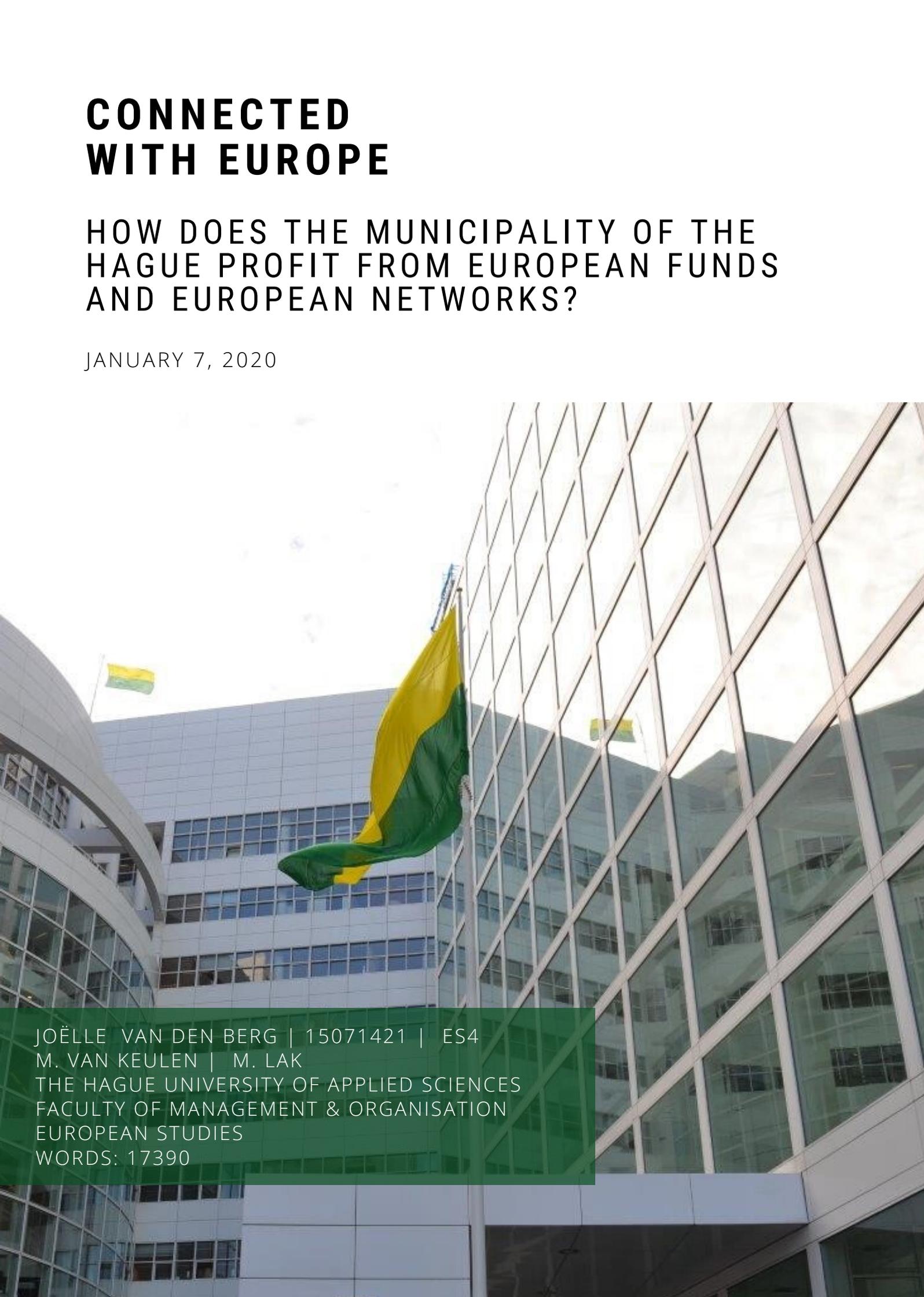


# CONNECTED WITH EUROPE

## HOW DOES THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE HAGUE PROFIT FROM EUROPEAN FUNDS AND EUROPEAN NETWORKS?

JANUARY 7, 2020

A photograph of a modern building with a glass facade and a flagpole flying a yellow and green flag. The building has a curved facade and a grid of windows. The flag is yellow on top and green on the bottom. The sky is overcast.

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Thank you

**to my supervisor Mendeltje van Keulen**

for her guidance, knowledge and honest feedback

**to the experts**

without whose cooperation I would not have been able to conduct this research

**to my friends and family**

for the ongoing positivity and encouragement



## 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this dissertation is to document research conducted at The Hague University of Applied Sciences on the topic of European funds and European networks in relation to the municipality of The Hague. The discourse on this topic is led by two concepts: multilevel governance and Europeanization. This examination is carried out through a combination of literature research and qualitative expert interviews. These methodological approaches were chosen for two reasons. First, the existing literature was of great relevance to get a better understanding of the concepts mentioned earlier. Second, interviews were conducted to enable this dissertation to create and use its own primary data. The motivation which drives this study is the notion that without Europeanization, no European activities such as accessing EU funds and EU networks would materialize in the municipality of The Hague the first place. This theory is supported by research from Wolffhardt (2015), De Rooij (2003) and Jonh (2001).

Upon analysis of gathered results, this dissertation finds that the municipality can be best described as a restructuring client city. It would not be fair to portrait the municipality as a fully styled Europe-player, as there lacks a clear European strategy in the organization. Other conclusions that were drawn were, firstly, multilevel governance has undoubtedly been the motor behind the Europeanization of the municipality of The Hague. Pierre and Peters (2005) show that in a multilevel governance framework, subnational governments have made the metamorphosis from policy-takers to active players. Secondly, upon review of the internal structure of the organization, it is concluded the municipality of The Hague struggles to take advantage of the new opportunity to act as an active player in the EU. Third, results show that European funds have the impact to positively affect The Hague's citizens directly. In addition, The Hague benefits directly from large funding schemes aimed at innovation. Finally, it is concluded in that the flourishing role of cities in the European Union have added to the relevance of transnational networks today. According to Nixon and Shotton (2015) lobby of subnational governments hardly mobilize at European level, therefore, networks are used as an instrument.

This investigation deemed important, because it came in to sight that The Hague now closes a period where the representation of The Hague in Brussels was at a minimum. Currently, The Hague has formulated a more outward vision towards Europe. Therefore, this dissertation recommended further research in The Hague's position towards the G4. By doing so, the municipality can learn from the best practices of these other large cities.

**Key words:** Europeanization, multilevel governance, opportunity structure, European Regional Development Fund, Horizon 2020, Kansen voor West 2, Committee of the Regions, EUROCITIES.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Executive Summary .....	III
Table of Contents .....	V
List of Figures.....	VI
List of Tables.....	VI
List of Abbreviations.....	VII
2. Introduction.....	1
2.1 Scope.....	1
2.2 Purpose .....	1
2.3 Research Questions .....	1
2.4 Relevance of Research .....	2
3. Methodology .....	3
3.1 Secondary Quantitative and Qualitative Data .....	3
3.2 Primary Data .....	3
3.3 Research Limitations.....	4
4. Literature Review .....	5
4.1 Theory of Multilevel Governance .....	5
4.2 The Concept of Europeanization .....	8
4.2.1 Origin of the Concept Europeanization in Literature.....	8
4.2.2 Dimensions of the Concept Europeanization.....	8
4.2.3 The Influence of Europeanization on Cities .....	10
5. Results .....	14
5.1 Multilevel Governance and Subnational Governments .....	14
5.1.1 Opportunity Structure of the Municipality of The Hague.....	16
5.1.2 Opportunities For the Municipality of The Hague .....	18
5.1.3 Constraints For the Municipality of The Hague .....	19
5.2 Factors of Europeanization .....	21
5.2.1 Driving Forces Behind European Engagement of Cities.....	21
5.2.2 Internal Structure of the Municipality of The Hague.....	24
5.2.3 Level of European Engagement of the Municipality of The Hague .....	27
5.3 EU Funds and the Municipality of The Hague.....	28
5.3.1 The Hague’s Subsidy Desk.....	28
5.3.2 European Subsidy Landscape 2014 – 2020 .....	30
5.3.3 Impact of EU Funds .....	34

5.3.4 Zooming in: Kansen voor West 2 .....	36
5.4 EU Networks and the Municipality of The Hague.....	38
5.4.1 Types of Networks.....	38
5.4.2 Relevance for The Hague .....	39
5.4.3 Networks as an Instrument for Europeanization of Cities.....	40
6. Summary of the Findings.....	44
7. Conclusions.....	46
8. Recommendations.....	48
References.....	49
Appendices .....	52
1. EU Activities.....	52
2. ‘Grip op Europa’ Structure of the Municipality of The Hague .....	53
3. Organigram of European Funds and Those Relevant to The Hague .....	54
4. Mind Map of Relevant Networks for The Municipality of The Hague .....	55
5. Informed Consent Forms .....	56
6. Interview Transcripts.....	62
7. Student Ethics Form .....	84

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The state-centric perception .....	6
Figure 2: The multilevel governance approach.....	7
Figure 3: Ladder of Europeanization .....	10
Figure 4: The EU engagement of cities model.....	21
Figure 5: Overview of running projects with EU funds .....	29
Figure 6: Distribution of euros acquired across cities in South Holland .....	34
Figure 7: EUROCITIES working groups.....	39

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Top-down approach on europeanization from Bache and Marshall perspective.....	9
Table 2: Opportunity structure of the municipality of The Hague.....	18
Table 3: Largest South Holland organizations within European programs .....	35
Table 4: Types of cooperation of chosen networks .....	38
Table 5: Indicators of upload Europeanization within EU etworks.....	41

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>CoR</b>	Committee of the Regions
<b>ERAC</b>	European and Regional Affairs Consultants
<b>ERDF</b>	European Regional Development Fund
<b>ESF</b>	European Social Fund
<b>ESIF</b>	European Structural Investment Fund
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>G4</b>	Den Haag, Utrecht, Rotterdam and Amsterdam
<b>HEUA</b>	Haagse Europese Afstemming
<b>K4I</b>	Knowledge 4 Innovation
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental Organization
<b>TNO</b>	Netherlands Organization for Applied Scientific Research
<b>VNG</b>	Association of Netherlands Municipalities

## 2. INTRODUCTION

### 2.1 SCOPE

The scope of this research finds its origin in European integration. The Maastricht Treaty (1993) is a landmark in European integration for its plans of a single European currency and a European Central Bank. Another landmark, the Lisbon Treaty (2007), clarified which powers belong to the EU institutions, which powers belong to the Member State, and which powers are shared. This revived the debate of the position of the Member State in the EU. Understanding the position of the Member State in the EU, is fundamental to understand the position of subnational governments in EU. A thought-provoking view is that, European integration is a process that created a polity in which authority and policy-making influences are shared across multiple levels of government: subnational, national and supranational (Marks & Liesbeth, 1996). This view is accompanied by the conclusion that in this multilevel governance framework, decision-making competences are no longer monopolized by Member States. The EU seems to offer new opportunities for subnational governments to influence policies and to promote their interests. The role of subnational governments in the EU only grew larger when the Pact of Amsterdam (2016) introduced the Urban Agenda for the EU. The Urban Agenda is the European Commission's approach to deal with the urban dimension of the EU and policies and legislation that affect subnational governments (European Commission, n.d.).

### 2.2 PURPOSE

The purpose of this research is to examine the process described above. The question this research sets out to answer, is how the municipality of The Hague profits from European funds and European networks. Why this research looks at EU funds and EU networks, is justified by the concepts of Europeanization and multilevel governance. As this research will show, without Europeanization, no European activities such as accessing EU funds and EU networks would materialize in the first place. Herewith, this dissertation tests the following hypothesis: an internal organizational structure focused on Europe, strengthened with membership of networks, helps to raise European funds.

### 2.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This dissertation sets out to answer the following main question:

*How does the municipality of The Hague profit from European funds and European networks?*

To answer the central question, four research questions are formulated. This dissertation is structured as an academic research paper.

Following this introduction and methodology, the relevant literature is reviewed in a literature review chapter. After the literature review, the following research questions are answered in the results section:

1. *How can the theory of multilevel governance explain the opportunities and constraints for the municipality of The Hague in the European arena?*
2. *Which factors explain the level of Europeanization of the municipality of The Hague?*
3. *What European funding options are used by the municipality of The Hague and why these funds?*
4. *What is the significance of networks for the municipality of The Hague?*

After the abovementioned sub questions are answered in the results chapter, the findings are summarized in the conclusion. Finally, this thesis offers some suggestions for further research in the recommendations chapter.

#### 2.4 RELEVANCE OF RESEARCH

This research finds its theoretical relevance in the way cities deal with European integration. For municipalities to engage in European activities, the plans must align with the thematic priorities of the municipality. Priorities are set out in coalition plans, but as the Raad van Openbaar Bestuur points out, little is communicated about how or why these decisions came about and which factors play a role in these decisions. As a result, there is a modest level of understanding why cities choose to engage in European activities such as pursuing EU funds (ROB, 2013). Looking at the municipality of The Hague alone, this dissertation hopes to contribute to the already existing literature on the Europeanization of cities.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

Different methods were selected to answer the main research question and sub questions. This chapter offers justification for the chosen methods and references relevant literature in support. First, the secondary quantitative- and qualitative data are discussed. Second, the methodological approach for the primary data that is used in this research is reviewed. Finally, the research limitations are outlined.

#### 3.1 SECONDARY QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DATA

Upon reviewing David Silverman's text, *Doing Qualitative Research*, the framework for the methodological approach was set. As Silverman writes, there are three different kinds of student dissertations. They are: theoretical, methodological and empirical (Silverman, 2008, p. 375). As this research finds its basis in the concepts of multilevel governance and Europeanization, it was clear many scholarly articles in political science were to be reviewed, making this a theoretical and empirical dissertation.

Secondary quantitative- and qualitative data was gathered through desk research. Qualitative data is defined as a scientific method of research to gather non-numerical data, which refers to concept definitions, characteristics, meanings or metaphors (Ospina, 2004). The subjects that were studied varied from local governance, regional studies, governance networks and mechanisms of Europeanization. The existing literature from academic books and scholarly articles from journals as the Journal of European Public Policy and the Journal of Regional Studies were useful for chapter one, two and four, which are mostly based on qualitative data.

This was followed by a review of quantitative data in chapter three. Quantitative data is defined by Creswell as a type of research that is explaining a phenomenon by collecting numerical data (Creswell, 1994). The data gathered from the reports of European and Regional Affairs Consultants (ERAC) bureau and the VNG, together with the data provided by the website of the European Commission are analyzed in chapter three, where the aim is to measure the impact of EU funds in The Hague.

#### 3.2 PRIMARY DATA

As the municipality of The Hague is the main stakeholder in this research, the information for this research should come from this source too. Therefore, primary data had to be collected. The advantage of primary over secondary data is explained by Joop Hox (2005). He makes the legitimate conclusion that secondary data is originally collected for a different purpose. Therefore, it may not optimally align with the aims and objectives of this dissertation.

For the collection of primary data, the methodological approaches that were used are: semi-structured interviews and field research.

The semi-structured interviews have taken place at the municipality of The Hague and the VNG office. This research method was chosen, so this dissertation had the opportunity to create its own data and not be narrowed by the limitations Hox explained. The results section of the dissertation includes six interviews, each interviewee is considered an expert on the topics that were discussed. The opportunity structure of the municipality of The Hague is perfectly explained by Danijela Blagojevic. Monique van der Voort and Rik van der Laan shared their knowledge on European subsidy funds. Furthermore, Frans van Bork provided a perspective on The Hague's relation with European activities over the years. Finally, Merijn Suijkerbuijk has provided this research with primary data on The Hague's relation with European transnational networks. These findings were later reinforced with expert information from Bas van den Barg. Information that is used from the primary data intends to strengthen the secondary data in this research. All transcripts of the interviews are included in the appendix.

Furthermore, field research was conducted. The main reason this research method was chosen, was to get a better understanding of the context of this study's main concepts. Early in the period set out for this research, a visit to the Brussels offices of EUROCITIES, G4 and the Dutch Permanent Representation to the EU was organized. From September 30, 2019 till October 1, 2019, presentations were attended, and representatives of abovementioned organizations were consulted. As this took place in the first stage of the research process, the representatives of EUROCITIES, G4 and Dutch Permanent Representation to the EU were not asked to participate in interviews, nor were the conversations recorded on audio. The purpose of this methodological approach was merely to get a more in-depth look at the themes surrounding the main question and find inspiration for the continuing of the research.

### 3.3 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

It is important for the reader to be aware of the limitations of this research. As this thesis first set out to extend the research by including an analysis of The Hague's relative position towards the other G4 municipalities, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Utrecht, it soon showed that constraints in time and feasibility would result in an analysis that would not have been of added value to this research. Fortunately, the research outcomes have not been negatively influenced by this limitation. The dissertation sets out to take the role of the G4 in account in the recommendations section, as further research on the G4 and the municipality of The Hague would positively contribute to the outcomes of this research.

## 4. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, the most relevant literature on the chosen topic is discussed and state of play of the key concepts are defined. The literature review is divided in to three sections. The first section reviews the existing literature on the theory of multilevel governance. The second section will review the concept op Europeanization. Building on an intergovernmentalist approach and a neo functionalist approach, the literature review offers more insight in Europeanization and allows for further examination of Europeanization of cities. The second section also offers two frameworks as a measuring tool for Europeanization of cities. The final segment of this literature review addresses some critical remarks on the frameworks addressed in the earlier sections. This, in turn, allows for a consequential review of the applicability of the existing approaches in the final paragraph.

### 4.1 THEORY OF MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE

Firstly, the theory of multilevel governance should be defined in the scope of this research. In this dissertation, the theory of multilevel governance is used to explain the relation between European funding options and how decentralized governments, in this case the municipality of The Hague, are benefiting from them. Therefore, multilevel governance should always be regarded as a framework within the European Union and is limited to European funds only.

Prior to going in depth with the concept of Europeanization, it is useful to contextualize the concept of governance in the EU. In political science, the relocation of authority of states has drawn the attention of many scholars. The shift from governance to multilevel governance in Western Europe has been a discussion point since the 1990s; the concept of (multilevel) governance became popularized in public administration and political science (Torfing & Sorensen, 2014). According to Ian Bache in *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*, the first author to write about multilevel governance was Gary Marks in 1992. The theory finds its origin in efforts trying to explain European structural policies. For example, Marks used the theory of multilevel governance to capture developments in the EU cohesion policy.

Later, Marks applied the multilevel governance approach to EU decision-making policies (Bache, 2012, p. 629). There is an extensive amount of literature on multilevel governance in the context of the EU (Jachtenfuchs, 1995; Kohler-Koch & Eising, 1999; Scharpf, 1996; Wallace, 2003). The fundamental point in the existing literature on multilevel governance is that policy making in the EU is no longer centralized in Brussels but should involve multiple layers of government. This argument is reinforced by authors Pierre and Peters. They write that multilevel governance deviates from the linear notion of decision-making in government: “[p]reviously hierarchical models of institutional “layering” are replaced with a more complex image of intergovernmental relations in which subnational authorities engage in direct exchange with supranational or global institutions and vice versa” (Pierre & Peters,

2005, p. 80). To put in to simpler terms, the theory of multilevel governance can be explained as a transition in the distribution of power between different levels of government without a clear hierarchical relationship between various actors.

Building on the abovementioned explanation of multilevel governance, Pierre and Peters explain how multilevel governance differs from traditional intergovernmental relationships. There are four respects in which the two approaches differ: (1) the power of actors in the European political arena does not lie with national authorities alone, but is shared with multiple levels of government; (2) multilevel governance includes the role of private actors, such as interest groups, and satellite organizations, such as NGOs, in its analysis of governance even though these bodies are not formally a part of a governmental framework; (3) whereas traditional approaches see institutional relationships as defined by constitutions and other legal frameworks, in multilevel governance, institutional interactions are increasingly determined through negotiations and networks; (4) hierarchical top-down level of governance is decreasing in importance, multilevel governance favors a more equal power distribution between tiers of governance (Pierre & Peters, 2005, pp. 72 - 79). Within literature of various political scientists, it is argued that that all the four features of multilevel governance have become more apparent in Western Europe over the last decades. Among them is the work of Van den Berg. Much like Pierre and Peters, Van den Berg has noted that with the multilevel governance approach, all different tiers of government engage in direct exchanges with actors at different levels. As a result, there is no longer a monopoly on decision-making procedures by national states (Van den Berg, 2011, p. 17). He illustrated the contrasts between the traditional intergovernmental relationships (state-centric) and the multilevel governance approach in the figures on the next page.

