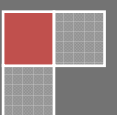# Neighbor-proof?

A policy process comparison between the neighborhoods Berflo Es and Hengelose Es

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Content

Preface

The second fall starts to kick in since the start of this research. It has been a process with personal ups and downs, but eventually it comes to an end. It all started with a rough idea for a comparative neighborhood policy research in two neighborhoods in the city of Hengelo and it resulted in this thesis, as completion to my master studies in Public Administration.

In the meantime I have spent many hours reading and writing and talking to people that took part in the policy processes in both the neighborhoods. They provided me with a lot of information that I would not have found otherwise and proved very valuable in coming to my conclusions. So my first thanks go to them, for making the time free and answering all of my questions.

Second but more important are my mentors and examiners, Bas Denters and Pieter-Jan Klok. They have been patient towards me and kept reading and commenting all the parts and versions of the thesis I sent them. For which I thank them, as without their support I don't know if I would have made it through the process.

Third and most important to me and my graduation project are my girlfriend and my parents who showed a great amount of patience and support, but were also concerned about me and the completion of my thesis. Although these concerns were not always welcome to me at the time, it certainly helped me finishing. For that I thank them and I love them.

In this thesis you will find the differences and similarities between the neighborhood policies in the neighborhoods Berflo Es and Hengelose Es described and explained by three theoretical models.

Borne, October 12, 2011.

Summary

Two neighborhoods have been selected for analyzing policy interventions in the city of Hengelo on the basis of criteria like average income, employment rates, average housing value, tenure distribution and unsafety rate. These two neighborhoods are Berflo Es and Hengelose Es, leading to the following main question: *What factors can explain the differences or similarities in policy interventions in the neighborhoods Berflo Es and Hengelose Es in Hengelo?*

Three theoretical models were selected to help in the explanation for differences and similarities which have been found. First, Kingdon's stream model describes conditions (policy, problems and politics) that change independently and have to be right in order for certain policy to be implemented, but not without being pushed through by a policy entrepreneur. Second, this model is complemented by the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). The ACF is built on the premise that actors in a policy subsystem share certain policy beliefs and form coalitions in accordance to those. These coalitions develop strategies to have their policy implemented and the actual policy is created by mediation by a policy broker. Third, network theories are used for explanation presuming that parties that cooperate are more effective and their outcomes more preferable than would be in the case of competition. Strength and effectiveness of the network are to be explained by the relationship between actors and the resources they bring. In accordance to these three models, the research was aimed at two different topics, being policy and actors. An answer on the first topic has been found in many policy documents, whereas the answer on the second question has mostly been formulated by respondents to an interview.

Then the differences and similarities. On the topic of policy, both neighborhoods suffer from similar problems. Most goals set in both neighborhoods are also similar, differences are mostly put in terms of abstractness. In terms of measures, some similarities still remain but more differences come to light. These differences source back to either different policy actors or unique circumstances in the neighborhood.

On the topic of actors, the first difference between both neighborhoods is the existence of Scoring in the Neighborhood in Berflo Es. This is an actor with a lot of influence on the neighborhood policy by producing its own and as such labeled as policy entrepreneur. The rest of the actors are present in both neighborhoods and brought in similar resources. Another difference is the use of the municipality's external network (as a resource) in Berflo Es, generating national resources and

gaining it a spot on governmental lists. Also different in Berflo Es is the interference of the residents association, writing their own visionary document, whereas in the Hengelose Es a new residents association was created in the course of the policy process. When looking at the understanding of the problem, all actors agree with the eventual policy and mention similar problems in the neighborhoods.

Concluding, the explanations on the differences and similarities found are linked to three important themes. First, the existence of Scoring in the neighborhood in Berflo Es, creating many policy measures and, however less important, unlocking access to more resources at national government. Second, some difference in conditions, where both neighborhoods have some unique circumstances that make some measures possible. Third, in both neighborhoods only one single dominant coalition is present, which means that all actors in both neighborhoods share each other's policy beliefs.

1.   Introduction

The neighborhood as an independent level of policymaking has been used by governments for decades and more. The former Dutch Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM) conducted several specific researches (De Boer et al., 2004), indicating their interest in this subject. Moreover the governmental scientific advisory board pinpointed the interest in neighborhood policy. They even think that specific neighborhood approach can be complementary to local democracy (WRR, 2005:11). Since 2007 this department has two Ministers, instead of the one managing its policy before. The Ministry has been divided over the Minister of Spatial Planning and Environment and the Minister of Housing, Communities and Integration (WWI). The latter has a specific interest in the neighborhood and as a result, every Dutchman knows the word ´Vogelaarwijk´, named after the first Minister of WWI, which composed a list of the forty neighborhoods with the worst condition in the Netherlands. A step in the government's main policy to get from problem neighborhoods to beautiful neighborhoods ('*Van probleemwijk naar prachtwijk'*) (Denters, 2008:60-61). As of 2010, after new elections, the responsibilities of the Ministry of WWI are placed with the Ministry of Home Affairs and Kingdom Relations (BZK) (rijksoverheid.nl).

If neighborhood policy is to be successful, a single actor creating and executing this policy is inadequate. After all, more than one actor is concerned with the problems in a neighborhood and acting accordingly. So, successful policy needs these actors to cooperate and based on the idea that government is the (or a) main policymaker, the municipality will need to incorporate the other actors into their policy making process. This multi actor policy process resulting in neighborhood policy is just the thing this research is interested in. In this process, everyone will have their influence on the eventual policy, a form of politics. But how is this political game behind the policy shaped? So, the following questions will thus be central in this research: which actors are mobilized into the process, what are the roles all actors have in the process, which actor, if any, is the main actor and which actors, if any, bring the resources needed for creating and executing the policy?

Concrete cases have to be selected for these questions to be answered. More than one, because only by comparison a conclusion can be drawn about differences and similarities in a process and differences and similarities in the outcome. But because this research is a master thesis and is limited in time and other resources, no more than two cases can be selected. Because of the same reason, the choice of city has become Hengelo. This city lays directly in between of the University of Twente

and my home town of Borne and within its city borders it has many different neighborhoods. Statistical information about the neighborhoods is found in paragraph 1.2, but to this introduction it can be added that one of its neighborhoods (known as Berflo Es) drew national attention with a Netherlands' first, when local soccer club FC Twente started the 'Scoren in de Wijk' (Scoring in the neighborhood) project in 2005. This project is aimed at connecting sports to the neighborhood by, for instance, organizing soccer clinics but more importantly playing a stimulating role in developing area-based initiatives aimed at civic integration of ethnic minorities and programs to provide educational and career opportunities for underprivileged youngsters (Denters and Klok, 2007:3). The comparing neighborhood then will be one that has not drawn this attention, but still has problems to be dealt with.

1.1 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is a better understanding of the politics of a particular kind of policy intervention, one that involves sub-city residential areas experiencing distress. The main question will be how and why policy choices were made. The focus of this study is at the neighborhoods, as social distress is typically suffered on a local scale and these problems are thus best addressed there. Moreover because every neighborhood will have its own unique set of problems, demanding a specific policy. But the study is not limited to the neighborhood per se, the success of policy could for instance be improved by mobilizing actors on a supralocal or regional scale, or seeking cooperation with private actors or national government.

1.2 Neighborhood

The city of Hengelo knows many neighborhoods, holding approximately 80.000 inhabitants in total. In order for an analysis to function in the context of this project, a neighborhood needs to have some features. Before the term 'neighborhood' (which is analyzable) is applicable, the minimum size will be a population of 2500. Not only that, the neighborhoods for analysis needs to be distressed. After all, such a neighborhood probably needs more policy interventions and more nongovernmental organizations will probably be active in it. Distress can be measured by several indicators as income rate, level of poverty or ethnicity. In Hengelo, three neighborhoods stand out in terms of statistics, these being the 'Berflo Es', the 'Hengelose Es' and 'Noord'.

The English term 'neighborhood' has two possible translations in Dutch, it can either mean '*buurt*' or '*wijk*'. The online database providing the figures in this analysis makes a twofold in these two levels, where a '*wijk*' (neighborhood) is an aggregated level of several '*buurten*' (districts). In this thesis the aggregated level is selected for analysis. The above mentioned neighborhoods Hengelose Es, Berflo Es and Noord respectively exist of 3, 4 and 5 '*buurten*'. In Hengelose Es there are three districts, being Hengelose Es North, the Tichelkamp and 't Wilbert. According to the neighborhood analysis, conducted by the municipality of Hengelo, the most distressed part of this neighborhood is Hengelose Es North. Berflo Es, then, exists of the four districts Berflo Es North and South and Veldwijk North and South. In this neighborhood, according to the analysis by the municipality, the most distressed part is Veldwijk.

Noord, finally, is divided into the five districts Noord, Elsbeek, de Noork, Klein Driene and 't Rot. According to the municipality especially Noord and Klein Driene stand out as distressed parts of the neighborhood. According to the previously mentioned minimal population, Klein Driene is too small and will be left out of the comparison any further.

See the graph on the next page for the statistics regarding these neighborhoods and districts.

The following graph shows the above mentioned indicators in three neighborhoods, compared with the average of Hengelo.

Neighborhood	Hengelo	Northern Hengelose Es	Veldwijk (North and South)	Noord
Av. Income	€ 27.400	€ 22.300	€ 18.480	€22.400
PLI*	8%	7%	10%	10%
Welfare benefits (% of households			5%	7%
Unemployment	3.3%	7.3%	6.3%	10.8%
Inhabitants	80.921	4.279	2.500	3.906
Dutch	79.08%	59.87%	77.52%	70.94%
Western	9.90%	12.50%	10.99%	9.67%
Non-Western	11.02%	27.62%	11.49%	19.38%
Av. House value	€188.711	€153.247	€100.340	€151.573
Tenure Distribution (social tenure / owner)	33% / 52%	70% / 30 %	60% / 23%	44% / 50%
Unsafety rate**	15%	26%	37%	26%
Violence victims in own neighborhood	5%	5%	13%	2%
Electoral participation		57.4%	50.7%	51.6%

* Percentage Low Income. This indicates the percentage of households that have an income less then €9.249 per year.

** Percentage of inhabitants that feels unsafe in their own neighborhood.

Note that not all information was available for all neighborhoods, leaving some cells empty.

Source: Neighborhood analysis conducted by the Municipality of Hengelo and its online database.

Veldwijk is an interesting neighborhood in this research because of all the policy interventions that have been conducted in the past. Besides that, the average income is significantly lower than in the city as a whole. The neighborhood further shows a higher percentage low income households, then average over the city and a much higher unsafety rate than the other neighborhoods. Ethnicity is roughly the same as in the city.

The Northern Hengelose Es on the other hand, also has an average income that is significantly lower than the city of Hengelo, but not by far as low as Veldwijk. What makes this neighborhood unique is its relatively high percentage of non-western inhabitants. It is even the highest percentage of any neighborhood in Hengelo. This, especially combined with low income rate, makes this neighborhood a good second case to study and compare with the Veldwijk.

The third neighborhood, Noord, does not stand out in any sense in comparison to the other two. Income is less than average in Hengelo, but roughly the same as in Hengelose Es, as are feelings of unsafety. The rate of non-western inhabitants on the other hand is lower than in Hengelose Es, which is the unique point of that neighborhood. These features bring me to the conclusion that this neighborhood is not as interesting to study as the other two mentioned. The units of analysis in this research will be the policy in both Veldwijk and Hengelose Es North. But because the municipality focuses its policy on the neighborhood level, from now on they will be mentioned Berflo Es and Hengelose Es.

1.3 Research Question

Before showing an overview of the literature and explaining the relevant concepts, a first glance on the research questions will be presented. Thus the theoretical framework will be better understood. As explained in the section purpose of the study, the aim of this research is to gain a better understanding of the politics that lead to a particular kind of policy intervention. Seen in this light, the provisional research question in this study thus will be:

What factors can explain the differences or similarities in policy interventions in the neighborhoods Berflo Es and Hengelose Es in Hengelo?

2.   Review of the Literature

The known literature on policy and the policy process offers a large amount of models, indicating how policy is generated. The original idea about this process is a policymaker working "in its ivory tower" (in popular terms), generating policy. Or, according to Van de Graaf and Hoppe, it is the process of policy making similar to any production process, where basic materials are reformed into a product. The materials are abstract and controversial ideals and ambiguous data. The product, then, is policy. A politically accepted and ratified plan. This plan is written by the policymaker as a structured plea of all pre-conclusions stemming from the deliberation process (Van de Graaf and Hoppe, 1996:264-266). This is a very broad idea of policy, describing a sense of more than just that ivory tower. However the authors do not limit their definition, they focus mainly on the government as the institution of deliberation (1996: 186). This idea leaves space for an approach that goes further than just governmental policy. When deliberation is set out broader, interactive policymaking comes about. According to Pröpper and Steenbeek this is policymaking in which the government involves civilians, NGOs, corporations or other governments with the policy in order to prepare, determine, execute or evaluate policy (Pröpper and Steenbeek, 2001:15). Although their definition assumes that government is always initiator of the process, Pröpper and Steenbeek do acknowledge that it can be possible for government to be a participant rather than an initiator of a policy process (2001:48). Interactive policymaking can be the case in neighborhood policy.

To be able to say something about the politics behind policy, just a part of the process is necessary. According to Hoogerwerf, the policy process can be divided into several parts, among which the most relevant parts are the agenda setting and the policy preparation (Hoogerwerf, 1998:26). In these stages the issues to be addressed are determined as well as the solutions to the problems stemming from those issues (Hoogerwerf, 1998:28).

