted treatment for both their psycho-sociological problems and substance abuse and they have resolved their psychological problems and/or addiction, they reach the desired level of independence, and can permanently live independently. This approach is also known as ‘Treatment First’ (Padgett et al., 2016). Nevertheless, a significant part of the homeless population never passes the first step. Many people ‘fall off the staircase’.

Sam Tsemberis tried a different approach in 1992. He directly gave homeless people what they needed the most: a permanent place to stay, a home (Padgett et al., 2016). His new approach, called ‘Housing First’ (HF), meant immediate, permanent housing with adequate support services, without requiring treatment compliance or abstinence, so that individuals will not risk falling off the staircase anymore. This approach turned out to be very effective and

nowadays is considered the best-known solution for homelessness, applied in countries all over the world (Padgett et al., 2016). This approach also delivers substantial financial savings, since shelters, jails, and hospital beds over time cost more than direct-housing (Padgett et al., 2016). Moreover, providing people with floating support saves costs in comparison with intramural care facilities like Social Relief and Protected Housing, where individuals are provided with 24-hours care (Hulsbosch, Planije and Tuynman, 2014).

HF pilots have already started in Amsterdam and The Hague (Hulsbosch, Planije and Tuynman, 2014), is applied in Copenhagen (Boesveldt, 2015) and this is the main approach in Finland where homelessness has almost entirely been solved (Y-foundation, 2017). A Dutch project called '*Plan van Aanpak Maatschappelijke Opvang*' is aimed at the provision of care and housing, but also at the prevention of homelessness and reintegration. This project, executed in the four largest cities in the Netherlands, showed that even though every city experiments with innovative solutions and aims at providing homeless people with housing and floating support, they all use different approaches. There is not one structural approach yet (Wonen, C. T. B. , 2015; Boesveldt, 2015). Further, insights into the approaches of smaller cities are not yet present.

The truth is that, no matter what the approach, one cannot house homeless people without an extensive range of available, suitable and affordable housing-variants (Wonen, C. T. B. , 2015; Gaetz, 2012; WMO, 2015). '*There can be little doubt that a lack of affordable housing is directly related to our homelessness crisis, and presents challenges to even our best thought out solutions.*' (As cited by Gaetz, 2012, p. 25). In addition, the small number of available places must be shared with other social-risk groups. Elderly people, refugees, and other groups all need housing support of the corporations (Wonen, C. T. B. , 2015).

Considering the housing problem, which constrains an outflow to independent housing and on the other hand the problem of evictions and which will increase the inflow towards intramural settings, a strong collaboration with housing-corporations is crucial. Their primary task is to realize affordable and suited housing for the weaker groups in society (Woningwet, 2015). This was still lacking in Amsterdam at the time of research (Boesveldt, 2015), but was present in Glasgow where a close collaboration of municipalities and heterogeneous housing corporations and care institutes has resulted in better housing outputs these parties formed policy and found housing solutions. Multiple theories notify the importance of these collaborations and center municipalities are recommended to collaborate with their regional municipalities and housing-corporations (Wonen, C. T. B. , 2015). Nevertheless, this collaboration, especially in the smaller municipalities has not been researched thoroughly.

Governance-networks

To address complex policy issues like homelessness multiple stakeholders are involved whom must collaborate (Boesveldt, 2015). For certain problems, there is never one, clear solution (Klijn, 2008). Because of the contextual and cultural differences in cities and countries, multiple stakeholders (or networks) have their own perspective on both the nature of the problem as the desired solutions. *In addition, there is usually insufficient or controversial knowledge about these problems* (as cited by Klijn, 2008, p. 8). Therefore these problems are often defined as *wicked problems* (Boesveldt, 2015; Klijn, 2008)

Whereas municipalities are expected to collaborate with each other and with housing-corporations (Art. 2. WMO, 2015), they must also collaborate with clients, their families, care institutes, health agencies, police and health insurances to form broadly supported plans (VNG, 2016). The multiple, often different, actors that collaborate to address wicked problems act in networks also known as ‘governance-networks’:

“An indication of more or less stable patterns of social relationships (=interactions, cognitions, and rules) between mutually dependent public, semi-public and private actors, that arise and build up around complex policy issues or policy programs” (as cited by Klijn, 2008, p. 12).

The interdependent actors, involved in the decision-making process of governance-networks, do not only possess crucial resources to address wicked problems, but also all have their own goals and perspectives regarding the problem and solutions (De Bruijn, 2002). This ‘pluriformity’ characterizes a complex dynamic. Edelenbos and Klijn (2005) note that if stakeholders interests collide in the decision-making process it can constrain the solutions.

Governance-arrangements

Governance-networks develop ‘governance- arrangements’ to realize desired outputs and outcomes, which vary in terms of ‘policy’, ‘structure’ and ‘management’ (Boesveldt, 2015). Figure 2. illustrates the relationships between the arrangements and effective outputs and outcomes based on research in Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and Glasgow.

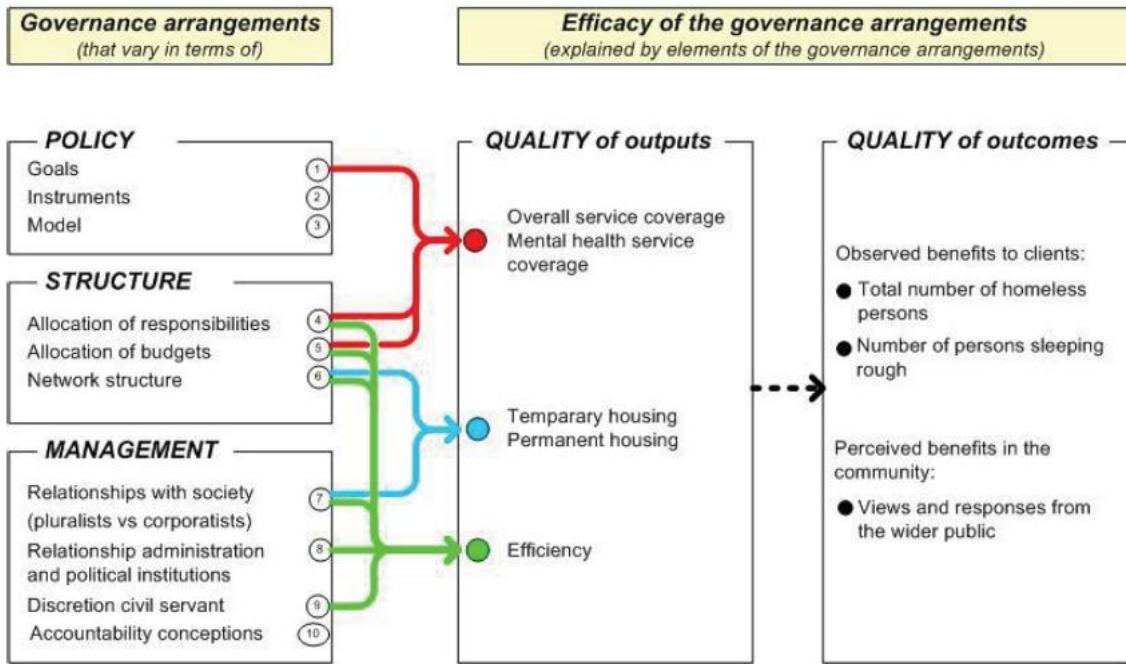


Figure 2: The theoretical relation between the governance arrangements applied at local level in respect of homelessness and their efficacy (Boesveldt, 2015)

Governance arrangements affect both the quality of housing provision as the quality of floating support, eventually influencing the outcomes in homelessness. Figure 2 shows that especially the structure of the network and the relationships with society (including the involved stakeholders) affect housing outputs. Nevertheless, all three aspects influence the outcome of homelessness (Boesveldt, 2015), which from the point of the recent quest for de-institutionalization can be translated in failing to realize independent housing with floating support.

In the framework ‘Policy’ ‘refers to the attempt that is made to serve one or more public interests.’ (As cited by Boesveldt, 2015, p. 5). Actors in governance networks formulate policy goals. Based on their model of assumptions they choose the ‘instruments’ which should lead to these goals. Whereas a comprehensive goal of municipalities and housing corporations is de-institutionalization and independent housing with floating support, the instruments could be HF or the transformation of vacant offices for example. Formulated goals and developed instruments can explain outcomes in the first place. Nevertheless, the structure and management of the network can affect the effectiveness of the instruments and explain the outcomes in a second place. ‘Structure’ refers to the composition of the involved, collaborating stakeholders, whom all add resources (like information). These stakeholders have their own roles and responsibilities, defining the ‘allocation of responsibilities’ (Boesveldt, 2015). As the

description of governance networks notes, this, in general, coheres with pluriform goals and perspectives of the involved stakeholders, which can affect the outcomes (De Bruijn, 2002; Klijn, 2008). ‘Management’ refers to the coordination of the actions and relationships (Boesveldt, 2015; Klijn, 2008). During the deinstitutionalization, municipalities organize the collaborations and actions. Stakeholders can influence the realization of the network’s goals positively or negatively, therefore stakeholder involvement is very important (Verweij et al., 2013; Klijn, 2008). The stronger the stakeholder involvement, the more knowledge will be acquired, necessary for the complex decision-making process. Secondly, the pluriform goals and perspectives of the stakeholder should be united and taken into account on an early stage. In that case, they will be more likely to be supportive instead of hindering decisions or delaying the process (Verweij et al. 2013).