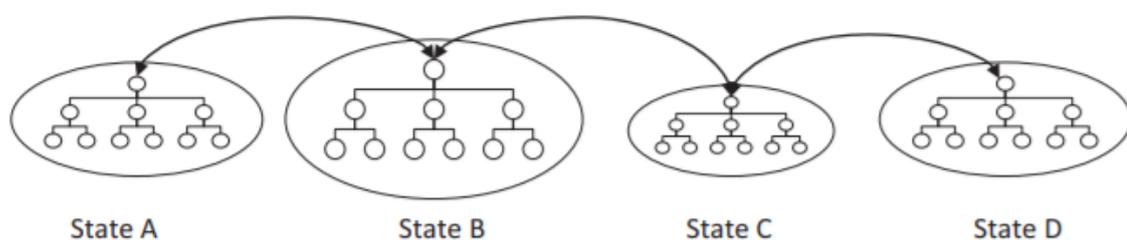


Figure 1: *The state-centric perception* (Van den Berg, 2011, p. 18)

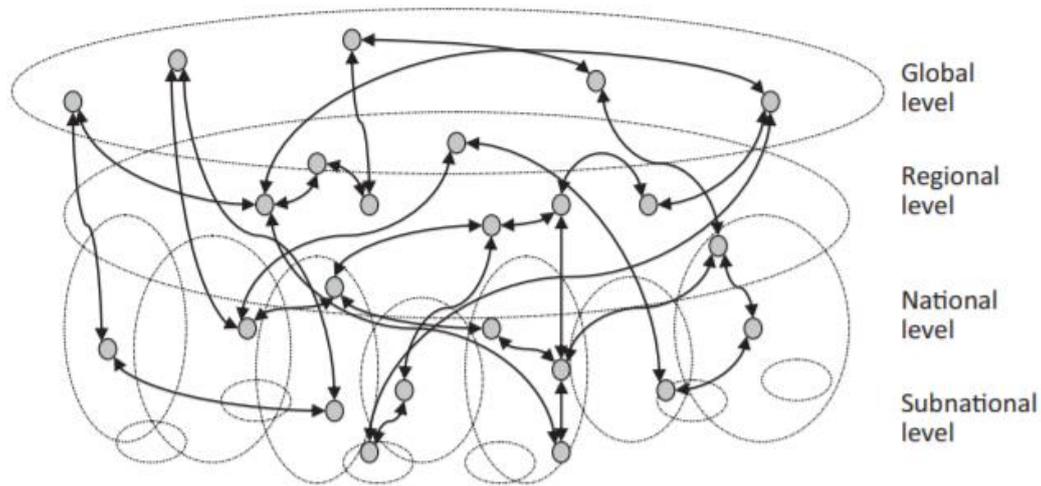


Figure 2: *The multilevel governance approach* (Van den Berg, 2011, p. 18)

As previously explained, proponents of multilevel governance suggest that interdependencies between various tiers of government and exchanges between actors constrain the exercise of power. The context of the bodies of literature on multilevel governance created are beneficial for this dissertation. It is now possible to align the literature of multilevel governance with the literature on Europeanization of cities. Since this dissertation examines the municipality of The Hague's relation to European funding and networks, it is important to point to the effect of multilevel governance on local governments. The question rises whether cities are minor entities or are emerging as key players. Later on, the state of affairs regarding the role of the municipality of The Hague, under the conditions and influence of multilevel governance and Europeanization, will be examined.

## 4.2 THE CONCEPT OF EUROPEANIZATION

Europeanization is a broad concept that requires much specification. Therefore, this chapter is divided in four sections. First, the existing literature on the origin of the concept Europeanization is presented. Second, the existing literature on different dimensions of Europeanization of cities is presented. Third, two measurable frameworks of how Europeanization has influenced cities are explained. Finally, the last section summarizes the discussion in literature and draws some conclusions regarding the general applicability of existing approaches to the Europeanization of cities for this thesis.

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### 4.2.1 ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT EUROPEANIZATION IN LITERATURE

One specific aspect of multilevel governance that has not yet been described is the domestic impact of European integration. This aspect of multilevel governance has been given a name of its own in political science: *Europeanization*. The reason for this request of a specific term is explained by Van den Berg: “[a]s the importance of the EU grew within the political and administrative systems of the member states, scholars became increasingly uneasy with the theories of European integration as such to explain its domestic implications” (Van den Berg, 2011, p. 16). The concept of Europeanization has been widely discussed and has many different meanings. Scholars Bulmer and Buch (1999) sought to explain the domestic effect of multilevel governance as Europeanization as well as Börzel and Risse (2001) and Checkel (2001). However, no shared definition has emerged. Kassim states that, due to the lack single precise meaning, the term Europeanization is ineffective to use as an organizing concept (Kassim, 2000, p. 238). It is worth emphasizing that this research should not be obstructed by the competing definitions of Europeanization. As long as the simplifying assumptions of the concept in literature are clarified and different models offered by scholars are kept separate, Europeanization is a useful explanatory concept and should not be abandoned in this research.

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### 4.2.2 DIMENSIONS OF THE CONCEPT EUROPEANIZATION

The following section will outline two leading approaches to the research of Europeanization: *top-down* and *bottom-up*. Both the top-down as the bottom-up approach are a recurring theme in literature and benefit this research greatly. In the paper “Research on Europeanization in Literature”, authors Bandov and Kolman argue that one of the most influential conceptualizations of Europeanization from the top-down perspective is the definition by Buller and Gamble. Buller and Gamble (Buller & Gamble, 2002, p. 24) approach Europeanisation as a situation whereby domestic politics is increasingly being affected by EU membership, they write: “the causal relationship between the two levels appears only to go one way: from the European to the national (and sub-national)” and thereby introduce the term top-down. Later, Bache and Marshall added the distinctions direct and indirect, as well as voluntary and involuntary to Buller and Gamble’s original definition.

	<b>Voluntary</b>	<b>Involuntary</b>
<b>Direct</b>	Intended EU influence without the resistance of dominant domestic actors	Intended EU influence with the resistance of dominant domestic actors
<b>Indirect</b>	Unintended EU influence without the resistance of dominant domestic actors	Spill over because of direct involuntary Europeanization in other areas

Table 1: *top-down approach on Europeanization from Bache and Marshall perspective* (Bache & Marshal, 2004)

It can be concluded that this top-down approach of Europeanization highlights the pressure for local governments to deal with European affairs. However, the EU must deal with demands and desires of local governments too. Europeanization must be seen as a two-way process, where both players influence each other. Pressure from the EU can simply not explain the domestic changes of Europeanization alone. The bottom-up approach appeared as an additional framework on the top-down approach. For example, the bottom-up approach, also known as uploading, includes individual government departments actively present in Brussels where structural contacts with politicians and officials are formed with the aim of promoting interests in the EU (Van Keulen, 2006).

Reviewing the bottom-up approach in literature showed that the discussion is dominated by two different paradigms that debate over the autonomy of Member States on European level. In literature, the discourse on the bottom-up concept of European integration is led by the intergovernmentalist approach and the neo functionalist approach. It is of relevance to identify both approaches of bottom-up Europeanization to establish the factors that attribute to Europeanization of cities for the next section of this literature review. First, proponents of the intergovernmentalist approach argue that Member States and their governments are the most important players in driving European integration. They see the Member States as the principal agents because they have the autonomy to safeguard the Member States economic – and geopolitical interests. Roots of intergovernmentalist approaches can be found in literature of Milward (1992) Moravcsik (1994) and Börzel (2003). Second, neo functionalists favor domestic interest and argue that these interests should press for further European integration. Much like a multilevel-governance approach, neo functionalists argue that the domestic aspect (i.e. trade unions, regions, networks) should promote economic or political interest, rather than Member States (Hooghe & Marks, 2001). Interestingly, with the reviewed literature of multilevel governance in the sections before, it can be concluded that the bottom-up approach is strongly connected to the theory of multilevel governance.

Conclusively, looking at the two-way process of the top-down and bottom-up approach, the relation between cities and European affairs can be understood as a circular relation, wherein the one influences the other and vice versa. This not only involves the influence of the EU on the city, but also how the city engages with EU institutions, programs and networks. To put in simpler terms: European cities have developed from policy-takers to active players in the EU's multilevel governance system.

#### 4.2.3 THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEANIZATION ON CITIES

To understand in what way and to what extent cities have become 'active players', models have to be sought that provide a framework that is measurable. Therefore, in this section, literature on the influence of Europeanization on cities is reviewed with the help of two measurable frameworks, those of John (2001) and De Rooij (2003).

Firstly, one influential model to measure the Europeanization of cities is introduced by Peter John. His 'ladder of Europeanization' cannot be left out in this literature review. John used the metaphor of a ladder (see figure three), the more 'Europeanized' municipalities are, the higher they are positioned on this ladder.

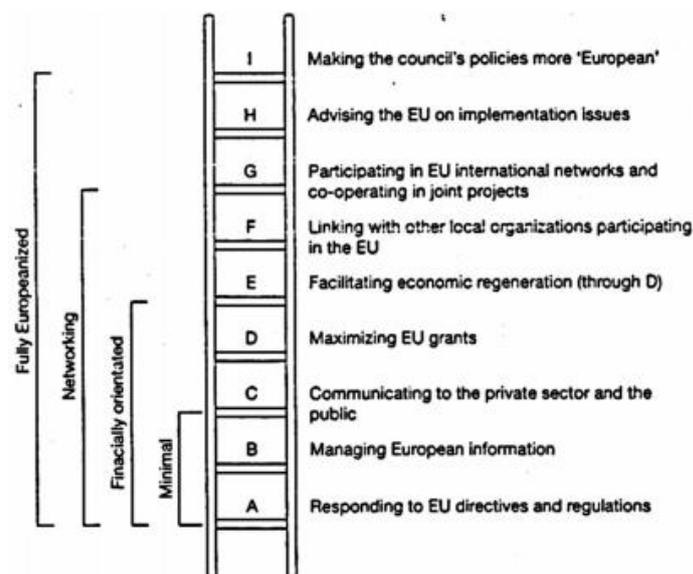


Figure 3: *Ladder of Europeanization* (John, 2001, p. 72)

The steps on the ladder reflect the degree of choice the municipalities have over their activities. As John explains: "the more action the local authority undertakes, the greater the interplay with European ideas and practices and the higher they ascend on the ladder" (John, 2001, p. 72). Each step on the ladder describes an activity, some of these activities are compulsory for cities and therefore minimal in character of Europeanization. Other steps are associated with European funding. After

European funding comes the steps associated with networking and exchange of ideas. Finally, when municipal councils start incorporating European ideas into their own policy, they reach the next, fully Europeanized step (see figure three). The characteristics and levels of Europeanization according to John are presented below:

Minimal character of Europeanization:

- A. Responding to EU directives;
- B. Managing European information;
- C. Communicating tot the private sector and the public.

Financially oriented character of Europeanization:

- D. Maximizing EU grants;
- E. Facilitating economic regeneration (through D);
- F. Linking wih other local organizations participating in the EU.

Networking character of Europeanization:

- G. Participating in EU international networks and co-operating joint projects;
- H. Advising the EU on implementation issues.

Fully Europeanized:

- I. Making the councils policies more 'European'.

Furthermore, complementary to his ladder of Europeanization, John argues that as a result of Europeanization, there is a fundamental transformation of cities. This transformation goes beyond the short-term financial and networking character and results in local policy making where European ideas become the core of local decision-making (top-down). Furthermore, John agrues, Europeanization enables cities to innovate and initiate policies and programmes in the contect of transnational co-operation (bottom-up) (John, 2001, pp. 72 – 74).

Conclusively, John's research shows a paradox in the Europeanization of cities that needs to be adressed for the continuing of this research.

On the one hand, the Europeanization of cities depends on the level of engagement of cities. When local governments are motivated or ambitious enough to pursue the steps on the ladder, Europeanizaiton results naturally. On the other hand, these ambitions to pursue Europeanizaiton are

of importance for the EU because the bottom-up or multilevel governance approach of decision-making allows the EU to reach its aims and ambitions.

The second section of this paragraph includes the framework of Europeanization of cities by the categorization of De Rooij. In the Netherlands, De Rooij conducted empirical research into the relationship between features of decentralized governments and the degree of Europeanization. In other words, aimed to characterize the dimensions of Europeanization (De Rooij, 2003, pp. 447 – 467). De Rooij distinguished three dimensions of Europeanization of decentralized governments in The Netherlands:

1. Absorption and implementation of EU regulations;
2. Proactive attempts to influence EU policies and interests in the EU;
3. Organizational changes within the political-administrative organization to the EU.

De Rooij offers explanation for each categorization in his research. First, the absorption and implementation of EU regulations is measured by the processing and coordination of EU regulation of local governments and whether or not they meet criteria for EU money (funds). Second, the local governments undertaking proactive attempts to influence EU policies and interests in the EU is measured by the attempts to influence EU regulation and the distribution of EU funds, setting up and organizing lobbying approaches and the amount of contacts with European and national politicians or officials. Thirdly, De Rooij measures the final categorization of Europeanization, organizing changes to the EU within the political-administrative organization, by looking at factors such as setting up departments, appointment of special officials, hiring of external offices and EU themes on the agenda of the Municipal Executive and the City Council.

In addition, the study of De Rooij is helpful for this dissertation since it is a case study of The Netherlands. As this dissertation aims to research the degree and influence of Europeanization on the municipality of The Hague, De Rooij's literature can be used as a framework in combination with John's ladder of Europeanization. Subsequently, both John's ladder of Europeanization and De Rooij's categorization of Europeanization are a substantial part of this thesis.

Concluding, the literature that forms the theoretical framework has shown that multilevel governance differs from traditional intergovernmental relationships. As a result of multilevel governance, distribution of power between different levels of government exist without a clear hierarchical relationship between various actors. Hence, the bottom-up approach and multilevel governance are easily linked, because in the logic of bottom-up Europeanisation, *cities* act proactively as initiator of the relationship with the EU where *domestic* aspect presses for European

integration. To examine the Europeanization of cities, Johns ladder of Europeanization was explained. Logically, Europeanization depends on the level of engagement of cities. The next chapter of this dissertation will analyze the engagement of the municipality of The Hague by looking at how the organization benefits from European funds and European networks.

## 5. RESULTS

Now that a framework of relevant concepts has been set up, the next step is taken in this chapter is to link the concepts to European activities of the municipality of The Hague. In order to do so, interviews with experts in different fields are conducted. First, the theory of multilevel governance is used to explain the municipality of The Hague's access to EU funding. Furthermore, there are several factors of Europeanization that have an influence on municipalities, as the second section of this chapter will clarify. Third, the relevance of European networks for the municipality of The Hague is explained. Fourth, an analysis on European funds points to the funding schemes most relevant for the municipality of The Hague.

### 5.1 MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE AND SUBNATIONAL GOVERNMENTS

To analyze how the municipality of The Hague is successful in realizing opportunities in the EU, such as accessing EU funds, the connection with multilevel governance should first be explained. As argued by De Rooij, the EU is important for subnational governments for two reasons. First, because of the increase in policies and regulations from the European Union. Second, because of the money they allocate for subnational governments. The more money that the EU puts towards the development of cities, the more opportunities for subnational governments arise. Where in the past the promotion of interests of subnational governments was limited to the lobby of national government, direct advocacy in Brussels has now become an alternative (De Rooij, 2003, p. 69). It should be noted that it is not reasonable to assume that lobby of subnational governments never took place without the support of national governments. However, what this research implies is that with an increased focus on multilevel governance, the discussion on the position of subnational governments in the EU revived. The role of subnational governments in the EU only grew larger when the Pact of Amsterdam (2016) introduced the Urban Agenda for the EU. Subsequently, a shift appeared where apart from national policies and national funds, EU policies and funding options have also become significant. New opportunities have appeared for cities.

Before continuing, it is important to choose one definition of the theory of multilevel governance. For the sake of continuity in this research, the following explanation by Pierre and Peters is chosen and will be used as the thread throughout this chapter:

*“Previously hierarchical models of institutional “layering,” for example, formal treatments of federalism, are being replaced with a more complex image of intergovernmental relations in which subnational authorities engage in direct exchange with supranational or global institutions and vice versa.”*

(Pierre & Peters, 2005, p. 80)

From this explanation provided by Pierre and Peters, we can conclude that multilevel governance accounts for the development where European cities have grown from policy-takers to active players in the EU. It is worth mentioning, that for centuries, the classical European city was primarily a city of commerce, and not of bureaucracy or administration. By 1800, western Europe had become the most prosperous and economically advanced region in the world. According to Chase, as a result of the industrial revolution, the emphasis shifted towards politics with the introduction of trade unions (Chase, 2016).

As argued by De Rooij (2003), as a result of multilevel governance, subnational governments are now in the position to promote their interests in Brussels in more ways than one. Cities can influence power at EU level through:

1. Direct lobby of subnational governments at EU level;
2. Subnational governments lobby at national governments, which in turn lobbies on their behalf at EU level;
3. Combining the lobby efforts of subnational and national government for a shared promotion of interest;
4. Subnational governments lobby through a collective organization at EU level;
5. Subnational governments lobby through networks at EU level.

An important assumption made by De Rooij is that that different levels of domestic actors have become involved in EU policy making. As a result, from this now fragmented playing field, the national governments must deal with pressure from "below". Van Keulen writes that "the central government level in the Member States serves in this picture as a *bargaining arena*" (Van Keulen, 2006, p. 51). In this bargaining area, interests of different actors are sculpted in to a multilevel EU polity. In the case for subnational governments, this means that they more than ever have the opportunity to voice their interests. As Van Keulen writes, the role of the national governments has developed "from gatekeeper to post office" (Van Keulen, 2006, p. 51), meaning that, rather than in the state centric approach where the national government is the only one to represent (national) interests, national authorities now deliver for a range of stakeholders such as nongovernmental groups, private lobbies and subnational governments.

Second to that, the subnational governments are not solely bound to the national government to be their post office. Subnational governments are not only nested within the Member State, they often operate outside national lines too. As The Hague is part of the G4, they are represented in Europe through an office located in Brussels. Furthermore, subnational governments often create trans-national links and associations. A simple example of these trans-national associations are European

networks. The Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten (VNG) points to the relevance of these networks for municipalities by stating that in organized context, a municipality is stronger in Europe than alone (VNG, n.d.). Within these networks, cooperation takes place on different levels (individually and regionally) and between different actors on multiple policy themes. A network can be useful with regard to expanding your network, acquiring knowledge and finally securing EU grants and funding. To conclude, if conflicting subnational and national interests arise, national authorities can choose to bypass the national government.

Although, as mentioned earlier by De Rooij, the subnational governments have different ways to promote their interest, it is important to remain critical of their performance. It has been argued by Hooghe and Keating that subnational lobbies are rarely powerful on their own in Brussels. They conclude: "when [subnational authorities] can work with a national government, they achieve more" (Hooghe & Keating, 2015, p. 488). This cooperation with different actors, in turn, has strengthened the position of the Member State. Van Keulen argues that, by strengthening the co-ordination efforts within the Member State, national governments include as many stakeholders as possible in formulating their negotiating position within the EU (Van Keulen, 2006). This means that, when parallel efforts share the same goal or wished outcome, one could speak of a multiplier effect, thereby strengthening the position of the Member States.

Concluding, generally there is a positive association between the devolution of levels and the formal involvement and representation of subnational governments in the EU (Hooghe & Keating, 2015). It has created new opportunities for the local governments, but created new constraints too. To analyze whether the municipality of The Hague has made use of the dissolvment of hierarchical layering, the opportunities and constraints for the city of The Hague in the EU playing field must first be mapped out.

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#### 5.1.1 OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE HAGUE

Through the dissolvment of the layering structure, multilevel governance and European integration accelerate new opportunities as well as constraints for subnational governments. The opportunity structure of subnational governments in the EU, as first explained by Gary Marks and Doug McAdams (1996) and later by Christoph Knill and Dirk Lehmkuhl (1999), explains how European legislation may affect domestic arrangements. The authors conclude that European influence is confined to altering domestic opportunity structures. Hence, Knill and Lehmkuhl conclude that such changes in domestic opportunity structures challenge existing balance between institutions. Another important conclusion made, is that European policies, whilst they contribute to changes in the institutional equilibrium, they do not prescribe any institutional model of how the new balance between institutions should look

(Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999). An example of how EU legislation changed the opportunity structure and the balance between institutions is the implementation of the Pact of Amsterdam, better known as the Urban Agenda for the EU (2016). The partnerships allow cities, Member States, EU Institutions and stakeholders to work together to find common ways to improve urban areas in the EU. Acknowledging the effect this may have on domestic arrangements, the Pact of Amsterdam states: “EU legislation sometimes has conflicting impacts and its implementation at local level can be difficult. Therefore, EU regulation should anticipate these difficulties” (European Commission, 2016).

Evidently, the opportunities and constraints of the municipality of The Hague in the European playing field are most relevant to this research. Therefore, EU representative of the city of The Hague, Danijela Blagojevic, was asked in a semi-structured interview to explain the opportunity structure that is applicable to the municipality of The Hague. An overview is presented below.