De Vries complements Hoogerwerfs statement, giving more insight in how the agenda setting processes work, by describing several models. First of all the agenda setting process narrows the set of subjects that could conceivably occupy the attention of government to the list on which they actually do focus. A well known agenda setting model is the barrier model, which presumes that there are a lot of barriers to be taken down before a problem reaches the agenda. The largest problem (compared to others) will most probably have the largest influence in the shaping of the eventual policy (De Vries, 1998:43). Most other models also presume that one or very few factors explain the route from an issue to the agenda. However, Kingdon's stream model goes beyond this

and might proof itself useful for this research. He tells us that in order for any subject to be added to the policy agenda three 'streams' need to flow into each other at the same time. The first of which being the stream with problems, the second the stream with politics and the third being the policies or solutions, which need to be ready for the policy and the problem (1995:196).

2.1 The Stream Model

The stream model tries to answer the question why some problems come to get the attention of government more than others. First of all there is a difference between a problem and a condition. The condition is, according to Kingdon, a potential problem but not before it is met to certain standards (indicators, which are politically determined) and it needs to get on the agenda. So the answer Kingdon formulated to his question is that it is both the means by which an official learns about a condition which is not yet a problem and the way that condition becomes a problem. An official can learn about the condition because of an indicator showing that there is a condition out there (which, at the right magnitude may get to the attention), a focusing event which draws attention to some conditions or because of feedback (e.g. evaluation or complaints). Such a condition does not become a problem on its own. A particular condition can be redefined into a problem because of the violation of values or because of comparison with for instance other countries. And the other way around, some problems that made it to the government agenda, do not manage to hold that position and fade away again. This way a stream is formed, the stream just described is the first one: that of the problems (Kingdon, 1995:197).

The second stream holds another part of the explanation, being the political stream. Political events flow along independent of the problem and the policy streams. A political development can be the trigger for more interest into certain subjects and as such draw attention away from others, which creates a flow. Another possibility of creating that flow is bargaining. Participants in this stream will build consensus by for instance trading provisions for support or adding elected officials to coalitions giving them concessions that they demand. According to Kingdon, both of these options to create flow are more potent agenda setter than organized interests. Interest groups are often able to block consideration of proposals or give support to an agenda item, rather than create their own agenda issues. When in conflict about agenda setting between interest groups, the national mood and elected politicians, those groups are most likely to lose that conflict (Kingdon, 1995:198-199).

Finally a policy stream is distinguished. Kingdon refers to natural selection when he speaks of the selection process in policy alternatives. This because he sees the origins of policy as a very complex process, which are hard to understand or structure. The selection however is much more ordered by

criteria. A proposal that meets several standards is more likely to survive then a proposal that seems infeasible. Political support is another important factor in the evaluation of a proposal (Kingdon, 1995:200).

All these streams apart do not explain the full process. Although they flow independent they will join at a certain time, for instance when a major problem arises that needs attention and a policy solution is there to be the solution of that problem. This moment he calls the opening of the policy window. This means that an opportunity arises for action on given initiatives (Lieberman, 2002:439). The only problem is that this initiative, or policy, doesn't just happen. It will need someone to act on it, a policy entrepreneur. This is someone who will push for consideration for his policy alternative. This entrepreneur will be likely to combine certain familiar elements. When a policy window opens up, entrepreneurs of either problems or solutions are needed to push their problem or policy through that window into the political arena. The window itself is mere an opportunity to link problems, proposals and politics, after which those elements move up the decision agenda. The entrepreneur is needed to invest resources in return for future policies they favor, pushing and pulling at subjects of their own choice (Kingdon, 1995:201-202).

What does this model add to this research then? Kingdon adds the very important factor of the policy window that has to be opened up in order for those players to advocate their policy or problem. In other words: external conditions have to be right, otherwise policy will not be implemented. It is however not mere coincidence that Kingdon preaches, as the policy entrepreneur really needs to be there to push his problem or solution through the open window. The players in the field and their resources to push are thus another important factor.

2.2 The Advocacy Coalition Framework

A different approach towards understanding the politics behind policy is Sabatier's advocacy coalition framework. Premises within this model are that actors in a policy subsystem need each other to make policy and thinking about policy change is through a focus on policy subsystems. A general overview of the framework is presented below in figure 2.1.
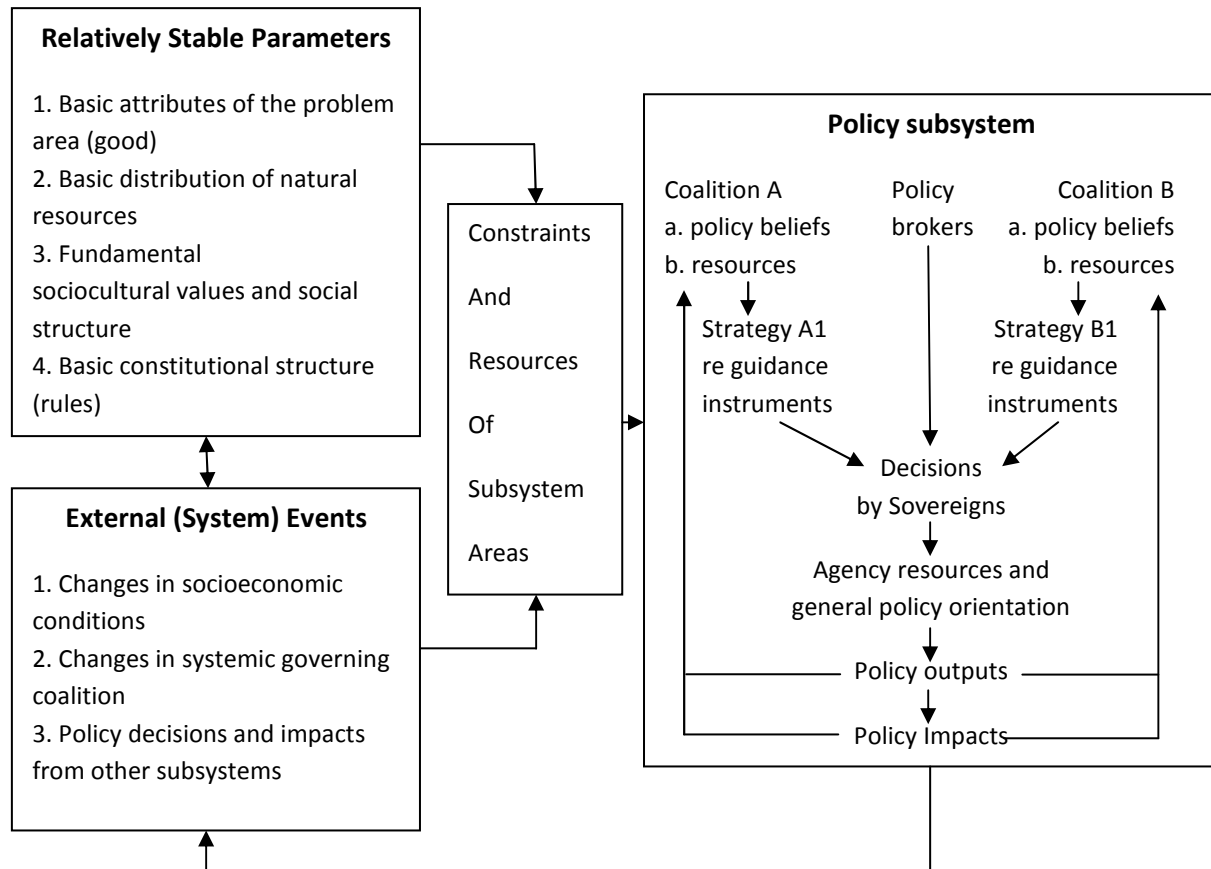

Figure 2.1: The advocacy coalition Framework of policy change (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993:18)

On the left side are two exogenous parameters, the one on top relatively stable, and the one on the bottom dynamic. Within the subsystem itself it is assumed that actors (from a variety of position, both governmental and non-governmental) form coalitions or can be aggregated into them. These actors share a set of normative and causal beliefs and they usually act together (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993:16-18). The belief system of any actor is divided into three levels: 1. deep-core beliefs; 2. policy core beliefs and 3. secondary beliefs. As these concepts might suggest, the changeability of the beliefs is increases in the second level as compared to the first and even more in the third level as compared to the second. Sabatier thinks that secondary beliefs (concrete and local oriented) are the only type to change relatively easy. These secondary beliefs are associated with the subsystem, as that handles also just a small part of all governmental policy (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993:29).

Subsystems most likely arise when a group of actors become dissatisfied enough with the neglect of a particular problem by existing subsystems to form their own (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smit, 1993:24).

The coalitions develop their own strategies, which can conflict to each other. Therefore the policy brokers will act as mediators as they search for compromises and consensus. This will result in governmental programs, leading to policy output. The coalitions will evaluate that output and its impact, to maybe revise their beliefs and strategies. New developments as information or in dynamic external features also play a part in that decision. Sabatier calls this policy-oriented learning, which is mainly focused on the secondary beliefs. This means that people will resist information suggesting that their basic beliefs may be invalid or unattainable (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993:19). However, given the aim of this research at the agenda setting process (before policymaking), taking policy learning into account is not relevant as that is beyond its scope. After all the policy learning only happens when the policy is already developed.

An important note Sabatier makes is the availability of resources the coalitions need in order to act towards moving governmental programs. Resources can be things as money, expertise, number of supporters and legal authority. This availability differs over time, new members and donators are always sought over time, and also over subsystems, as some subjects make it more easy to find that resources. Opposed to most resources, which are brought in actively by the coalitions, major shifts in political resources are most likely to be caused by external events (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993:29)

So far, the ACF brings up some questions: how does it cope with interdependencies among actors? Are they to be united automatically? Sabatier tried to make this clear in an article published a few years later and on this article Fenger and Klok based theirs to fill this gap even more. Sabatier came up with some hypotheses, indicating a connection between coordination (being the altering of strategy to accommodate others achieving similar goals) between members and their belief congruence. Subsequently conflict (strategies to gain resources) increases with belief divergence. This effect should become more important as the functional overlap between organizations (actors) increase (Fenger and Klok, 2001:160).

Instead of functional overlap, Fenger and Klok use the word 'interdependency', being a broader term and pointing out on the role resources play in the coordination within coalitions. They also broaden the values of both interdependency as beliefs. Sabatier only distinguished respectively high or low and congruent or diverging. In the case of interdependency, Fenger and Klok argue this means the strategies of actors might either be using their resources to support each other (symbiotic), trying to

gain resources at the expense of others (competitive) or the actors are well capable of reaching their own goals (independent). In the case of beliefs, they see the possibility that actors neither agree nor disagree to the others beliefs. This they call indifferent (Fenger and Klok, 2001:162-164). The consequences for the shape that conflict or coordination can take are shown in the table.

Interdependency	Beliefs		
	Congruent	*Indifferent*	*Divergent*
Symbiotic	Strong coordination	Coalitions of convenience	Unstable conflict, depolarization, learning
Independent	Weak coordination	No coalitions	Weak conflict
Competitive	Coalition with severe collective action problems	Weak conflict	Strong conflict

Figure 2.2, source: Fenger and Klok, 2001:164

This table does add an extra possibility to explain the eventual policy. The state of interdependency and the congruency of beliefs within and among coalitions can predict the amount of coordination problems a coalition might have. If several actors with several resources act in a symbiotic relationship to reach their goal, there will not be problems with coordination, just as Sabatier earlier presumed. He did, however, think that mostly changes in the belief system (as a result of internal or external effects) were the cause of those problems, while Fenger and Klok show that also changes in interdependency can be just as strong of a cause.

What does this framework contribute to the research and the understanding of the politics behind policy then? Important features within the framework are the presence of many actors on different levels from both governmental and non-governmental organizations, the forming of coalitions between these actors on a very local basis (subsystems), the importance of resources (and the coordination, interdependency and congruency among actors to use these in reaching the goal) in order for coalitions to have influence. These aspects also come forth in this research, looking into the actors, their relationships, resources and their influences should give a better understanding of the politics behind policy. This framework contains a more visible link between the actor, its actions and the eventual outcome and the ACF is far less relying on coincidence and external conditions as an interpretation of policy creation. Although that part of the policy process is also mentioned by

Kingdon, the stream model is primarily focused on the agenda setting, making both models applicable and complementary to each other for this research.

2.3 Network Theories

The ACF brought up a new variable: the relations between actors, which Sabatier barely uses. However, this could be very useful in explaining differences between neighborhoods, after all, in different neighborhoods different actors can play a role. This opens up a whole dimension of extra perspectives, namely the theories of networking within governance structures.

Mayntz gave a definition, as she states that 'a network is a multi-nodal structure, and any whole consisting of connected, but not tightly coupled parts" (1993:8). Considine and Lewis explain this as the network being a third organizing structure, next to the opposites hierarchy and market using pros of both, as 'forms of organizational affiliation and history that bind agents to common tasks'. The state is viewed as a partner with private methods of creating value, as are other actors in the network (2003:132).

Mere definitions do not add anything to a research, in order for that a framework of concepts is necessary. The article of Provan and Milward (2001) presents just that. Also their article is focused on networks within or around the public sector, instead of the earlier focus from science on corporate networks. They explain that the presumption behind networks is that parties that cooperate are more effective and their outcomes more preferable than would be in the case of competition. Effectiveness is often seen as customer (or at a more aggregated level: stakeholder) satisfaction, at least in corporate networks. This is not very applicable to public-sector networks because several groups of their stakeholders probably have different agendas, which are not necessarily combinable. And with more organizations related to the specific network, this problem becomes more complex (2001:414-416).

Then how to overcome these problems? The authors choose to analyze networks at different levels, being the community level (with principals and clients as the main stakeholders, and community costs and the public perception on the level of problem solving as main effectiveness criteria), the network level (with principals and agents as main stakeholders and the strength of the network in terms of quantity of actors and their relationships as well as the services provided as main criteria) and the organization/participant level (with agents and clients as main stakeholders and acquisition of resources and the outcomes of the services to the client as main criteria). This choice handles the above mentioned problems at several levels of complexity to gain an overview as complete as possible.