It can be difficult to define good outcomes in governance networks. Especially in the case of the networks that only recently started working towards independent housing. From a governance perspective, it seems logical to research whether the collective goals are being accomplished. Nevertheless, the involved stakeholders can have different goals, which can even change over time. Therefore stakeholder satisfaction can be taken into account as a secondary outcome measurement (Verweij et al., 2013)

Conclusion

Many people in the Netherlands reside in Social Relief, Protected Housing facilities or on the streets. These people cope with an accumulation of personal and interpersonal problems which results in them being unable to live independently or losing their homes due to eviction (Fitzpatrick, 2005; Van Straaten, 2016). The final goal of these institutes, but also of municipalities since the entrance of the WMO in 2015 is to increase the self-reliance of this target group, with the final goal of independent housing. Van Everdingen (2016) found that many of the people in intramural settings actually are able to live independently, as long as they are provided with sufficient floating support. In order to work towards independent housing, research has outlined multiple approaches. Whereas the traditional approach, the Staircase Model, does prioritize treatment and training before independent housing (Treatment First), Housing First prioritizes independent housing as a precondition for personal improvement (Boesveldt, 2015; Hulbosch, Planije and Tuynman, 2014; Padgett et al., 2016). HF, as an effective and cost-efficient social innovation, is increasingly applied in multiple countries, including the Netherlands. Even though some cities experiment with HF, there is as yet no structural approach in the Netherlands (Wonen, C. T. B., 2015; Boesveldt, 2015). Nevertheless,

both theory and practice show that a lack of available, suitable and affordable housing-variants is a constraint to even the best approaches (Wonen, C. T. B. , 2015; Gaetz, 2012). Thereby, evictions are one of the reasons that more people lose their homes, increasing the inflow towards intramural settings (AEDES, April 2017; Van Straaten, 2017). A collaboration between municipalities and housing-corporations is crucial and strongly recommended (Wonen, C. T. B. , 2015).

In order to solve wicked problems like homelessness, where there is often never one clear solution and stakeholders can have different perspectives on both the problem as the solution, multiple stakeholders collaborate in governance networks (Klijn, 2008). These networks develop ‘governance arrangements’ to realize their desired outputs and outcomes (Boesveldt, 2015). The involved stakeholders formulate policy goals and instruments to realize desired outcomes. They collaborate in a structure with a certain allocation of responsibilities. However, the involved actors do not only possess resources but also possess pluriform goals and perspectives, all of which can affect outcomes positively or negatively (De Bruijn, 2002; Klijn, 2008). The relations and actions of the network are coordinated by the management of the network. It is their challenge to involve all stakeholders, gather all resources and cope with the stakeholders’ pluriform goals and perspectives. They need to make sure that stakeholders are satisfied so that stakeholders will support instead of hinder the process (Verweij et al., 2013). In the end, these aspects explain whether collective goals will be accomplished. Based on this theoretical review, Figure 3, could be composed:

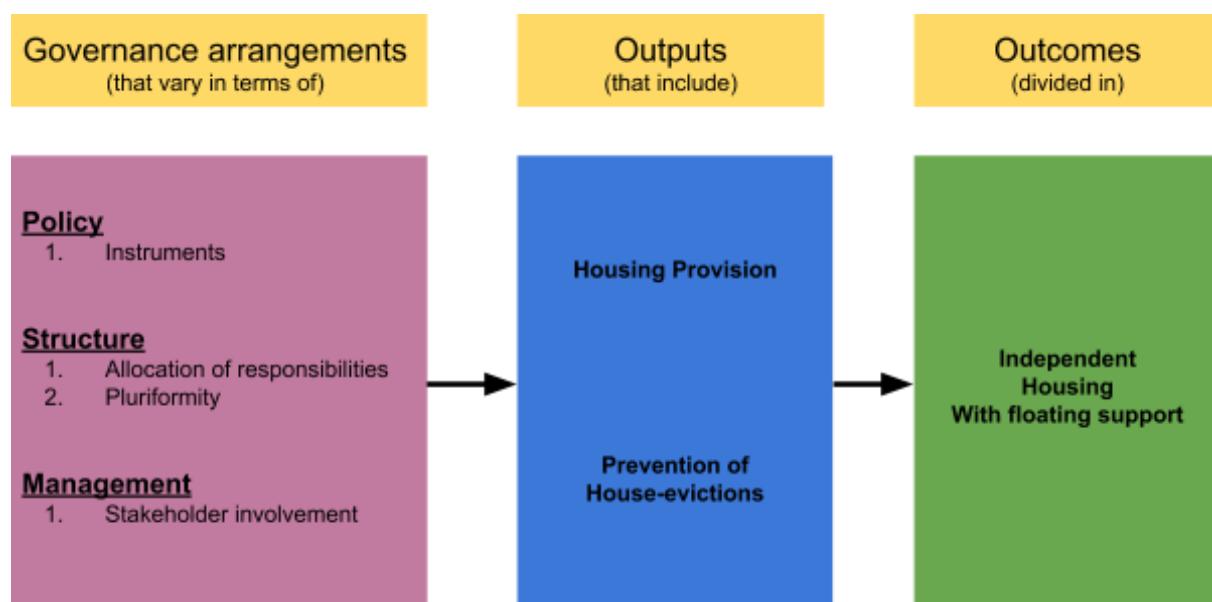


Figure 3: Theoretical Framework

Research Question

Even though much is known about the problems of homeless people and Housing First has been proven to be an effective approach, the literature review has shown that the lack of available, suitable and affordable housing-variants in combination with evictions still constrains the transition towards independent housing.

Whereas the collaboration in governance-networks to solve wicked problems (like homelessness) has been extensively researched and researchers have noted that in order to realize independent housing, strong collaboration between municipalities and housing corporations is necessary (Boesveldt, 2015; Gaetz, 2012; Van Straaten, 2016), these collaborations have not yet extensively been researched in practice. Neither did such research took place at the level of local government. This gap in research together with the extended deinstitutionalization responsibilities of Dutch governance networks since the entrance of the Social Relief Act in 2015 invited for the following research question:

To what extent do the governance arrangements of Dutch municipalities and housing corporations explain the outflow of Social Relief and Protected Housing clients towards independent housing with floating support?

1. *To what extent do the governance arrangements explain the provision of an extensive range of available, affordable and suitable housing-variants?*
2. *To what extent do the governance arrangements explain the preparation of independent housing?*
3. *To what extent do the governance arrangements explain the prevention of evictions?*

In order to provide an answer to the research question, this thesis will emphasize the following aspects of the governance arrangements:

- Firstly, the ‘policy’ aspects: which instruments have been developed by the network to reach the three policy goals?
- Secondly, the ‘structure’ aspects: how are responsibilities allocated in the network, to what extent does the network carry pluriform goals and perspectives and how does this influence the outputs?
- Thirdly, the ‘management’ aspects: to what extent are the stakeholders involved and how does this influence the outputs?

A qualitative multiple case study has been conducted, contributing to Utrecht University's 5-year, longitudinal study '*prospectief onderzoek naar ambulantisering BW en Mo in gemeente*'. Whereas this comprehensive study strives to evaluate the transition towards independent housing with floating support by governance networks (including municipalities, housing corporations, care providers and clients themselves) in the Netherlands, this thesis focus lays on the outcomes in housing and the stakeholders: center municipalities, regional municipalities, and housing corporations.

Methods

For this research, stakeholder of three Dutch governance networks have been included: 'policy-makers of the center- and regional municipalities occupied with housing' and 'executors of housing corporations, occupied with the housing of the target group'. Regarding the extended responsibilities for center- and regional municipalities, and the need to collaborate with housing corporations (Dannenberg et al, 2015) it was important to include (multiple) of these stakeholders in the networks to retrieve representable insights. Figure 4 provides the composition of the three networks.

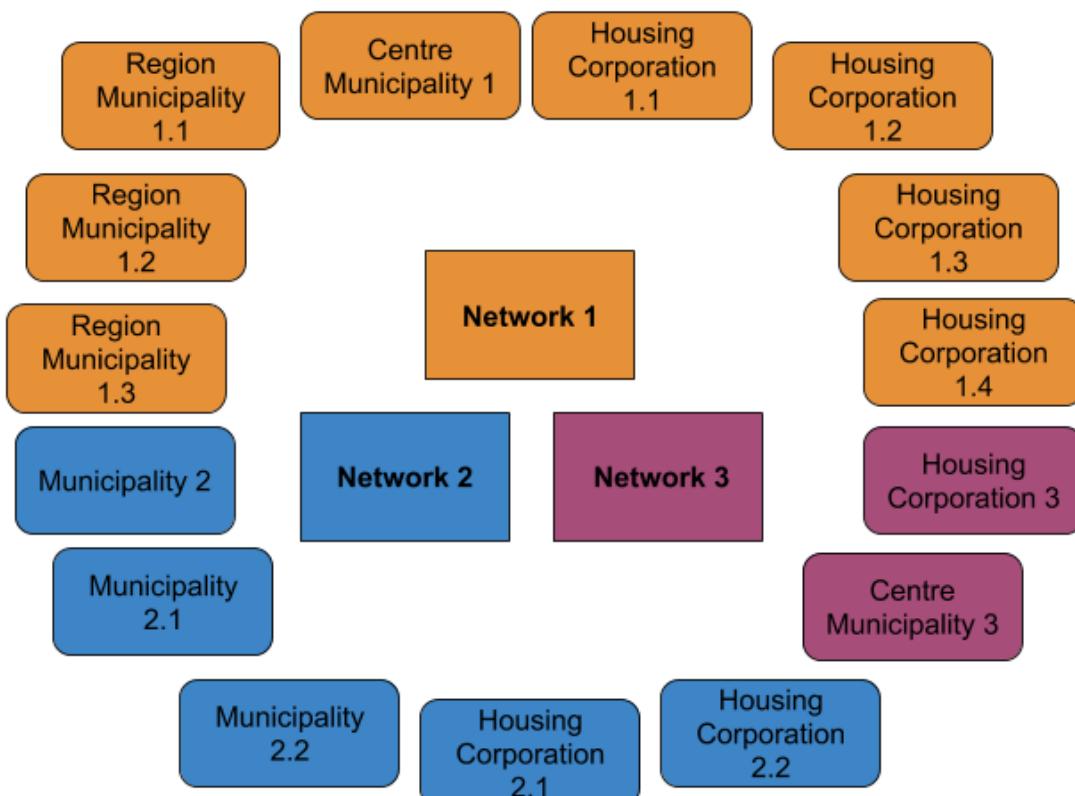


Figure 4: Composition of the three researched governance networks

Since Network 3 signed up for the comprehensive research in a later phase than the other networks, less respondents could be included. A mix of purposive and convenience sampling (non-probability sampling) has been used to approach respondents (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016). The three networks were selected because one or more of the network's municipalities signed up after the promotion of this research (fund the research) and were willing to participate in this research too. The corporations, involved in the networks, have been approached individually. They, as well, saw the value of this research. Seven of the ten approached corporations wanted to participate. All stakeholders received an email to inform them about the research and invite them to participate. This e-mail (see appendix) contained the information approved by the FETC, and included the interview's topic list, information brief, and the informed consent explaining participants' rights. They all were aware that the retrieved data would be anonymized and stored in a protected database of Utrecht University, according to the EU-privacy laws. Since all involved municipalities were already interested in the evaluation of the comprehensive research and had financial stake in this research (they have to account for the future budgets they will receive as part of the decentralization trends) a risk was that only progressive networks would participate in this research, decreasing the representability. However, it turned out that whereas some of the stakeholders were very progressive in the transition towards independent housing, other stakeholders just started moving towards this transition.