<b>Opportunities for the municipality of The Hague</b>	<b>Constraints for the municipality of The Hague</b>
Alderman Robert van Asten is a member of the Committee of the Regions (CoR); the municipality has a direct entry at the EU through a formal body.	Managers have varying ideas about Europe. The built-up network over the years has collapsed because of changes in management. We are now rebuilding, but there is no consistency in EU plans.
The municipality of The Hague has an internal subsidy desk bureau with experts on EU funds.	Insufficient number of full-time colleagues to cover entire EU field.
I set up a six-weekly meeting with colleagues throughout the municipality who are involved with the EU in one way or another. These meetings are called the Haagse Europese Afsteming (HEUA). In these meetings, we discuss and construct lobby-priorities and share knowledge.	The G4 is not yet a well-oiled machine. They act too much from a competitive position. We need time to change this.
Location of the municipality is ideal; in the political heart of The Netherlands, near ministries, Tweede Kamer, knowledge institutions and Brussels.	Internally, within the city hall there is still insufficient “Europe mindness”. Expressing an external focus and realizing that Brussels is nearby remains essential.

The profile of the municipality of The Hague is excellent and fits very well with current agenda of the European Commission	-
The Netherlands has a good position and good credentials in the EU. Frans Timmermans is the second big man in Brussels, and his right hand is Diederik Samsom. Mark Rutte is known in Brussels too. The municipality of The Hague sees that position as an opportunity.	-
A colleague and lobbyist from the municipality of The Hague constructed and rolled out the 'Internal Intelligence Monitor' that provides crucial information from the Tweede Kamer. This is a perfect opportunity to stay informed on EU affairs.	-
The municipality is approached for partnerships in a European context.	-
Current Director for International Affairs of the municipality is Europe minded. This helps with the development of vision formation.	-

Table 2: *Opportunity structure of the municipality of The Hague* (Danijela Blagojevic, personal interview, November 18, 2019)

#### 5.1.2 OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE HAGUE

Relevant to this research is to examine if the mentioned opportunities can be linked as a direct result of multilevel government driven dissolution of institutional layering.

The first example of a positive result of multilevel governance that is seen within the municipality of The Hague is the Alderman's position in the Committee of Regions (CoR). As mentioned by Blagojevic, the CoR is a formal EU body. According to the organization, the CoR promotes cross border cooperation and intervenes at several stages of the EU law-making process. Activities of the CoR include drafting opinions on EU legislative proposals and gathering to vote and adopt those opinions. Furthermore, the CoR works closely with national, regional and local authorities to foster debate in Brussels. Most importantly, the CoR makes sure all levels of government are involved and that EU legislation is

properly implemented at local and regional level (CoR, n.d.). It is clear, that the theory of multilevel governance is a driving factor of this organization, this makes the CoR an opportunity of subnational governments to voice their interests. As mentioned earlier, subnational governments often seek trans-national associations such as networks. In this case, the CoR, driven by and constructed from multilevel governance, is a perfect example of local governments taking advantage of the dissolution of the state-centric approach. By cooperating closely with other public authorities, acting beyond traditional borders, the trans-national cooperation is strengthened.

A second example that Blagojevic mentioned, are the partnerships in European context. Again, the significance of European networks come to the surface. This dissertation will explain the relevance of EU networks for the municipality of The Hague in the chapter 5.4. Therefore, the opportunities linked to networks will be discussed later. Also, chapter 5.4 will provide more detailed on the CoR and the position of The Hague's Alderman.

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### 5.1.3 CONSTRAINTS FOR THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE HAGUE

After looking at opportunities that arise for the municipality of The Hague as the result of multilevel governance, one must also look at the negative effects of multilevel governance and the constraints it poses for the municipality.

It should be pointed out that *competition* is a constraint of highest significance as a direct result of multilevel governance. Naturally, with multilevel governance, more actors from different layers of government stepped to the plate. Decentralized governments have formed partnerships in all sorts of network relations. There is de G4, G40, Provinces, Regions and Metropolises. All of these partnerships have different agendas and different priorities, and with the dissolution of the layering structure, all the partnerships have the possibility to voice their opinions, lobby and network for EU grants or funding options. Meaning, there is great diversity across regions in terms of the capacities for developing a bottom-up lobby or activity in the EU playing field. As explained by Crespy, Heraud and Perry, through increasing interaction between different layers, this is no longer seen as a zero-sum game. The authors note that competition sometimes results in situations where decentralized governments want to define their own priorities, rather than participate in a wider regional strategy, which in turn constrains collective cooperation (Crespy, Heraud, & Perry, 2007).

A second constraint for the municipality is that there is no municipal European strategy. This brings forth a situation where managers have varying ideas of Europe (Danijela Blagojevic, personal interview, November 18, 2019). This affects the internal structure of the municipality in a way that there is little Europe-mindedness. In the past, there was little interest of the representation of The Hague in Europe.

Interviewee Frans van Bork explains that this was considered a task of the Dutch Permanent Representation to Brussels (Frans van Bork, personal interview, December 2, 2019). He further explained that, as Europe was not on the agenda of the municipality, mobilizing European activities in was very difficult. In the next chapter, this dissertation shows how the organization currently acts to overcome this constraint and works toward rebuilding the outward vision to Europe.

To summarize this chapter and first sub question, at the beginning of this chapter the claim was made that multilevel governance created new opportunities and constraints for cities. It can be now be concluded that multilevel governance paved the way for cities' new position in the EU playing field, new opportunities for cities appeared and the state-centric approach shifted. In the case of The Hague, opportunities driven by multilevel governance are the membership of the CoR and other partnerships in the European context. Nevertheless, competition is the biggest constraint for the municipality of The Hague that is a direct effect of multilevel governance. Furthermore, the lack of a European strategy in the organization proves to be far from ideal. Apart from multilevel governance, there are more factors that contribute to EU engagement of cities. Indeed, multilevel governance is a driving factor but it cannot account for the different degrees of Europeanization of cities in The Netherlands. The next chapter will examine the other factors that contribute to Europeanization of cities and their engagement in the EU and, again, zooms in on the city of The Hague.

## 5.2 FACTORS OF EUROPEANIZATION

The previous conceptualizations of multilevel governance tells little about *why* a city chooses to engage in the EU. This chapter examines the degree of EU engagement of the municipality of The Hague. With the knowledge from the previous chapter, the opportunities and constraints of The Hague, it is now possible to make the connection between opportunities The Hague puts efforts in and the relation with the degree of Europeanization of the city of The Hague. Before doing so, this chapter will first outline the factors that contribute to becoming involved in European activities. Second, an assessment of the level of EU engagement of the municipality of The Hague is made with the help of Wolffhardt's model and John's ladder of Europeanization.

### 5.2.1 DRIVING FORCES BEHIND EUROPEAN ENGAGEMENT OF CITIES

It is important to mention again that, before the thesis allows for an assessment of the European engagement of the municipality of The Hague, factors that contribute to becoming engaged in European activities should be outlined. With the assumption that cities are motivated in some way (positive or negative) to engage in the EU, this section answers the question: what are the driving forces behind the EU related activities of cities? A model that has the similar objective and research question is the EU engagement model of cities by Wolffhardt et. al. (2005). The model takes in account several motivations:

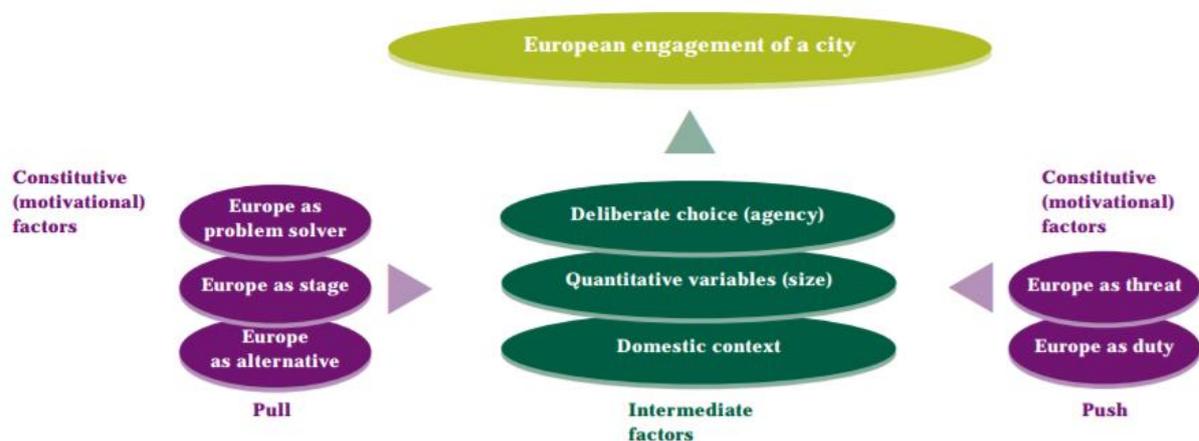


Figure 4: *The EU engagement of cities model* (Wolffhardt et. al., 2005)

As portrayed in figure four, there are constitutive (motivational) factors with push and pull aspects and intermediate factors. The constitutional factors are divided in push and pull categories. Together, the motivational factors include: Europe as a problem solver, Europe as a stage, Europe as a threat, Europe as a alternative and Europe as a duty.

- Europe as a problem solver:

Examples of where Europe is used as a problem solver are utilising EU programmes, funding schemes and support processes as a source of innovation to overcome domestic problems makes the EU a helping hand for the city. This factor is considered a push factor towards Europeanization.

- Europe as a stage:

The EU is used as a means of profiling and identity building for the city. Wolffhardt describes this factor as follows: “the EU and its programmes can deliberately be used to sharpen a city’s profile within the European urban system and build a distinctive image” (Wolffhardt, 2005, p. 95). Again, Europe as a stage is considered a push factor for cities. The ‘European credentials’ a city has, become an unique selling point in an age where there is global borderless competition.

- Europe as a alternative:

Hand in hand with cities choosing the EU as an alternative, goes the prospect of enhancing the city’s own political position on the domestic arena. Why do cities choose to be involved in the EU, in this case, has to do with overcoming the domestic context. Wolffhardt says: “Europe as an alternative means a way of obtaining compensation for the shortcoming of the national system” (Wolffhardt, 2005, p. 96).

- Europe as a duty:

This factor does not allow for much choice. As the word ‘duty’ entails, cities can develop an EU related portfolio simply because they are confronted with EU directives and policies which they are obliged to implement. Examples where ‘Europe as a duty’ is the reason for Europeanization of cities are EU law regarding environmental-, health-, safety- and consumer protection standards (Wolffhardt, 2005, p. 97). It can be concluded that, therefore, all cities are Europeanized to some extent.

- Europe as a threat:

As mentioned above, cities are obliged to implement EU regulations. However, this may embark on European activities when they feel that these EU regulations jeopardize their already established model of public policy. Europeanization that is driven by ‘Europe as a threat’ are often activities such as lobbying for their interests at the European stage, pressing the issues at EU networks such as Eurocities and cities joining forces in groups such as the G4.

Furthermore, apart from the constitutive factors mentioned above, Wolffhardt's model also includes three intermediate factors. Wolffhardt categorizes the intermediate factors as follows: size, political choice and domestic context.

- Size:

The size of a municipality is a factor of importance in the concept of Europeanization. On this topic, Wolffhardt finds support from De Rooij. In his study, De Rooij concludes that the size of a municipality is an important factor for the degree of Europeanization of a city (De Rooij, 2003, p. 128). His hypothesis is as follows: the larger the municipality, the stronger it is Europeanized. Looking at municipalities in The Netherlands, based on population, The Hague can be regarded as a large city. The fact that The Hague is a large city is relevant to this research because it is most likely that they undertake proactive efforts to promote their interests in the EU.

- Political choice:

Logically, a reason for Europeanization is consciously choosing 'for Europe'. Wolffhardt explains political choice and Europeanization as follows: "from agency and deliberate political choice, ultimately flow the resources on which the EU engagement can thrive or founder: the creation of a capable administrative structure for dealing with EU affairs, the disposition of necessary financial means, the employment of committed staff, the build-up and availability of expertise in the administration, and a 'European awareness' which can place developments at European level and the significance of EU policies in the right context" (Wolffhardt, 2005, p. 97).

- Domestic context:

The domestic context is an intermediate factor that is of importance to the level of Europeanization of cities. The Member State operates as a factor which channels urban activities into a certain direction. Meaning, the domestic situation in the Member State that is applicable to the municipality is a factor that drives Europeanization (or not). Wolffhardt concludes that national policy frameworks can strongly influence city's involvement in EU activities (Wolffhardt, 2005, p. 97).

Wolffhardt's model explains these motivational factors as the driving forces behind any EU-related activity of cities, stating: "without them, no European engagement would materialize in the first place" (Wolffhardt et. al., 2005, p. 94).

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### 5.2.2 INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE HAGUE

Before determining The Hague's level of EU engagement, it is relevant to look at the internal structure of the organization first. Until now, this has not been discussed. Analyzing the internal structure of the municipality will make it easier to make conclusions towards the level of Europeanization of the organization. This paragraph is divided in to three sections. First, capacity for European activities will be discussed. The second paragraph will cover skills of and finally, activism in the organization is explained.

In 2009, the municipality reviewed the effectiveness of their internal structure and policies towards Europe. The report, 'Grip op Europa' reevaluates the organizations internal structure, internal knowledge of European policy, European law and European subsidy. Unfortunately, no recent research on the embeddedness of Europe in the municipality of The Hague is available. Today, 10 years after the publication of the report, much has changed in the organization. However, there are several concepts that are still of relevance today.

- Capacity

First, in terms of capacity, the factor *size* plays an important role since it has a positive result on the expertise within the organization. Previously, it has already been concluded that, the larger the municipality, the stronger it is Europeanized. However, it should be mentioned that The Hague is not fully taking advantage of this positive footing in capacity. As early as 2002, to anchor European policy in the organization, the Municipal Executive decided that for The Hague to be better represented in Brussels, the organizational structure should be adjusted. The internal structure of the municipality was conformed to have a Europe-director and Europe-coordinator in every department. The 'Grip op Europa' report includes an organigram of the organizational structure of the municipality, which clearly portrays a strong perception towards Europe. The Europe-coordinator of each department was responsible to build the bridge between policy officers working in areas with a European component and the Europe-directors. The Europe-coordinators could appeal to the Europe-directors if money is needed for Europe affairs. Furthermore, this structure in the organization was designed to positively stimulate communication and exchange of knowledge between the departments (Gemeente Den Haag, 2009). The organigram of this internal structure is included in appendix three on page 54.

Currently, the European expertise is embedded differently in the organization and the structure of the organization has changed once again. This organizational change brings forth several negative effects in European embeddedness in the organization. First, Europe-directors and Europe-coordinators are no longer embedded in the organizational structure, and these positions are no longer filled. Second, Europe 'experts' are now spread over departments; however, this is determined by the activities in

their daily work, these employees are not designated to act as Europe-coordinators. Third, the exchange of information on European affairs stalled, as there is less of European strategy in the organization. Ms. Blagojevic, The Hague's EU representative, identified this change in organizational structure as a *constraint* in The Hague's opportunity structure. She said: "Managers have varying ideas about Europe. The built-up network over the years has collapsed because of changes in management. We are now rebuilding, but there is no consistency in EU plans" (Danijela Blagojevic, personal interview, November 18, 2019).

This drastic change in structure was explained by Frans van Bork. He states that with an organization that is run by political agendas, changes like these happen. As Van Bork mentions the Mayor Wim Deetman (1996 – 2008), he describes a period where European activities were high on the agenda of the municipality. It was Mayor Deetman who set up the G4 office in Brussels in 2002. What is more, under Deetman, the municipal department of International Affairs was founded, as well as the subsidy desk and an EU Legal Affairs team. Whereas previously urban regions were represented by the Dutch Permanent Representative to the EU, The Hague "wanted to use their own voice and represent their own interests in Brussels" (Frans van Bork, personal interview, December 2, 2019). Even more so, The Hague formulated their EU policy for the first time. However, after Mayor Deetman stepped down, his successor Mayor Jozias van Aartsen (2008 – 2017) had little interest of the representation of The Hague in Brussels. Van Bork says The Hague's EU strategy weakened. So much so, Van Bork says: "the influencing of The Hague on EU affairs was nonexistent. We had retrieved from the G4, even giving up our office space. From 40 people working full time on EU affairs, we went back to one" (Frans van Bork, personal interview, December 2, 2019). Understandably, without a clear EU strategy, this explains why currently The Hague's EU representative struggles to rebuild the network. It goes to show how the course of the municipality can be determined by political changes, which in turn negatively impact the capacity in the organization for EU activities.

- Skills

It should be mentioned that, with the change in structure, the expertise did not disappear. This section explains how the European expertise is currently embedded in the organization. First, the subsidy desk should be mentioned. The subsidy desk is a department that aims to stimulate the application of (European) subsidies. The subsidy desk is currently the main information point on European subsidy options. What is important to mention, is that it is not common for subnational governments to have an expertise point on subsidies in the organization. The fact that The Hague established the desk in 2001, means that the organization is (still) willing to put money towards collecting European funds,

and structure the organization accordingly. This dissertation will elaborate more on the role of the subsidy desk in chapter 5.3.

Second, apart from the subsidy desk, European knowledge and skills are embedded in the Department of Legal Affairs. The 2009 report concluded then, that "European law is cross-departmental and very specific; therefore, the Legal Affairs has introduced a Europe department for these cases" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2009). To this day, the European Legal Affairs department still operates. In comparison with 2009, there is an increasing demand for legal advice on European matters. This can be explained as follows: as the European subsidy funds are becoming more popular in the organization, the legal point of view of subsidy applications are taken more in to account.

Moving on, although the Europe-directors and Europe-coordinators are no longer part of the organizational structure, the link between the departments and Brussels is partly taken on by the municipal department of International Affairs. Although small, this department has a team that has taken on the role of the previous Europe-coordinators. The International Affairs department finds its role increasing, as there is a shift noticeable in the outward vision of the municipality. As explained by Blagojevic and Van Bork, The Hague is currently rebuilding the contacts and efforts of Mayor Deetman. Van Bork also explains that now, with the arrival of a new Mayor, the European dossier has moved away from the Mayors seat. With this process, Van Bork identifies a positive change in the organization: there is more room for political action when it's done on a lower executive level. Support from The Hague's Alderman means that it can start to work on towards a clearer EU policy again. The Hague's renewed ambitions are also reflected in the coalition plans of the current Municipal Executive. The 2019 - 2022 coalition plan of The Hague states the following: "The Hague has the potential to become the legal delta of Europe. This means that we will aim and acquire more actively to attract more (European) institutions and international legal institutions to The Hague. If a European "internet ombudsman" is created, we want it to be based in The Hague" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2019, p. 68). How The Hague is works towards this goal, is explained in the next paragraph 'activism'.

- Activism

The report 'Grip op Europa' concludes that the organization should stimulate the exchange of knowledge and should aim to increase the networking skills of the employees. Furthermore, the report advises to: "provide accessible information and tools, workshops and actively search for European cooperation partners" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2009). Today, to generate more 'EU awareness' in the organization, the municipality organizes lectures where everybody is invited to participate. For example, in May 2019, an event with a guest speaker from the European Parliament was organized to discuss European dossiers that are of relevance to subnational governments.

Also, the Alderman that is active in the CoR explained his activities and his aims and ambitions in the network. This is a good example of how the municipality initiates activities to structure the organization more towards European matters. The invitation for this event is included in the appendix on page 52.

In addition, as the European agenda is a point of interest of the municipality of The Hague, it is important for the municipality to make colleagues aware of the benefits there are in European aspects. Therefore, Ms. Blagojevic organizes internal six-weekly meetings that are open to every municipal employee who works on European dossiers. The Haagse Europese Afsteming (HEUA) consists usually of a group around 35 people that attend these meetings. These two-hour long meetings discuss the G4 activities, organize a municipal wide lobby strategy for themes that are relevant to The Hague, share knowledge obtained from different memberships of European networks and attend workshops of organizations who inform subnational governments of European law and policy.

Finally, activism is supported by The Hague's membership of the G4 too. An example is the annual G4-training course that takes place in Brussels. This two-day training is open to any project officer who has interest in the European aspect of public policy making. The ambition is to encourage people to use European 'solutions' in their work.

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### 5.2.3 LEVEL OF EUROPEAN ENGAGEMENT OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE HAGUE

Having analyzed all the factors and categorizations of Wolffhardt's EU engagement of cities model, Johns framework and the municipality of The Hague's internal structure, this part of the thesis can now discuss the level of EU engagement of the municipality of The Hague. Wolffhardt offers three typologies for cities' level of EU engagement. The typologies that summarize the previously described motivational factors ('Europe as a duty', 'Europe as a problem solver'), intermediate factors (size, domestic context) and objectives that shape the level of EU engagement of a city (Wolffhardt, 2005, p. 99). These typologies of cities are:

1. The high profile, self-styled 'Euro-player'
2. The restructuring client city
3. The policy experimenter

Aforementioned, the reason why Europeanization in The Hague would materialize in the first place is the driving factor that ultimately results in EU engagement. Looking at The Hague's internal structure, the municipality of The Hague's driving factor can be considered as: 'Europe as a stage'. This entails using the European arena for profiling and identity building, creating European credentials as a selling point for the city. This is mostly seen when looking at the city's activism.