One way of making sure the network grows and the relationships between members gains strength is by creating a Network Administrative Organization (NAO), this can either be an independent organization, or a lead member. The mere existence of an NAO says something about the strength of the network and the acquiring of recourses as well as providing their allocation (as it will structure the network and the contact between members) among the network members by the NAO is a very important variable in terms of network effectiveness (Provan and Milward, 2001:417-418). In a later article Provan wrote that networks can be governed in three different ways. Either by the participants themselves, by a lead organization or by a NAO. The difference between these three types of governing a network is quite self-explanatory. In a participant-governed network, no organization stands out and the members trust on the involvement and commitment of all members. In a lead-organization governed network one member is most probably the largest organization and that organization has more power and is central in all decision making. On the other hand will the lead organization also provide for facilities and administration for the other members. The third form is the NAO model, where the NAO is seen as a separate administrative entity which is set up specifically to govern the network and its activities (Provan and Kenis, 2007:234-236). This widens the scope of roles for this research, as either no organization, a lead organization or a NAO leads the network in the neighborhoods.

An important factor within networks are resources. Some members have more than others, a job for the NAO is, as said before, providing for the allocation of these resources among members, creating incentive to supply output. Members within a network need to have benefits to join the network, the acquisition of resources is (especially for smaller organizations as member) one important factor, but also the gaining of legitimacy and maybe even improved client outcome (Provan and Milward,2001:420).

This framework is quite complex, but because of that complexity it potentially offers a great part of understanding the role and influence of several members in the neighborhood policy. Caution thus is necessary when gathering the information needed for sketching a full survey. The role of resources within the network and the importance of the relationships between members on the eventual outcomes are important features in explaining the politics. On the other hand is the outcome of the network to the clients another important factor in network analysis, but much less interesting to this research, as that is interested into the route towards creation of policy, not the real outcomes. Nevertheless, with three theories trying to describe and understand all of the politics that have played a role before the actual policy was created a complete view of the process must be possible.

2.4 Conclusion

In the pages above, three theories were described and each of them is projected on the research subject. These three use a lot of the same variables, so shouldn't just one of these be used? I think that the best thing to do is use them all, as all three of them use a different point of view, which, even if it is just a little difference, can prove itself useful. After all, the subject is quite complex. Besides that, every model adds specific information to the research to make it as complete as possible. Kingdon's model in this case not just introduces the importance of the right external factors ('coincidence') to the story, but it stresses that external conditions have to be right in order for certain things to be able to happen (the policy window) and according to it a policy entrepreneur is needed to push a specific policy through. The coalition framework on the other hand is more focused on the actions of actors, their available resources within several coalitions (based on belief systems) and the outcome of the struggle between these coalitions is the explanation of the eventual policy. It is to be noted though that not necessarily more than one coalition on the basis of belief systems do exist. The network approach, thirdly, assumes that not struggle, but a strategic cooperation (instead of based on belief systems, but based on the allocation of resources) will ultimately explain the outcomes of the policy. It also adds tools to analyze the relationships between and among actors to the research.

The variable resource (dependency) can be found in each of the models, but its influence increases. In the stream model it is quite low and mostly considered given (only the entrepreneur is thought to need some resources in order to act successfully), in the coalition framework the availability of resources to all the actors in the model has got a more important role for them to have an amount of influence on the policy outcomes. The network approach finally considers resources as one of the strategic factors upon which the cooperation between actors is based. Conclusively, all three theories will be used alongside each other to analyze and hopefully explain the politics behind policy.

3. Research Design

3.1 Sub questions

The research question I provided was formulated as follows:

What factors can explain the differences or similarities in policy interventions in the neighborhoods Berflo Es and Hengelose Es in Hengelo?

This question still remains the basis upon which the research will be build. The theoretical concepts presented in the theoretical overview will cover the factors (and their role) mentioned in the research question.

In order to facilitate the answering of this, I have formulated a number of sub questions:

1. *What policy interventions have been made in both Berflo Es and Hengelose Es since 2005, which problems were to be solved and where are these two cases similar or different?*

To make a comparison between the two neighborhoods in terms of the policy process, the dependent variable policy should be described first. Thus in the chapter belonging to this question the policy in both neighborhoods will be described and compared on possible differences and similarities. When this is done, variables forthcoming from literature can be used to explain these differences and similarities.

2. *Which actors are to be distinguished in the policy fields, what is their role in the process, how are they related, what resources available for regeneration did they bring and how do they understand the problem?*

This question reaches back to the literature described in chapter two. All three theories use actors within a policy arena, so a description of the actors is first in seeking which actor had what influence. Next comes their role in the process. In the stream model the role of policy entrepreneur is important and an actor conducting this role will be sought. In the ACF the role of policy broker comes up, a mediator between members of coalitions and finally the network theories bring up the role of NAO. This is an actor that (among others) provides for the allocation of resources, which brings up another variable being resources. Which actor did bring what resources into the process, as no policy can be conducted without resources and the origin from resources can possibly tell something about influence that the actors had on policy. Relationships and interdependency between actors is an

important variable stemming from both the ACF and the network theories. The understanding of the problem by actors is important for the assigning of actors to a coalition as well as finding influence by actors on the policy. Finally it is possible that something happened outside the policy arena in Hengelo (for instance national government changing their policy), which has an influence on the policy process, thus concerning external factors. These are to be found in both the stream model and the ACF.

3. *How can differences and similarities be explained?*

This question will also form the conclusion to the research. In order to formulate an answer all three models described before will be needed to search for explanations in differences and similarities.

3.2 Research Design

"Science is an enterprise dedicated to finding out". With this statement Earl Babbie starts his research design chapter (2004:87). In order for this finding out to work, any research must be properly designed. So I start with formulating the purpose of research, which in this case is explaining the politics behind policy, as it is searching for what variables in the neighborhood and its network of actors might make a difference (or none at all) in policy. Or, as Babbie puts it: descriptive studies answer the questions of what, where, when and how, explanatory studies answer the question of why (Babbie, 2004:89). The research question posed above is somewhat distracting, compared to the requirements Babbie mentions, but a clue is given by the presence of the word 'explain' in the question.

This question also gives away another important factor in the research design: the type of research. This research is being conducted as a case study. To be specific this means that two neighborhoods both act as a case and are compared to each other. Babbie says that a case study can be used in a wide variety of studies, descriptive and explanatory, seeking an idiographic understanding of a problem or forming the basis for the development of more general theories (Babbie, 2004:293). This research is not that ambitious, but it is well shaped to be conducted as a case study to explain our dependent variable 'policy'. After all, the research is trying to give an explanation for either differences or similarities in policy, searching for the answer in the political process leading to that policy.

Units of analysis will be the policy interventions in the mentioned neighborhoods over the past five years. These policy interventions must be aimed at solving 'the problem', which is the distressed situation within the neighborhood. But because the policy interventions themselves cannot give

information about their origins, the units of observation will be, as described in sub question 2, actors that played a role in the policy process. It is of importance to narrow that down in terms of the theories mentioned before, otherwise it is possible that the waitress serving coffee needs to be taken into account, as she has had a tiny role in the process. That is why an actor in the process should fit the description by Sabatier: it will join a coalition in the policy field on the basis of a belief system. This is not to be taken too strictly, as a government employee represents his employer and thus representing its (policy) beliefs. These units will then give insight in our unit of analysis.

3.3 Concepts and operationalisation

Before the research starts, this chapter will make clear to the reader what concepts I used, how I understand them and how and where to find the information needed. This research is based on two important pillars of potential information, in order to get some understanding of the issue. These are textual at one hand, as this is the evidence needed as a fundament under the research, and people involved on the other hand, as they carry information that can give insights documents will never reveal. This strategy goes for every question posed above, except for question 3, which will be the conclusion of the research, combining all the information into an answer to the main question. Below all concepts will be discussed and the questions regarding these concepts stated. As this research needs information from two different sources, respondents and documents, questions can be asked to both types of source. But of course, not all questions are meant for respondents, nor will all questions for documents. To sort this out, behind every question is indicated if it is meant for respondents (R), for documents (D) or both (RD).

The problem and the agenda

As made clear before, this research is about neighborhood regeneration. The problem on which the policy is based thus lies within the neighborhood. According to the protocol this neighborhood is perceived as distressed, statistically visible by factors such as income, unemployment rate and ethnic distribution. These data are to be found at the statistical department of the municipality. It is however possible that other issues than the statistics played a role in deciding about policy. These issues can be identified through media, government reports and most of all through interviews with the actors. Respondents will be asked to identify what they see as the most important issues and challenges facing the neighborhood and what potential the neighborhood has, with the questions beneath. Note that there is an important difference between an issue and a problem, in this research a problem will only be a problem if recognized by a policy making agency, such as the government.

- What are the most important issues that have faced this neighborhood in the past five years? (RD)

- What were the key discussion points? (RD)

- What was your opinion? (RD)

- What other opinions were there? (RD)

- What actions have you taken to bring up your opinion into the process? *Was that an action or an alternative?* (RD)

- Did you have support for your opinion? If so: by who? (RD)

- Were there different opinions? If so: which? (RD)

- Did other actors support those opinions? If so: who? (RD)

- In the end, whose opinion made it to the policy document? (R)

Policy

Policy plays two roles in this research, the first is the role of dependent variable in the protocol at hand, the most important variable that is tried to explain. This concerns the eventual policy the municipality chose. On the other hand it plays a part as a independent variable too, in the form of policy proposals and policy beliefs. Also change in policy occurring over time is part of the independent variable policy.

The policy to be described as the dependent variable is to be aimed at relieving the distressed factors in the neighborhood. Or: 'solving the problem'. This is key in describing policy for this research and I will thus describe the policy according to which problems it seeks to solve. On the other hand, for the explanation of that policy is the choice among policy alternatives key and how they are chosen between. Last part of the explanation is the development of policy in time compared to the problem: when did the problem become a problem and what policy has been used since then? Not only does this aid me in drawing the policy stream in Kingdon's model, but I might also be able to see Sabatier's concept of policy learning in the process. All this information is only to be gained in interviews, apart from the actual policy that made it through the process and is found in the public policy documents. Questions in the interview will be:

- What policy has been developed to address the problem? (D)

- What actions have you taken to bring up your opinion into the process? *Was that an action or an alternative?* (RD)

Actors

In the paragraph above the participants, or actors, in the process are already mentioned as the main source of information regarding the research. How to identify and find these actors then? Actors can be both organizations and individuals. To be able to formulate an answer to question 2, the following actors and their information should be gathered: government bodies, characterized by their powers, competencies and resources and non-governmental groups active in neighborhood politics, characterized by their organization, support base and resources. Eventually any partnerships between these two groups of actors can possibly be identified. Note that these groups of actors or a possible partnership do not play the role of actor in this research. They can play a role in the results, as a clue for which actor played the most important role. Acquiring knowledge about these key actors in the process is vital for this research. Next to that, actors that did not have an active role in the decision-making about interventions need to be included. After all, they can have had influence on key actors or possess information regarding policy alternatives that did not make it. The municipal government will be the starting point in this search. Policy documents regarding these neighborhoods and thus gained from the government should give insights in which actors were present in the policy processes and what their role consisted of. Spreading the search to those actors should confirm that information and could lead to information about more actors. This might mean that an actor present in both neighborhoods will be interviewed twice.

According to Sabatier actors will organize themselves into coalitions. Coalitions do not need to exist among actors playing a role in the policy creation process, the actors either cooperate actively to reach their goals or they do not know each other and as a result of that do not work together. Any coalition will then have strategies to influence the policy decisions. All actors will be asked in the interview which actors cooperated, if all actors involved in the policy worked together or if several groups existed and what causes a division or cooperation, interview questions are given at the end of this paragraph.

An actor that stands out of all other actors is the policy entrepreneur. Again, respondents will be asked if they know any actor that played a main role in the creation of the policy and if any actor was the 'source' of the eventual policy, someone who pushed for consideration for his (or a) policy

alternative. Documents needed to support this can be found at this main actor and/or at the municipality.

Other actors worth mentioning in terms of the network approach the lead organization and the NAO. According to Provan and Kenis (2007:235) the lead organization is the largest organization in the network and is central in decision making, it also provides facilities and administration for the network. The Network Administrative Organization is according to Provan and Milward (2001:418) the disseminator of funds, administrator and coordinator of the network. Provan and Kenis (2007:236) add to this, that the NAO is an organization specially set up for this task, thus not a regular member of the network. In the interviews will be asked if any of the members played the role of lead organization or that perhaps something like an NAO was created to govern the network.

In every theory described resources play an important role and that makes it also important in this research. So both policy documents as actors will be consulted to find which resources where contributed or acquired by whom. The definition of resources is held broad in this research as any contribution towards the policy. So the list of resources consists of, but is not restricted to, money, facilities, knowledge, information, influence, legitimacy and reputation. Most of these speak for themselves, but the resource legitimacy needs deepening. Legitimacy as a resource can mean one of two things, as legitimacy can be direct or indirect. Direct legitimacy is legitimacy in legal terms, whereas indirect legitimacy is about support for the policy.

In the results chapter it will be important to analyze the roles played by the actors in the process. In order to do that, categories are needed. Two main categories are to be distinguished: what role did actors play in the problem and did the actor have a specific role in the process. In the first category the actors could be suffering from the problem, they could be causing the problem or they could aid in solving the problem. The other category is more focused on the previous mentioned 'special actors' in a process, which stem from the different theories used in this research. The policy broker and policy entrepreneur are these special process-roles. The policy entrepreneur is recognized by its behavior, as Kingdon states that he will invest resources in return for future policies they favor, pushing and pulling at subjects of their own choice (Kingdon, 1995:201-202). A policy broker will, according to Cairney (1997:887), mediate conflict between coalitions. He states that this could be a civil servant. Sabatier says that a policy broker is an actor that is more concerned with system stability than with achieving policy goals (Sabatier, 1991:153).