Procedure & Instruments

A qualitative multiple-case study has been conducted to retrieve insights in the governance arrangements of Dutch networks. Both the present, policy aspects, as the social worlds (Bryman, 2012) and experiences have been retrieved in order to explain the provision of affordable and suitable housing-variants, the prevention of evictions and preparation for independent housing. The choice has been made conduct a multiple-case study, instead of single-case study. Whereas a single-case study could have provided more in depth findings in a network, this study aimed to retrieve more representable findings of Dutch governance networks in general, '*By comparing two or more cases, the researcher is in a better position to establish the circumstances in which a theory will or will not hold*' (as cited by Bryman, 2012, p. 74). Thereby, triangulation of two methods enabled this research to study the three networks 'from multiple angles', as Boeije (2010) defines it. Document analysis and semi-structured interviews, namely, have been combined in this research. To retrieve clear insights in the policy goals, instruments, structure, allocation of responsibilities, management, and stakeholder

involvement (which could explain the transition towards independent housing), three document types have been analyzed per network:

1. ‘Policy Documents’ (*Beleidskaders*); regarding the regionalization, deinstitutionalization and therefore the transition towards independent housing. These documents have both provided insights in the output and outcome goals, but also several structure and management aspects.
2. ‘Housing-output-agreements’ (*Prestatieafspraken*); developed by housing corporations in collaboration with tenant organizations and municipalities. These documents provided insights in the housing output goals, the instruments to realize this provision and collaboration between the stakeholders.
3. ‘Housing Agenda’s’ (*Woonagenda’s*); explaining the region’s plans for the housing market, including the division of target groups, construction of neighborhoods thereby providing multiple valuable insights in the governance arrangements to increase the housing supply.

As a second method, sixteen semi-structured interviews have been conducted with nineteen respondents “*to learn about life through the perspective, experience, and language of those living it*” (as cited by Boeije, 2010, p 70). Structured by the literature of governance-networks and arrangements, but open for input and follow-up questions, the semi-structured interviews have been emphasizing:

1. Policy: clarifying the present (individual) goals and instruments plus the respondent's experiences with the instruments and their output.
2. Structure of the network: during every interview, a composition of the network has been drawn with the respondent, discussing the allocation of responsibilities, the different goals, and perspectives of the stakeholders and how these affect the output and outcome goals.
3. Management: the extent of stakeholder involvement, respondents' experiences regarding the collaboration with the different actors and their satisfaction with the collaboration, outputs and outcomes.

The topic list of the comprehensive research has been used for this research as well. This topic list has already been used to retrieve the governance arrangements and explain the outcomes in homelessness in Glasgow, Copenhagen and Amsterdam (Boesveldt, 2015). For this research it has been complemented with the ‘sensitizing concepts’ that emerged from the literature review: ‘the lack of housing’, ‘evictions’, ‘pluriform goals and perspectives’ and ‘stakeholder involvement’. A pilot interview with an executor of a housing corporation outside the networks has been conducted to test the adjusted topic list. It turned out that whereas it took a lot of time to discuss all topics, the executor could provide valuable answers. In the end, this list, available as Appendix 3, has been approved (again) by the coordinating researcher. By using the same topic list to guide all interviews, and conducting two interviews in collaboration with the coordinating researcher and a members of the research, the reliability of this instrument has been strengthened.

Analyses

This master thesis has been conducted in collaboration with an interdisciplinary team, existing of the coordinating researcher, dr. Nienke Boesveldt, experienced in the field of policy and homelessness, six pre-master students with interdisciplinary backgrounds and five experts, experienced in Social Relief and Protected Housing. All members conducted data for the comprehensive research and shared this in a protected database of Utrecht University. All interviews have been recorded, transcribed (by the professional transcript organization Amberscript, with who the project has a privacy agreement), anonymized, and together with the retrieved documents, gathered in a protected data base of Utrecht University.

The qualitative data analysis program Atlas.ti 8 has been used to code and analyze all data. Existing, deductive, codes, developed for the comprehensive research (structured by ‘policy goals’, ‘instruments’, ‘structure’, ‘management’, ‘output’, and ‘outcome’) have been used to code this study’s data, together with the deductive codes, based on this studies literature review (structured as ‘housing corporations’, ‘lack of housing’, ‘housing provision’, ‘evictions’, ‘pluriform goals and perspectives’ and ‘stakeholder involvement’). Thereby inductive open codes (dividing the data firstly into fragments), axial codes (categorizing the open codes) and selective codes *‘looking for connections between the categories in order to make sense of what is happening in the field’* (as cited by Boeije, 2010, p.114), have been developed (‘rental -triangle-contract’, for example, as one of the mentioned instruments, emerged as an inductive axial code). The open and axial codes have been saved in a separate Word-file (safely). Secondly, this file has been complemented with several relevant quotations.

The structure of the Word-file, mentioning the most relevant aspects according to all stakeholders, made it possible to analyze and make sense of the data. Combining the structure of the collective Atlas.ti 8 file and individual Word-file made explain the code tree (Appendix 4). Additionally, interviews of the research team have been analyzed to retrieve better insights about the networks. The close collaboration with the coordinating researcher and research team, the weekly meetings, presentation of the research findings and peer reviewing also strengthened the findings of this research. Finally, by emphasizing at ‘thick descriptions’, regarding the findings and retrieved ‘sensitizing concepts’, the grounded theories (Bryman, 2012) of this research could be justified.

Results

The analysis of the nine policy documents and the results of the sixteen interviews revealed that there were numerous aspects of the networks’ governance arrangements that could explain the outflow towards independent housing. Nevertheless, all stakeholders shared the following goals:

1. Providing an extensive range of affordable, suitable housing-variants
2. Preparing for independent housing; making it work
3. Prevention of evictions.

The most important aspects of the governance arrangements that could explain the accomplishments of the three goals, according to the stakeholders, have been outlined in the following three chapters.

Providing affordable and suitable housing-variants

POLICY

All three networks note that they cope with a lack of affordable and suitable housing-variants. Therefore: “*The success or failure of the desired outflow towards regular apartments depends on the availability of these apartments*” (Policy Document Network 3, 2016). The stakeholders all share the goal of providing an extensive range of available, affordable and suitable housing-variants: ‘enough small, social rent apartments in regular neighborhoods’. Below are several examples of how the networks expand their housing supply.

Instruments

In the first place, the networks extend expand their housing supply in multiple ways:

1. They aim at ‘developing more apartments’, However, in the center municipalities, ground is scarce. Therefore this is mostly an instrument used by more regional municipalities who own more ground.
2. ‘Transforming the existing supply’ of housing to (more) suitable housing-variants. This instrument is more applicable in the center municipalities. Municipality 2, for example, transformed a school building into multiple housing-variants for different target groups.
3. ‘Redistribution of the existing housing supply’. Housing corporations differ in the division of their yearly supply mutation. However, they all reserve apartments for the tenant groups, including the clients. Thereby many aimed at discouraging skewed housing (*scheefwonen*); they stimulate tenants to move to larger, more expensive accommodation, increasing the availability of houses for the clients.
4. ‘Inclusion of the free market’. Housing corporations and some of the municipalities pleaded for more regulations and/or obligations for private real estate developers. They believe that they could and should help to realize more social rent apartments.
5. In the end, stakeholders also found ‘other, creative, ways’ to (temporarily) expand their housing supply and house target groups. Examples have been building containers on the edge of the city (Municipality 2.1) or housing more tenants in one apartment (Policy Document Network 1., 2016).

Secondly, a crucial activity, according to the stakeholders, is ‘evaluating the housing demand and supply’. Before municipalities and housing corporations start expanding their housing supply, many stakeholders noted that they aim to have a clear overview about the housing demands of the care institutes for the outflow of clients, as well as having an overview of the present housing supply. Networks that had an overview of the housing demand and supply noted that there are fewer houses available than there are people needing? independent housing. However, not all municipalities had a clear overview of this, and a lot of information is still unknown regarding the true number of clients. The corporations feel this to be frustrating, “*In this case, we just hear, ‘deliver this number of houses’, nobody looks at the composition, the supply, or the kind of houses we own, nobody looks at that. Actually, they are just saying, ‘Just deal with it. Make it work.’”* (Housing corporation 1.1).

Thirdly, in most of the networks, housing corporations develop ‘Housing-output-agreements’ together with municipalities and tenant organizations, corporations note how many houses can be realised on a yearly base In these documents, housing corporations also provide insights in their housing supply, their plans on how to expand this supply and their housing-division-plans for the tenant groups (clients and refugees with a residence permit, as well as regular renters). They discuss with municipalities how many houses they can reserve for each target group on an yearly base; ‘priority arrangements’ (*contingentregelingen* and *urgentieregelingen*) are being developed which offer municipalities and care institutes the possibility to ‘claim’ a certain number of houses for clients without them having to go on a waiting list.

STRUCTURE

Municipalities are responsible for the realization of the deinstitutionalization of the intramural settings. Many people must transition to independent housing and therefore they (and care institutes) need many houses. Corporations note that they feel a certain pressure: “*You deal with a care institute that says: ‘I just have to free up two-thirds of my settings’, this is what they tell me.*”, “*this means that we face a certain pressure.*” (Housing corporation 1.1). Housing corporations are responsible for the housing of more tenant groups than only clients, “*We immediately noted: this is not possible in our present supply.*”, “*A too high percentage would go to this target group in ratio with the other group.*” (Housing corporation 1.1). Corporations have to realize a fair division of their supply for everyone. Also, corporations note that in order to provide more houses, they need the municipalities to work with them better and more flexible regulations: “*I proposed: could we not realise multiple small apartments there?*”, “*I see that as a good opportunity. Well, this was not possible, the municipality noted that we could only rebuild hundred seventy two houses there..*” (Housing corporation 2.1). Respondents note that there is a need for more creative solutions: “*I think it requires a certain level of creativity from all of us, to seek solutions in a new way.*” (Housing corporation 1.2). “*We need to create more urgency on a governance level, to speed up, and provide more places for the target groups.*” (Municipality 2).