How to classify The Hague in the typology of Wolffhardt, will be discussed in the conclusion chapter. Can the municipality of The Hague be considered a 'Euro-player' or does the city shift between a 'policy experimenter' and 'restructuring client city'? Wolffhardt describes the Euro-player to actively engage in serious and sustained interest politics at EU level, including vocal opposition to inconvenient EU legislation. Size and dedicated resources matter here: no medium-sized secondary city will be found among the ranks of the Euro-players. Furthermore, the restructuring client city is portrayed as a city that focusses mainly on EU funding options. Close multi-level interaction and joint problem solving with a tendency to 'flatten out' the hierarchy between local actors is most likely to emerge among this type of cities. Finally, the policy experimenter draws on the EU as a source of innovation and a tool for modernization (Wolffhardt, 2005, pp. 99 - 100).

To summarize the results of this second sub question, factors that explain the level of Europeanization of the municipality of The Hague are motivational and intermediate whereby push and pull factors differ. Furthermore, the city is considered a large city, which results show that has a positive effect on the level of Europeanization, yet the internal structure does not display that. By describing the capacity, skills and activism, it was concluded that over all, the internal structure of The Hague has a mature level of Europeanization, but the organization is still searching for a centralized European strategy. Moreover, the results showed that the driving factor behind Europeanization of the municipality of The Hague is mainly identity building to create European a selling point for the city. Finally, the next chapter and sub question of this thesis will explain to what extent The Hague actively engages in optimizing EU funding options.

### 5.3 EU FUNDS AND THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE HAGUE

To answer the central research question, this thesis has discussed multilevel governance, the opportunity structure of the municipality of The Hague and the driving factors behind Europeanization of the city. Now, with the support of two semi-structured interviews, this section of the results will discuss the European funding options and the ambitions The Hague has formulated around this topic. First, this chapter will first briefly explain the role of The Hague's subsidy desk. Second, this section will explain the general European subsidy landscape that are relevant to regions. Finally, the impact of EU funding is explored, and two examples of best practices where EU funds reach The Hague's citizens are shown.

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#### 5.3.1 THE HAGUE'S SUBSIDY DESK

Before examining the relevant funding options for the municipality of The Hague, the role and objectives of The Hague's subsidy desk must be explained. This paragraph provides a better picture of the resources available to the municipality for obtaining European funds.

First, the rationale of the subsidy desks existence is explained by integration. Integration has prompted the creation of major European programs to prevent creating interregional inequalities that might undermine the cohesion of the EU. To help the local government with pursuing these EU funding schemes, the subsidy desk offers their expertise.

In an interview, coordinator of The Hague's subsidy desk, Monique van der Voort mentions that not every municipality has a subsidy desk. Usually, only large municipalities have the resources. The positive result of having a subsidy desk is having expertise within the organization, Van der Voort states (Monique van der Voort, personal interview, October 30, 2019). Second, as portrayed on the website of The Hague, the subsidy desk mostly acts as a coordinating bureau where advising and supporting project officers are the main activities. Third, the desk is responsible for advising the Alderman with the financial dossier on topics related to subsidy schemes. Finally, the subsidy desk carries out feasibility tests. To ensure the right projects apply for the right funding schemes, the desk gives a GO or NO GO for the project to apply for EU funds.

The subsidy desk keeps track of the the status of currently running projects that receive EU funding in The Hague. An internal document shared by Van der Voort shows the amount of Euro's received and department responsible for carrying out the project. Below is an excerpt of the document shared by Van der Voort. As seen in figure 5, under the section 'program', the EU funding program Horizon 2020 is mentioned. The 'subject' section of this document explains that, for this project The Hague cooperates with Technical University Delft. It states that The Hague serves as a testing ground (proeftuin). The next paragraph explains why this detail is relevant. Furthermore, the next paragraph summarizes briefly the EU funding landscape for the period 2014 – 2020 and points to the funding schemes most relevant to The Hague.

Overzicht Europese subsidieprojecten (Stand van Zaken december 2019) Pijplijn en Lopende projecten

Jaar gestart	Dienst	Project	Onderwerp	Programma	Status	Bedrag in € subsidie gemeente DH	Projectleider / contactpersoon	Toelichting voor FLC
2020	DSO	Warm in de Wijk	Regionale aanpak vanuit PZH om meer kleinschalige warmte transitieprojecten te ondersteunen in BC ontwikkeling naar investeringsbesluit	ELENA	1 <sup>e</sup> fase aanvraag in ontwikkeling	307.680	Claire Daniels /Mart Ovenbeek	In voorbereiding. Geen FLC, loopt via provincie
2020	DSO	LEAD	LEAD is gericht op het introduceren van een nieuwe adaptieve modelleringsaanpak voor distributiehubs in de stad.  In samenwerking met TU Delft waarbij gemeente Den Haag als proeftuin dient	HORIZON 2020	2 <sup>e</sup> fase ingediend, toegekend!		Bregje Bax	onbekend; navragen

Figure 5: Overview of running projects with EU funds (internal document, December 2019)

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### 5.3.2 EUROPEAN SUBSIDY LANDSCAPE 2014 – 2020

*“European funds are the Champions League of funding and subsidy options for cities”*

Hans Verdonk, EU representative of the city of Rotterdam

Before providing clarity in the abundance of EU funding programs and those relevant to The Hague, it is important to mention that this dissertation focusses only on the period 2014 – 2020. Although a new European Commission has been formed and a new Regional Development and Cohesion Policy for 2021 – 2027 has been presented at the time of this writing, it is not possible to review The Hague’s position towards EU funding options in the new period. Therefore, when this dissertation references European funds, the programs of 2014 – 2020 is always the frame of reference.

To get a better understanding of the different types of EU funding programs, Van der Voort points to the distinction between European Structural Investment Funds (ESIF) and European Thematic Funds. According to the VNG European Subsidy Guide, the ESIF funds are intended to promote economic and social development in the Member States, to reduce economic disparities between European countries and regions, to improve regional competitiveness and employment and to encourage cooperation between Member States and regions. The Thematic Funds programs are established at European level and apply to the entire EU. These funds must be requested directly from the EU. The Thematic Funds are divided over the themes Smart Growth, Sustainable Growth and Inclusive Growth (VNG, 2014). First, this paragraph will identify the European Structural Investment Funds that are of most significance to The Hague. Later on, the relevant Thematic Funds will be explored.

As mentioned above, the ESIF budgets are intended to promote economic and social development and reduce economic disparities in the Member States and regions. The European Commission elaborates more on the ESIF programs. They explain that over half of the total EU funding is channeled through five individual funding programs. They are jointly managed by the European Commission and the Member States (European Commission, n.d.). The five ESIF programs include:

1. European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)
2. European Social Fund (ESF)
3. Cohesion Fund (CF)
4. European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD)
5. European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF)

The first conclusion that is drawn from the interview with Van der Voort, is that The Hague mainly focuses on the European Regional Development (ERDF) and European Social Fund (ESF) funding

programs. From the two, the funding programs that promote regional development, the ERDF, is of greater significance. The ERDF aims to strengthen economic and social cohesion in the European Union by correcting imbalances between its regions, meaning that money that is allocated by this fund is meant to be spent *on* the cities. As a result, this provides significant opportunities for the municipality of The Hague to carry out their objectives. Furthermore, the ESF is of relevance to The Hague because it supports employment-related projects throughout Europe. In this case, The Hague can use the fund to reduce the economic dichotomy in the city. According to the VNG, the total budget allocated for The Netherlands by the the ERDF amounts to €507,2 mln and €507,4 mln is allocated to ESF for the entire programme of seven years (VNG, 2014). Both funding schemes and their relevance are described briefly.

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#### EUROPEAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT FUND (ERDF)

Looking at the ERDF first, the total amount of €507,2 mln The Netherlands receives must be divided under the four general regions in the country: North, East, South and West. The reason for this breakdown, is that each region has objectives that fit with the regional policy plans in that part of The Netherlands. However, there are two objectives that are established by the EC that are of relevance to every region in The Netherlands. They are (1) investing in growth and employment and (2) European territorial cooperation (European Commission, n.d.). Apart from those two objectives, the four regions have the freedom to construct their own objectives for the ERDF money. As The Hague is part of the Western region, the thesis will zoom in on the ERDF – West programme only. For ERDF – West Netherlands, €189,8 mln is allocated from the total budget, which is the biggest piece of the pie of the four regions (37,42% of total budget). Van der Voort was asked why the Western region is allocated the most money. She explained that the reason for this, is that both the P4 and G4 fall under the Western region. The P4 (Provinces Utrecht, Flevoland, South Holland and North Holland) and the G4 (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and The Hague) have both gotten their own budget. The conclusion that can be drawn, is that this is a substantial benefit for the municipality of The Hague: when there is a project in the city that seeks EU funding, they can apply for it both at the province as well as the municipality (Monique van der Voort, personal interview, October 30, 2019). The subsidy programme of ERDF – West region is officially known as Kansen voor West 2. The thesis will elaborate on the Kansen voor West 2 programme later on.

Furthermore, as mentioned before, a general objective of the ERDF programme includes territorial cooperation. Within ERDF, funding programmes that adhere to that objective have been given an own name: INTERREG. Most importantly for the INTERREG programme and budget, is that it is not part of the €507,2 mln The Netherlands receives, there is no percentage of the total ERDF budget allocated to a Member State beforehand (as there is with Kansen voor West 2).

Van der Voort explains why this is of significance: “Every department [within Member States] want the best projects in their cities. Competition plays a big role. So for INTERREG funds, the subsidy desk plays a bigger role, because actively competing is an important process for allocating the fund” (Monique van der Voort, personal interview, October 30, 2019). As pointed out by the Rooij, the size of a municipality is an important factor for the degree of Europeanization of a city (De Rooij, 2003, p. 128). In this case, the size of the municipality of The Hague allows the organization to have a subsidy desk, which benefits The Hague in allocating the EU fund. Van der Voort reinforces De Rooijs conclusion, she says: “Since we are a large city, we have a subsidy desk and therefore automatically more expertise on EU funds within our organization, meaning that the city is often well represented in networks and has useful contacts. Smaller cities generally do not have a subsidy desk, so they have to put more effort in city branding. We have the benefit in that case” (Monique van der Voort, personal interview, October 30, 2019).

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#### EUROPEAN SOCIAL FUND (ESF)

The second funding program of relevance to The Hague is the European Social Fund. For The Hague, the money the municipality receives from the ESF is distributed in the labor region Haaglanden. Here, The Hague is responsible for dividing the money among the cities in the Haaglanden region. Within the Haaglanden region, Van der Voort points to the responsibility of working together to stimulate social cohesion and filling the gap in the labor market (Monique van der Voort, personal interview, October 30, 2019). In total, there are 35 labour regions in The Netherlands, where 70% of the funds should be spent on active inclusion and 20% of the budget is spent on active and healthy aging. The remaining budget is used for the urban development of the G4 (VNG, 2014). Again, the factor size is of essence. As The Hague is part of the G4, region Haaglanden receives more ESF fund than labour regions without G4 member cities. Alternatively, it should be mentioned that the larger the region, the more money should be spent on stimulating social cohesion, as the larger regions often have more obstacles when it comes to social economic problems. For example, social segregation in larger cities is assumably higher than in smaller cities (Preteceille, 2000). Therefore, The Hague spends more money on these topics than a municipality of smaller size.

Finally, this paragraph explains the Thematic Funds that are of most relevance to The Hague. In addition to regional and country-based assistance, the EU supports development through programs with a specific thematic focus. This dissertation will focus only on the first theme: Smart Growth. The program is most interesting for local authorities, because the European Commission aims to stimulate the relationship between research, business and (local) government (VNG, 2014). Provided that the Thematic Funds are a lot bigger and more competitive than the ESIF funds, this dissertation focusses only on one Thematic Fund programme within Smart Growth: Horizon 2020.

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## HORIZON 2020

First and foremost, seen as a means to drive economic growth and create jobs, Horizon 2020 is a prestigious funding scheme. In total, Horizon 2020 has a total budget of approximately €80 billion for the period 2014 – 2020 and, as mentioned earlier, this money comes directly from Brussels. Van der Voort was asked if the rules and regulations for applying for the funding scheme is easily understandable for cities, she replied by calling it a ‘labyrinth’, and concludes that it is a difficult process and project officers are not always aware of all aspects involved with applying for such a grand funding scheme. She says: “Horizon 2020 is the number one research grant program of the EU and is not necessarily meant for cities to apply for ” (Monique van der Voort, personal interview, October 30, 2019).

Although Horizon 2020 is not necessarily focused on regional development, the funding scheme offers opportunities for local governments. As Horizon 2020 aims to stimulate the relationship between research, business and government, the funding scheme is based on partnerships. In order for a project to be eligible for Horizon 2020, partnership must consist of at least three parties from three different countries. These parties usually include research institutions, business and public organizations (VNG, 2014). Van der Voort explains how the funding scheme looks like in practice: “Usually the big tech companies apply for the fund and want to test their project in a city, then, as a municipality, you are very lucky” (Monique van der Voort, personal interview, October 30, 2019). In cases like this, the subnational government benefits from the fund indirectly.

It should be mentioned that, as the bar for Horizon 2020 is very high, the municipality of The Hague focuses less on obtaining these funds. The main difficulty with Horizon 2020 is that the city has to compete with both public and private, as well as national and international parties in the entire EU playing field. Van der Voort says: “you have to score a 10, no figure of speech, to qualify for the money from thematic funds since there is so much competition” (Monique van der Voort, personal interview, October 30, 2019). By using the words of Rotterdam’s EU representative, Hans Verdonk, this makes the Horizon 2020 program truly the Champions League of funding options for cities.

Finally, in The Netherlands, Amsterdam and Rotterdam are the forerunners in the Horizon 2020 scheme. The Hague’s restraint position is not to blame on lack of expertise, Van der Voort says. She presents a very interesting argument, stating: “the main motive to actively pursue EU funds should be for betterment of the city. And we must always ask ourselves, what do the citizens of The Hague gain with this? We must not actively pursue a project for EU Thematic Funds just to say *“look, we have a project that scored a 10! Look how good we are”*” (Monique van der Voort, personal interview, October 30, 2019).

Refer to appendix three on page 54 for a summarized organigram of the EU funding schemes reproduced from the information of the VNG European Subsidy guide.

5.3.3 IMPACT OF EU FUNDS

For this paragraph, information of the impact analysis of the European and Regional Affairs Consultants Bureau (ERAC) is used. Additional information is provided by Rik van der Laan, project manager of Kansen voor West2 The Hague, to explore the actual impact of the EU funds for the citizens of The Hague. The European and Regional Affairs Consultants Bureau (ERAC) periodically assesses for the province of South Holland how much European subsidy has landed in the province from 2007 to now. With that information, the province has set itself the goal of making South Holland an "EU-aware" region (ERAC, n.d.). Their 2019 rapport states that, as per April 1, 2019;

- 3.464 thousand projects have been funded with EU funds in the province South Holland;
- That amounts to 1,29 billion euro’s in EU funding;
- With this number, the province South Holland is the first province in The Netherlands to rise above the 1 billion limit;
- The realization of these projects results in employment effect of 29.606 FTE (ERAC , 2019).

Looking at the ERAC impact study, The Hague is the third city in the province South Holland to gather the most EU funding. From the total amount of EU funding in South Holland, €225 mln euro landed in the The Hague (as of April 1, 2019) (ERAC , 2019). Rotterdam is in first place, followed by Delft. On the next page, a graph shows the municipalities in South Holland and how much EU money they have received.



Figure 6: *Distribution of euros acquired across cities in South Holland (ERAC, 2019)*

Furthermore, the analysis concludes that the highest number of EU funding in the province South Holland comes from two funding schemes:

- Horizon 2020 makes up around %59,9 percent of the total amount of EU funding euros spent in the province South Holland.
- With %5,7 percent of the total euros of EU funding, Kansen voor West 2 is the most lucrative *regional* funding scheme in the province South Holland.

The impact of the innovation driven Horizon 2020 projects is not directly seen in figure 6, but when zooming in, Horizon's 2020 impact is clearly noticeable. Table 4 shows which South Holland organizations are most involved in European projects. As mentioned before by Van der Voort, the municipality benefits from the organizations it has in its city. It is these organizations (universities, tech companies) who carry out the Horizon 2020 funded projects and the city serves as a testing ground. Table 4 reinforces Van der Voort's statement. The Hague's third position and impact of EU funds on the city can be explained as followed.

First, for The Hague, all 184 projects that are carried out by the Netherlands Organization for Applied Scientific Research (TNO) are attributed to the city of The Hague, explaining the reason for the cities' high ranking. Second, The Hague also benefits from the Technical University Delft, since The Hague is close enough in proximity to serve as a testing ground. Third, from the money that landed in The Hague, it can be assumed that the Horizon 2020 has the biggest impact. This assumption is made on the relationship between the number of projects and the high subsidy amount.

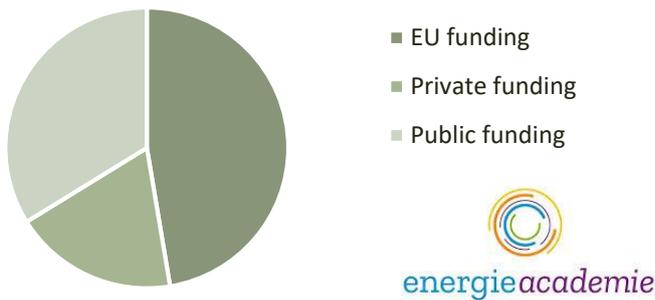
Organization	Projects	European subsidy in euros
Technical University Delft	324	€ 198.890.545
TNO	184	€ 83.905.223
University Leiden	143	€ 96.066.729
Erasmus Universitair Medisch Centrum Rotterdam	105	€ 72.420.210

Table 3: *Largest South Holland organizations within European programs (ERAC, 2019)*

Concluding, European subsidy funds impact the city of The Hague largely. The Hague has landed €225 mln euros in the city which are mostly derived from Horizon 2020 projects. Particularly clever is that The Hague's main focus is not the Horizon 2020 scheme due to its competitiveness, yet the city benefits greatly from this funding scheme through organizations in other cities.

5.3.4 ZOOMING IN: KANSEN VOOR WEST 2

This dissertation zooms in on the Kansen voor West 2 program to give examples of successes achieved through European funding options. There are two successes that are addressed: Energieacademie and JINC. Rik van der Laan, from bureau Kansen voor West 2, points out that all projects that are part of the Kansen voor West 2 program receive funding from the Regional Development Fund (Rik van der Laan, personal interview, December 6, 2019). Moreover, as mentioned earlier, Kansen voor West 2 is the most lucrative regional funding scheme in province South Holland.

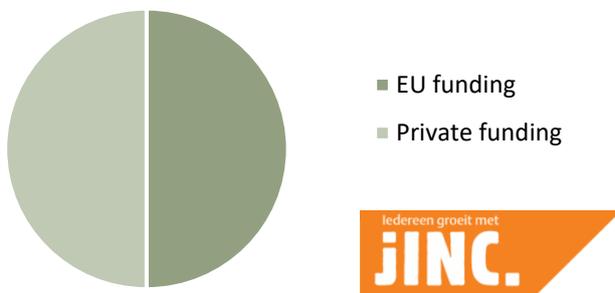


**Energieacademie**

The first example of where EU funds reach The Hague’s citizens is the Energieacademie. The municipality of The Hague’s ambitions include becoming

climate neutral in the year 2030. As a result, the investments of the municipality in these sustainability processes, a growth in jobs in this area increase. Simultaneously, according to Europa om de Hoek, there are 27,000 welfare recipients and a total of 45,000 job seekers in The Hague. In concrete terms, this means there a mismatch (both qualitatively and quantitatively) between supply and demand. The Energieacademie contributes to connecting supply and demand. Business, education and knowledge institutions are brought together in the Energieacademie. This school teaches job-seekers skills in circular economy, the mobility sector and the construction- and installation industry. For the period April 1, 2019 till April 1, 202, this project received €66.500.000 euro EU funding, €26.400.000 euro public funding and €47.488.000 euro private funding (Europa om de Hoek, 2019).

**JINC**



The second example of where EU funds reach The Hague’s citizens is JINC. As addressed above, there is a mismatch on the labor market in The Hague. Rik van der Laan from bureau Kansen voor West 2, explains this in a personal interview. He stated that, on the

one hand there are relatively many lower educated people and people at a distance from the labor market and on the other hand the economy is focused on knowledge, public administration and business services (Rik van der Laan, personal interview, December 6, 2019).