These aspects will be questioned in an interview, with the following questions:

- How did the intervention came about? (RD)

- Who else was involved in the process? (RD)

- Has any actor in the process taken the lead into the progress? If so: who and was it subject-matter or neutral/focused on the process to overcome conflicts? (RD)

- Was the process supported by servants? If so: who? (R)

- Who made the eventual decision about the content of the policy? (RD)

- What decision mechanism was used? (RD)

- Did all actors agree with the policy? (R)

- What roles were played by which actor? (R)

- What resources were implemented into the process by what actor? (RD)

- On a scale from 1-5, how important has the resource by *actor X* been for you? (R)

- On a scale from 1-5, how important has the resource by *actor X* been for the policy? (R)

External conditions

The previous part was seeking policy in the context of the problem, but according to Kingdon (but also Sabatier) there is another side of the policy medallion: external factors and the policy window. These external factors need to be right before any policy can be put to life. According to Sabatier these can be changes in the socioeconomic conditions, changes in the systemic governing coalition or policy decisions and impacts from other subsystems (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993:18). Kingdon's policy window seems a bit more complex: this only opens when the three streams collide. Ultimately this comes down to roughly the same factors: there might be major public attention to a subject which opens up more resources for policy. Respondents will thus be asked if they know any external conditions that helped this policy alternative to be favored more than others, the interview question is mentioned below. Another and more important source will be the press and intergovernmental policy documents, in the search of higher level government that subsidized certain types of policy or pointed the attention to certain issues because of their own policy.

- Apart from any discussion among actors about policy to install, has anything happened that changed the course of the policy process? (RD)

- What resources from national government were available during the policy process? (D)

4.   Results: Policy

In this chapter you will find the answer to the first sub-question, posed in chapter 3.1: What policy interventions have been made in both Berflo Es and Hengelose Es since 2005, which problems were to be solved and where are these two cases similar or different?

The municipality formulated policy documents for both neighborhoods included in this research. This happened after the council decided in 2003 that there should be a focus on neighborhood policy. Central in this policy is working together with the inhabitants of the neighborhood, as they are 'the eyes and ears' (Municipality, 2004b:2). Below the specific visions on the policy of the neighborhoods will be discussed. To be able to make a good comparison between the neighborhoods both documents will be assessed on the basis of three pillars: problems, goals and measures.

4.1 Berflo Es

In Berflo Es policy was created by several actors and for various purposes. As would be expected, and is stated in the introduction, not only the municipality was active in the policy making. The municipality activated actors within and outside the neighborhood in their process of policy making and some actors initiated their own processes for policy. Central in this chapter is a document by the municipality, called '*wijkplan*', or neighborhood plan. This is a visionary document, where problems in the neighborhood are listed by various topics and goals for the neighborhood are set. Not mentioned in this document are the measures that are needed to reach the goals, the municipality chose to make yearly documents (called '*wijkprogramma*', or neighborhood program) in which these measures are published, just to keep track with current themes in the neighborhood and to keep the policy process dynamic and flexible. This may be called the municipal track of the policy. The original '*wijkplan*' was published in 2004. In this research the '*wijkprogramma's*' of the years 2006, 2007, 2010 and 2011 are used. Several are needed to be able to see a trend of current themes over time, but not all are used because of availability of documents online and with these four programs a trend already is visible.

A second track of policy comes from a possible unexpected actor, a foundation called Scoring in the Neighborhood, initiated by the local Dutch Soccer Premiership club and 2009-2010 Dutch Champion FC Twente. This project is founded on the idea that a soccer club has a broad responsibility to its environment, in accordance to the ideas of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), and mainly inspired by the work of many English football clubs (Denters and Klok, 2007:2). The policy of Scoring in the

Neighborhood has an official status, because in the foundation also the municipality (among others) participates.

National government decided to step in again, with the project Vital Coalitions. Scoring in the Neighborhood was subsidized before, when it started (Denters and Klok, 2007:3). This time the Ministry had several neighborhoods competing for the funds. Vital Coalitions aimed at strengthening the social cohesion in deprived areas, where several actors work together, but might not work in optimal cooperation. Vital Coalitions offers knowledge and aid (by an adoption team, a cooperation between the ministry and the municipality) in the quest for the answer to the question: 'what makes a difference'. Berflo Es is chosen in this program because of the cooperation with FC Twente (KEI-Centrum, 2006:1-3). Furthermore, in 2008 the ministry announced a budget to prevent neighborhoods (not on the list of 40) to become attention neighborhoods (kei-centrum.nl), leading to the document 'Creating Chances, Making Steps' ('*Kansen scheppen, stappen maken*') in 2009 as application to this budget (Municipality of Hengelo, 2009: 2-3). This characterizes a third policy track, namely that of national policy.

These three tracks indicate the origin of the policy (local government, inter local government or private public cooperation) and the order of these three tracks is an indicator of the importance of the track. As will be visible in the tables below, the municipality is responsible for most of the measures and will make the most radical operations. Also in the tables will be visible that the creating chances, making steps document contains existing measures from both municipal and scoring in the neighborhood policy and combines them with some new themes. This explains why the municipal track is the first to be mentioned and the governmental track the third, leaving the scoring in the neighborhood track in the middle.

Problems:

In the visionary document it is stated that livability is below standards in Berflo Es, inhabitants of this neighborhood are least satisfied in terms of livability compared to the rest of the city. The neighborhood deteriorates and social cohesion is low. Also 25% of its inhabitants do not feel safe in their own neighborhood sometimes and that is above the average of the city (14%). Between 1997 and 2004 the number of victimhood increased by 10% (Municipality of Hengelo, 2004b:5).

Inhabitants are dissatisfied about the level of public facilities, for instance they miss a central information and service centre in the neighborhood and there are no or broken playgrounds for children (Municipality of Hengelo, 2004b:6).

The level of social participation and integration of immigrants is low, both young and old. This leads to a language arrear by infants. Among all inhabitants unemployment levels are high and people with higher incomes tend to leave the neighborhood, leading to a homogeneous population (Municipality of Hengelo, 2004b:6).

The previously mentioned deterioration is not only reflected in these social indicators, but is also visible in the physical conditions in the neighborhood. The housing facilities in the neighborhood are old and obsolete and their surrounding environment as well as the neighborhoods infrastructure needs restructuring (Municipality of Hengelo, 2004b:8-9).

Goals:

The restructured neighborhood and the adjacent business areas (project *Hart van Zuid)* should bring more jobs to the area, offering a solution for the unemployed in the neighborhood, bringing their numbers down. This project could also stimulate people to start their own businesses. Making the neighborhood a place to live and work. This place is on a qualitative higher level than it is now, with better (and new) homes and better infrastructure with safer roads and safer surroundings, making the unsafety feelings of the inhabitants drop.

The municipality wants to reactivate the neighborhood socially to increase social cohesion and increase livability. The neighborhood has some facilities that need strengthening in order for them to function as a central information and service centre, where inhabitants, municipality, police and a welfare quango (named Scala) can meet each other. A network of volunteers is present in the neighborhood, but stronger cohesion needs strengthening of that network (Municipality of Hengelo, 2004b:5-9).

Measures:

The most important and radical measure for problems concerning safety and livability (which are the main themes in the policy document) is a complete restructuring of the neighborhood. In Berflo Es 1000 homes will be renovated, whereas some parts will be demolished and 1700 new houses will be built. This is part of the project *Hart van Zuid,* which is also focused on developing a business area adjacent to the neighborhood. This area should offer new jobs to the community in the neighborhood. Another part of the restructuring of this neighborhood is a renewal of the road structure. Parts of the neighborhood will be declared residential area, with special traffic rules and a low speed limit. Traffic causing bottlenecks going through the neighborhood will be diverted or main roads will be adapted to an increased capacity (Municipality of Hengelo, 2004b:9-11). This physical part of the policy is very resource consuming and will change (and has changed) the neighborhood in

several years. Nevertheless, it is only one of many themes (and measures) playing a role in this neighborhood, thus on paper and in the table it might seem as important as all others, whereas in practice it might be the best visible measure of all.

A less radical measure for livability is an increased management in the neighborhood. Cleanliness is vital in the battle against the deterioration, so dog excrements and litter are cleaned up on a more regular basis as well as reparation work where needed and maintenance of the plants, roads and sewerage. But the municipality will need the help of inhabitants to be able to keep this up to date, that is why some selected inhabitants are given the responsibility of checking their environment and giving feedback to the municipality about what needs to be revised. A special budget has been set for this, called Public Space Management (Municipality of Hengelo, 2004b:11).

Public facilities also need an upgrade. That is why the existing shopping centre will be renewed and in another part of the neighborhood a new living/shopping centre will arise during the restructuring. Playgrounds will be restored and the surroundings of the existing athletics stadium revised and restructured to bring the stadium closer to the community and use sport as a social binder for both young and old. Also a Multi Functional Accommodation (MFA) will be built (Municipality of Hengelo, 2004b:8)

The language deficiencies found by infants should be prevented by bringing together the bodies that come across those children, like the infants clinic, nurseries and kindergarten. These are steps in creating a broad school, where these organizations are present, as well as the municipal health care services, the youth department and of course (and most important) primary education (Municipality of Hengelo, 2004b:13).

Livability should also be strengthened by a public-private cooperation, among the municipality (and the adoption team), FC Twente, Housing Corporation, shop owners in Berflo Es and Healthcare, to stimulate livability in the neighborhood (KEI-Centrum, 2006:4).

Specific measures taken by Scoring in the Neighborhood are soccer clinics at elementary schools, building a 'cruijff court' and a 'pannakooi', to give youngsters a space to soccer, rehabilitations projects and courses (teaching respect, discipline and a healthy lifestyle. Introducing kids to sports), 'Scoring by participation', offering language courses and internships to help integration for immigration families, projects in education: homework guidance in the stadium, internships at several companies, establishing a newspaper and website, a neighborhood theater and a groceries

delivery service for the elderly, ran by long term unemployed, enabling them to get experienced (KEI-centrum, 2005).

In the tables on the following pages an overview of all problems, goals and measures mentioned in the policy documents are listed and in which document the specific problem, goal or measure is mentioned. In this table it is possible to see which seem more important than others, when they are mentioned more often. Also a development in policy is made visible. Some problems, goals or measures are only used and/or mentioned in the older policy documents, whereas others appear in later policy. To these table it needs to be noted that not all documents are used for all tables. In the execution programs only measures are mentioned, so no problems or goals can be extracted from them.

Problems	*Wijkplan 2004*	*Scoring in the Neighborhood*	*Vital Coalitions 2006*	*Kansen Scheppen, stappen maken 2009*
Livability	X	X	X	X
Feelings of unsafety	X		X	X
Increase of victimhood	X		X	X
Immigrants participation	X	X	X	X
Language deficiencies youth	X	X	X	X
Unemployment	X	X	X	X
Poverty	X	X	X	X
Homogeneous population	X		X	X
Old housing	X		X	X
Infrastructure outdated	X		X	X

Figure 4.1: an overview of problems mentioned in the policy documents for Berflo Es.

Goals	Wijkplan 2004	Scoring in the Neighborhood	Vital Coalitions 2006	Kansen Scheppen, stappen maken 2009
Social reactivation	X			X
Increase social cohesion	X			X
Increase livability	X	X	X	X
Central information and service center	X			
Strengthening volunteers network	X			X
Creating jobs	X			
Stimulating entrepreneurship	X			X
New homes	X			
Better infrastructure	X			
Safer roads	X			
Safer surroundings	X			
Public Private Cooperation			X	
Stimulate sport and culture		X		X
Stimulate education		X		
Stimulate health		X		

Figure 4.2: an overview of goals mentioned in the policy documents for Berflo Es.

Measures	Wijkplan 2004	Wijkprogramma 2006	Wijkprogramma 2007	Wijkprogramma 2010	Wijkprogramma 2011	Scoring in the Neighborhood	Vital Coalitions 2006	Kansen Scheppen, stappen maken 2009
Restructuring the Neighborhood	X	X	X	X	X			X
Hart van Zuid	X		X	X	X			X
Revising road structure	X	X	X	X	X			X
Keeping Berflo Es clean	X		X	X	X			
Public Space Management	X		X	X	X			X
Upgrading Public Facilities	X			X				
Restoring Playgrounds	X			X				
Bringing athletics stadium closer to the neighborhood	X		X	X	X			X
Language arrears	X			X	X			X
Cooperation between youth organizations	X		X	X	X			
Creating a broad school	X		X	X	X			X
Creating MFA	X		X	X	X			X
Creating a broad cooperation/coalition						X	X	
Street Soccer						X		X
Scoring by Participation		X				X		
Newspaper						X		X

Measure						
Educational projects	X		X	X	X	X
Neighborhood theater	X		X	X	X	X
Groceries delivery	X				X	
Sport projects	X	X			X	X
Neighborhood Cop	X	X				
Employing					X	X
Voluntary jobs						X
Chance Factory			X	X		X
Health inquiry				X		

Figure 4.3: an overview of measures mentioned in the policy documents for Berflo Es.

So which problems, goals or measures are present throughout all these years of neighborhood policy in Berflo Es, which have not continued and which are introduced after the initial visionary document? First thing that is noticeable is that the problems stay the same throughout the years. Governmental policy documents note the same problems. Scoring in the Neighborhood does not, but that will probably not be due to a lack of interest, yet more a matter of a limited amount of goals connected to a limited amount of problems.

The goals of all policy documents are not alike. The initial visionary document has a wide variety of goals mentioned, whereas Scoring in the Neighborhood and Vital Coalitions have fewer specific goals. Increasing livability is a broad term, Scoring in the Neighborhood aims at stimulating sports, culture, health and education mostly by youngsters to do that. Vital Coalitions is a project aimed at creating public private coalitions in the neighborhood. 'Creating Chances, Making Steps' has a set of goals that is less varied than the visionary document, as it is written as a subsidy request with a national governmental program. Of course goals in the policy are then written to reach the goals of the subsidy program.