MANAGEMENT

Housing corporations note: “*What I notice is that now it started, municipalities still have to learn a lot from the housing corporations. We do this for years already.*”(Housing corporation 2.2). Therefore their involvement is crucial. Moreover, they know which housing-variants are

suitable for particular (vulnerable) groups. “*By being very alert and keeping a good eye on which housing-variants are suitable for the persons, based on the introductory meeting*” (Housing corporation 1.4), “*in the neighborhoods where they have a chance to succeed.*” (Housing corporation 3). Many municipalities also see the need for collaboration, “*We strongly depend on housing corporations, developers, and investors.*” (Municipality 1.2). Therefore in almost all municipalities housing-output-agreements were developed. On the other hand, it turned out that in the regional municipalities stakeholders were still less involved and proactive in extending the housing provision in comparison with the center municipalities. “*I think that smaller municipalities are less confronted with this problem.*”, “*It seems like they are less familiar with-, and focus less on the problem.*” (Housing corporation 2.1). “*We only started communicating with municipalities about this for half a year.*” (Housing corporation 2.2).

OUTPUT

Housing corporations noted that in the first place they could not answer all demands from the municipalities and care institutes “*You will always deficit the regular tenants.*” (Housing corporation 2.1). However, it was found that the corporations attained their targeted housing-output-agreements. This would mean that Network 1. has provided nearly two hundred apartments this year, Network 2. hundred ninety, and Network 3. Seventy five. Municipality 1.2 was the only municipality that did not implement housing-output-agreements but made their own agreement (*opstapregeling*), which was not formulated by the housing corporations. They were also the ones that knew little about the feasibility and output numbers of their arrangement.

Whereas the regional municipalities have more space to develop apartments, their supply exists of little suitable housing-variants. In general, their contribution to the housing supply was small: “*In our regional municipality, few affordable, small houses and apartments are available for the target group.*” (Municipality 1.1). “*I believe that in all this time, only one person has been housed in our municipality.*” (Municipality 1.3).

Summary

In order to provide affordable, suitable housing-variants for the target group, the corporations expand their housing supply by focussing on development, transformation, and redistribution. However, corporations face restrictions when developing creative solutions due to regulations: they plead for both more commitment from the private market as well as more facilitation from the municipalities. Regional municipalities hold less suitable housing-variants, However, less urgency on a governance level also restricts their housing extension according

to the center municipalities. Secondly, stakeholders note that evaluating the housing demand and supply is necessary. Based on this knowledge, corporations - in collaboration with municipalities – can develop housing-output-agreements, reserving houses for the target group. According to the corporations, this collaboration is crucial. Municipalities need to understand that they are responsible for more tenant groups, and that they should divide their housing supply fairly over these. In this way, they possess the expertise regarding the capacity of their housing supply, but also regarding suitable housing for target groups. Whereas the corporations could not deliver all the houses that municipalities demanded for clients in the first place, they were able to reach the housing-output-agreements, if these were developed.

Preparing for independent housing: making it work

Once affordable, suitable housing-variants are realized and reserved for the target group, networks can start preparing for independent housing.

POLICY

“Everyone wants to realise good housing for the clients, with the care they need.” (Municipality 3). However, not all housing corporations believe that independent housing is always the best solution, *“You have to be careful to not pick the unsuitable individuals.”* (Housing corporation 1.1). Respondents described multiple instruments which are crucial to make independent housing work.

Instruments

Firstly, an important instrument is ‘evaluating the neighborhood resilience’, *“The greatest risk is that you pile up all these people and create complexes.”* (housing corporation 2.2). Housing corporations and municipalities scan neighborhoods and research how many vulnerable persons could safely live in one neighbourhood *“je moet dat meer spreiden, alleen wel naar gelang van draagkracht”* (Housing corporation 2.1). That is why corporations try to ‘scatter’ clients over different neighborhoods.

Secondly, the networks use different contracts. Network 1 and 2 are experimenting with a ‘rental-triangle-contract’ (*driehoekscontract*); a temporary contract (including a floating support plan) between the client, housing corporation and care institute, monitored and on name of the client. After two years, the corporations and institutes decide whether the tenant can receive a permanent contract. Corporations note, *“I think this is the only way to realise it.”*,

“This obliges the new tenant and care institute to care for each other.” (Housing corporation 1.4). Network 3 was the only network without this instrument. Here, care institutes did not want to take responsibility for the clients.

If housing corporations and or care institutes have less faith in the self-reliance of clients, they prefer a ‘flip-over-contract’ (*omklapcontract*). This temporary contract, in name of the institutes, offers clients a chance to live independently if housing corporations do not trust them. It also relieves corporations from the financial risk. After two years, this contract can be ‘flipped-over’ to a regular or triangle contract by the parties. However, corporations note that since they are not involved in the first two years, they have no idea about the client one’s they become responsible.

Thirdly, the networks differ in their approach to realize independent housing. Multiple respondents note that they make use of ‘Housing First’¹, “Housing First is what it is all about.”, “The most important thing is that the vulnerable group has a house. A stable base. Without that, they cannot even consider improving their situation.” (Housing corporation 2.1). Where network 1 and 2 are both moving towards Housing First, municipality 1.2 and network 3 tend more towards a ‘Treatment First’ approach. By requiring a certain level of clients’ self-reliance (*opstapregeling*) or an ‘apartment-training-route’ (*kamertrainingstraject*), these municipalities prioritize treatment/training over housing.

Fourthly, for some individuals, that caused nuisance and debts multiple times, and are not trusted by the corporations in neighborhoods (even with floating support). Then, the stakeholders saw Skaeve Huse as a good alternative: housing-variants on impulse-weak locations, distant from the neighborhoods (*beschut-wonen*), also known as ‘asshole-proof’ apartments. Almost all stakeholders implemented or wanted to implement Skaeve Huse. As another alternative, municipality 1.1 and 2.3 even house individuals (temporarily) at campsites.

STRUCTURE

Municipalities’ first priority is the deinstitutionalization of intramural settings, the transition towards independent housing. However, the transition is not their first priority. Housing corporations are responsible for the whole neighborhood; they have to protect the neighborhood resilience. Municipalities are responsible for arranging sufficient floating support and therefore collaborating with care institutes. The networks are aware that, “*Succes depends on sufficient support. Housing someone and saying: ‘now you are independent’, that is not*

¹ Whereas respondents mentioned Housing First, most were not aware of the exact content and all aspects. In general, they referred to prioritizing housing instead of training and treatment to increase their self-reliance.

enough."(Municipality 3). However, corporations note, "*When it gets more difficult, which we have experienced more often, then they say: 'well, that is your problem.'*" (Housing corporation 1.2). Some even note, "*Now we are actually begging the institutes to provide care.*" (Housing corporation 2.2). Due to bad experiences in the past, multiple housing corporations have a lack of faith in the care institutes and the quality of floating support: "*We do not trust them anymore on their pretty eyes.*" (Housing corporation 2.2). Housing corporations with less faith in care institutes also had less faith in independent housing, "*This is a dream, independent housing for everyone. It sounds wonderful, but it is not easy. There are problems.*"(Housing corporation 1.1).

MANAGEMENT

Housing corporations note, "*We need each other to make this work.*" (Housing corporation 2.1). Municipalities note, "*I think that we should not impose what should happen, but find suitable solutions, together with all stakeholders.*" (Municipality 3). Both note that the involvement of care institutes is crucial as well: "*The person lives between other tenants too. If that escalates we have a serious problem. We do want it, but need a certain guarantee that it will work.*"(Housing corporation 1.1). Also, the stakeholders often try to learn from each other, "*We are no concurrents. We look at each other and try to learn from each other's solutions.*" (Housing corporation 2.1). It is important that, "*We should try to speak the same language.*" (Housing corporation 2.2). Therefore stakeholders note it is important that everyone is involved in the collaboration.

OUTCOME

Multiple corporations note that the independently housed clients are 'on the radar'; the network is watching them. Respondents mentioned positive experiences, "*We have already sent a few nice letters: your rental contract is now permanent!*" (Housing corporation 1.3). On the other hand, not all experiences are positive, "*Nuisance has increased. Neighborhoods notice this as well.*" (Housing corporation 2.1), "*There are incidents. You hear about them on the news as well. Sometimes I have the fear that this will happen more often. That is why agreements with the care institutes are so important.*" (Housing corporation 1.1).

Most networks in this study were still in the starting phase of the transition. Therefore (especially in the regional municipalities) there is still often a lack of expertise on the matter: "*We notice a backlog of information at municipalities.*" (Housing corporation 2.2).

Summary

In order to make independent housing work, respondents note that it is important to evaluate the neighborhood resilience beforehand and scatter the clients based on this. Housing corporations, namely, are responsible for the whole neighborhood, not only the client. The transition is not their first responsibility. Developing rental-triangle-contracts guarantees the involvement of care institutes and therefore the provision of floating support. It also ensures stronger collaboration. According to the corporations, these instruments are a precondition for Housing First. If they have bad experiences with the floating support provision and do not have faith in the institutes, they have less faith in independent housing in general. In the networks where municipalities, housing corporations, and care institutes collaborated less, stakeholders tended more towards a “Treatment First” approach. In the end, most respondents saw Skaeve Huse as an alternative for clients who are not trusted in the neighborhoods. These arrangements explained the fact that even though incidents occur, there are several positive experiences with the clients who are on the network’s radar.

Prevention of evictions

If tenants do cause nuisance and debts and become a problem for both the neighborhood and the housing corporations, independent housing does not work. Then, tenants risk eviction.

POLICY

All three networks try to prevent eviction. *“We really try to prevent that. We have helped those persons to find a house. We are social corporations. The last thing we want is putting these people on the streets.”* (Housing corporation 1.3). Some even note to strive to *“Zero evictions, due to early debt signaling.”* (Policy document network 3), but how do they realize that?