For young people from neighborhoods such as Transvaal, Laak and Schilderswijk, it is of great importance to bring them into contact with different professions and sectors at a young age, so that they can experience in practice what suits them and what the future prospects are. The JINC project wants to allow 9,150 pupils from primary and secondary education in The Hague to participate in application training and internship projects. More than 100 companies from The Hague are participating in the projects. For the period May 16, 2017 till December 31, 2020, the project received €30.338.115 euro EU funding and €30.338.115 euro private funding (Europa om de Hoek, 2019).

It should be highlighted that these projects are fully in line with The Hague's policy plans. In The Hague's coalition plan of 2019 – 2022, the following can be read: "The Hague has a mismatch between the supply of work and labor potential. That mismatch threatens to grow bigger, certainly in the field of energy transition, construction and care. That is why it is important that training courses fit in well with the labor market and that we prepare pupils the labor market of the future" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2019, p. 20). At the same time, as the municipality acknowledges the disparities in city, they see the subsidy options as a solution to the problem. The coalition plan states: "We are investigating how subsidies can be fully utilized in the context of educational disadvantage" (Gemeente Den Haag, 2019, p. 18). In this case, it goes to show that the municipality is looking outward to European solutions for local problems.

In conclusion, this sub question identified the most relevant EU funding schemes for the municipality. It highlighted the funding programs most relevant to The Hague. After exploring the EU subsidy landscape, the conclusion drawn is that The Hague benefits *directly* from smaller funding programs where the component 'size' a decisive factor. The Hague benefits *indirectly* from large funding schemes, and generally does not actively pursue them because of competition. In The Netherlands, the province South Holland is EU-aware by acquiring the most EU funds. The Hague takes a place at the top, with the Horizon 2020 scheme having the highest impact on the city. Europe hits home in the Kansen voor West 2 program, where citizens of The Hague see the EU's impact in social programs that focus on closing the gap in the labor market and creating jobs for the future.

Moving on, the final sub question of this dissertation discusses transnational networks and their relevance for the city of The Hague.

5.4 EU NETWORKS AND THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE HAGUE

In the first chapter of this dissertation, the influence of multilevel governance on cities is described. It was concluded that European cities have developed from policy-takers to active players. Apart from The Hague’s proactive attempts to use Europe as a stage (chapter 2) and pursuing EU funds for projects (chapter 3), The Hague is also an active player in European knowledge networks. This chapter discusses the relevance of EU transnational networks for the municipality of The Hague. First, the types of networks are explained. Second, the relevance of networks for The Hague is discussed. Finally, each chosen network is analyzed to see if there are indicators of ‘upload’ Europeanization. At the end of this chapter, a conclusion is drawn.

5.4.1 TYPES OF NETWORKS

As there are many European knowledge networks, this dissertation chose three networks to analyze: *EUROCITIES*, *Knowledge 4 Innovation (K4I)*, *Committee of the Regions (CoR)*. The reason this dissertation chose to research these three networks, is explained by the various activities and goals of the networks. The three networks were carefully selected after an inventorization of existing EU networks where the municipality is a member of. The inventorization displayed in a mind map and can be found in appendix four on page 54. Although this overview has been compiled with great precision, it is possible that some networks have been omitted or overlooked from the overview.

According to Leitner, Pavlic and Sheppard, the transnational networks among cities and regions can be differentiated by three forms of cooperation: sharing information and expertise, lobbying and formulation and implementation of joint development projects (Leitner, Pavlic, & Sheppard, 2008, pp. 274 – 303). The table below shows the types of coordination of the chosen networks.

Networks	Sharing information and expertise	Lobbying	Formulation and implementation of joint development projects
<b>EUROCITIES</b>	Green	Green	Green
<b>Knowledge 4 Innovation</b>	Green	Red	Red
<b>Committee of the Regions</b>	Green	Orange	Red

Table 4: Types of cooperation of chosen networks

Actions the networks undertake are formed by a common agenda of mutual advantage. These examples of cooperation among cities and regions show that, as a result of the dissolvment of hierarchical layering by multilevel governance, some actions (e.g. lobbying, development projects) of networks may challenge traditional political governance structures.

5.4.2 RELEVANCE FOR THE HAGUE

When discussing driving factors behind Europeanization of cities in chapter 2, it was concluded that the driving factor behind Europeanization of the municipality of The Hague is mainly identity building to create Europe as a selling point for the city. As identity building is done by cities and regions through networks, this paragraph builds on that notion and further explores the relevance of networks for The Hague. Merijn Suijkerbuijk, EU policy officer of the municipality of The Hague, was interviewed to share his views on the relevance of networks for The Hague in a semi-structured interview. Three conclusions with regard to the relevance of networks for the municipality of The Hague are drawn.

First, networks are relevant for The Hague for identity building. Mr. Suijkerbuijk reinforces the conclusion that the driving factor behind Europeanization for The Hague is identity building, in other words: using Europe as a stage. Mr. Suijkerbuijk answered that the municipality mostly considers Europe as a stage, adding that it is also a ‘vehicle’ to achieve their goals. He says: “there are many networks with different objectives and goals. What I mean to say is that each city has their own policy plans and they find networks that fit to their European ambitions” (Merijn Suijkerbuijk, personal interview, December 17, 2019). This makes networks such as EURO CITIES, Knowledge 4 Innovation and the Committee of the Regions relevant because they all structured to have working groups (i.e. forums) with varying policy themes where local government can promote their interests. Mr. van den Berg comments on the relevance of working groups, calling it a “golden opportunity” for municipalities to participate in a EURO CITIES working group (Bas van den Berg, personal interview, December 18, 2019).



Figure 7: EURO CITIES working groups (EURO CITIES, 2019)

Second, why networks are relevant for The Hague is lobbying. However, as concluded by Paul Shotton and Paul Nixon, although some decentralized governments have a high profile in Brussels, a large number does not actively mobilize at the EU level, most subnational governments refrain from lobbying and focus on EU policy reforms (Shotton & Nixon, 2015). Therefore, most decentralized governments organize their lobby through networks. For the lobbying of networks to be fruitful, it is argued by Matti van Hecke, Peter Bursens and Jan Beyers, that there are two factors of networks that are decisive: resources and embeddedness in Brussels. Resources (finances and FTE) positively affect the likelihood of opening a Brussels-based office. Then, the larger and better funded the office, the more likely it is seeking policy influence will be a key goal of the network (van Hecke, Bursens, & Beyers, 2016, pp. 1433 – 1448)

Finally, networks are of relevance to The Hague because they can act as the driving forces behind Europeanization of cities. Looking back at Johns Ladder of Europeanization, step G, ‘Participating in EU international networks and co-operating joint projects’, is an indicator that Europeanization taking place in decentralized governments. The next paragraph explains the relation between networks and Europeanization by reviewing indicators of bottom-up multilevel governance within EURO CITIES, Knowledge 4 Innovation and the Committee of the Regions.

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#### 5.4.3 NETWORKS AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR EUROPEANIZATION OF CITIES

As previously explained in the theoretical framework, with multilevel governance comes the uploading aspect of Europeanization, also known as the bottom-up aspect of multilevel governance. *Uploading* by cities is done to voice their opinion in Brussels, a network is often used as an instrument to do so. According to De Rooij (2003), these pro-active attempts of uploading can be recognized by four indicators:

1. Attempts to influence European regulations;
2. Raising EU money through actively using lobby or contacts;
3. Undertaking lobbying activities;
4. Maintaining structural contacts with politicians and officials with the aim of promoting interests in the EU.

To specify how the networks add to the Europeanization of the city of The Hague, each chosen network is scanned for aspects of uploading. With the help of interviewees Mr. Suijkerbuijk and Mr. van den Berg, table 6 is composed. Furthermore, Johns ladder of Europeanization, as explained in the literature review, is used to review the results of indicators of upload Europeanization.

Indicators of 'uploading'/bottom-up multilevel governance	Networks		
			
<b>Attempts to influence European regulations</b>	Yes	No	Yes
<b>Raising EU money through actively using lobby contacts</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>Undertaking lobby activities</b>	Yes	No	No
<b>Maintains structural contacts with politicians and officials with the aim of promoting interests in the EU</b>	Yes	No	Yes

Table 5: Indicators of Upload Europeanization Within EU Networks

- Attempts to influence European regulations:

As seen in the table above, all the networks are undertaking activities to influence EU regulations. However, it should be mentioned that some networks outweigh others. For example, the CoR is an official advisory organ of the European Parliament, moreover, the CoR *must* be consulted by the EP on regulations and directives. The advice of the CoR may lead to amendments to European regulations. As the CoR consists of local or regional representatives, regional policy plans are well represented. Translating The Hague’s municipal interests into an advice from the Committee of the Regions is a complicated process, however, activities of The Hague’s Alderman in the CoR contributes to the representation of The Hague in the CoR.

- Collects EU money through actively using lobby contacts:

By using lobby contacts, networks can help their members in gaining better access to European funds. The network Knowledge 4 Innovation serves as a perfect example to this claim. The networks core activity involves implementing Horizon Europe, Europe’s number one funding scheme for innovation projects. Their website states: “This working group [Implementing Horizon Europe] aims at identifying and prioritizing key implementation aspects from the different stakeholder perspectives, how to achieve effective collaboration and communication, and not least what can we learn from

implementation and operation of current instruments and mechanisms, to build upon, ensure continuity and increase impact” (Knowledge 4 Innovation, n.d.). The information exchange within the K4I network is valuable to The Hague in accessing EU funds. As The Hague is an active member of this network, the network has proven relevant for the city on multiple aspects. Sharing best practices also adds to identity building, Mr. Suijkerbuijk explains that The Hague has taken a leading role in this network on the topic of Artificial Intelligence. He says: “It is important if you are using Europe as a stage, to have a message. The network K4I gave our city a platform and taking the stage here, means it is going to be easier to get the leading role on this topic [AI] in Brussels later on” (Merijn Suijkerbuijk, Personal Interview, December 17, 2019).

- Actively engages in lobby activities:

From the three networks, EUROCITIES is most active in lobbying activities. As mentioned earlier by Shotton and Nixon, the lobby of decentralized governments usually does not mobilize at EU level. This statement is reinforced by Suijkerbuijk, he stated that: “The city of The Hague cannot lobby on their own, to change legislation. When we do it with a network as EUROCITIES for example, then together as a group, we have a stronger voice” (Merijn Suijkerbuijk, personal interview, December 17, 2019). Mr. van den Barg also commented on the relevance of the EUROCITIES network, mentioning that the network has a good status in Brussels. Van den Barg says: “EUROCITIES has the recognition in Brussels that they represent parties that matter. There are limited networks who are consulted by the Commission, the CoR is obviously one, but EUROCITIES is certainly one too” (Bas van den Barg, personal interview, December 18, 2019). Most importantly, EUROCITIES efforts result in early information on EU calls for proposals. Understandably, for municipalities, the results of EUROCITIES lobbying activities are very valuable.

- Maintains structural contacts with politicians and officials with the aim of promoting interests in the EU:

This upload indicator is best observed in the CoR. As the main goal of the CoR is to represent regional interest, the members maintain contacts with national politicians, administrators and government officials. However, they do not promote their own interest in the EU, they do it for the collective whole. This means the role of the CoR is better described as an *advisor* rather a lobbyist.

Finally, why abovementioned aspects of uploading in networks can be considered an instrument of Europeanization of The Hague, is explained by John. He argues that the transformation goes beyond the short-term financial and networking character and results in local policy making where European ideas become the core of local decision-making (John, 2001, pp. 72 – 74).

Meaning, it is expected that The Hague goes beyond the networking character of Europeanization, and pursue more steps on John's ladder of Europeanization. In the assumption that John's conclusion is right, the relevance of the position of the Alderman in the CoR increases. It is wishful that the Alderman translates the European knowledge and influence from the network back to his own organization: the municipality. This can result in the appointment of special EU officials and adding EU themes on the agenda of the Municipal Executive and the City Council. Thus, making transnational networks the instrument for more European embeddedness in the internal structure.

In conclusion, this chapter highlighted that, if The Hague wishes to use Europe as a stage, representation in networks is most relevant. Networks are of relevance to The Hague for identity building, lobbying and add to the Europeanization of the municipality. Europeanization occurs through factors of uploading by networks, such as helping members in gain better access to European funds. What stands out is that the lobby of subnational governments in Brussels often does not actively mobilize at the EU level. Therefore, a transnational network formed by a common agenda of mutual advantage, is the best instrument for subnational governments to represent their interests. The CoR and EUROCITIES are known as key players in promoting subnational interest in the EU.

## 6. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Before this report draws conclusions and sets out to answer the main question, a brief analysis and summary of the most relevant results of the previous chapters is given.

Firstly, this chapter should look at the applicability of the approaches that were proposed in the literature review. The first chapter of the dissertation provided a theoretical framework of existing literature where the concepts of Europeanization and multilevel governance were made 'measurable' by the frameworks of Peter John and Rob de Rooij. Literature of Peter John on the degree of Europeanization of cities is proved as a useful measuring tool for this thesis. However, John measures the Europeanization with the help of steps in hierarchical order. This research found, that Europeanization rarely happens in a hierarchical steps. As the municipality of The Hague showed indicators that aligned with different levels of Europeanization, it was necessary to let go of John's notion that Europeanization happens linear. Secondly, this thesis relied heavily on the research of De Rooij. Being aware of the date of De Rooij's study, it should be addressed that it can be considered outdated. The research results were obtained through interviews with stakeholders in 2000 and 2001. However, many authors build upon his framework and his study is used in multiple, more recent, academic articles (Higgins, 2018; ROB, 2013; Torfing & Sorensen, 2014). Furthermore, it must be taken in to consideration that De Rooij's research is one of the few empirical studies to the degree of Europeanization of studies in The Netherlands and, therefore, was particularly useful for this thesis.

Moving on, the first sub question showed results of how multilevel governance has influenced subnational governments. It was concluded by Hooghe and Keating that there generally is a positive association between the devolution of levels and the formal involvement and representation of subnational governments in the EU (Hooghe & Keating, 2015). For the municipality of The Hague, an analysis of the dissolution of the layering structure shows that European integration offered The Hague new opportunities. The results of the interview with The Hague's EU representative explained that new opportunities created by multilevel governance are a broader access to networks and an opportunity to work on The Hague's profiling. As the results later showed, this fits to The Hague's ambitions to use Europe as a stage. An analysis that explains The Hague's biggest constraint, is that more players are now able to lobby for their own interests. Thus, the constraint 'competition' is a natural result of the dissolution of the layering structure.

Furthermore, in the second part of the results, factors of Europeanization of cities were presented to the reader. Here, Wolffhardt's model was the base of the research that followed. This chapter also relied on primary data provided by The Hague's former and current EU representative. An analysis of the interviews showed differences in the organizational structure are partially due to the political

changes over the years. More importantly, this chapter revealed that the level of Europeanization of The Hague has been dependent on the Municipal Executive and the priorities that were set. This means, as was also shown, that when European activities are not a priority, the level of Europeanization changes drastically.

In addition, in the results of the third sub question, an interesting paradox appeared. After exploring the EU subsidy landscape, the conclusion drawn is that The Hague benefits *directly* from smaller funding programs. The Hague benefits *indirectly* from large funding schemes, and generally does not actively pursue them because of competition. Building on the idea that The Hague does not actively pursue large funding schemes, the result that The Hague is the third city to obtain the largest sum of EU subsidy is surprising.

Finally, throughout the thesis, the relevance of networks has been pointed out. An interesting discussion point presented in the results of the fourth sub question is that the lobby of subnational governments in Brussels often does not actively mobilize at the EU level. As Paul Shotton and Paul Nixon highlight, it is for this reason that transnational networks are of relevance to subnational governments. In the dissolution of the layering structure in decision-making, the networks are an instrument for lobbying.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has studied the idea that Europeanization, led by a multilevel governance framework, has influenced the municipality of The Hague. By analyzing the literature around these concepts, exploring EU funding schemes and studying the relevance of networks, an answer was sought for the main question: *how does the municipality of The Hague profit from European funds and European networks?*

First, it should be concluded that multilevel governance has undoubtedly been the motor behind the Europeanization of subnational governments. As mentioned in the introduction, little is known about the reason why decentralized governments choose to engage in European activities. It was later shown in the results that, in a multilevel governance framework, cities have grown from policy-takers to active players in the EU. Therefore, the reason for The Hague to engage in European activities is the bottom-up way of decision-making that allows The Hague to represent their own thematic priorities in Brussels.

A second conclusion is that, in retrospect to what is mentioned above, it appears to be a challenge for the municipality of The Hague to take advantage of the new opportunity structure where local governments can act as active players. If The Hague wishes to be more successful in European activities, it is crucial that there is a common EU policy that is broadly carried within the organization. Then, The Hague can enhance the effectiveness of their efforts to build a network and work on profiling the city. The organization has seen changes in structure, where the representation of The Hague in Brussels has been minimal. It was concluded that today, Europe is back on the radar again. There is a high level of activism in the organization and an increased focus on European matters on a lower executive level.

A third conclusion is that, results showed that European funds have the impact to positively affect The Hague's citizens directly. As The Hague sees an increasing trend in disparities in city, the organization uses the subsidy options as a solution to that problem. In this case, The Hague uses Europe as a problem solver. In addition, it should be concluded that The Hague benefits greatly from funding schemes that are aimed at innovation. Even though the municipality acknowledges that the competition in these funding schemes are a reason to not actively pursue them, the municipality still benefits from these funding schemes indirectly through the organizations that are based in and around The Hague.

Fourth, it should be concluded that the flourishing role of cities in the EU have added to the relevance of transnational networks today. The results showed that The Hague profits from networks in multiple ways. First, networks are used by The Hague as an instrument for lobbying.

Second, through networks, The Hague uses Europe as a stage: profiling the strong assets of the city. Third, The Hague profits from networks in relation to sharing knowledge and best practices. In an aim to map out the types of networks The Hague is member of, it showed that the municipality is mostly active in networks in the areas of innovation, sustainability and social inclusion.

A fifth and final conclusion can now be drawn. In the second sub question, three typologies of Wolffhardt were proposed. The Hague can be best described as a 'restructuring client city' when it comes to the level of Europeanization of the municipality. As shown in the results, Wolffhardt highlights the importance of EU funds for client cities. Most importantly, client cities focus on joint problem solving in networks and a high focus on EU funds emerges. The 'restructuring client city' fits best to the city of The Hague for the following reasons. First, although there is some struggle to rebuild a common EU policy, The Hague's current coalition plan and efforts in networks show their increasing interest in European activities. Second, regarding EU funds, The Hague uses Europe as a problem solver for local issues. Furthermore, why this dissertation does not classify The Hague as the 'Euro-player' is for the following reason. Wolffhardt explains Euro-players to show serious interest at politics at EU level which goes hand in hand with a vocal opposition to inconvenient EU legislation. For The Hague, a missing municipal EU policy prohibits the organization to mobilize clear and strong lobbying activities. For now, The Hague remains dependent on transnational networks.

## 8. RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusions made in the previous chapter lead to the following recommendations. First, this research left out the role of the Member State when discussing decentralized governments and impact of EU funds and networks. In the first chapter it was concluded by Van Keulen that, when cities and the Member State to work together, a multiplier effect results, benefitting both actors. However, the direct involvement of the European Commission with cities and regions allows the EU institutions to bypass the Member State. For this reason, this thesis recommends further research on the new position of regions vis-à-vis the national government.

Second, this thesis initially aimed to examine the relative position of The Hague in the G4 after analyzing how The Hague benefits from EU funds and networks. Due to constraints in time and feasibility, this dissertation failed to do so. Therefore, the recommendation is that further research on The Hague's position in the G4 is conducted. The municipality can benefit from this research as it would give a better insight in the Europeanization of large cities. Furthermore, since it was shown in the results that Amsterdam and Rotterdam are the forerunners in the Horizon 2020 scheme, The Hague can benefit from reviewing the cities best practices in obtaining EU funding.

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## APPENDICES

## 1. EU ACTIVITIES



Den Haag

## Uitnodiging

## BSD-I Brown Bag Lunch Den Haag-Europa met Marietje Schaake

Maandag 6 mei 2019 van 12:00 uur tot 13.30 uur

Locatie: Politiek Terras



Het team van Bestuursdienst Internationaal (BSD-I) nodigt u uit voor een informatieve lunch op het Politiek Terras. Deze lunch staat in het teken van onze gemeentelijke Europadossiers. Hoe krijgen wij die in Brussel onder de aandacht? Europarlementariër Marietje Schaake zal adviezen geven en ook spreken over cyber-ontwikkelingen, 5-G etc. Als stad van internationaal recht zijn wij geïnteresseerd in digitale regelgeving en vraagstukken van privacy.