The list of measures finally then. This list is longer and a lot more documents concerning these measures have been made. Measures in the visionary document that did not make it to 2011 are restoring playgrounds and upgrading public facilities. As these were present in the program of 2010, it is possible that the measure has been conducted and could thus be wiped of the list. All other measures introduced in 2004 are still relevant. Next, Scoring in the Neighborhood introduced a list of measures in policy and all of these found their way into some policy document, although only

educational projects and the neighborhood theater made it to the neighborhood program of 2011. A lot of their measures were also mentioned in the 'Creating Chances, Making Steps' document, which combined it with some of the initial measures and a few new measures.

So it seems that the Scoring in the Neighborhood project introduced a lot of new ideas to policy in Berflo Es in 2005 and that another wave of fresh policy came along with the governmental subsidy program that was prior to the writing of 'Creating Chances, Making Steps' in 2009. The latter might be considered as external influences, whereas Scoring in the Neighborhood became an actor in the process right after they started the project. An actor with considerable influence if you compare their list of measures with the measures proposed in the program of 2006. These seemed to have a higher priority than the measures agreed upon in the visionary document, which were present again in the program of 2007.

4.2 Hengelose Es:

Policy in Hengelose Es does not have the variety that Berflo Es does. Whereas in Berflo Es three tracks of policy were distinguished, in Hengelose Es only one is present: that of municipal policy. However, the methods of creating this policy were more or less the same as in Berflo Es, with actors taking part in both creating and executing the policy (Municipality of Hengelo 2005:4). The municipality chose to use the same policy structure in this neighborhood as they did in Berflo Es, thus most problems and goals were described in a document called '*wijkplan*' (neighborhood plan) and to be able to keep track with developments within the neighborhood or in any way relevant to the policy, on a yearly basis documents called '*wijkprogramma*', or neighborhood program, were published. In these documents a set of measures that were to be taken in that year were published.

Problems:

As mentioned in the neighborhood descriptions, Hengelose Es exists of three sub neighborhoods or areas, of which in Hengelose Es Noord knows most problems. A big problem in this neighborhood (especially when compared to the average of the city Hengelo) is victimhood and criminality. In the years prior to the *'wijkplan'* victimhood and criminality figures have risen as have feelings of unsafety. In the nineties this problem has been solved partially, by restructuring some streets, but in the remaining parts of the neighborhood the problem still exists. (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:5).

 When the area was built in the nineteen sixties, it became monotonous in its buildings and streets, lacking identity and recognition. Most of the homes in the area Noord are social housing and its design of streets and green zones behind houses creates a social unsafe situation. Social cohesion and involvement is low (relative to the city, inhabitants feel less responsible for their neighborhood), there is a high flow of tenants moving in and out of the area and the area suffers from litter. Livability problems in the neighborhood also consists of financial problems among inhabitants, a high rate of poverty, parking problems and tree roots destroying sewerage (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:7,9).

The neighborhood has problems with youth, especially young immigrant girls do not seem to use any of the facilities for youth and overall in the neighborhood youth causes nuisance as they lack their own space in the neighborhood. For children there are also not enough playing facilities available (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:8). In Hengelose Es (language) arrears with immigrant youth is a problem, 41% of all elementary school students need extra attention (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:12).

Sports is an important theme for the municipality, but older youth, the elderly and the disabled participate less in sports than everybody else (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:13).

Goals:

Communication with the inhabitants of the neighborhood is vital for the neighborhood plan to work, so the municipality wants a multidisciplinary network within the neighborhood for the inhabitants to communicate with (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:4, 24-25).

Playing facilities for children and facilities for youth must be better divided among the city and more available to everyone in the neighborhood. Also children and youngsters will have to feel involved in the neighborhood to strengthen social cohesion, so they will gain a role in neighborhood management. This can also aid unemployed youngsters in gaining experience and finding a job. Furthermore sports is important in strengthening the social cohesion (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:8,12-15).

For the elderly (especially for immigrants) sports and healthcare are also important subjects. These need to participate more in sports activities. A team has been composed to tackle the question of how to insure the services for the elderly immigrants as they need to get out of their social isolation (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:14).

After the partial reconstruction of the neighborhood in the nineties, some houses will be refurbished and the other part of the reconstruction will not be finished before 2012 (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:17).

The neighborhood must become safer and its inhabitants should feel safer too. Especially for the youth it is vital to grow up in a safe environment and to attend safe schools (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:20)

Measures:

A very direct measure that the municipality chooses to use is neighborhood management and Public Space Management, where selected citizens report back to the municipality directly about problems in public space, from which 95% shall be solved within 5 days. For the area Noord more intense measures are taken as one employee will be responsible for the cleanliness of the area and it will part of a pocket money project by local welfare organization 't Geerdink, where youngsters will take part in the maintenance and cleanliness of the green zones (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:15).

Youngsters and children deserve their own space in the neighborhood, so the first group will be considered in the restructuring plans and for the second group playing facilities will be better divided among the city (and into the neighborhood). This is to be combined with the restructuring of the Hengelose Es. For this restructuring plans have been made in the past, but they will need revising and

good communication about what is going to happen. In the meantime rates for bulk waste will be lowered and rules about litter will be sharpened as well as city guards will be provided with cameras to tackle litter problems. In any case, tenants will need to be divided better along the neighborhood to create a more heterogeneous society (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:8-9).

The elderly immigrants will be involved into the neighborhood by organizing meetings and daytime activities. To insure involvement in the area and for better healthcare, special sports activities (and even an association) have been and will be organized for the target area of inhabitants between 55 and 65 years old. Also sports activities will be offered to youngsters at several locations throughout the neighborhood and neighborhood tournaments will be organized (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:13-14).

Sewerage in parts of the neighborhood will be replaced and at some spots reinforced (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:17). Although restructuring of the neighborhood will not be before 2012, the environment in area Noord will be refurbished to increase the social livability. Also investments in infrastructure will be made, prioritizing in high quality public traffic and bicycle networks. Some streets will function as neighborhood access routes, whereas most streets will be closed for nonstop traffic (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:19).

Safety in the neighborhood is aimed at three themes: tackling the risk areas in the neighborhood, tackling repeating offenders and safety for the youth. The first is settled in the restructuring plans, the second consists of a combination of police and welfare work to offer these people a resocialization project and aid them in returning in society. On the secondary schools outdoor concierges are appointed who are responsible for approaching students who behave wrong, being alert for suspicious situations and the communication between schools, neighborhood and the neighborhood police officer (Municipality of Hengelo, 2005:20-21).

Problems	*Wijkplan 2005*
Livability	X
Feelings of unsafety	X
Increase of victimhood	X
Neighborhood design	X
High tenure change rate	X
Litter	X
Parking	X
Low social cohesion and integration	X
Skewed use of facilities	X
Not enough playing facilities	X
Language Arrears	X

Figure 4.4: an overview of problems mentioned in the policy documents for the Hengelose Es.

Goals	*Wijkplan 2005*
Multidisciplinary network for communication	X
Dividing playing facilities	X
A role for youngsters in neighborhood management	X
Increase of sports participation	X
Better healthcare for elderly and disable	X
Refurbish housing	X
Restructure neighborhood in 2012	X
Increase safety	X
Safer schools	X

Figure 4.5: an overview of goals mentioned in the policy documents for the Hengelose Es.

Measures	Wijkplan 2005	Wijkprogramma 2007	Wijkprogramma 2008	Wijkprogramma 2009	Wijkprogramma 2010	Wijkprogramma 2011
Public Space Management	X	X	X	X		X
Cleanliness employee	X	X	X	X		
Pocket money project	X	X	X	X		
Youngsters cleaning	X	X	X	X		
Revising of restructuring plans	X			X	X	
Target groups in restructuring plans	X			X	X	X
Lowering rates of bulk waste	X					
Dividing playgrounds	X					
Sharpening litter rules	X					X
Cameras and more surveillance for and by city guards	X	X	X	X		X
Tenant distribution in the neighborhood	X					
Involving (elderly) immigrants	X	X	X	X		
Elderly sports activity association	X	X	X	X		
Offering sports activities for youth	X	X	X	X		
Replacing Sewerage	X	X	X	X	X	X
High quality public traffic	X					

Traffic safety	X		X	X	X	X
Bicycle network	X				X	
Repeating offenders	X					
Outdoor concierges	X	X	X	X		
Tackling weekend destruction	X	X				X
Multifunctional welfare facility		X	X			
New residents organization		X	X			
Tackling domestic violence		X				
Fire Department information		X				
Replacing sidewalks			X			
Cycling projects for Women and children		X	X	X		
Financial services				X		
Making new Neighborhood plan					X	X
Restructuring neighborhood						X
Newspaper			X	X	X	X

Figure 4.6: an overview of measures mentioned in the policy documents for the Hengelose Es.

As noted before, unlike the situation in Berflo Es is in this neighborhood only one source of policy available, namely the Municipality. All of the neighborhood programs reflect back on these problems and goals, but no comparison can be made with only one source available. So only the measures are to be compared. They show an apparent randomness in consistency throughout the years. Only one measure made it from 2005 to 2011, the replacing the sewerage. In the table above is visible that the programs of 2010 and 2011 were not quite as varied in measures as the programs of 2006 to 2009. This can be an explanation of why the measures outdoor concierge, offering sports activities for youth and for the elderly and involving (elderly) immigrants seemed not to be continued. All these measures were proposed in the neighborhood plan as a (partial) solution to safety and low social

cohesion and in 2011 they were still mentioned by respondents to the interview as actual problems in the neighborhood.

Other measures were only proposed in the original neighborhood plans, but did not make it to any of the neighborhood programs. This can be because of limited resources, because it is not a current topic or because the measure has been taken. Then there is the group of measures that were introduced after the neighborhood plan, most of them right in the program of 2006, others even later. Again this can be because of topicality or it is because of unforeseen events.

Some information gained from the interviews can be helpful here. Some respondents mentioned the change in the status of the neighborhood programs and neighborhood plan within the municipality. The original plan should have been renewed in the course of 2009, but it has not until now. The work on a new neighborhood plan is on the agenda for 2 years, but it has not been completed. This might be caused by a change within the organization, changing the spot and status that the neighborhood department had, leading to a smaller neighborhood program in 2010 and 2011, lacking some of the measures that have been mentioned in previous programs. Another piece of information told by some respondents is the sudden need for a new residents organization. When the municipality tried to have all of the old residents organizations (one for all of the sub neighborhoods in the Hengelose Es) move into one multifunctional neighborhood welfare accommodation and merge, they refused to do so. After a lot of fighting and mediating, it was decided that none of these organizations should continue their work and they would be replaced by one new residents organization, with all new members. This sudden event changed some measures.

4.3 Differences and Similarities:

This final part of the chapter seeks out the differences and similarities between both of the neighborhood policies. First is the presence of different policy makers. Berflo Es has been on the radar of many more organizations then the Hengelose Es, as in the first neighborhood not only municipal policy was made, but also a soccer club and national government participating in or reaching out to the policy in the neighborhood. The Hengelose Es lacks all of this attention. But does this result in different policy measures? And how much do these neighborhood policies differ in terms of problems and goals that are set?

The problems that are noticed in the policy documents in both neighborhoods do not differ very much. Both neighborhoods suffer from problems with livability, safety and safety feelings, victimhood, poverty, immigrant integration, language deficiencies with infants and children, a homogeneous population and the plan of the neighborhood. In Berflo Es the latter is due to age, in

the Hengelose Es it is due to design flaws. A specific problem for Berflo Es is unemployment, whereas the Hengelose Es suffers from litter. So based on the policy documents, problems in both neighborhoods are very similar.

Goals set for both neighborhoods are a bit more different, although similarities are still found. In both neighborhood the goals that are set are stimulating sports participation, stimulating health, a better and safer infrastructure, increasing livability, increasing social cohesion, increasing safety and a restructuring of the neighborhood. In the Hengelose Es the creation of a multidisciplinary network of neighborhood communication, dividing of playing facilities and the refurbishing of houses while waiting for the restructuring are specific goals that are mentioned. In Berflo Es the set of unique goals are broader and aimed at creating jobs, stimulating entrepreneurship, stimulating education and culture, the strengthening of the volunteers network, building a central information and service center and finally creating a public private cooperation.

Then finally the measures. With partially similar problems and similar goals it is not surprising that among the measures similarities also exist. Both neighborhoods will be restructured and need to be kept clean, Public Space Management is a city-wide measure of the municipality, public facilities and playgrounds also get attention, as well as the build of a Multi Functional Accommodation and the distribution of a neighborhood newspaper. Both neighborhoods have a neighborhood police officer, as do all neighborhoods in Hengelo. Finally in both neighborhoods sports activities are organized and voluntary jobs for youngsters to gain job experience. Unique measures for Berflo Es are the project Hart van Zuid, policy concerning the athletics stadium, policy concerning language arrears, more cooperation between youth organizations, creating a broad school, scoring by participation, educational projects, neighborhood theater, groceries delivery, employing the unemployed, a chance factory and a health inquiry. Unique measures in the Hengelose Es are the installation of a cleanliness employee, the pocket money project, the youngsters cleaning the neighborhood and having a say in the revising of the neighborhood restructuring plans, the litter rules and bulky waste rates, the replacement of sewerage, investments in public traffic and bicycle networks, an outdoor concierge, tackling weekend destructions, a new residents organization, fire department information, the replacement of sidewalks, cycling projects for women and children, financial plans and finally the making of a new neighborhood plan.

5. Results: Actors and their roles

This chapter is about bringing an answer to the second sub-question, posed in chapter 3.1: Which actors are to be distinguished in the policy fields, what is their role in the process, how are they related, what resources available for regeneration did they bring and how do they understand the problem? Unless stated differently, all information is gathered among respondents to the interview.