Instruments

Firstly, in order to prevent evictions, the networks aim to ‘make agreements with all stakeholders to prevent, but also signal nuisance and debts’. Network 1 developed a collaboration between municipalities, housing corporations, care institutes, and also neighborhoods, police and social work teams to prevent evictions (Policy Document Network 1., 2016). Network 1 and 2 have developed an ‘eviction prevention agreement’ (*covenant voorkomen huisuitzettingen*) wherein stakeholders agree to collaborate, share all relevant data

and thereby inform each other as problems occur. Network 1 developed a specific ‘care and nuisance report point’ (*meldpunt zorg en overlast*), so that stakeholders can signal their concerns (Policy Document Network 1., 2016). According to multiple respondents, ‘Early Action’² (*Vroeg erop af*), is an effective instrument, “*It is all about signaling on time, thereby preventing that things escalate.*” (Municipality 2). Respondents note that the strength of this instrument lies in the inclusion of tax departments, insurance companies, and energy suppliers, who (working with the corporations) are the first ones to notice debts, “*After one month of rental backlog, we are already calling to get in contact with residents.*” (Housing corporation 1.4). Once nuisance and debts are discovered, networks can send ‘emergency teams’ (*noodteams*) and provide tenants with help to solve their debts and (Housing Agenda, Network 1, 2017).

Secondly, if prevention- and signalling instruments, in combination with floating support, are not effective enough corporations sometimes ‘threaten with legal measures’, meaning that they see no other way out. This instrument is a final warning to the network that things are going wrong and something should change, “*It is mostly a signal to the household: ‘you have reached our boundary now.’*” (Housing corporation 1.4).

STRUCTURE

Whereas municipalities and care institutes more often prioritize the clients, housing corporations prioritize whole neighbourhoods. They note that their main responsibility is protecting the living conditions for everyone in the neighbourhood: “*Good housing, for everyone.*” (Housing corporation 1.4). “*We hear that many tenants suffer under nuisance. Though, care institutes easily choose sides for their clients.*” (Housing corporation 3). Secondly, corporations rely on income in order to maintain themselves, “*Housing corporations are also just companies.*” (Municipality 2.1).

MANAGEMENT

Managing the relations to prevent evictions is very important according to the respondents. Not only is it important to retrieve the perspectives of housing corporations, all stakeholders are needed to prevent and signal nuisance and debt. Therefore, according to the respondents in this study, collectively developing an ‘eviction prevention agreement’ is crucial, “*The point is: can you unite all these interests?*” (Municipality 2.2).

² ‘Vroeg erop Af’ is an intervention originally from Amsterdam to prevent evictions.

OUTPUT

The documents and respondents could not provide specific eviction numbers, though respondents noted, “*We only evict a tenant if they endlessly refuse to pay rent and do not accept support in any way. It really is the last thing that you do.*” (Housing corporation 1.4). Still, evictions do occur. Network 3, without a rental-triangle-contract, and therefore without guarantee of sufficient floating support, noted that they do not evict a lot, but still, “*This includes the persons from the care institutes. They started living independently and end up back on the streets.*” (Housing corporation 3). As explained in the last chapter, networks mostly keep a good eye on independently-housed clients. They are on the radar. The tenants who are unknown by the (care) networks, in general, are the ones who cause most problems: tenants ‘off the radar’. Multiple corporations noted that they lack the instruments to solve this problem, or that the interventions which do occur are too late. Moreover, the corporations do not yet have solutions for the problematic tenants who refuse care. They note that these two groups still often risk eviction, “*We need a loop, so that if things go wrong, clients can go back to the institutes.*” (Housing corporation 3).

Summary

In order to prevent evictions, stakeholders noted that not only municipalities, corporations, and care institutes should collaborate, but also that clients’ social networks, neighborhoods, social work teams, police and even tax departments, insurance companies, and energy suppliers should be involved, to prevent and signal nuisance and debts. In this way emergency teams can act fast and solve the problems. Corporations are not only responsible for the clients, but for all tenants and tend to prioritize good living conditions for the whole neighborhood over independent housing for clients. Furthermore, they depend on their income. If the collaboration is lacking and/or the instruments seem ineffective, housing corporations threaten to take legal measures as a last warning to the network that something should change. Without the commitment of care institutes, clients still are being evicted. However, most stakeholders note that the target group is on the radar and evictions are rare. Specifically, tenants that are off the radar or who refuse care seem to be the ones that get evicted. There are no solutions for this yet.

Discussion

These research findings, derived from the Policy Documents, Housing-output-agreements, Housing Agendas, but mainly from the sixteen interviews with nineteen respondents from municipalities and housing corporations of three Dutch governance networks, made it possible to answer the following research question:

'To what extent do the Governance Arrangements of Dutch Municipalities and Housing Corporations explain the outflow of Social Relief and Protected Housing clients towards Independent Housing with Floating Support?'

In the first place, Dutch governance networks do develop policy goals and instruments to reach their goals. Municipalities and housing corporations collaborate in structures, wherein they each have their own responsibilities. These explain their individual goals and perspectives. Also, the stakeholders of the networks are being involved by the management in multiple ways.

The three networks shared three main goals: providing an extensive range of affordable, suitable housing-variants, realizing independent housing: making it work (before and at the time that clients transition to independent housing) and preventing evictions. Even though the stakeholders mentioned a wide variety of instruments, they noted that the most important instruments were as follows:

1. Evaluating the housing demand (for the target group) and supply (of the corporations)
2. Developing housing-output-agreements (*prestatieafspraken*): explaining how many houses can and will be reserved for the target group
3. Evaluating the neighbourhood resilience' (*draagkracht van de wijk*) and scattering the clients, according to these insights
4. Developing 'rental-triangle-contracts' (*driehoekscontracten*) between corporation, tenants and care institutes, guaranteeing the involvement of the care institutes
5. Realizing 'Skaeve Huse' (*beschutte woonvormen*) for the clients that cannot be trusted in neighborhoods, according to the stakeholders
6. Making agreements with all stakeholders to prevent and signal nuisance and debts

Whereas municipalities (and care institutes) are responsible for, and therefore prioritize, the transition of clients towards independent housing, housing corporations are responsible for, and

prioritize, a fair division of their supply over multiple tenant groups, good living conditions for the whole neighborhood and finally, their own income. The respondents in this study pointed out that involvement of the three parties (municipalities, housing corporations, and care institutes) is crucial in order to have an overview of housing demand and supply. This would result in setting of realistic goals, the insights into neighborhood resilience and guaranteeing (sufficient) floating support, and finally preventing, signalling and solving nuisance and debt problems. Finally, these governance arrangements can explain the success or failure of the transition towards independent housing.

No structural approach (?)

Whereas earlier research pointed out that there are no structural approaches to house homeless people in the Netherlands yet (Dannenberg et al., 2015; Hulbosch, Planije and Tuynman, 2014), this research found a certain structure in the approaches and governance arrangements. Since the networks and stakeholders use different terminology for similar approaches, it mainly appears that there is no structural approach.

The rise of Housing First

Multiple researchers state that Housing First, as a cost-efficient and effective approach to house homeless people, is on the rise (Padgett et al., 2016; Boesveldt, 2015). This research found, indeed, that most stakeholders were aware of- and occupied with Housing First. This study illustrated that whereas the stakeholders are enthusiastic about this approach, they point out that the collaboration between municipalities, corporations and care institutes, plus sufficient floating support are crucial and a precondition for Housing First. If housing corporations lack the faith in floating support, they can even lack the trust in independent housing on itself.

Extending the housing provision & preventing evictions

The stakeholders of this study all confirmed that the lack of affordable and suitable housing-variants constraints them to realize independent housing, which confirms Gaetz' statements (2012). Moreover, they confirmed that evictions remain a problem, causing an influx back to intramural settings (Van Straaten, 2017). However, most clients are 'on the radar' of the network. Mostly the tenants 'off the radar', unknown by the network, and clients who refuse care are the ones that are being evicted. A further aspect, which has been researched to a lesser extent, is that in between these policy goals, the policy goal of 'preparing for independent housing; making it work' is settled. Whereas the care institutes play a crucial role in this and

could contribute to this studies framework of important arrangements, their perspective has only been included from the viewpoint of municipalities and corporations in this study.

Structure, allocation of responsibilities & pluriformity

Governmental networks exist of stakeholders who, in line with their responsibilities, have pluriform goals and perspectives (De Bruijn, 2002). Their differences can explain the different views of both the problem as the solutions (Klijn, 2008), and sometimes makes collaborating complex. This study has illustrated the role of pluriformity in the researched networks. Municipalities and housing corporations have different responsibilities, and therefore different goals and perspectives regarding the transition towards independent housing. However, this did not always hinder the outputs and/or outcomes.

Management & stakeholder involvement

If the collaboration between municipalities, housing corporations, and care institutes is strong and all stakeholders are involved in the transition towards independent housing, pluriformity does not have to be negative. Involving the stakeholders gave better insights into the housing demand and supply, but also into neighborhood resilience. The networks where stakeholders were more involved therefore gathered more of the present knowledge as Verweij et al. (2013) found in earlier research. This enabled the networks to set more realistic goals.

Strengths & weaknesses

The inclusion of a wide variety of stakeholders, scattered over the Netherlands, in different phases of the transition towards independent housing, enabled this research to conduct representative findings even though only a small eight out of 388 municipalities have been researched. The collaboration in an interdisciplinary research team of Utrecht University, and application of a strong topic list, adjusted to the aspects of housing and housing corporations, explain the quality of this research's data and findings.

While this study aimed to explain the output of housing provision, prevention of evictions and outcomes of independent housing, few concrete statistics have been retrieved. This study's conclusions are based on the formulated goals in the analysed documents and conversations with the stakeholders. Since the networks only recently took on their new responsibilities, little concrete data was available to the researcher. However, neither have the methods been specified on retrieving this data specifically. Future research should aim to retrieve this data better. Thereby the progress of the networks over time could explain better

insights. Secondly, this research's focus was on the collaboration between municipalities and corporations, though, the research pointed out that care institutes play a crucial role. Their role and quality of floating support can explain a lot of the realization of independent housing. Therefore future research should include the perspectives of care institutes more extensively. Thirdly, whereas the topic list included many aspects of the governance arrangements, this also made it difficult to discuss all topics extensively. Future research could put effort in discussing the summarized arrangements more extensively. This study has provided a framework of the most important governance arrangements. It has revealed insights in the collaboration between municipalities and housing corporations. And finally, it has complemented the literature about homelessness, independent housing, governance arrangements, and governance networks. Municipalities and corporations can reflect on this study in order to move towards independent housing with floating support.