Marietje zit sinds 2009 in het Europees parlement. The Wall Street Journal noemt haar "Europe's most wired politician", CNN spreekt van "a rising Dutch star" en Politico schrijft van "de leidende Europarlementariër op het gebied van cyber security".

## Programma:

12.00 – 12.30	Inloop-broodjes lunch
12.30 – 12.35	Dagvoorzitter Mendeltje van Keulen (Lector EU, Haagse Hogeschool)
12.35 – 12.40	Welkomstwoord wethouder Saskia Bruines
12.40 – 12:45	BSD-I ambtenaar Danijela Blagojevic vertelt over Haagse Europa dossiers
12.45 – 13:00	Marietje Schaake
13.00 – 13:15	Vragen uit het publiek
13.15 – 13:20	Slotwoord wethouder Robert van Asten
13.20 – 13:30	Uitreiking Brown Bags

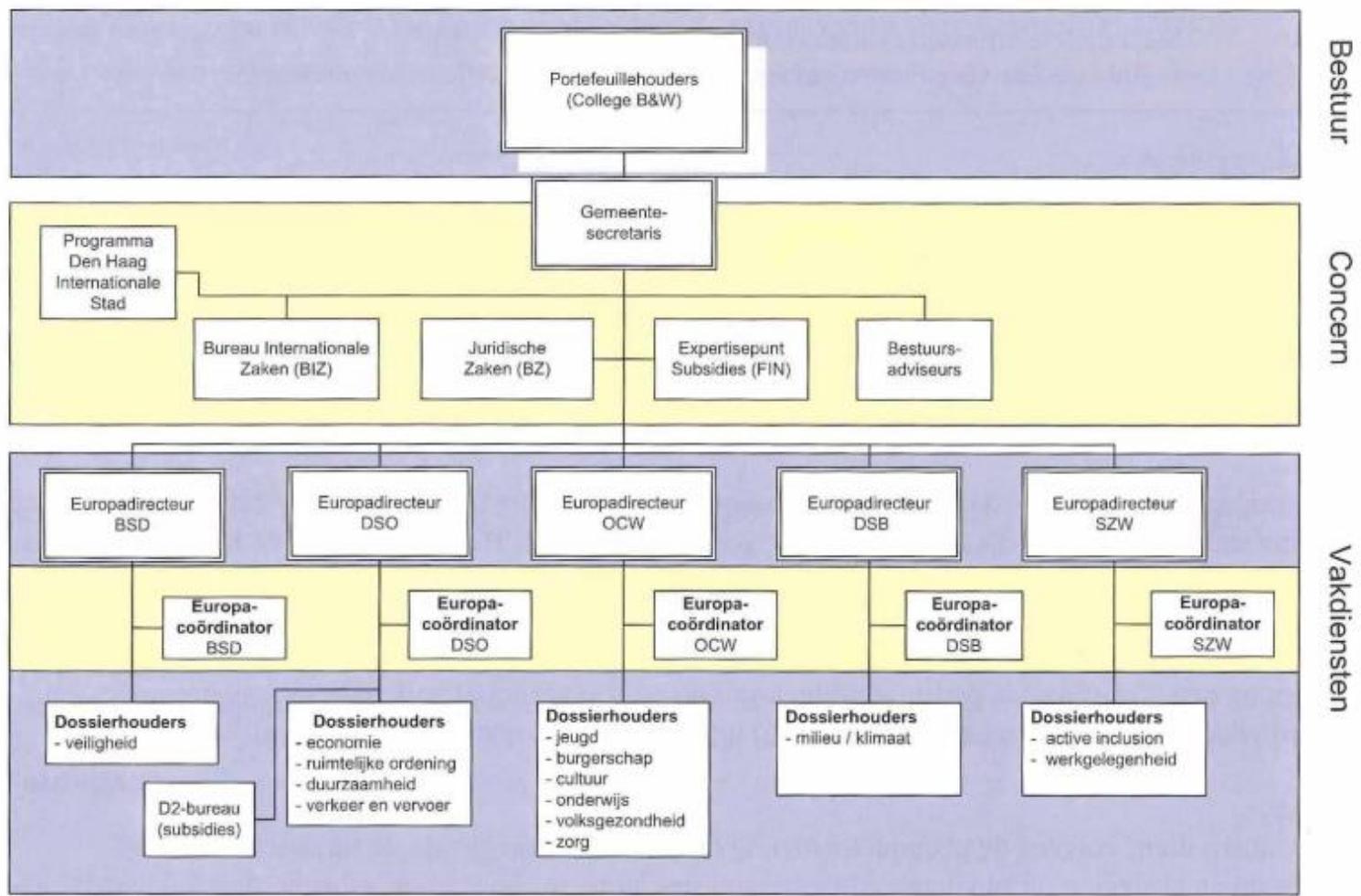
Iedere gemeenteambtenaar die interesse heeft in Europa is welkom.

Max 150 personen.

Aanmelden kan via evenementenkalender op Werknet of door te mailen naar:

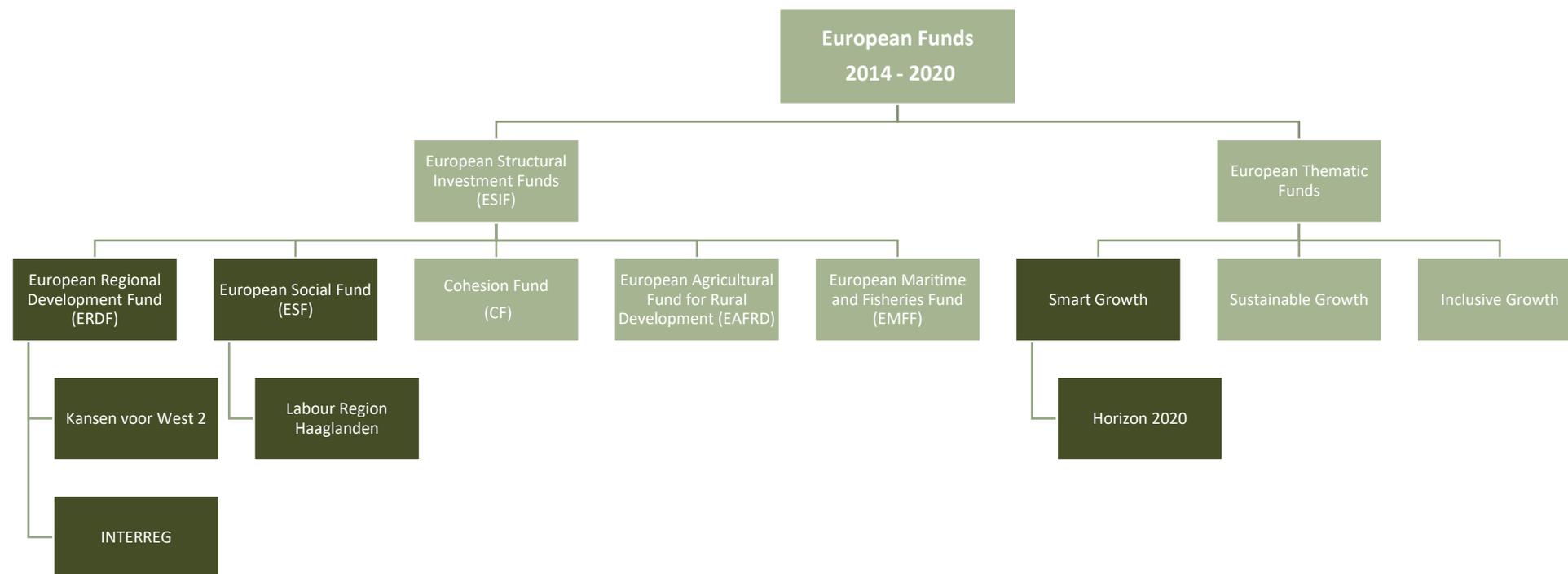
[joelle.vandenbergh@denhaag.nl](mailto:joelle.vandenbergh@denhaag.nl)

2. 'GRIP OP EUROPA' STRUCTURE OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF THE HAGUE



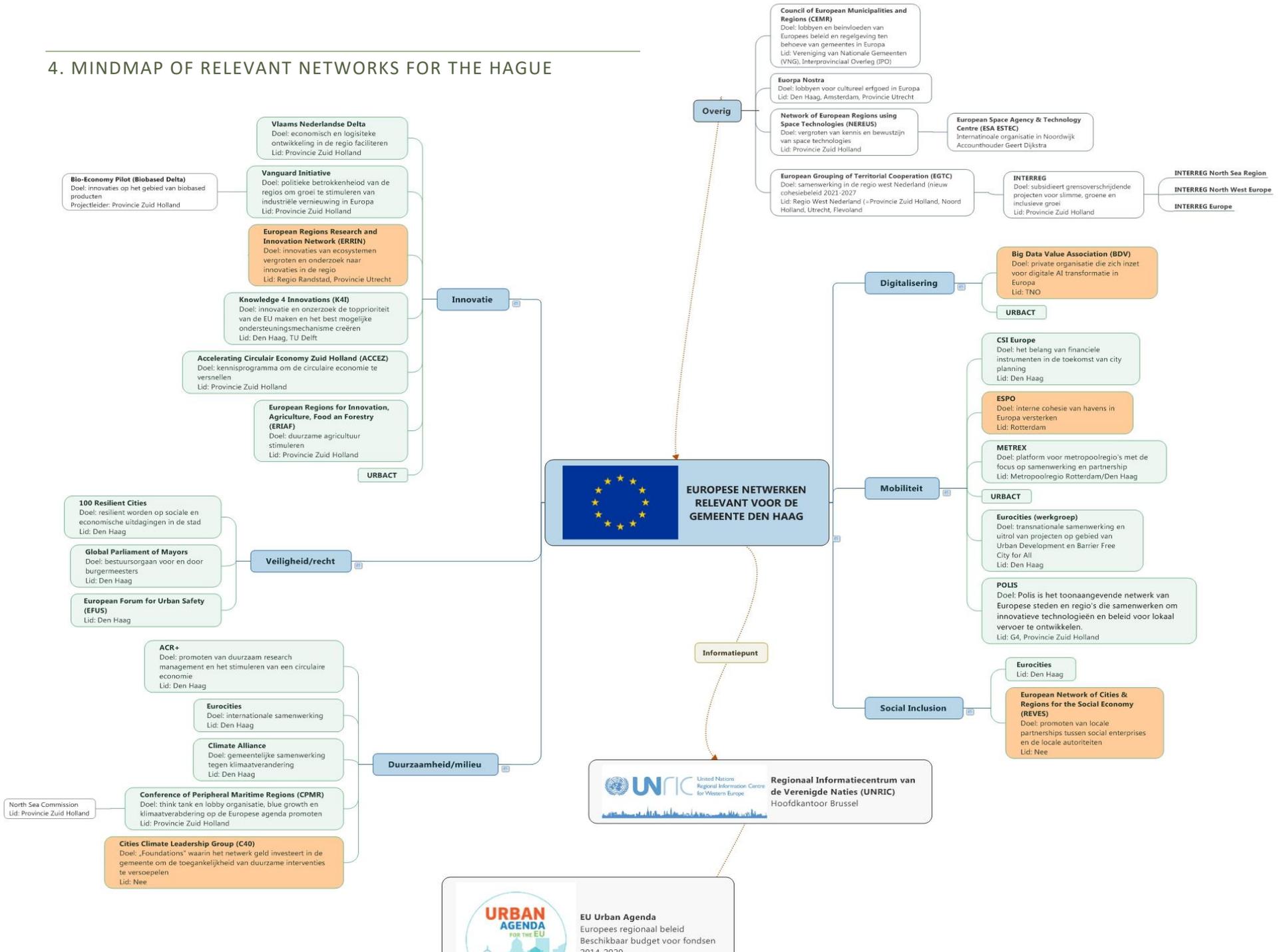
(Gemeente Den Haag, 2009)

3. ORGANIGRAM OF EUROPEAN FUNDS AND THOSE RELEVANT TO THE HAGUE<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Reproduced from the VNG European Subsidy guide (2014) and information from the European Commission's website

### 4. MINDMAP OF RELEVANT NETWORKS FOR THE HAGUE



## 5. INFORMED CONSENT FORMS

Rik van der Laan  
kansen voor west

**THE HAGUE**  
UNIVERSITY OF  
APPLIED SCIENCES

**Informed Consent Form**

**Informed Consent Form**

1) Research Project Title: Den Haag en Europese subsidies.

2) Project Description (1 paragraph) Utiliteitsprogramma kansen voor West 2

- gecombineerde inzet EFRO - ESF
- Holding Economische Investeringen DH (HEID).
- Revolverende Fondsen?

**If you agree to take part in this study please read the following statement and sign this form.**

**I am 16 years of age or older.**

I can confirm that I have read and understood the description and aims of this research. The researcher has answered all the questions that I had to my satisfaction.

I agree to the audio recording of my interview with the researcher.

I understand that the researcher offers me the following guarantees:

All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. My name will not be used in the study unless I give permission for it.

Recordings will be accessible only by the researcher. Unless otherwise agreed, anonymity will be ensured at all times. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcriptions.

ne and anything to be deleted from it.

I consent to take part in the research on the basis of the guarantees outlined above.

**Name:** Rik van der Laan

**Signature:** 

**Date:** 06.12.19

Monique v/d Voort



**Informed Consent Form**

**Informed Consent Form**

- 1) Research Project Title: *Dissertation: Municipality of The Hague and European networks*
- 2) Project Description (1 paragraph) *European regional funds.*  
*sub question 4:*  
*What European funding options are used by the municipality of The Hague, and why these funds?*

**If you agree to take part in this study please read the following statement and sign this form.**

**I am 16 years of age or older.**

I can confirm that I have read and understood the description and aims of this research. The researcher has answered all the questions that I had to my satisfaction.

I agree to the audio recording of my interview with the researcher.

I understand that the researcher offers me the following guarantees:

All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. My name will not be used in the study unless I give permission for it.

Recordings will be accessible only by the researcher. Unless otherwise agreed, anonymity will be ensured at all times. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcriptions.

I can ask for the recording to be stopped at any time and anything to be deleted from it.

I consent to take part in the research on the basis of the guarantees outlined above.

Name: *Monique v/d Voort*

Signature: *Monique v/d Voort*

Date: *30 oktober 2019*

Frans van Bork

**Informed Consent Form**

**Informed Consent Form**

- 1) Research Project Title:
- 2) Project Description (1 paragraph)

Betrokkenheid van de gemeente den haag in het Europese speelveld. Hoe zat het met de vorige college periode? meer/minder prioriteit voor EU zaken?

**If you agree to take part in this study please read the following statement and sign this form.**

**I am 16 years of age or older.**

I can confirm that I have read and understood the description and aims of this research. The researcher has answered all the questions that I had to my satisfaction.

I agree to the audio recording of my interview with the researcher.

I understand that the researcher offers me the following guarantees:

All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. My name will not be used in the study unless I give permission for it.

Recordings will be accessible only by the researcher. Unless otherwise agreed, anonymity will be ensured at all times. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcriptions.

I can ask for the recording to be stopped at any time and anything to be deleted from it.

I consent to take part in the research on the basis of the guarantees outlined above.

**Name:** Frans van Bork

**Signature:**



**Date:** 2-12-2019

Merijn Suykerbuijk



**Informed Consent Form**

**Informed Consent Form**

- 1) Research Project Title: *Connected With Europe*
- 2) Project Description (1 paragraph)
  - *Internal structure of the Municipality*
    - *Capacity (FTE)*
    - *Skills*
    - *Activism*
  - *Primary motivations for the Hague to be involved in EU activities?*
  - *Ambitions to become more active in EU?*

If you agree to take part in this study please read the following statement and sign this form.

I am 16 years of age or older.

I can confirm that I have read and understood the description and aims of this research. The researcher has answered all the questions that I had to my satisfaction.

I agree to the audio recording of my interview with the researcher.

I understand that the researcher offers me the following guarantees:

All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. My name will not be used in the study unless I give permission for it.

Recordings will be accessible only by the researcher. Unless otherwise agreed, anonymity will be ensured at all times. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcriptions.

I can ask for the recording to be stopped at any time and anything to be deleted from it.

I consent to take part in the research on the basis of the guarantees outlined above.

Name: *Merijn Suykerbuijk*

Signature: *[Handwritten Signature]*

Date: *17-12-2019*

Danijela Blagojevic



### Informed Consent Form

#### Informed Consent Form

- 1) Research Project Title: *Connected with Europe*
- 2) Project Description (1 paragraph)
  - *opportunities & constraints for The Hague*
  - *Internal structure:*
    - *Activism*
    - *skills*
    - *capacity*

**If you agree to take part in this study please read the following statement and sign this form.**

**I am 16 years of age or older.**

I can confirm that I have read and understood the description and aims of this research. The researcher has answered all the questions that I had to my satisfaction.

I agree to the audio recording of my interview with the researcher.

I understand that the researcher offers me the following guarantees:

All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. My name will not be used in the study unless I give permission for it.

Recordings will be accessible only by the researcher. Unless otherwise agreed, anonymity will be ensured at all times. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcriptions.

I can ask for the recording to be stopped at any time and anything to be deleted from it.

I consent to take part in the research on the basis of the guarantees outlined above.

Name: *Danijela Blagojevic*

Signature: *D. Blagojevic*

Date: *10-11-2019*

## Informed Consent Form

### Informed Consent Form

- 1) Research Project Title: *Connected to Europe*
- 2) Project Description (1 paragraph)
  - *How does The Hague benefit from European knowledge networks?*
  - *What role does the umbrella organization VNG take in the European playing field?*
  - *Are there factors of bottom-up/upload Europeanization in the activities of VNG?*

**If you agree to take part in this study please read the following statement and sign this form.**

**I am 16 years of age or older.**

I can confirm that I have read and understood the description and aims of this research. The researcher has answered all the questions that I had to my satisfaction.

I agree to the audio recording of my interview with the researcher.

I understand that the researcher offers me the following guarantees:

All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. My name will not be used in the study unless I give permission for it.

Recordings will be accessible only by the researcher. Unless otherwise agreed, anonymity will be ensured at all times. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcriptions.

I can ask for the recording to be stopped at any time and anything to be deleted from it.

I consent to take part in the research on the basis of the guarantees outlined above.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_



Date: \_\_\_\_\_

18/12/2019

BAS VAN DEN BERG

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## 6. INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

### TRANSCRIPT INTERVIEW MERIJN

Interviewer: Joëlle van den Berg

Interviewee: Merijn Suijkerbuijk, EU Policy Officer municipality of The Hague

Date: December 17, 2019 | 14:00 – 14:45

Place: Municipality of The Hague

---

J: Thank you Merijn, for participating in this interview!

M: No problem

J: So, the first question: what is, according to you, the foremost reason for the municipality of The Hague to undertake actions on the EU playing field?

M: Uhm, I would say, first I should point out that that reason could vary always as it is a very political question. Every time a new municipal council gets formed, their political motives can be different. Their ambitions can be different.

J: Okay, that's understandable. Would you say The Hague uses Europe as a problem solver, as a stage, an alternative or maybe even Europe as a duty?

M: I think The Hague does not see or use Europe as a duty. I also think Europe is not one of the key priorities of the municipality of The Hague, but mostly, I think The Hague sees and uses Europe as a stage and also an opportunity to achieve their goals.

J: And how would you say the does the municipality does that?

M: There's different ways.. what is relevant to your dissertation are the networks. For example, there are many networks with different objectives and goals. Not every city, even in the G4, is member of the same EU transnational networks. What I mean to say is that each city has their own policy plans and they find networks that fit to their European ambitions.

J: How about Europe as a problem solver? Do you know of instances where The Hague would use Europe as a way to solve issues in the city?

M: I would say yes, a topic that is very relevant is circular economy. I believe the role of Europe is an addition to what is happening in The Netherlands and locally in The Hague. The EU is the network, and shows us the best practices of different cities, also, cities come together and make a fist so to speak. The city of The Hague cannot lobby on their own to change legislation, but when we do it with a network as EUROCITIES for example, then together as a group, we have a stronger voice.

J: How about the G4? Is that a vehicle to use for lobbying?

M: That is difficult to say, we are still struggling to find some common ground where we can lobby together. Let's take the theme 'mobility' for example. You can imagine, that if The Hague wants to build a train track from The Hague to Dusseldorf, it has no use for Amsterdam, why would they help lobby with that?

J: Haha

M: Every G4 city has their own European ambitions.

J: I understand.

J: So a next topic I wanted to get some information on is how Europe is represented within the municipality itself. Is there sufficient knowledge of Europe in the organization? Are there enough employees in the organization who focus on Europe?

M: Definitely, I'd say every department, where Europe plays a role, has a person or even multiple in their team who are specialized on European affairs. There is lots of European knowledge, but it is fragmented over the municipality.

J: Do you see that fragmentation as a challenge? Or would you say it is more of a good thing that the knowledge is spread among the departments?