The roles each actor played and which resources they brought into the policy process were asked to the respondents in the interviews, but without handing them a set of answers. So to structure their answers, a set of roles and a set of resources were needed to compare the actors among each other and the sets of actors in the neighborhood. The roles that are distinguished (and found in chapter 3) are on the one hand related to the problems, either cause of the problem, suffering from the problem or problem solver and on the other hand related to the policy, either policy broker (a mediator in conflicts between coalitions) or policy entrepreneur (an actor that will invest resources in return for future policies they favor, pushing and pulling at subjects of their own choice). To be noted is that actors do not necessarily have to play any of these roles, although in practice almost everyone is somehow related to the problem. The set of resources consists of, but is not restricted to, money, facilities, knowledge, information, influence, direct and indirect legitimacy and reputation.

5.1 Berflo Es

The neighborhood vision has been written by a special unit within the municipality, responsible for neighborhood policy. The city of Hengelo has been divided into three districts: north, middle and south and the neighborhood policy is equally divided. As Berflo Es is part of district south, the responsible civil servant is the City district coordinator South (*Stadsdeelcoordinator Zuid*). Political responsible is the City district alderman South (*Stadsdeelwethouder Zuid*). The people who carried out these jobs during the time the neighborhood plans and programs were made, were interviewed as well as an employee of the city district department, an employee of Scala (the welfare work QUANGO), an employee responsible for the neighborhood policy of Welbions, the housing corporation, a representative of the police department, a representative of the residents association and a representative of Scoring in the Neighborhood (*Scoren in de Wijk*). All of these organizations have participated in an interactive process by the municipality to get to their neighborhood policy.

Two different types of documents are mentioned and were made by the municipality. The first is the neighborhood plan (*Wijkplan*), this is a visionary document indicating goals to reach over multiple

years. Respondents told that the municipality had a need for input of what was going on in the neighborhood and which problems inhabitants wanted to be solved. This process needed to be interactive as the municipality did not always have the same ideas as the residents about problems that played a role in the neighborhood. Next to that, the time was right for such a plan following on the Major Cities Policy (*Grote Steden Beleid, GSB*) that national government created a few years before and the plans that the municipality had with the industrial area that partly fell into Berflo Es. This plan (*Hart van Zuid*) needed a social master plan for the whole area, including the neighborhood Berflo Es. Important note is to know that not only for Berflo Es a plan was constructed, but that eventually every neighborhood got one, Berflo Es was not the first one either.

The second type of document is the neighborhood program (*Wijkprogramma*), which is a document launched on a yearly basis concretizing how the goals set in the first document shall be met. Also, according to the respondents, this document gives the policy maker the chance to prioritize the work needed to reach those goals over some years. Some problems simply need more attention than others. Finally, the management is able to steer policy implementers in their work. Next to that it is an opportunity for communicating what is going to happen in the neighborhood by whom. By synchronizing work from different parties (such as municipality and housing corporation), a higher rate of efficiency was reachable. Other organizations (like the residents association) were able to control if the municipality honored their agreements.

As mentioned before, several actors played a role in creating both these documents. The same group of actors were invited in both processes, however respondents say that the process into the visionary document had much more immersion and was conducted more extensive than the process leading to the programs. These actors were:

- Residents association
- Municipality (city district department)
- Municipality (policy departments)
- Housing corporation
- Scala
- Police
- Inhabitants
- Scoring in the Neighborhood

The municipality is a special actor as it consists of two very different types of departments acting in the process. First the city district department, which coordinates the process and the contact with the actors and the neighborhood and second the policy departments, which are responsible for the subject-matter. These will be dealt with together, but there will be a distinction on some matters.

The following part of this chapter will be divided over these actors, what their role was in the process, what resources available for regeneration they brought and how they understand the problem. A quick comparison between these actors and the respondents shows that Scoring in the Neighborhood is not mentioned in this list. This project started up around the same time as the process for the visionary document was near completion, as such Scoring in the Neighborhood only cooperated in the neighborhood programs. No inhabitants were interviewed as they are represented by the residents association.

Residents association **(Stichting Berflo Es Wijkraad)**

The residents association was present in both the visionary process as in the concretizing process. They were (also according to the other actors) the link between the municipality and the inhabitants and as such had access to the knowledge of those inhabitants about present problems. This knowledge thus is their resource in the process. Also this representative organization added indirect legitimacy to the process. Support to the policy in the neighborhood is important to the municipality. Problems according to this actor are related to safety and livability. Houses are old and poorly maintained, as are infrastructure, playing facilities and tidiness of the neighborhood is poor. The level of education is low. Finally the neighborhood knows a great deal of social lag.

Interesting is that the association decided to write their own visionary document (Residents Association, 2004), because they wanted to pressure the municipality into producing a qualitative good vision. Their dissatisfaction lead to the rewriting of the first draft version of that document. In the visionary document the association signal problems and present their view on a solution. The document starts describing the facilities in the neighborhood, they worry about the disappearing of stores in the neighborhood and point out the need for a swimming pool nearby (instead of having children to cycle to the other side of town). The dangerous and busy road that separates primary schools from their gymnastics location is seen as undesirable and a solution could be to cluster education around this location. Another threat is heavy traffic traveling through the neighborhood from one industrial area to another. Livability of the neighborhood is the last topic the association is concerned about. They think that litter and (large) waste is an important cause for the low livability

and is a common problem for everyone living in Berflo Es. Regular cleaning by government is their solution to this problem.

This actor suffered from the problems, but also played a role as solver of the problems (as they brought in the resource knowledge and the link to the inhabitants) as well as a role as policy entrepreneur, by creating their own visionary document and proposing policy (goals and measures) to the problems they encountered.

Municipality (city district department and policy departments)

The city district department initiated the process as the implementing order was given by the City Council, while the policy departments made their specific policy on the neighborhood. The municipality and its servants hold official responsibility as well as administrative responsibility for the process. Also plans and meetings are organized and financed by the municipality. All respondents call the city district coordinator the process manager (and as such responsible for obtaining content) and the city district department as supporter of the process. Thus the resources brought into the process by the municipality are according to respondents authority, knowledge (in policy and statistics from the neighborhood, mainly stemming from the policy departments), money, direct legitimacy and network (of the coordinator and its effort to get attention on the neighborhood) (the latter stem from the city district department). Also some people lobbied with the national government, resulting in the neighborhood 'earning' a spot on the so called 'list of 56', a list compiled of the 56 worse neighborhoods in the country. According to the alderman this placing is not deserved, but it generated money for regeneration. Thus the municipality also brought a network into the process.

Problems in the neighborhood according to the municipality are the housing in the neighborhood, which are outdated and their design produces feelings of insecurity. It is a poor neighborhood with a lot of immigrants that cannot support themselves. There is a low level of education among inhabitants and a relative high level of problem families, because of unemployment, addiction or debts.

Speaking of roles, the municipality has many. It is a solver of problems, suffered from the problems and it is both a policy broker and policy entrepreneur. The municipality brought in several resources for policy and the policy departments 'invented' some of the policy. On the other hand has the city district coordinator clearly the role of policy broker, as he is process manager and his department supporter of the process, their job was to bring the process to an end. Another role that can be assigned to the municipality is that of lead organization, this is an organization that acquires resources for the network and provides facilities and administration for the network. Also it is

central in most of the decision making. This is certainly true for the municipality as they fund most of the neighborhood policy and have acquired resources at the national government.

Housing Corporation (Welbions)

A housing corporation was typically responsible for the building and maintaining the quality of houses, but in recent years broadened its vision and goals into a more social role and as such acted as a preference partner for the neighborhood plan. Welbions built the neighborhood information centre and shares a lot of knowledge about her clients/inhabitants of the neighborhood. It also facilitates part of the process. In terms of resources it thus brought knowledge (about problems within the neighborhood as well as knowledge about strategic planning within the neighborhood) , facilities (new housing, ownership of land) and money into the process.

Problems within the neighborhood according to Welbions are the homogeneous built of houses in the neighborhood which are all outdated (constructional and in terms of housing needs), they are small apartments or small single-family-homes. Because of that all housing is cheap and interesting for the low incomes, resulting in a concentration of social problems. Facilities flowed out of the neighborhoods, less stores, bad healthcare and bad educational facilities. The neighborhood has low interaction with its environment and a bad quality of public space. Problem families tend to stay in the area, whereas the good families move into other neighborhoods.

Welbions played a role as solver of the problems (lots of housing will be build by them) and suffered from the problem. They did not have a clear role as policy broker or policy entrepreneur in the process just by bringing in resources for their policy alternative. Although they could deliberate about the shape of the neighborhood, there is no evidence that they wanted to make their specific mark on the neighborhood.

Scala

Scala is a QUANGO which main goal is welfare work and has an important role within this neighborhood, as many problems arise. The QUANGO works for the municipality and is dependent on it for its budget. Scala has a large network within the neighborhood and knows the problems and because of that had an advisory role in setting up the vision and an executive role in the solutions. It is another important link between the organizations and the inhabitants. Resources put into the process are knowledge of the neighborhood, involvement in the neighborhood and access to their network in the neighborhood.

Low income and the high rate of immigrants are the biggest concern for this neighborhood. According to Scala is the restructuring on the one hand a big threat for people and a big impact on their lives, but is on the other hand a great opportunity for a better livability in the neighborhood and a chance on a better environment for the people who have to move.

As well as Welbions, Scala did not play a role as policy entrepreneur in this process. They did play the role as solver of the problem and as policy broker, trying to get all actors to cooperate and agree upon each other.

Police

The police and especially the officer responsible for Berflo Es also knows a lot of the problems that are current in the neighborhood. Because of that knowledge, respondents say the police has had an advisory role. That knowledge has been their input in the process. Plus the police added indirect legitimacy and authority to the process.

Problems according to the police are nuisance among neighbors, some junks and alcoholics lived in the neighborhood. Others had psychological trouble and caused nuisance in their environment. Families with children were offered a very bad environment. Parking space was a big problem, a lot of complaints about cars parked everywhere reached the police regularly. During some time the housing corporation faced vacancy and offered housing for everyone, which resulted in some bad people moving in from across the country, disturbing the livability even more.

The police does their own job and contributes knowledge to the process, and because of that play a role in solving the problems. But a role as policy entrepreneur or policy broker is not to be concluded from the evidence at hand.

Inhabitants

During the process the municipality not only interviewed the other actors present in the neighborhood, but they organized meetings for all of the inhabitants. During these meetings those inhabitants were able to deliver input for the vision and prioritize the problems. Also meetings were organized for residents to view a draft version and advise on that. Finally inhabitants were needed for executing some of the policy. Main resource that inhabitants brought into the process was thus knowledge.

As mentioned before in this chapter, no inhabitants were interviewed as they are represented by the residents association, so a problem perception of the inhabitants can be given. Inhabitants could be

mentioned as the causes of the problems, but they also suffer from them as well as inhabitants are needed as solver from the problems.

Scoring in the Neighborhood

Although not mentioned by the respondents, Scoring in the Neighborhood is in fact an actor in this neighborhood. The project was too late to have any influence on the neighborhood plans, but they did contribute to the neighborhood program, although they developed their own policy. This was then adopted by the municipality into the programs, according to Scoring in the Neighborhood. This means that in terms of roles, Scoring in the Neighborhood only played a role in solving the problem. They had influence on the plans, as in chapter four is made clear that the 2006 program is comprised out of a lot of measures Scoring in the Neighborhood proposed in 2005, rather than the municipality's measures of 2004. This would clearly make Scoring in the Neighborhood a policy entrepreneur. But some respondents said this actor tried to act on its own, not coordinating everything with the municipality. Reasoning in this line, and as Scoring in the Neighborhood had their own set of goals and measures, they did not plan at having their influence on the process, which is something that a policy broker or entrepreneur in terms of the theories do. Nevertheless, their influence on the policy was too big not to assign them the role of policy entrepreneur.

Scoring in the Neighborhood did also have an influence on gaining extra resources at the governmental level, as Berflo Es gained a spot in the program 'Vital Coalitions' based on the existence of the project Scoring in the Neighborhood. Their resources in the process thus were mainly access to networks and reputation to the policy, as well as knowledge.

Network

Based on the above and the interviews, it is possible to see the network within this neighborhood. Central in the network is the city district department of the municipality. They are initiator (after being ordered be City Council) of the process and have strong ties to everyone else. Probably the strongest ties are towards Welbions, because of the cooperation agreement between them (making it a symbiotic relationship), and Scala, because of the dependency relationship between them as Scala depends on the municipality for funding, and offers a strong network among inhabitants and the Residents Association, which has strong ties to Scala and the municipality, both being symbiotic as the Residents Association offers legitimacy and support, while they need funding from both actors. Welbions, municipality and police are mentioned as preference partners in the project and have very strong ties among each other. The police also has ties with the inhabitants as the police has to maintain safety and thus livability within the neighborhood, being a dependent relationship. A

special place in the network is for Scoring in the Neighborhood. They have not had a role in the visionary process, but they did have a role in the neighborhood programs. But most of all, according to respondents, they had their own projects, without much interference of others. This means that Scoring in the Neighborhood does not have a lot of ties with most of the other actors, or be it weak ones. Existing strong ties are with inhabitants (the Scoring in the Neighborhood projects are aimed at them) and with the municipality. This is a symbiotic relationship, the municipality wants the extra status that Scoring in the Neighborhood delivers, while the latter needs cooperation of the municipality to be able to perform its project. Scala was already mentioned in a relationship with the resident organization and the municipality, but also has ties with everyone else. They deliver information to and need information from Welbions and police and work with inhabitants to find possibilities to strengthen livability. In this network description the Municipality has been treated as a single actor instead of the two that were mentioned earlier because both parts of the municipality share the same relationships with the other actors, although the city district department will have more contact and some stronger ties to all of the actors than the policy departments. These two bodies of the municipality have an interrelationship that has strong ties and is symbiotic.

5.2 Hengelose Es

Hengelose Es is part of the district North of the city of Hengelo. The responsible servant for the neighborhood policy is thus the City district coordinator North, political responsible is the City district alderman North. Both of them have been interviewed. Others interviewed for this research are an employee of Scala (the welfare work QUANGO), an employee responsible for the neighborhood policy of Welbions, the housing corporation, a representative of the police department and representatives of the old and new residents associations.