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Appendices:

1. Informed consent

Namens

Dr. Nienke Boesveldt, hoofdonderzoeker. Marcia Bochem, Chahida Bouhamou, Tizianne Burgemeester, Madelon Derkx, Emmely van Dijk, Sascha van den Dries, Lara Huisman, Barbera van der Meulen, Annemijn Mutsaerts, Pytrik Wijbenga, Hannah Wouda en Niels Bolderman, interviewers

Geachte heer/ mevrouw [of de naam van de uitgenodigde deelnemer],

U bent uitgenodigd om deel te nemen aan langlopend onderzoek onder Nederlandse gemeenten naar de ambulantisering en regionalisering van GGZ-clients. Het onderzoek kent een looptijd van vijf jaar, wordt betaald door gemeenten en kan rekenen op de steun van een begeleidingsgroep waar verschillende aanbieders, verzekeraars en clients deel van uitmaken. Ambulantisering heeft betrekking op het (weer) zelfstandig wonen, en regionalisering slaat op de toegenomen

verantwoordelijkheid voor kleinere gemeenten. De doelgroep GGZ-clients is breed, en verwijst naar de gemeentelijke doelgroepen voor Maatschappelijke Opvang en Beschermd Wonen. We zijn geïnteresseerd in het verklaren van uitkomsten van ambulantisering en regionalisering op cliëtniveau op basis van onderzoek naar politiek- bestuurlijke processen. Voor dit onderzoek worden daarom interviews gehouden met betrokken Wmo professionals, beleidsmakers, wethouders, woningcorporaties, klinische ggz, politie en cliënten. De resultaten van dit onderzoek worden in geanonimiseerde vorm zoveel mogelijk gedeeld, om bij te kunnen dragen aan beter beleid en uitkomsten hiervan in gemeenten.

Gezien uw kennis en expertise in [bijwerken op basis van de expertise van elke specifieke respondent], horen wij graag uw mening en stellen we uw deelname aan onze studie zeer op prijs. Uw deelname bestaat uit een interview van ongeveer een tot anderhalf uur. Hoewel uw deelname voor ons van cruciaal belang is, hoeft u geen vragen te beantwoorden die u liever niet beantwoordt en staat het u vrij om het interview op elk moment te beëindigen. De vragen hebben betrekking op uw kijk op het beleid in [te worden bijgewerkt met betrekking tot elke respondent]. Het interview wordt geanonimiseerd: dat betekent dat achteraf niet bekend is dat u deelneemt aan dit onderzoek, en dat verwijzingen naar uw uitspraken in het rapport ook niet tot uw persoon te herleiden zijn.

Van de interviews zullen geluidsopnamen gemaakt worden. De transcriptie van het interview wordt sowieso geanonimiseerd en veilig bewaard bij de Universiteit Utrecht. Alle digitale gegevens worden gecodeerd, en al uw persoonlijke gegevens worden hierbij verwijderd. Wanneer u van gedachte verandert en u wilt zich achteraf uit het onderzoek terugtrekken, na het voltooien van interview, neem dan contact met ons op: zolang het onderzoeksrapport nog niet is gepubliceerd, zullen we de informatie die is verstrekt verwijderen. U dient er rekening mee te houden dat uw deelname aan het onderzoek geen risico's inhoudt en mogelijk ook geen persoonlijk voordeel oplevert.

Tijdens het project hebben alleen onderzoekers die rechtstreeks verantwoordelijk zijn voor dit project toegang tot de databestanden. Na het project kunnen sommige gegevens openbaar worden gemaakt, maar er zullen geen gegevens bekend worden gemaakt op basis waarvan u kunt worden geïdentificeerd. Transcripties van interviews met publieke figuren, gemeenschapsleiders en andere personen die kunnen worden geïdentificeerd en herkend op basis van informatie of aanwijzingen in geanonimiseerde interviews, worden niet gedeeld. De gegevens zullen alleen beschikbaar worden gesteld aan andere onderzoekers voor hun eigen onderzoek als u daar explicet mee instemt.

Als u ermee instemt deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek, vragen wij u om het bijgevoegde formulier te ondertekenen. Als u niet aan het onderzoek wilt deelnemen, hoeft u niets te doen. Wanneer u nog vragen heeft over het onderzoek, neemt u dan gerust contact met ons op. Als u in de loop van het onderzoek andere vragen of klachten heeft, dan heeft u ook de mogelijkheid contact op te nemen met een collega die niet bij dit project betrokken is: Dr. John de Wit via j.dewit@uu.nl – er zal dan binnen tien werkdagen worden gereageerd.

Alvast hartelijk dank voor uw aandacht en medewerking!

Bsc Niels Bolderman & Dr. Nienke Boesveldt, hoofdonderzoeker

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2. Participants agreement

Toestemmingsformulier

Ik ben geïnformeerd over het onderzoek. Ik heb de hier bovenstaande schriftelijke informatie gelezen en begrepen. Ik heb de mogelijkheid gekregen om vragen te stellen over het onderzoek. Ik heb

gelegenheid gekregen om over mijn deelname aan het onderzoek na te denken en die is geheel vrijwillig. Ik stem er mee in dat er een geluidopname van het interview wordt gemaakt.

- Ik geef wel/ geen* toestemming voor het gebruik van het interview voor ander onderzoek
 - Ik zou wel/ niet* graag een exemplaar van het transcript ontvangen en de gelegenheid hebben hier nog op te reageren

*graag doorhalen wat niet van toepassing is

Plaats en datum

Naam.....

Handtekening.....

Naam interviewer

Handtekening interviewer.....

Informatie voor de interviewer:

Wanneer het informatieblad is gelezen en de instemming met het onderzoek is opgenomen, stel de respondent dan de volgende vragen:

3. Heeft u goed begrepen waar dit onderzoek over gaat?
4. Stemt u in met deelname?
5. Stemt u ermee in dat er een geluidsopname wordt gemaakt van het interview?
6. Vindt u het goed wanneer het interview nog wordt gebruikt voor ander onderzoek?
7. Zou u graag een kopie van het uitgetypte interview willen ontvangen?

Interviewers moeten deze informatie opslaan onder het interview nummer en er een aantekening van maken dat de toestemming is gegeven.

3. Topic list

Vragenlijst interviews expert participanten:

Deze wordt gebruikt om professionele stakeholders te interviewen: beleidsmedewerkers Wonen en medewerkers van woningcorporaties.

1. Achtergrond respondent

1.1 Kan u zich kort voorstellen? (werk, functie en professionele achtergrond)

2. Beleid. Context

2.1 Beleidsmodel (assumpties)

2.1.1 Wat weet u over de situatie rond 'dakloosheid' in uw gemeente?

- 2.1.1 Wat voor mensen (welke kenmerken) en waarom komen naar uw weten in aanraking met BW en MO in uw gemeente?
- 2.1.2 Wat leidt volgens u tot opname in Beschermd Wonen of Maatschappelijke Opvang in Gemeente? Waarop baseert u deze indruk?
- 2.1.3 Worden daklozen zelfstandig gehuisvest in uw gemeente? Hoe?
- 2.1.3.1 Hoe denkt u over het zelfstandig huisvesten van deze doelgroepen?
- 2.1.4 Vinden er (veel) huisuitzettingen plaats in uw gemeente? Hoe komt dat?
- 2.1.5 In hoeverre beschikt uw gemeente over beschikbare, passende en betaalbare huizen voor (deze) kwetsbare doelgroepen?
- 2.1.6 Wordt de woonvoorraad verdeeld onder verschillende (kwetsbare) groepen? Hoe? %?

2.2 Beleidsaanpak: Goals & Instruments

- 2.2.1 Bent u bekend met het beleid inzake beschermd wonen, maatschappelijke opvang en het zelfstandig huisvesten van dakloze personen in uw gemeente?
- 2.2.2 Wie hebben bijgedragen aan het opstellen van dit beleid? En wat was uw rol?
- 2.2.3 Dit beleid stelt specifieke doelen en hanteert specifieke instrumenten:

Doelen	Instrumenten	Effectief?
A (realiseren zelfstandig wonen uitstroom)		
B (voldoende, passende, betaalbare woonvormen)		
C (voorkomen huisuitzettingen)		

- 2.2.3.1 Zijn er nog meer doelstellingen en instrumenten geformuleerd ten opzichte van het (zelfstandig) huisvesten van dakloze personen?
- 2.2.3.2 Hoe bereiken jullie deze doelen? (instrumenten)
- 2.2.3.3 Wordt er iets gedaan om huisuitzettingen te voorkomen? Wat?
- 2.2.3.4 Wat wordt er gedaan om passende, betaalbare woningen beschikbaar te stellen? Transformeren/bijbouwen/anders?
- 2.2.3.5 Wat wordt er gedaan om de cliënten te integreren in de buurt?
- 2.2.4 In hoeverre hebben deze doelen, dit beleid invloed op uw dagelijkse werk? Hoe? Op welke manier?

Pluriformiteit

2.2.5 Staan u en naar uw weten de andere stakeholders achter de opgestelde doelen? Of zijn er ook andere perspectieven?

2.2.6 Staan u en naar uw weten de andere stakeholders achter de verkozen aanpak? Of zijn er ook andere perspectieven?

2.2.4.1 E.G. (IV3.5 Gemeente) op welke manier en/ in welke mate worden de doelen (om dakloze personen permanent, zelfstandig te huisvesten) volgens u gerealiseerd? (outcome)

2.2.4.2 (vraag dit bij elke doelstelling)

2.2.4.3 Bent u hier tevreden over?

2.2.5 In hoeverre kunnen volgens u, de doelen die worden gesteld worden gerealiseerd door de instrumenten (effectiviteit)?

2.2.5.1 Wat vindt u van deze aanpak?

2.2.6 In welke mate is MO, BW en het zelfstandig huisvesten van dakloze personen een prioriteit/belangrijk onderdeel in uw werkzaamheden?

Hoe verhoudt dit beleid zich tot het bredere beleidsterrein waarop de ambulantisering en regionalisering van de beoogde doelgroep betrekking heeft? In hoeverre is er een onderscheid tussen de beleidsaanpak en het bredere beleidsterrein of bestrijkt de strategie het gehele beleidsterrein?