M: On the one hand, I say the fragmentation is a good thing. This means there are 'European experts' on many different topics, I'm happy that there is someone with a lot of knowledge on European affairs on the topic of circular economy, because, as I work at the international affairs department, circular economy is not my area of expertise. On the other hand, sometimes it is difficult to find each other. There needs to be coordination in the organization to get the 'European experts' together.

J: This is why our EU representative set up the Haagse Europese Afstemming, am I right?

M: Yes, indeed. Our EU representative, Danijela, is the person who is most in contact with the G4, who is often in Brussels and who supports the Alderman with the European dossier. Therefore it is also her role to coordinate the European affairs within the municipality, so the HEUA is a means of bringing expertise together and share knowledge.

J: Thank you, that makes sense. Moving on, speaking of the Alderman with the European dossier.. I know you were in Brussels yesterday with Alderman van Asten, can you tell me what was his role there?

M: Van Asten is member of the Committee of the Regions and the working group COTER. COTER is the working group that focusses on regional cohesion and EU budget. Informally, the COTER working group is seen as the most important working group since they are discussing EU budget, they are probably the most respected working group.

J: As I understand, as a member of the CoR, to get a 'rapporteurship' in one of the working groups is the main goal?

M: Yes, for example the COTER commission: it has around 100 people, and the rapporteur has an important role. As a rapporteur, you can express your opinions on EU regulations or directives, or even

propose something new on their own initiative. Being a rapporteur is a way to profile yourself and get a topic on the agenda.

J: How does that help the city?

M: The rapporteur has a 'way in' so to speak. The rapporteur has many connections, talks to members of the EP and so on. In this role, the rapporteur can lobby at high level for themes that are of relevance to his or her city. As the CoR takes on an advisory role, the rapporteur can represent the voice of the city in this advice the CoR brings out.

J: Thank you, that is clear. Moving on to another network: EUROCITIES.

M: Very positive about EUROCITIES is that there are lots of themes that are discussed, so there are topics and challenges that are relevant for smaller cities and there are topics addressed in EUROCITIES working groups that apply to large cities. Every city and their challenges have a place in this network.

J: What are themes The Hague is active in, in the EUROCITIES network?

M: We are mostly active, with our colleagues from the Economy department, on the topic of environment and circular economy. We can, however, make more use of the network on other policy areas. There is lots of themes we want to focus on, and when I said we use Europe as a stage, we do not use it for one specific theme. We advocate as a city who works hard on circular economy but at the same time also mobility, impact economy, social inclusion. Utrecht for example, in Europe they have a very clear message, they use Europe as a stage for only one theme: healthy urban life. That makes it easier for Utrecht to be active in just a select few working groups but gain a lot.

J: Maybe our slogan 'City of Peace & Justice' is too broad?

M: Haha, might be. Anyhow, the message you convey to Brussels is very important, The Hague is still searching a bit what that message should be in the context of the EU.

J: I can imagine then, that in this case the G4 is a useful tool for The Hague to work together and profit from let's say Utrecht's strong position?

M: Yes, there are policy areas the G4 is working together on in EUROCITIES. The G4 decided to join forces on the topics air quality and energy transition.

J: So finally, as a closing question, bottom line: in what way does the city of The Hague benefit from these memberships, CoR, EUROCITIES and other networks?

M: I would say... three things. Mostly, the transfer of knowledge, so The Hague can learn from the best practices of any other EU city involved. Second, building a network of contacts is very useful for The Hague. And third, profiling the image of The Hague is beneficial. Like I said, the message you convey in the EU helps, with the right profiling, The Hague is now somewhat known in Brussels as a hub for Artificial Intelligence, ever since the UN institute UNICIRI opened office in The Hague, we made sure it was known that we have a UN institute in the city that uses Artificial Intelligence in crime and justice research. Which fits perfectly to the 'Peace & Justice' profile of The Hague. As a result of this successful profiling, we can bring Europe closer to the citizens. For example, we organize congresses on AI in the

city. From all over Europe, people visit out The Hague, they book hotels and stay for a day or two, the catering industry benefits too.

J: This reminds me of the network K4I, The Hague is member of this network, too right? One of the most beneficial networks for our city?

M: Yes, without a doubt, and The Hague is doing well in this network. Our colleagues from the department Economics attended one of their annual summits, and The Hague was given a platform to share our best practices and developments on AI and digitalization with a presentation and workshop. Like I said, it is important if you are using Europe as a stage, to have a message: the network K4I gave our city a platform and taking the stage here, means it is going to be easier to get the leading role on this topic in Brussels later on.

J: How did The Hague end up getting the stage and being able to give this workshop at the K4I summit?

M: This was a good example of lobbying, before the summit took place, there have been several meetings our colleagues from Economics made known the priorities and ambitions of The Hague. It takes time and effort, but now, after the K4I summit, it should be known that The Hague has ambitions in becoming an AI city and is actively taking steps to do so.

J: Thank you so much, lastly, can I ask you to fill in in the overview I sent you earlier, with the networks we spoke about and indicators of uploading Europeanization?

M: Sure, lets fill it in now.

## TRANSCRIPT INTERVIEW MONIQUE

Interviewer: Joëlle van den Berg

Interviewee: Monique van der Voort, subsidy desk The Hague

Date: October 30, 2019 | 10:00 – 11:00

Place: Municipality of The Hague

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J: Before we start, can you tell me a bit more about your daily working activities and your position at the subsidy desk of the municipality?

M: Yes of course! I think I should also tell you a bit more about my background and how I came to be part of the subsidy desk of the municipality since it has some relevance to the way I approach the work here.

J: Please, do tell!

M: The subsidy desk, or expertise desk, is founded in 2002. Since 2017, when BEC included the subsidy desk within their operational management, we have become closer to the department Financial Control, meaning that we are now closer to the financial director of the municipality. With that change the tasks and goals of our subsidy desk have grown.

J: OK.

I've been working for the municipality now for 1,5 years. Before that, I've worked as a grant consultant for a long time.

J: Did I understand correctly that you had your own consultancy agency?

M: No.. but I've always worked at bigger consultancy agencies who mainly focussed on European funds and grants.

J: So European funds are your area of expertise?

M: Well, I don't really make a distinction in type of funds. I've always worked, here in the municipality and in the past, only looking at the project and the ambitions they have. If it's a project with potential, I ask myself: how are we going to kick-start this with the right funding? I say the right funding, because European funding options are important, but they don't always fit to the project. Sometimes it is better to look for funding closer to home. For the project itself is not relevant where the funding or grants are coming from.

J: I was under the perception that, the way things work within the municipality is that whenever a Call for Proposal is made, only then the municipality will come in action and look if they want to do something with that funding option or not.. So that's not correct?

M: Well, in the past we have worked the way you described it: there is a Call for Proposal, the subsidy desk sends the information around within the organization and it is up to the policy officers to choose whether they take action or not. However, the trend you then see is that it falls silent.

J: Why do you think that is?

M: Basically you can say that the timing is off, it costs too much time and adds more workload. But more importantly, you have to figure out a whole new project that fits this Call for Proposal. The way of going about it in this manner has some risks. Only the execution phase of the project, they suddenly start to think: *"how are we going to do this?"*

J: Haha

M: But then it's too late.. they have already received the money for the project but run in to a number of bottlenecks. People no longer like the European funds in that phase..

J: Bottlenecks such as..?

M: Well, there are a number of conditions their project needs to adhere to. Every receipt must be turned over, but more importantly: in the project they outlined the wished results, or outputs, but later they realize that those results might not be possible to achieve.

J: What happens if a project that receives European funds does not deliver the results they outlined in their proposal?

M: In the worst case, the money has to be paid back.. That is very painful for organizations. If something like that happens, they usually close the door on European funds and don't bother again.

J: So my next question regards to those conditions the project need to adhere to. Are they clear and achievable for the person who applies? Or is it a difficult process like most European regulations?

M: It is a difficult process. Sometimes, applying for the European funds can be like a labyrinth. But... when it succeeds, European funds are very good for publicity.

M: Horizon 2020 for example, the Call for Proposals is coming and every project manager and policy officer is on alert. This is because they think: *"Wow! 100 million Euro's available for projects on the theme I work on!"* In reality it is much more unruly. Horizon 2020 is the number one research grant programme of the EU and is not necessarily meant for cities to apply for..

J: Why?

M: Cities hardly do research projects in the city. What is more common that universities conduct research projects. It happens sometimes that universities launch a research project in the city and use the city as a testing ground. This is a difficult type of project for the project leaders of the municipality because they are not the one's conducting it and overseeing it is difficult

M: So, in reality: 100 million Euro's sounds nice, but it's not as easy as it seems..

J: So I can conclude that European subsidies are usually complex?

M: Yes, but there are many different variants of European subsidies.

J: I know, I brought this layout as a way to understand the different categorizations. Even for me, with the background knowledge I have from my study European Studies, I still find it difficult.

M: Haha

J: So, with all the different categories of funding programmes like European Social Funds (ESF) European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), et cetera, can you tell me which funding programme The Hague mainly focusses on?

M: Yes, the European Structural Investment Funds (ESIF) funds mainly consists from the ESF and ERDF programmes. The maritime and fisheries fund and agricultural fund for rural development is mainly included and divided in programmes of the government of The Netherlands. The structural funds ESF and ERDF include INTERREG, which stands for interregional cooperation in Europe. The money allocated for ESF and ERDF is about the same. Looking at the budget for the structural funds, the programme Kansen voor West 2 (that falls under ERDF) has the biggest piece of the pie because it's a big programme where both the P4 and G4 are included and have been allocated money. The P4, the provinces Utrecht, Zuid Holland, Noord Holland and Flevoland, have their own budget. The G4, The Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Utrecht has also a piece of the pie. This means that, when there is a project in the city that looks for EU funding, they can apply for it both at the province and the municipality. It is important to mention that each part of the country has their own programme. So The Hague falls under the east of The Netherlands and is therefore included in the Kansen voor West programme.

J: Okay, so how about the ESF then?

M: That is structured a little differently. The Hague is part of the "*Arbeidsmarktregio Haaglanden*" which include surrounding cities in The Hague such as Delft and Rijswijk. In this case, The Hague is lead partner, which means that The Hague gets the money from the Dutch government and is responsible for dividing it among the other municipalities in the region Haaglanden. There are 35 labour market regions in The Netherlands and they all should be working together to divide the ESF money to projects that stimulate social cohesion.

J: So it is not only the municipality of The Hague that should profit from this ESF money?

M: Definitely not, but we have of course our own projects in the city to create more jobs and fill the gap in the labour market.

J: That's a lot of tasks for one bureau..

M: Haha, true. The subsidy desk consists only of 5 people, that's not that much to cater to all the needs of the municipality. However, in the end, every department within the municipality is that rolled out a project which receives EU fund is responsible for the end result. We, the subsidy desk, are advisors. When there is a need for extra knowledge on EU guidelines and so on, we are there to help the colleagues.

J: Okay.

M: So within the municipality, the ESF are “represented” best in the department of SZW, social affairs and employment projects. That department has their own ESF – experts. They rarely need our help, they are really good in rolling out the projects intended for ESF money.

J: So the department SZW is a good example of where EU funding options are used. What about municipality wide, do you believe that other departments are on the same level as the department SZW?

M: It is hard to say.. I have to mention that within the ESF funds, the total budget gets spend and the funding is well incorporated in the municipality. We have the lucky position to choose between projects that are best for the city. The project bureau Kansen voor West within the municipality works well with EU funds too. It is a good thing for the municipality of The Hague to make use of the ESF money, because all the projects have direct effect on the city. You can even show the citizens *“look, with this EU money we have built this building and this project is funded by the EU”*.

J: Can you give an example of a recent ESF project?

M: Well, since we are advisory organ, we have less knowledge on which projects are actually running in the city. The bureau Kansen voor West has more knowledge on projects launched, because, like I mentioned, they are allocated the biggest piece of the pie in ESF and ERDF money. Therefore they have their own bureau and have more in depth knowledge on the projects.

J: Okay

M: We, the subsidy desk, focusses on projects for the municipality only. Remember: Kansen voor West is a programme that includes the whole West part of The Netherlands, the P4 and the G4, and not only the municipality of The Hague. So the projects that are part of Kansen voor West and launched in the city of The Hague are not our responsibility. Kansen voor West is the responsible party for those projects, even though the project is running in our city. This means the municipality profits indirectly from Kansen voor West projects. They launch good projects and without our interference, the goals and objectives of the municipality are still met. Our focus lies within the direct, external means for the city of The Hague.

J: Uh.. direct, external means for the city of The Hague? Please explain...

M: Haha, that is typical “controller” language. It means this: in the municipality, every department has a their own budget. So do we, the subsidy desk. When a department wants to launch a project that does not fit in their budget, or do extra projects outside their programme, they have to find other funding options to finance their project. This is where the subsidy desk comes in. We focus on those type of subsidies.

J: Okay, I understand now.

M: Sometimes those projects can be funded by ERDF and Kansen voor West programme, but Kansen voor West is usually not the money we use for our own projects. It is money we administer among the P4 and G4.

J: If I understand correctly, the Kansen for West money is divided equally and then the P4 and G4 run their own projects, the money is given by the Dutch government and it should be divided. But funding

for projects the subsidy desks works with are the ones where you have to compete, reply to Call for Proposals and adhere to all the right EU funding project guidelines in order to get the money.

M: Yes, for example the INTERREG funds, they are not specifically linked to The Netherlands so competition plays a big role. As you understand, every department wants the best projects in their cities. Also, there is no allocated amount of money allocated beforehand as is the case at Kansen voor West. So for INTERREG funds the subsidy desk plays a bigger role, because actively competing is an important process for allocating the fund.

J: How about INTERREG A, B, C? Which one is of important for The Hague?

M: The Hague is part of INTERREG A, because of our location at the North Sea. We participate in the "Twee Zeeën" programme. Very exiting right now is the Brexit. If the Brexit happens, the "Twee Zeeën" programme gets cancelled due to the UK leaving. If that happens, The Hague has no position more in the INTERREG A programme.

J: Oh..

M: In INTERREG B, the focus lies on transnational regions, so that automatically means more competition and more competitors.

J: Do we benefit from being a large city when competing with others?

M: Since we are a large city, we have a subsidy desk and therefore automatically more expertise on EU funds within our organization, meaning that the city is often well represented in networks and useful contacts. Smaller cities generally do not have a subsidy desk so they have to put more effort in city branding. We have the benefit in that case.

J: Seems logical.

M: A side note though.. it's not always a benefit.. being a larger city. There are projects that specifically look at the smaller and medium sized cities, because we, The Hague, has problems in the city that smaller cities don't have. This can makes us less attractive for some cooperation's in projects. On many occasions, as you can imagine EU funding money has a lot more impact in smaller cities than in larger cities. It impacts their budget more.

M: So now we have discussed the European Structural Investment Funds (ESIF), but there is also the Thematic Funds. These funds come directly from Brussels.

J: Please elaborate..

M: The funds come from Brussels, meaning that the EU funds come from different "sources", the money does not go from Brussels to the Member State and then gets equally divided such as Kansen voor West. There are different rules. So you have to be very sharp when it comes to reacting to those Call for Proposals because you have to score a 10, no figure of speech, to qualify for the money from thematic funds since there is so much competition.

J: Literally, your project has to score a 10 to be qualified for money from the EU Thematic Funds?

M: Yes.. there are projects that scored a 9.8 and did not qualify for the fund.

J: How does The Hague score usually on these thematic funds?

M: Since these funds are the top of the class, we focus less on them. If we can fund a project with money from the ESF or ERDF, we should not make it ourselves so difficult. Usually thematic funds are allocated to cities with prestigious universities. For example Eindhoven, where they have the Technical University, the city is then used as a testing ground.

J: So in the case of EU Thematic Funds, the size of the municipality does not necessarily matter. It is the organizations or consortium you have in the city that are of importance.

M: Yes, exactly.

M: Usually the big tech companies apply for the fund and want to test their project in the city, then, as a municipality, you are very lucky.

J: So do you know of any projects that got thematic funds and landed in The Hague?

M: Not really, but Delft, with their Technical University gets lots of EU thematic funding.

J: But that's Delft...

M: Still The Hague benefits from those projects, even if their in Delft. The Hague needs to raise their hand more often and be more outspoken. We have for example, if they want run tests or experiments, we are close enough to be their testing ground. This happened for example on a project with geo thermic processes. I believe should make their way to the stage and show that we have to offer.

J: Okay.

M: But, eventually the main motive to actively pursue EU funds should be for betterment of the city. And we must always ask ourselves, what do the citizens of The Hague gain with this. For the regular citizen, the one question they have is, "*what does this bring us?*" so we must be very considerate with choosing the projects because the city should always benefit from it. We must not actively pursue a project with EU Thematic Funds just to say "*look, we have project that scored a 10! Look how good we are*". I believe the municipality of The Hague does a good job in this. We might be even holding back too much..

J: Why is that?

M: Usually, projects with this type of funding create a lot of buzz and unnecessary publicity. This is not what we strive for since it is not important for The Hague's citizens.

J: How about the other G4 cities, are they active in allocating EU Thematic Funds?

M: Yes, Rotterdam and Amsterdam are almost always the forerunners in The Netherlands. In some cases, they are even asked to apply to the Call for Proposal. It is important to mention that the size of the municipality plays a role here. They have more people on board who can fully participate in these new innovative projects. In our case, in The Hague we take on these projects as an extra activity. The main goal is to get our own projects, that come from the ERDF funds, from the ground. Sometimes I wish we had more people allocated to participate in these innovative projects.

M: But I should point out that there is not a lack of expertise, the choice is made deliberately to focus on other projects. We need our project managers to focus on the contacts and networks they already have, stay up to date. In the end, the drive should always be improvement of the city. This means EU funds should always be regarded as an aid, never as the goal.

J: That's a nice quote to end the interview with. Thank you!

## TRANSCRIPT INTERVIEW RIK

Interviewer: Joëlle van den Berg

Interviewee: Rik van der Laan, bureau Kansen voor West

Date: December 6, 2019 | 14:00 – 14:45

Place: Municipality of The Hague

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J: Thank you for taking the time to tell me more about Kansen voor West.

R: That's okay!

J: I hope to learn more about the position of Kansen voor West within the subsidy landscape and all the funding options there are for the municipality. But first a little more about yourself, which department are you working for?

R: As you know I work for bureau Kansen voor West, but that is part of the Economic department: DSO, Dienst Stedelijke Ontwikkeling. My job is to look for projects in the city that we can invest the funding money in and also I approve or deny the project requests and I am a 'controller', which means that I check if every European Euro is spent in the way it should be.

J: Why is that you work for DSO? Why is your bureau part of the Economic department and not the subsidy desk? I talked to Monique van der Voort about the subsidy desk and I assumed that your bureau would be part of that?

R: I understand why you would assume that, but when you look at the European funds, the European Social Fund is represented in the department of Social Affairs and Employment Projects, SZW. We, Kansen voor West, are part of the European Regional Development Fund. The Regional Development Fund has an economic impact on the city and that is why we are part of the department DSO.

J: Okay, yes, that makes sense. Do you work together with the subsidy desk often?

R: That depends, as Kansen voor West is part of the Regional Development Fund, and not the Social Fund. Where the subsidy desk and the bureau Kansen voor West would work together is when a colleague asks advice on EU funding on a certain project, the subsidy desk will tell them that, if their project is eligible for money from the Regional Development Fund, that colleague should contact us to get the ball running.

J: Okay

R: To recap, the Regional Development Fund are divided by the member state under the four country parts, North East South West, and The Hague falls under the Western region: therefore Kansen voor West. West includes the Randstad and Flevoland and the G4 cities. Kansen voor West exists from 2009. Before that there was the Urban Agenda, where the EU's main focus was on urban development.

J: Area development? So city planning?

R: Yes, so there's a lot of EU funding money in stones, in buildings. For example, the visitors centre of the Peace Palace, Vredespaleis, is built from EU funding for regional development.

J: That is a nice fact, I did not know that.

R: It's a nice example of EU funding, yes!

R: So in 2009 the first Kansen voor West programme was constructed, so that was Kansen voor West I. The priorities were different. There was a lot more money allocated in Kansen voor West 1 than there is now in Kansen voor West 2.

J: Why is that?

R: Mainly because of the economic crisis. Kansen voor West 1 ran from 2009 till 2013. In 2014, the effect of the economic crisis was also visible in the Kansen voor West 2 programme, which runs from 2014 till 2020.

J: So one difference is in Kansen voor West 1 and 2 is the money that is allocated. What else?

R: Well, Kansen voor West 1 was a lot like the project before them. So the priorities were focussed around urban development. Again, a lot of money was put in stones. Some nice example again: the Grote Markt street, the Haagse Markt, Panorama Mesdag, Mauritshuis.. projects like that received funding from Kansen voor West 1. In Kansen voor West 2, the focus shifted to urban development but then from a different point of view: the mismatch on the labour market and secondly the focus shifted to improving the business climate in the city with innovation as the driving force.