In Hengelose Es the same routine has been performed as in Berflo Es, resulting in two types of documents, one describing the vision on the neighborhood over a couple of years, the other produced yearly to concretize the methods how to reach the goals set in the visionary document. In response to the question why the initiative to producing these documents was taken, respondents answered in the same line as respondents in Berflo Es did. So the municipality wanted to have an overview of what was going on in the neighborhood, instead of each department knowing only its own part. These documents made a planned cooperation between several partners possible, thus working more efficient. And in order to execute work to reach the visionary goals another document needed to be made on a yearly basis, giving the opportunity to respond to the current situation.

Both processes knew a similar group of actors as the processes in Berflo Es, with the difference that Scoring in the Neighborhood was not present (and still is not, however plans are to extent their activities) in Hengelose Es. So the list of actors looks as follows:

- Municipality (city district department)
- Municipality (policy departments)
- Police
- Housing corporation
- Resident associations
- Scala
- Inhabitants

Again, in the following part per actor will be described what their role was in the process, what resources available for regeneration they brought and how they understand the problem.

Municipality(city district department and policy departments)

The city district department is the initiator of the process and facilitates the ongoing of the process, while the policy departments made their specific policy on the neighborhood. Official responsibility as well as administrative responsibility for the process are held by the municipality and its servants. The city district coordinator, according to the respondents, has to form the process and align all actors into producing input. Just like in Berflo Es resources brought into the process by the municipality are authority, knowledge (in policy and statistics from the neighborhood, mainly stemming from the policy departments), money and direct legitimacy.

Problems according to the municipality are the large quantity of houses under social tenure which are built on a relative small plot of land. This is bad for livability, as that is based on a mix of people. Cheap housing attracts people with low incomes and a lot of problems. These social problems piled up and let to a partial reconstruction of the neighborhood in the nineties. Basis of this problem is the cut in the original building plans (in de sixties), which aimed at wide streets and a lot of public space. The neighborhood has the highest amount of immigrants of the city and a high unemployment rate. These problems do not affect the whole of the neighborhood, it is only the area 'North' which has these problems.

Like in Berflo Es, the municipality has a lot of roles in the Hengelose Es, it acts as a solver of problems, it suffers from problems and is both a policy entrepreneur (especially the policy departments as most of the measures were invented by them) and a policy broker, in the person of the city district coordinator. According to respondents he was the process manager. The municipality made an agreement with the police and the housing corporation that these three are 'preferred partners' in the neighborhood policy and work together. Also in this network the municipality acts as the lead organization. As this is an organization that acquires resources for the network and provides facilities and administration for the network. Also it is central in most of the decision making.

Police

The police have a relationship with the inhabitants and the designated officer knows the area and the problems within, which is its main resource put into the process. As such he is an advisor in the process, according to respondents. Other resources brought in by the police are indirect legitimacy and authority to the process.

Problems according to the police are criminality and nuisance because of addiction and debts. Their role is slim, although they contributed knowledge to the process aiding in solving the problems, the police cannot be assigned the role of policy entrepreneur or policy broker.

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Housing corporation **(Welbions)**

Welbions is partner in the formation of the neighborhood plan and programs. They are owner of most of the houses and their surroundings within the neighborhood and thus needed for restructuring the neighborhood. Their resources brought into the process are knowledge, facilities and money.

Problems in the neighborhood are due to the design, as explained above. The restructuring in the nineties only covered half of the neighborhood and in the other half still live over fifty multi-problem families and a lot of single elderly. Other problems are bad livability, bad public space and low safety.

Welbions plays a role as problem solver (they will rebuild houses when the reconstruction begins and until then they will refurbish houses) and they suffered from the problem. They did not have a clear role as policy broker or policy entrepreneur, although they are preferred partner in the process, but no policy stems from Welbions nor did they mediate in conflicts concerning policy.

The Active Residents Association **(Bewonersorganisatie Hengelo Midden)**

It has been mentioned before that the original residents associations in this neighborhood discontinued their activities and that this new association was established in 2007. This association delivered an active role as advisor and had a voice in the eventual product, albeit only in the neighborhood programs as the neighborhood plan was done before this organization was established. Although new, they built and were helped to build a network in the neighborhood and because of this, the process into a neighborhood plan took a bit more time than the same process in Berflo Es. The association delivered knowledge in the process, but also money. For instance, they paid for traffic signs that should resolve some of the traffic problems that people encountered. As said before, the residents association represented the inhabitants of the neighborhood and their presence in the process also added indirect legitimacy as support to policy is important to the municipality.

The association sees problems in the lower social class that lives in the area North. There is a lot of aggressiveness, vandalism, low livability, a high rate of immigrants leading to neighbors having a hard time understanding each other and integration among each other. Traffic is a problem as people suffer structural from speeding and some show inappropriate behavior as noise. Safety is the last problem, there are reports of shootings within the neighborhood.

This actor suffered from the problems, but also played a role in solving the problem. After all they delivered knowledge and legitimacy to the process. No policy was proposed by the association, nor

did they mediate among other actors, so based on the evidence they cannot be assigned the role of policy entrepreneur or policy broker.

Scala

As mentioned above, the new residents association needed a network structure within the neighborhood. Scala delivered a great deal of work to get to that network. They acted as a link between inhabitants, the municipality and the residents association. They put knowledge from the neighborhood in the process and they granted access to their network.

The biggest problem according to Scala is poverty. Among the worst houses of the Housing Corporation are in this part of Hengelo and are in a bad shape. A contrast exists between the reconstructed part of the neighborhood and the old part. The neighborhood became an unattractive area for entrepreneurs to settle and for people to buy houses.

Based on the information from the respondents, Scala and the municipality cooperated in trying to persuade the old residents organizations in merging and moving into the new multi functional accommodation. When this failed, Scala still cooperated with the municipality in organizing a new residents organization. This means that Scala both aided in solving the problem and played the role as policy broker. There is no information that could assign Scala the role of policy entrepreneur.

Inhabitants

Just as in Berflo Es, the municipality not only interviewed the other actors present in the neighborhood during the process, but they organized meetings for all of the inhabitants. During these meetings those inhabitants were able to deliver input for the vision and prioritize the problems. Also meetings were organized for residents to view a draft version and advise on that. Finally inhabitants were needed for executing some of the policy. The resource that inhabitants brought into the process was thus knowledge.

A problem perception of the inhabitants cannot be given as they were not interviewed. The role they played was that of cause of the problem, but they also suffered from the problem and played a role in solving it. Inhabitants were not policy brokers or policy entrepreneurs.

Network

Concluding from the above, the network in this process is set up as follows. The municipality is the initiator of the process and has ties to every other actor in the policy field. According to the respondents the strongest ties of the municipality are with Welbions (with whom the municipality set up a cooperation agreement). Scala also holds a strong tie with the municipality, they are fairly

dependent on them in terms of budget. In return Scala offers an important network within the neighborhood (and among its inhabitants) and the ability to build a structure for the newly established Residents Association. The ties between Scala and Welbions and between Scala and the Police are quite weak. The latter is mostly (and strongest) tied to the inhabitants, the municipality and Welbions. Police is an important actor in the execution of the policy and for maintaining safety in the neighborhood. When something does happen, inhabitants need to be able to fall back on the Police. Municipality, Welbions and Police are also mentioned as preference partners of the project, so their ties are strong. The residents association then has strongest ties to the inhabitants (whom they represent), Scala (who helped them building and maintaining a network structure within the neighborhood) and municipality, who supports them with funding. Welbions of course has ties with most inhabitants, as they are also clients of Welbions.

5.3 Differences and similarities

The easiest difference to spot between these two neighborhoods when it comes to actors and their roles is that Berflo Es has an extra actor, Scoring in the Neighborhood. This actor also produces policy and had such an impact on the neighborhood policy that it is assigned the role of policy entrepreneur. The rest of the networks in both neighborhoods exist of the same (type of) actors. First of all, the municipality with the city district office and the policy departments, the housing corporation, Scala, the police, a residents organization and of course inhabitants. In both networks all similar actors performed the same roles and added the same resources to the process. The only difference is that the municipality used its external network in Berflo Es, whereas in the Hengelose Es this resource did not become available. This resulted in more external resources, like money and knowledge, coming from national government in diverse policy programs like the list of 56 and the third, previously mentioned, policy stream of national policy. Apart from the existence of Scoring in the Neighborhood in Berflo Es, the networks in both neighborhoods look similar in terms of ties, strength of ties and interdependency.

Another striking difference between the neighborhoods is the interference of the residents association in the process. In Berflo Es the residents association published their own visionary document, having a proven effect in the process, namely the rewriting of the neighborhood plan. In the Hengelose Es on the other hand the need for a residents association even became a measure in the policy programs and the association needed support from the municipality and Scala to be set into action and build a network in the neighborhood. Any influence on the content of the policy from this residents association is unlikely.

The final part of this chapter is the understanding of the problem by every actor. In the previous chapter the conclusion was that in terms of problems both neighborhoods are very similar. Within the neighborhoods all actors roughly name the same problems, although every actor reasoned from its own background. Most actors are active in both neighborhoods and different persons from the same actor were interviewed for different neighborhoods. Although not every actor named every problem, the problems that the different persons representing the same actor noted in both neighborhoods were also similar.

Problems mentioned in Berflo Es are mainly social problems: problems with livability, inappropriate behavior, poverty, unemployment, nuisance, problem families, education, health, parking, traffic, lack of facilities and as explanation to much of those problems the obsolete housing in the neighborhood. These are all problems that are also mentioned in the policy documents.

In the Hengelose Es problems are also seen as related to the housing stock. The design of the neighborhood is a lot of cheap housing on a relative small plot of land, where many poor people and families with low education live close to each other. Similar social problems are mentioned as in Berflo Es, low livability, unsafety, poverty, unemployment, nuisance, problem families, traffic, vandalism and public space in a bad condition.

6.   Conclusions

This final chapter offers an answer to the third question and the main question posed in chapter 3.1: How can differences and similarities be explained? In the last two chapters the results were described in relation to the policy and the actors, in this chapter those results will be used to fill in the models given in chapter 2, being the Stream Model, the Advocacy Coalition Framework and the Network Theories, searching all these three for explanations. When discussing these models, first the situation in Berflo Es will be described, then the situation in the Hengelose Es and finally a conclusion, by comparing these situations. After all three models have been discussed, an overall conclusion will be made.

First, a short recall will be given of the differences and similarities found in the previous chapter. Both neighborhoods suffer from similar problems, Berflo Es has bigger problems with unemployment and Hengelose Es suffers from litter, but that is it. Most goals set in both neighborhoods are also similar, but more differences are found here. In Hengelose Es specific goals are about the creation of a network, playing facilities and refurbishing houses, while in Berflo Es specific goals are about creating jobs, stimulating entrepreneurship, education and culture, strengthening of the volunteers network, building a central information and service center and creating a public private cooperation. In terms of measures, some similarities still remain but more differences come to light. These differences source back to either different policy actors (being Scoring in the Neighborhood and some national government policy programs uniquely for Berflo Es) or unique circumstances in the neighborhood, like the project *Hart van Zuid* in Berflo Es or a pocket money project in the Hengelose Es.

On the topic of actors the first difference between both neighborhood is the existence of Scoring in the Neighborhood in Berflo Es, an actor with a lot of influence on the neighborhood policy by producing its own and as such labeled as policy entrepreneur. The rest of the actors are present in both neighborhoods and brought in similar resources. Another difference is the use of the municipalities external network (as a resource) in Berflo Es, generating national resources and gaining it a spot on governmental lists. Also different in Berflo Es is the interference of the residents association, writing their own visionary document, whereas in the Hengelose Es a new residents association was created in the course of the policy process. When looking at the understanding of the problem, all actors mention they agree with the eventual policy and mention similar problems in the neighborhoods.

6.1 Stream Model

This model supposes that three streams need to flow together at the same time and have a policy entrepreneur ready to push his problems and solutions through the thus appearing policy window. These flows and the possible entrepreneurs are described below.

Berflo Es

Mentioned before is that the time for a neighborhood wide policy was right, following the Major City Policy (*GSB*) of the national government and the Mayor and his Aldermen wanted an overview per neighborhood for integral policy. Unique in Berflo Es is that at the same time the need for a complete restructuring of an old industrial area rose, further pushing towards this visionary document.

Problems certainly were present in Berflo Es. Poverty and social problems made this neighborhood among the worst of town. Again, national policy helped a little in acknowledging this, because of the national neighborhood policy. Although it might not have been a deserved spot, Berflo Es gained a spot on the 'list of 56' worst neighborhoods in the country, opening doors to extra resources, indicating a change in the solutions stream.

All these events lead, in terms of this model, towards a window to open up and give way for the possibilities for a large scale renovation and reconstruction of the neighborhood. The restructuring of the neighborhood is a cooperation between the municipality and the housing corporation, but it is the first actor who gained the role of policy entrepreneur in the previous chapter, whereas the corporation seemed not to have been interested in leaving their mark in the policy. Also, policy windows opened (or it stayed open) when Scoring in the Neighborhood was introduced and when national government decided to make the Vital Coalitions program and later again with the Prevention Budget. In the first case, nothing happened in the political or the problem stream, but something happened in the solution stream. As is visible in table 4.3, Scoring in the Neighborhood's policy lead to the municipality copying this policy into their own neighborhood programs, apparently a policy windows opened up through which Scoring in the Neighborhood pushed its policy.

In the case of both national governmental programs the change was also in the solutions stream, as national government wrote out a competition for resources. In both cases the municipality found their way to push their policy through the opened window and gained the resources, made available by national government.

Hengelose Es

In this neighborhood the Stream model will probably look a lot like the stream model in Berflo Es. When it comes to the political stream, the Mayor and his Aldermen prioritized neighborhood policy, also in accordance to the nationwide Major City Policy (although the city of Hengelo does not directly fall under that policy). The process in Hengelose Es started later than the process in Berflo Es as this neighborhood had more priority because of the upcoming 'Hart van Zuid' project.