2.2.7 *Inleiding.* Wij zijn ook geïnteresseerd in de mate waarin gestelde doelen worden behaald. In hoeverre heeft u er zicht op of de hier gestelde doelen worden behaald?

Welke instrumenten heeft u/ heeft uw organisatie beschikbaar om dit te weten?

(Verantwoordingsmechanismen, ook IV 6)(monitoring)

2.2.8 Vindt u in het algemeen dat dit beleid de belangrijkste problemen in *gemeente* die te maken hebben ambulantisering en regionalisering van de beoogde doelgroep adresseren?

3. Structuur: multi-niveaus van betrokkenheid op de doelgroep MO/BW in kaart brengen

Intro

(Aangezien de behoeften van de beoogde doelgroep MO & BW complex kunnen zijn, kunnen voorzieningen die tegemoetkomen aan deze ondersteuningsbehoeftes en de financiële bronnen voor deze ondersteuning afkomstig zijn van verschillende afdelingen binnen de gemeente, of daarbuiten, denk aan de zorgverzekeraar, of het UWV.

MAAK samen EEN SCHETS VAN de horizontale en verticale niveaus die betrokken zijn bij de Gemeente-strategie

3.1 wie doet wat om de verschillende doelen te bereiken? Taken en middelen

SAMEN VULLEN MOGELIJKE 'GAPS'

3.1.1 Waar zijn middelen en beleid voor verslaving gesitueerd?

3.1.2 Ook beleid en middelen voor geestelijke gezondheidszorg.

3.1.3 Huisvestingsbeleid?

Maatschappelijk werk?

Werk en inkomen?

Participatie? Dagbesteding, re-integratie?

3.2 Welke expertise is beschikbaar op welk niveau? En is er voldoende expertise?

3.2.1 In uw dagelijkse werk, waar en hoe wordt u geïnformeerd over wat u moet weten over de beoogde doelgroep MO/BW (informatiepositie, bronnen)?

3.3 Welke financiële risico's zijn er op welk niveau?

3.4 Hoe is de positie van Gemeente in dit (bredere) beeld?

3.4.1 En welke invloed heeft dit op uw werk?

3.4.1.1 Meer specifiek, is er een impact op het netwerk

3.4.2 INDIEN NIET BESPROKEN ONDER 1.2.4.1: hoe ziet het netwerk op lokaal niveau eruit?

3.4.2.1 Hoe wordt dit aangestuurd? Door wie? Op welke manier?

3.4.2.2 In welke zin verschuiven de acties en middelen van centraal niveau naar lokaal niveau?

Hoe is dat verlopen?

4. Samen werken

4.1 (INDIEN NIET ALLERLEI BESPROKEN VOOR) Wat is uw relatie met, hoe werkt u samen met:

- (andere) beleidsmakers (IV1 en IV6a), gemeenten

- andere woningcorporaties
- andere zorginstellingen?
- (andere) daklozen (peer-ondersteuning)
- (andere) beoefenaars,
- (andere) politici (IV6a),
- het publiek (controlegegevens beschikbaar)?

4.2 Hoe ervaart u de samenwerking met de verschillende stakeholders?

4.3 In hoeverre ervaart u dat u en de andere stakeholders betrokken worden? Wordt er rekening gehouden met de belangen van uw eigen organisatie? Kan u input geven? Agenda punten bijdragen? Heeft u invloed op de doelstelling en instrumenten?

4.4 Hoe stellen de verschillende partijen zich op? Actief? Flexibel?

4.5 Nemen alle partijen (in dezelfde mate) hun verantwoordelijkheid?

4.6 Is er onderzoek gebruikt? Kent u studies die het effect op individuele cliënten beschrijven (zoals een cohortonderzoek) en of effecten op bepaalde stadsgebieden waarover ik moet weten?

5. Resultaten, output

Wat is bekend over:

5.1 de mate waarin ggz zorg daar waar dit nodig is wordt geleverd aan de beoogde doelgroep?

5.2 de mate waarin er een (gecontinueerd) aanbod wordt gedaan aan de doelgroep?

5.2 de mate waarin er meer dan 1 zorgverlener aanwezig is (integrale zorg)

5.3 de beschikbaarheid van passende en betaalbare woningen

5.4 Tijdelijke huisvesting

5.6 preventie van huisuitzettingen

5.7 De rangorde van MO, BW doelgroepen t.o.v. andere kwetsbare groepen?

5.8 De mate waarin in het inkomen is voorzien

5.9 Daklozen geregistreerd bij zorgverleners

6. Outcome

6.1 Participatie doelgroep

6.2 Inkomen

6.3 Gezondheid

6.4 (stabiele/)permanent, zelfstandig gehuisveste dakloze personen

6.5 Contact met politie of justitie (overlast)

6.6 Dakloze personen die zich melden

6.7 Personen die buitenslapen

6.8 Publieke opinie (tevredenheid)

6.9 Bent u tevreden over de huidige samenwerking? En de anderen naar uw weten?

6.10 Bent u tevreden over de huidige resultaten? En de anderen naar uw weten?

7. Eind

7.1 heeft u zelf nog vragen of aanvullingen?

7.2 Bedankt voor uw deelname

4. Code tree

<u>Deductive thematic codes</u>	<u>Deductive/inductive axial codes</u>	<u>Inductive open codes</u>
0 Context	Context Protected Housing and Social Relief	

	lack of available, affordable and suiting housing-variants	
	Familiarization with HF	
1 Policy goals & instruments	Assumptions regarding independent housing	
	1.Goals: housing provision	
	Instruments: housing provision	Researching demand & supply; Development, transformation, distribution, inclusion free market; <i>Prestatieafspraken</i> ,
	2.Goals: prevention of house evictions	
	Instruments: prevention of house evictions	<i>Convenant voorkomen huisuitzettingen</i> ; Preventing debts and nuisance, Signalling debts and nuisance, <i>vroeg erop af</i> ; Juridical threatening
	3.Goals: realizing independent housing; making it work	
	Instruments: realizing independent housing; making it work	HF versus TF; Rental triangle contract versus Flip-over contract; Evaluating neighborhood resilience, scattered housing
	Experiences instruments	
	Goal (not) accomplished	
2 Structure	Composition of the network	
	Allocation of responsibilities	
	Pluriform goals and perspectives	

	Housing corporations, policies and finance	
	Management of the network	
	Stakeholder involvement	
	Work together municipalities, housing corporations and care institutes	
	Work together on intermunicipal level	
	Experiences collaboration	
	Learning from each other / research	
3 Output	Outputs of housing provision	
	Outputs of house eviction prevention	
	Outputs of realizing independent housing (permanent/ temporary)	HF, Skaeve Huse, monitoring
	Collaboration affecting housing outputs	
4 Outcome	Independent housing / deinstitutionalization	
	Stakeholder satisfaction	(Dis) satisfaction with goal accomplishment; (Dis) satisfaction with collaboration
	Experiences independent housing	
Recommendations	Factors of success	
	Constraining factors	
	Preconditions for independent housing	

5. Translated quotes

Quotes are provided in the same order as in the text. The Dutch quotations are given in bold.

1. “**Het realiseren van de gewenste doorstroming naar reguliere woningen, valt of staat met de beschikbaarheid van voldoende reguliere woningen om naar uit te stromen.**” (Policy Document Network 3, 2016). “The success or failure of the desired outflow towards regular apartments depends on the availability of these apartments” (Policy Document Network 3, 2016).
2. “**in dit geval er wordt gewoon iets opgelegd, zoveel aantallen, en er wordt niet gekeken naar samenstelling, bezit, wat voor soort woningen hebben we , daar wordt niet naar gekeken er wordt eigenlijk gezegd, los het maar op, regel het maar**” (Housing corporation 1.1). “In this case, we just hear, ‘deliver this number of houses’, nobody looks at the composition, the supply, or the kind of houses we own, nobody looks at that. Actually, they are just saying, ‘Just deal with it. Make it work.’” (Housing corporation 1.1)
3. “**je hebt een instelling die zegt ik moet gewoon 2/3 deel vrijmaken, dat krijg ik opgelegd, ik kan niet anders, 200 moeten er de komende jaar verdwijnen. Dat betekent dus dat er dus een bepaalde druk zit**” (Housing corporation 1.1). “You deal with a care institute that says: ‘I just have to free up two-thirds of my settings’, this is what they tell me.”, “this means that we face a certain pressure.” (Housing corporation 1.1)
4. “**wij hebben meteen ook aangegeven: dat kan niet in de bestaande voorraad.**”, “**Het zou een te hoog percentage naar deze doelgroep gaan in verhouding met de andere groep.**” (Housing corporation 1.1). “We immediately noted: this is not possible in our present supply.”, “A too high percentage would go to this target group in ratio with the other group.” (Housing corporation 1.1).
5. “**Ik stelde voor: kunnen we daar niet allemaal van die kleine appartementjes in twee of driewoninglagen maken, al help je er 12 mensen mee, ik zie dat echt als een kans. Dat kan dus niet, omdat de gemeente aangeeft, je mag maar ongeveer 172 woningen daar terugbouwen.**” “I proposed: could we not realise multiple small apartments there?”, “I see that as a good opportunity. Well, this was not possible, the municipality

noted that we could only rebuild hundred seventy two houses there..” (Housing corporation 2.1).