J: Okay..

R: Every city in the Western part of the Netherlands that is part of Kansen voor West has their own bureau that oversees the programme in their municipality. This is because every city has their own priority plan. Since Kansen voor West 2, the four Provinces, the P4, are also included in the Kansen voor West programme. They focus only on low-carbon economy (koolstofarme economie). They have no other priorities, since they have no urban priorities like cities have.

J: How much money is allocated for The Hague in Kansen voor West 2?

R: The Hague's budget for Kansen voor West 2 is 25 million. We have 25 million euros to spend for the entire programme 2014 – 2020, so seven years. I think the entire budget for Kansen voor West 2 is around 200 million.

J: What are the priorities or focus areas for The Hague in Kansen voor West 2?

R: Around 12 million is reserved for innovation projects in collaboration with partners in the regions. About 10 million is reserved for the urban development and the rest is spent on the programme costs. It is important to mention that Kansen voor West projects always include co-financing. This means that the partners also have to invest money in the project.

J: When you say co-financing and partners, are we then talking about the government? Companies?

R: That depends on the project, in general, money from the government is difficult because state aid may never favour one project over another. So usually, with co-financing, it is private money from the market. So money from corporations. Within the money reserved for innovation projects, we have usually big companies who invest and co-finance.

J: Okay, that's clear! Can you tell me about the other priority of Kansen voor West, the mismatch on the labour market?

R: Yes. For this priority we work together with the European Social Fund. We focus on The Hague and the people who struggle to find their way to the labour market. Examples are the 'Energieacademie'. This is such a good programme because we aim to guide these people to the jobs of the future. The Energieacademie offers education and training in jobs for the future where we already have a shortage in. So let's say... solar panel mechanic or mechanics who know to fix the charging station for electric cars. we are responding, not to today's demand, but to tomorrow's demand and at the same time we create jobs. Another project is the JINC project, that focusses on young adults who have little view on what they want to do when they are older, especially kids in the tougher neighborhoods like the Schilderswijk. JINC will guide these teenagers, offer internships and such things, so they have a better outlook on the future.

J: Thank you for these examples, it gives a better perspective how European money benefits the citizens.

R: There's also a lot of projects on the topic of innovation. For example a project on the North Sea, at the coast of Scheveningen, where they test communications on sea.

J: Is The Hague lead partner in this case?

R: No, in Kansen voor West, there is no lead partner. There are 8 equal partners in the Kansen voor West program. These are municipalities in South Holland, and they all have around 2 to 3 people who work for Kansen voor West in their municipality. Our bureau, Kansen voor West The Hague, has 4. However, Rotterdam is the central information point for the Dutch government and the European Union.

J: Can you tell me a bit about Kansen voor West 3 already?

R: The Kansen voor West 2 program runs officially till 2020, but they have around 2 to 3 years to fully round of the project. So to be honest, we are more focused on rounding off the projects, than on the new program. Also, there is no new financial program of the European Commission yet, so it is not official how much money is going to be allocated for the 2021 – 2027.

J: I understand. I think I have enough information, thank you!

## TRANSCRIPT INTERVIEW BAS

Interviewer: Joëlle van den Berg

Interviewee: Bas van der Barg, VNG Europa Team

Date: December 18, 2019 | 10:00 – 11:00

Place: VNG Office

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J: Hello Bas, thank you for seeing me and agreeing with this interview.

B: That's no problem.

J: As I told you via email, I'm researching the municipality of The Hague's activities in Brussel, looking at networks and funding. I know you work for the Europe Team of the VNG, can you tell me a bit about the activities of your team?

B: Yes, mainly we have the same three objectives as the VNG, that is on the first hand: representing the interests of decentralized governments. That includes not only municipalities, but provinces and all other regions too. Secondly, we are a platform, we share knowledge, exchange best practices and are an information point. This means, for example, I was just in Brussels yesterday. The Alderman of The Hague had a meeting with the COTER working group of the Committee of the Regions, from the VNG, I was there to support the Alderman..

J: O how cool, I know my colleague, Merijn Suijkerbuijk, was there too, I interviewed him too.

B: I know, he told me. Haha.

B: So the third activity of the Europe Team is, we offer services. We made a handbook of all the EU subsidy options.

J: I studied that inside and out.

B: So our team consists of around 5 people, and we are responsible for the points I mentioned above.

J: You mentioned the CoR meeting, can you explain me more about the structure of the network?

B: The CoR has six committees, or working groups, if you will. The COTER committee is the prestigious one, because that committee debates over the EU budget. They cover the annual EU budget, multiannual financial framework, and local and regional finances. Every working group has 12 members and 12 deputies. As you know, the CoR offers rapports of advice to the Commission, that is done by the Rapporteur, the chair of the working group. To be chair of a working group is position that has a lot of power. The rule is not, 'the biggest city or region gets the place in the best working group', the COTER working group includes the deputy Mayor of Zwolle and the Mayor of Vlaardingen for example.

J: And what is the role of the VNG in the CoR?

B: Since the CoR is a formal advisory organ, the VNG can really 'shift' the topics in the direction we consider of relevance. This happens mainly through these Rapporteurships. For example, the first

advice of the CoR on the Urban Agenda in 2014, is written by me. What I've put on paper is constructed together with the G4, G40 and the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations and it was the framework of the official Urban Agenda.

J: That is pretty cool.

B: Yes, it is! And there you see, we can really influence the process and shift it in our direction and point of view. It takes a lot of lobbying.. that should be mentioned.

J: So you offer support for the subnational governments in the CoR, are there other networks the VNG is active in?

B: Yes, there are two. First, the CEMR, the Council of European Municipalities and Regions. The CEMR members are similar organisations as ours, so for example, the Austrian Association of Cities and Towns. Let's say that there is a topic, that is interesting for the Dutch subnational governments, and an Austrian mayor has that Rapporteurship, we will use our contacts in the CEMR to "informally lobby" with the Austrian Association of Cities and Towns.

J: I wasn't sure about the lobby activities of the VNG, but now I understand.

B: The CoR is the formal body with different representatives of different local governments. The lobby is a bit difficult here, therefore, the informal lobby through the CEMR is used more often. But it for all lobbying attempts, big or small, there is one 'golden rule': the lobby of subnational governments is most effective in the policy phase... the phase where the Commission is drafting the proposal. When the Commission formally releases her proposal, the European Parliament and European Council will deliberate on it, and then, as subnational government can hardly "squeeze in". This means, the earlier we can put in our suggestions, the better.

J: And what was the second network the VNG is active in?

B: The CEEP.. the European Centre of Employers and Enterprises providing Public Services and Services of general interest. This is European association of public services responsible for water management or social housing for example.

J: So the VNG's membership here, is mainly because of shared interest?

B: Exactly. Because of the social components of this network, the Dutch Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations is member too, and the VNG and Ministry work together often.

J: We already went very in depth, very quick. My first question was actually going to be, what the benefits of these networks are. So back to the surface, can you tell me why The Hague should be active in networks such as EUROCIITIES, for example?

B: Apart from lobby activities I just described, EUROCIITIES is a network that is very active on information exchange and sharing best practices. I think this is EUROCIITIES biggest asset, they are not only aimed at lobby, even more so on information exchange. Participating in a EUROCIITIES working group, is a golden opportunity for municipalities. EUROCIITIES has the recognition in Brussels that they represent parties that matter. There are limited networks who are consulted by the Commission, the CoR is obviously one, but EUROCIITIES is certainly one too.

J: Moving from networks to EU funds. I've studied the VNG Subsidy guide and interviewed the representative of our subsidy desk. How does the VNG play part in this aspect?

B: Well first, the VNG can not support in the project application of EU funds. We cannot help, support or represent all municipalities in this process. That is simply impossible. We are active on a larger level.

J: What do you mean with 'larger level'?

B: I mean that, A: we lobby that there is enough EU funds is allocated for local projects and regional development. B: we lobby for the best terms and conditions and C: we make sure that every subnational government has the opportunity to apply for the EU funds. I need to explain this a bit more.. Applying for EU money, costs money. The bigger the municipality, the faster they earn back the costs. For small municipalities, it is not profitable to apply for EU funds themselves. You would not see a small municipality apply for the big Horizon 2020 funding scheme for example. The Hague however, has the internal skills and capacity, to apply for this fund. We the VNG should make sure that the small cities have a seat at the table too.

J: How would the smaller cities apply for EU funds then?

B: This usually happens with the help of the Province. Recently, the city Amersfoort has rolled out a Horizon 2020 project, that was set up with the cooperation of the Province.

J: Can you link networks to EU funds?

B: Networks lobby for the allocation of the funds. In this case, the CoR advises the Commission to make a certain amount available towards the urban development of a certain theme. I should mention that the connection with the Commission and the CoR's working group COTER (budget) gets better and better.

J: That certainly should have a positive result for subnational governments. Thank you for your time!

B: You're welcome.

## TRANSCRIPT INTERVIEW FRANS

Interviewer: Joëlle van den Berg

Interviewee: Frans van Bork, Former EU Representative of The Hague and director of The Hague's department of International Affairs

Date: December 2, 2019 | 10:00 – 11:30

Place: Woerden

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J: Hello Frans, I know you have worked for the municipality for a long time. You have been The Hague's EU representative and you have also worked as the head of municipal International Affairs department.

F: That is right!

J: I am looking at Europeanization within the municipality and the structure of the organization. Can you paint the picture for me how the process has been over the years?

F: Yes. When looking at the relation of The Hague and the EU, first thing to keep in mind that the organization is political of nature. So, the period that I'm describing now had a different Mayor, different Municipal Executive, the municipality had different coalition plans.

J: I understand

F: In 2002, when Deetman was Mayor, the G4 office in Brussels was opened. Mayor Deetman had outspoken ideas of the EU. At the time, there was not a very good relationship with the Dutch Permanent Representation to the EU who is in Brussels. The Permanent Representation did not see any use in the representation of subnational governments in Brussels, since they felt like they were the ones who were responsible for representing the interest of all Dutch parties, national and subnational.

J: So how did the office come about then?

F: Well, we highlighted that the interests of subnational governments are different than the Member States. Member States play in much larger framework, and within this framework, we felt the Permanent Representative could not represent subnational interests well enough.

J: Then what happened next?

F: Deetman, against the liking of the Permanent Representative, founded the G4 office in Brussels. So, since 2002, we have a municipal worker of The Hague representing us in Brussels.

J: So Deetman saw a future in Europe and the municipality.

F: Under the rule of Mayor Deetman, Bas Verkerk, who was Alderman at the time, had been given 2,5 mln euro's to "set up" an international policy for The Municipality of The Hague. What they did was the following: they founded a department for International Affairs in the municipality. At the same time, the subsidy desk was founded, and extra FTE was hired for the department of Legal Affairs to

focus on EU law. This all happened in 2002, and around that time a group of 40 people were working full time on European affairs.

J: What was the role of the municipal department of International Affairs then?

F: There was a big focus on EU policy development, how does the municipality deal with European integration? Also, the International Affairs department was responsible for setting up contacts with European organizations, networks, and so on..

J: Could you describe their EU policy?

F: What the aims and objectives then? First, the influence of EU legislation on matters that were of importance to cities and regions. Rather than being represented by the Permanent Representative, The Hague aimed at using their own voice and represent their own interests in Brussels.

J: And what else?

F: As you understand, this was 2002, so we are just amateurs at this point. Brussels moved faster than we could. So a substantial part of The Hague's EU policy was to gather information. Where and how could we learn more about the EU funding schemes, which policy topics where of relevance of The Hague.. such things.

J: And networks?

F: That was also part of The Hague's policy plan. The aim was to share information and learn from the best practices of other cities. That's why The Hague became a member of EUROCIITIES. Finally, The Hague's EU policy plan was for the most part being visible in Brussels. This was done through the G4. Showing that subnational governments are playing the game too.

J: How did that develop over the years?

F: Networks became of greater significance. The same Alderman who spent 2,5 mln on the International Affairs department was The Hague's first member of the Committee of the Regions. The Hague saw that with a seat at the table in the CoR, doors where opened that normally remained closed. You can say that around this time, 2002 till 2004, The Hague really had a good grasp on Europe.

J: But, later The Hague's EU policy weakened?

F: Yes.. you can say that. From 2004 till 2006, we had no member in the CoR. We did remain active in EUROCIITIES, mostly on the topic of social inclusion. The Alderman at that time has been Rapporteur for the working groups around 8 times.

J: What happened in the next time period?

F: Mayor Deetman left in 2008. The new Mayor was Van Aartsen, he was what you could call a "political heavyweight". Where Deetman saw the future in the EU, he saw the benefit of the collusion of local authorities in Brussels. Van Aartsen however, did not see any reason why subnational governments had to be represented in Brussels. He saw the G4 as nonsense and put his faith in the Permanent Representative.

J: Okay..

F: This was also translated back to the municipality of The Hague. The department of International Affairs was instructed to abandon EU policies, there was no use in staying in Brussels. Van Aartsen closed the door on Europe, there were no activities in Brussels anymore.

J: How long did this sentiment continue?

F: A long time, unfortunately. From 2008 till 2017, the influencing of The Hague on EU affairs was nonexistent. We had retrieved from the G4, even giving up our office space. From 40 people working full time on EU affairs, we went back to one. That was me.

F: This was a real shame. As the Urban Agenda of the EU was constructed in 2016, we missed the boat completely. The Urban Agenda of the EU was the crown on the work of the G4, mostly pulled by Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the VNG. Van Aartsen still did not see the relevance of the representation of The Hague in Brussels, formally, Rotterdam took over the lobby for The Hague. But as you understand, this was far from optimal..

J: How come Van Aartsen did not see the relevance of the Urban Agenda?

F: I think this was because Van Aartsen was like I said a man with a lot of experience in politics. He was used to deal with Ministries of The Netherlands and the Permanent Representative. As Amsterdam and Rotterdam did the most work, The Hague lost some credibility.

J: What happened in 2017, when Van Aartsen left?

F: Mayor Krikke came. At this time, the dossier Europe had driven away from the Mayors chair. European topics and activities were mostly stimulated on a lower executive level. The Alderman at the time, Ingrid van Engelshoven took on a role of EU representative, she saw the future in the EU. Later, this role was transferred to the current Alderman for International Affairs, Saskia Bruines. The Hague took a seat again in the CoR, and together with Alderman Robert van Asten, European activities were breathed in new life.

J: That sounds positive

F: Yes, that the European dossier is no longer in the hands of the Mayor has some benefits. Firstly, there is more room for political action when it's done on a lower executive level, as there are 8 Alderman and just one Mayor. Secondly, the European activities were now spread over more departments than just the International Affairs department. All the European dimensions became represented in the organization throughout. The organization started to structure itself towards Europe.

J: So Europe has come back on the radar again, haha.

F: Yes, in 2018, a new director for the department of International Affairs came. He is very Europe-minded and is willing to put more time and money in The Hague's position in Brussels. This is when the HEUA was set up: it was an instrument to make a EU agenda for the municipality of The Hague. What was even more positive, this got political support from both Alderman Bruines and Van Asten, meaning, finally we can start to work on a EU policy again.

TRANSCRIPT INTERVIEW DANIJELA

Interviewer: Joëlle van den Berg

Interviewee: Danijela Blagojevic, EU Representative of The Hague

Date: November 18, 2019 | 15:00 – 16:00

Place: Municipality of The Hague

J: Hi Danijela, I’ve already explained to you the purpose of this meeting. As you know I’m interested to learn your view on the opportunity structure of The Hague.

D: I’m happy to help. Let’s fill in the overview.

<b>Opportunities for the municipality of The Hague</b>	<b>Constraints for the municipality of The Hague</b>
Alderman Robert van Asten is a member of the Committee of the Regions (CoR); the municipality has a direct entry at the EU through a formal body.	Managers have varying ideas about Europe. The built-up network over the years has collapsed because of changes in management. We are now rebuilding, but there is no consistency in EU plans.
The municipality of The Hague has an internal subsidy desk bureau with experts on EU funds.	Insufficient number of full-time colleagues to cover entire EU field.
I set up a six-weekly meeting with colleagues throughout the municipality who are involved with the EU in one way or another. These meetings are called the Haagse Europese Afsteming (HEUA). In these meetings, we discuss and construct lobby-priorities and share knowledge.	The G4 is not yet a well-oiled machine. They act too much from a competitive position. We need time to change this.
Location of the municipality is ideal; in the political heart of The Netherlands, near ministries, Tweede Kamer, knowledge institutions and Brussels.	Internally, within the city hall there is still insufficient “Europe mindness”. Expressing an external focus and realizing that Brussels is nearby remains essential.
The profile of the municipality of The Hague is excellent and fits very well with current agenda of the European Commission	-

<p>The Netherlands has a good position and good credentials in the EU. Frans Timmermans is the second big man in Brussels, and his right hand is Diederik Samsom. Mark Rutte is known in Brussels too. The municipality of The Hague sees that position as an opportunity.</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>A colleague and lobbyist from the municipality of The Hague constructed and rolled out the 'Internal Intelligence Monitor' that provides crucial information from the Tweede Kamer. This is a perfect opportunity to stay informed on EU affairs.</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>The municipality is approached for partnerships in a European context.</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>Current Director for International Affairs of the municipality is Europe minded. This helps with the development of vision formation.</p>	<p>-</p>

## 7. STUDENT ETHICS FORM

# THE HAGUE

UNIVERSITY OF  
APPLIED SCIENCES

## European Studies Student Ethics Form

Your name: Joëlle van den Berg

Supervisor: Mendeltje van Keulen

### Instructions:

Before completing this form you should read the APA Ethics Code (<http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx>). If you are planning research with human subjects, you should also look at the sample consent form available in the Final Project and Dissertation Guide.

- a. Read section 2 that your supervisor will have to sign. Make sure that you cover all these issues in section 1.
- b. Complete section 1 and, if you are using human subjects, section 2, of this form, and sign it.
- c. Ask your project supervisor to read these sections (and the draft consent form if you have one) and ask him/her to sign the form.
- d. Always append this signed form as an appendix to your dissertation. This is a knock-out criterium; if not included the Final Project/Dissertation is awarded an NVD.

### **Section 1. Project Outline (to be completed by student)**

(i) Title of Project: Connected with Europe

(ii) Aims of project:

As the title suggests, this dissertation aims to research to what extent the municipality of The Hague has a grip on Europe. This dissertation sets out to answer the following main question: How does the municipality of The Hague profit from European funds and European networks? The research will include an analysis of the theory of multilevel governance, Europeanization, relevant EU funding options and their impact, and finally, the network memberships of the municipality of The Hague is analyzed and scanned for uploading aspects of Europeanization.

(iii) Will you involve other people in your project - e.g. via formal or informal interviews, group discussions, questionnaires, internet surveys etc. (Note: if you are using data that has already been collected by another researcher - e.g. recordings or transcripts of conversations given to you by your supervisor, you should answer 'NO' to this question.)

YES

If yes: you should complete the section 2 of this form.

If no: you should now sign the statement below and return the form to your supervisor. You have completed this form.



**Section 2 Complete this section only if you answered YES to question (iii) above.**

(i) What will the participants have to do? (v. brief outline of procedure):

Participants are asked to answer some questions around the subject indicated on the informed consent forms the interviewees sign beforehand

(ii) What sort of people will the participants be and how will they be recruited?

Experts in the field. They will be recruited by using my own professional network from the municipality. Participants are contacted by email or phone, and upon agreement, the interview will take place at the location of preference of the interviewee.

(iii) What sort of stimuli or materials will your participants be exposed to? Tick the appropriate boxes and then state what they are in the space below

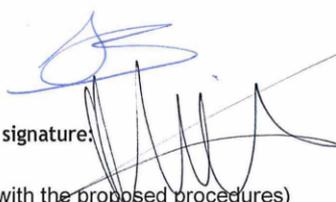
- Questionnaires
- Pictures *VNG subsidy guide*
- Sounds
- Words
- Other

(iv) **Consent:** Informed consent must be obtained for all participants before they take part in your project. By means of an informed consent form you should state what participants will be doing, drawing attention to anything they could conceivably object to subsequently. You should also state how they can withdraw from the study at any time and the measures you are taking to ensure the confidentiality of data. A standard informed consent form is available in the Dissertation Manual. Appendix the Informed Consent Form to your Final Project/Dissertation as well.

(vi) What procedures will you follow in order to guarantee the confidentiality of participants' data?

The data of the participants will not be used unless permission is given to use the names of the participants. All interviewees will be asked to sign the informed consent form, and the questions will be on record. If the interviewee wishes, the transcript of the interview can be reviewed. Transcripts of the interviews will not be shared with third parties.

Student's signature: *Joëlle van den Berg* Date: 28/12/2018

Supervisor's signature:  Date *6-1-2020*  
(if satisfied with the proposed procedures)