6. “*Ik denk dat het van ons allemaal een soort creativiteit verwacht om op een nieuwe manier naar oplossingen te zoeken.*” “*I think it requires a certain level of creativity from all of us, to seek solutions in a new way.*” (Housing corporation 1.2)
7. “*wij moeten nog meer urgentie bij het bestuurlijk niveau creëren om dat er harder wordt gelopen om meer plekken voor die doelgroepen te krijgen.*” – “*We need to create more urgency on a governance level, to speed up, and provide more places for the target groups.*” (Municipality 2).
8. “*wat ik merk is dat uh dat begint nou te lopen hier. Is dat de gemeentes ook veel van corporaties moeten leren. Omdat wij het eigenlijk al jaren doen.*” – “*What I notice is that now it started, municipalities still have to learn a lot from the housing corporations. We do this for years already.*” (Housing corporation 2.2).
9. “*Door heel alert te zijn en ook goed te kijken van welke woningen passen bij deze personen aan de hand van het kennismakingsgesprek.*” – “*By being very alert and keeping a good eye on which housing-variants are suitable for the persons, based on the introductory meeting*” (Housing corporation 1.4)
10. “*in buurten waarvan we denken van, nou, daar hebben ze de meeste kans van slagen.*” – “*in the neighborhoods where they have a chance to succeed.*” (Housing corporation 3).
11. “*Wij zijn heel erg afhankelijk van woningcorporatie ontwikkelaars en investeerders.*” – “*We strongly depend on housing corporations, developers, and investors.*” (Municipality 1.2).
12. “*Ik denk dat bij de kleinere gemeente het probleem minder speelt. De kleine gemeente hebben veel eengezinswoningen in hun bezit, dus dat is minder makkelijk op te lossen voor bepaalde individuen, dus het lijkt.. ze hebben er minder bekendheid mee en hebben er denk ik iets minder focus op.*” – “*I think that smaller municipalities are less confronted with this problem.*”, “*It seems like they are less familiar with-, and focus less on the problem.*” (Housing corporation 2.1).
13. “*We zijn eigenlijk pas sinds een halfjaar echt met de gemeente nou in overleg over hierover.*” – “*We only started communicating with municipalities about this for half a year.*” (Housing corporation 2.2).
14. “*Omdat je eigenlijk altijd de regulier zoekenden tekort doet.*” – “*You will always deficit the regular tenants.*” (Housing corporation 2.1).

15. “*In onze regio zijn weinig goedkope, kleine woningen en kamers beschikbaar voor de doelgroep.*” – “*In our regional municipality, few affordable, small houses and apartments are available for the target group.*” (Municipality 1.1).
16. “*ik geloof dat in al die tijd er een iemand in [Gemeente 1.3] is gehuisvest.*” – “*I believe that in all this time, only one person has been housed in our municipality.*” (Municipality 1.3).
17. “*we willen met z’n allen er voor zorgen dat degene die uit de instelling komt gewoon goed kan gaan wonen en de zorg krijgt die hij nog nodig heeft.*” – “*Everyone wants to realise good housing for the clients, with the care they need.*” (Municipality 3).
18. “*je moet oppassen dat je niet de groep pakt die er toch niet voor geschikt is.*” – “*You have to be careful to not pick the unsuitable individuals.*” (Housing corporation 1.1).
19. “*Het grootste risico zit vooral in dat je al die mensen bij elkaar gaat plaatsen. Dat je complexen krijgt*” – “*The greatest risk is that you pile up all these people and create complexes.*” (housing corporation 2.2).
20. “*je moet dat meer spreiden, alleen wel naar gelang van draagkracht*” – “*You have to spread them, depending on the neighborhood resilience.*” (Housing corporation 2.1).
21. “*Ik denk dat dat de enige manier is om dat te doen.*”, “*op deze manier heeft de huurder in kwestie en de zorgorganisatie in kwestie ook echt nog de verplichting om voor elkaar te zorgen.*” – “*I think this is the only way to realise it.*”, “*This obliges the new tenant and care institute to care for each other.*” (Housing corporation 1.4).
22. “*Housing First is zeg maar waar het om gaat.*”, “*Vaak is het zo dat als die hulpgroep een woning heeft, dat is het allerbelangrijkste. Stabiele basis, want als ze dat niet hebben, staat hun hoofd ook niet aan zichzelf werken.*” – “*Housing First is what it is all about.*”, “*The most important thing is that the vulnerable group has a house. A stable base. Without that, they cannot even consider improving their situation.*” (Housing corporation 2.1).
23. “*het succes valt of staat met het eh goede begeleiding. Dus iemand zomaar in een woning stoppen en hier heb je je huis en nu ben je zelfstandig. Dat is eigenlijk onvoldoende.*” – “*Succes depends on sufficient support. Housing someone and saying: ‘now you are independent’, that is not enough.*” (Municipality 3).
24. *Alleen zien we dan als het lastig wordt, toch een beetje, dat hebben we ook meerdere keren gehad, dat ze zeggen: ja, dat is jullie probleem.*” – “*When it gets more difficult, which we have experienced more often, then they say: ‘well, that is your problem.’*” (Housing corporation 1.2).

25. “*nu zitten we als corporatie eigenlijk een beetje te bedelen haast bij zorginstellingen.*” – “Now we are actually begging the institutes to provide care.” (Housing corporation 2.2).
26. “*we gaan ze niet meer op hun ogen geloven.*” – “We do not trust them anymore on their pretty eyes.” (Housing corporation 2.2).
27. “*dit is een droom, we laten mensen zelfstandig wonen, het klinkt heel mooi, maar er zitten wel haken en ogen aan. Makkelijk is het niet.*” – “This is a dream, independent housing for everyone. It sounds wonderful, but it is not easy. There are problems.”(Housing corporation 1.1).
28. *Wij hebben echt elkaar nodig om dit voor elkaar te krijgen.*” – “We need each other to make this work.” (Housing corporation 2.1)
29. “*ik vind dat dat is waar we als gemeente ook naar toe moeten. Dat je niet van bovenaf oplegt wat er moet gebeuren, maar dat je in samenspraak met alle belanghebbenden tot een passende oplossing komt*” – “I think that we should not impose what should happen, but find suitable solutions, together with all stakeholders.” (Municipality 3).
30. “*nu is ie bij ons gehuisvest tuurlijk wordt er zorg verleent, maar de persoon zit tussen andere huurders van ons, en als dat escaleert, hebben wij een serieus probleem, dus wij willen wel, willen een bepaalde garantie eigenlijk dat dat goed gaat.*” – “The person lives between other tenants too. If that escalates we have a serious problem. We do want it, but need a certain guarantee that it will work.”(Housing corporation 1.1).
31. “*we zijn niet elkaars concurrent, dus we kijken heel veel bij elkaar in de keuken, van hoe lossen jullie dat nou op?*” – “We are no concurrents. We look at each other and try to learn from each other’s solutions.” (Housing corporation 2.1).
32. “*ik denk dat je met elkaar dezelfde taal moet gaan praten.*” – “We should try to speak the same language.” (Housing corporation 2.2).
33. “*we hebben al een paar mensen een mooie brief kunnen sturen hè, uw huurcontract is vanaf nu voor onbepaalde tijd*” – “We have already sent a few nice letters: your rental contract is now permanent!” (Housing corporation 1.3).
34. “*overlast dat neemt wel echt toe. Dat merkt de buurt ook*” – “Nuisance has increased. Neighborhoods notice this as well.” (Housing corporation 2.1).
35. “*je mag best weten; er zijn incidenten. En die zie jij ook op het nieuws. Ik heb soms de angst dat het steeds meer gaat toenemen en daar zijn goede afspraken zo belangrijk met zorgpartijen.*” – “There are incidents. You hear about them on the news as well.

Sometimes I have the fear that this will happen more often. That is why agreements with the care institutes are so important.” (Housing corporation 1.1).

36. “**wat je al wel merkt bij de gemeente is er al een flinke informatie achterstand**” – “We notice a backlog of information at municipalities.” (Housing corporation 2.2).
37. “**de wil om eraan te werken. Is allemaal bij iedereen uh hetzelfde. Zo ervaar ik het.**” – “In my experience, everyone is willing to work and realize this.” (Municipality 2).
38. “**als er iets is dan weet je elkaar gewoon te vinden**” – “If something is wrong, we know how to find each other.” (Municipality 1.3).
39. “**we proberen dat zoveel mogelijk te voorkomen hoor want ja heb je eenmaal mensen aan een woning geholpen, we zijn natuurlijk een sociale woningcorporatie, en het laatste wat we willen is mensen op straat zetten.**” – “We really try to prevent that. We have helped those persons to find a house. We are social corporations. The last thing we want is putting these people on the streets.” (Housing corporation 1.3).
40. “**Nul huisuitzettingen, door een vroegtijdige aanpak bij schulden.**” – “Zero evictions, due to early debt signaling.” (Policy document network 3)
41. “**Het gaat eigenlijk dat je zo vroeg mogelijk signaleert dat er iets aan de hand is. En daarmee dan uh escalatie voorkomt**” – “It is all about signaling on time, thereby preventing that things escalate.” (Municipality 2).
42. “**al na één maand huurachterstand zijn we al aan het bellen om contact te krijgen met bewoners.**” – “After one month of rental backlog, we are already calling to get in contact with residents.” (Housing corporation 1.4).
43. “**het is veel meer ook een signaal naar het betreffende huishouden toe: hier zit nu echt onze grens,**” – “It is mostly a signal to the household: ‘you have reached our boundary now.’ (Housing corporation 1.4).
44. “**goed wonen, voor iedereen.**” – “Good housing, for everyone.” (Housing corporation 1.4).
45. “**wij hebben zeg maar allemaal mensen die er omheen wonen en die er last van hebben, en zorg trekt al heel gauw partij voor hun cliënt.**” – “We hear that many tenants suffer under nuisance. Though, care institutes easily choose sides for their clients.” (Housing corporation 3).
46. “**Woningcorporaties, wat [name colleague] ook al zei... zijn ook gewoon bedrijven...**” – “Housing corporations are also just companies.” (Municipality 2.1).
47. “**gaat gewoon om kan je die belangen allemaal koppelen?**” – “The point is: can you unite all these interests?” (Municipality 2.2).

48. “*Een huisuitzetting bij ons doen we echt pas als iemand eindeloos geen huur betaalt, op geen enkele manier schulden ondersteuning accepteert, op geen enkele manier ondersteuning in welke vorm dan ook accepteert. Huisuitzetting is echt het aller, allerlaatste wat je doet*” – “We only evict a tenant if they endlessly refuse to pay rent and do not accept support in any way. It really is the last thing that you do.” (Housing corporation 1.4).
49. “*En daar zitten dus inderdaad mensen bij die vanuit de instelling komen, zelfstandig gaan wonen en vervolgens dus op straat terechtkomen.*” – “This includes the persons from the care institutes. They started living independently and end up back on the streets.” (Housing corporation 3).
50. “*we zouden graag inderdaad dielus hebben. Dat als het fout gaat, dat ze dan weer terug kunnen.*” – “We need a loop, so that if things go wrong, clients can go back to the institutes.” (Housing corporation 3).