The problem stream was apparent, the problems in Hengelose Es are related to poverty, bad neighborhood design and bad housing. This has been known for a long time and was partly solved in the nineties. Nothing new appeared for this stream to alter suddenly. The same goes for the solution stream. The reason for this neighborhood policy to arise comes down to the political stream crossing the streams of problems and solutions, opening up a window. Just like in Berflo Es it is hard to point out a single policy entrepreneur. In this case it is the municipalities policy departments who made policy and the city district coordinator who put a lot of effort into producing a policy document.

Conclusion

Looking at the problems, both neighborhoods face similar problems. Despite that Berflo Es managed to gain a spot in the 'list of 56', while Hengelose Es just remains a neighborhood with a bad name. And later on, another two national governmental resource programs were won by Berflo Es. For the problem stream this means no real differences between these two neighborhoods.

This spot on the list of 56 however may have given Berflo Es a boost in the solutions stream, while in Hengelose Es something like that held off. For Berflo Es it meant more resources to execute the policy. And in a later stadium the national programs for vital coalitions and the prevention budget helped the neighborhood even further.

Regarding the political stream, Berflo Es gained the priority of Hengelose Es because of the 'Hart van Zuid' project (which needed a full overview of problems in the neighborhood) but mostly because of the national attention this neighborhood drew. This attention grew even bigger after FC Twente launched its Scoring in the Neighborhood project. Altogether this means that the policy window in Berflo Es opened up earlier than in Hengelose Es and it kept open for a longer period of time, because of all the attention Berflo Es still attracts. Nevertheless did a policy window open up for Hengelose Es and was neighborhood policy formulated and executed.

This model proves itself worthy in showing how external conditions can have an impact on in this case the prioritizing of neighborhood policy and the interference of an actor like Scoring in the

Neighborhood can lead to more and other policy to be conducted. After all, in the previous chapters was demonstrated that their presence in the neighborhood and in the process lead to more policy (the policy Scoring in the Neighborhood brought into the process) as well as to more resources and national attention.

6.2 Advocacy Coalition Framework

The advocacy coalition framework is built on the premise that actors in a policy subsystem strive to be agreed with. Thinking about policy change is through a focus on policy subsystems. That means that among the actors within the neighborhood coalitions should be found. According to the respondents, most of the time all of the actors agreed upon each other and no more than one coalition was found. The problems in the neighborhood were present to everyone in the process and everyone needed them to be fixed. But one premise within the model is that these coalitions develop their own strategies, which can conflict to each other.

Berflo Es

In Berflo Es, the municipality invited everyone to give input into the process and help build a vision for the neighborhood. When the first draft of this vision was not quite what the Residents Association expected of it, they wrote their own version of a neighborhood vision. This lead to the city district coordinator to have the first draft rewritten. In that situation, the Residents Association became a second coalition with a slightly different belief set and the city district coordinator the policy broker who mediated in a little conflict, resulting in a document all parties eventually agreed upon. The with the stream model described events by national government can be put under the external system events.

The interdependency model of Fenger and Klok that fits to the advocacy coalition model describes coordination among participants as a result of the congruency of their beliefs and their interdependency. All actors in this policy subsystem are in one way or another dependent of each other, none of them is fully capable to solve all problems they are facing on their own. The municipality wants to solve the problems, but needs support among citizens and among the other actors. Also, all actors mostly agree upon which problems are important and the eventual document is agreed upon. This leads me to say that the actors are symbiotic interdependent and have congruent beliefs. According to Fenger and Klok this leads to strong coordination among coalitions. This should lead to a good cooperation among actors, which all actors confirm.

Hengelose Es

In a single issue, opposing coalitions in the Hengelose Es were more apparent than in Berflo Es. Among the plans for the neighborhood, a new multipurpose neighborhood centre should be built and be used by the resident associations already present in the neighborhood. This meant these associations should start cooperating, probably resulting into a merger. However, these associations refused to cooperate and in some terms of the ACF, that would lead to them joining in a coalition against the coalition the municipality was a part of. Eventually the associations were discontinued and a whole new association (without any board members of the old ones) was established by municipality and Scala. The city district coordinator cooperated with an employee of Scala to complete their strategy, aimed at reaching their goal: a single association that housed in the newly built centre. As the municipality managed also the funds of the associations, eventually this lead to them to have to surrender. And thus liquidating their coalition.

Respondents say that other themes were not basis of any conflict. This leads me to the conclusion that, in terms of the ACF, there was no such thing as a policy broker trying to break the crisis with the right policy. This crisis is better to be put in terms of the interdependency. There was a strong conflict among these actors, their beliefs were divergent and they strived over the resources. Sadly for the associations the power over these resources were completely at the side of the municipality and they lost the battle and their existence. This lead for the policy to aim at a whole new Residents Association to arise and a network to be formed around it.

Conclusions

Put in terms of the ACF a difference becomes visible between these neighborhoods, whereas the process in Berflo Es came and went without any large crisis, in Hengelose Es a conflict was the result of some policy choices the municipality made. In Berflo Es the Residents Association formed its own coalition on a single occasion, brought their own neighborhood vision in play as a strategy to reform the vision of the municipality and triumphed that little battle, because the draft version of the visionary document got rewritten, resulting in a version upon every actor agreed. This was the work of a policy broker (in the form of the process manager: city district coordinator) who mediated between the policy departments of the municipality and the association.

In Hengelose Es on the other hand a crisis arose. As part of the policy in Hengelose Es the existing Residents Associations should cooperate and eventually merge into a singular association, which would have its habitat in a newly built multifunctional accommodation. This was not what the Residents Associations wanted and they formed a coalition, however they both were not keen on any

cooperation at al. Sadly for them the municipality controlled their resources and eventually the crisis got to an end when both Associations were discontinued (however at first mediation was tried). Described in terms of interdependency both coalitions strived over resources and had divergent beliefs.

This framework shows that coalitions even arise in situations where actors agree upon which problems are present and important and it shows how important the role of resources are. In the case of Berflo Es the Residents Association had an influence on the municipality because they represent the inhabitants of the entire neighborhood and their support (and indirect legitimacy in the process) was needed. In case of Hengelose Es it was an conflict between the two associations that lead them into the same coalition and eventually lead to their end, because the municipality had the power to stop their funding and their existence.

On the other hand, in terms of the differences as seen in chapters 4 and 5, the ACF does not add much to the explanation. It was the presence of Scoring in the Neighborhood that proved to be the largest difference, while both neighborhoods faced similar problems. Scoring in the Neighborhood did not, however, form a different coalition, nor did they have a different belief set. The only place in the framework where differences between these neighborhood policies are to be found and explained is in the external events section and in the parameters. As concluded in chapter 4, most of the unique measures for Hengelose Es are due to differences in local conditions, or basic attributes and social structure. For Berflo Es changes in socioeconomic conditions played an important role for most of its unique measures, as they are either related to Scoring in the Neighborhood and/or national governmental resources. On the other hand does the ACF provide for an explanation to the similarities found, as in both neighborhoods only one dominant coalition was present throughout most of the time, except for two conflicts for a short period of time. As the ACF explains the emergence of coalition as a result of converging policy beliefs, the conclusion must be that in the policy subsystems in these neighborhoods all actors share the same policy beliefs.

6.3 Network Theories

The model related to the network theories is based mostly on articles by Provan and Milward and Provan and Kenis, articles that use the network theories about private sector networks on the public governance sector. These network theories come as an alternative governance model to the models of hierarchy (with centralized governance modes) and market (with decentralized governance modes). This leads to a premise by Provan and Milward that networks are more effective and their outcomes more preferable for the parties within them then it would have been in the case of competition. Below the network models are described per case and finally concluded with a comparison.

Berflo Es

In chapter 5.1 the network of actors in Berflo Es was described. All actors agree on the above mentioned premise, especially municipality and housing corporation say that this cooperation enabled them to work more efficient, when one redecorates the houses in a street, the other can redecorate the public space surrounding that street for instance. The several levels of the network, according to Provan and Milward are the community level, the network level and the organization/participant level. On the first level principals and clients are the main stakeholders and community costs and the public perception on the level of problem solving are the main effectiveness criteria. As this is not an evaluation of policy, there is no way of telling what that public perception is. What can be said is that the visionary document had not been set by the City Council before all inhabitants had their chance to see and react upon it and the neighborhood programs have been sent for feedback to the Residents Association every year and they had to agree. The relationship between the principals (municipality and housing corporation) and clients (inhabitants represented by the residents association) is good, as they have strong ties among each other.

On the network level principals and agents are the main stakeholders and the strength of the network in terms of quantity of actors and their relationships as well as the services proved are the main criteria. As mentioned in chapter 5.1 the relationships between the actors in the network are strong, but the quantity of actors is low. The service provided is a new neighborhood policy, which is substantial in some parts of the neighborhood as that becomes subject of a complete reconstruction, solving all problems with old and bad housing immediately.

Finally on the organization/participant level agents and clients are the main stakeholders and acquisition of resources and the outcomes of the services to the client are the main criteria. Every participant in the network had a stake into a better situation of the neighborhood. For some it would

mean an improvement of their environment to live in, for others it would make their job a lot easier and for an organization like Scala it is their single purpose. All policy is aimed at improving that situation and resolving (social) problems in the neighborhood by renovating it into a situation stable for the 21st century.

What does that tell about this network? This is, according to the previous mentioned criteria, an effective network, as every member of the network brought in resources the network needed and everyone had the same, or a similar, agenda in the network. Every participant acknowledged the same problems and when it came to solutions parties agreed upon what to do.

Hengelose Es

The network of actors in Hengelose Es has been described in chapter 5.2. Again in this neighborhood the actors agreed that cooperation should give them the best results. Despite the in the Advocacy Coalition Framework described conflict, all other actors, among which the new Residents Association, said that this network is the most effective way to make an integral policy.

At the community level the principal municipality and the clients inhabitants are the main stakeholders and community costs and the public perception on the level of problem solving are the main effectiveness criteria. Again, as this is not an evaluation of policy, thus nothing can be said about public perception or about the community costs. The inhabitants however agreed upon the visionary document, as the process provided them with opportunities to give feedback on the document and for this feedback to work through in the document.

At the network level the strength of the network is determined by terms of quantity of actors and their relationships as well was the services provided. In this network, also there is a low number of actors involved, but their relationship is strong, but only after two actors were dismissed from the network and a new actor was created. Services provided is the neighborhood policy and a new Residents Association.

Finally the organization/participant level, where agents and clients are the main stakeholders and acquisition of resources and the outcomes of the services to the client are the main criteria. Financial resources were mainly sourced to the Municipality and the housing corporation. However, the residents association added funding for a solution to traffic problems into the process. The key resource, knowledge, on the other hand is brought in by every actor and was the basis upon which the policy could be made. Outcome of services to the client are also of importance and is seen in the

policy which resulted from the process. As was the case in Berflo Es, this network proved itself effective, when put in terms of Provan and Milward.

Conclusions

In both Berflo Es as in Hengelose Es the network proved itself effective. Differences can only be found on the level of resources that actors bring into the network (and unlock for the network). Scoring in the Neighborhood not only had policy that was later adopted by the municipality, but it brought the resource status to the game. Previous to Scoring in the Neighborhood, Berflo Es gained a spot on the list of 56, apparently (and according to respondents, as was described in chapter 5) because of the lobbying by employees of the municipalities, who used their (external) network for the benefit of the Neighborhood. The presence of Scoring in the Neighborhood in Berflo Es then helped the neighborhood gain resources of the national policy projects vital coalitions and a prevention budget. These conditions were not present in the Hengelose Es, lacking both lobbying officials (although two neighborhoods from Hengelo on the list of 56 would be very unlikely) and a high-valued project like Scoring in the Neighborhood. But did the availability of these (financial) resources make a lot of difference in which measures were taken in the Berflo Es? When comparing the tables in chapter 4, both Scoring in the Neigborhood as the governmental programs created new policy measures in Berflo Es and some of those measures were adopted by the Hengelose Es. This is not enough evidence to say that these financial resources made the difference in which measures could be taken, but it is enough evidence to say that the interference from Scoring in the Neighborhood and the governmental programs resulted in other and more measures to be taken.

6.4 Conclusions

So, which factors can explain the differences or similarities in policy interventions in the neighborhoods Berflo Es and Hengelose Es in Hengelo? These differences and similarities were sought in the policy itself, in the source of policy and in the actors involved in the process into that policy. As was seen in chapter 4, both neighborhoods suffer from the same or similar problems, so that is not an explanation to differences in policy interventions. In the policy, not only problems, but also goals and measures were distinguished.

The differences in goals are difficult to explain in terms of anything mentioned before. However, the total set of goals in Berflo Es are on another level of abstractness than those in the Hengelose Es. By this is meant that it has no reference to specific examples, as opposed to concrete. For instance stimulating entrepreneurship or stimulating education and culture in Berflo and dividing playgrounds and refurbishing houses in the Hengelose Es. The existence of more than one source of policy is an important part of the explanation to this phenomenon, as Scoring in the Neighborhood is set at stimulating sports, culture, education and health and the national project of vital coalitions is aimed at creating a public private cooperation. On the other hand, both neighborhoods have different conditions, in Berflo Es residents are highly organized and it knows a lot of volunteers, while a specific problem of the neighborhood is unemployment, explaining both the goals in terms of jobs and entrepreneurship and the strengthening of the volunteers network. In the Hengelose Es the residents are not as well organized as in Berflo Es, needing a neighborhood network, while the needed restructuring of the neighborhood is not expected before 2012 and a lack of playing facilities are specific problems for this neighborhood.

In terms of measures both these different conditions as different sources of policy are explanations for the differences between measures, although they also explain some of the similarities. When Scoring in the Neighborhood first entered in Berflo Es, they brought along a set of measures. These were adopted by the municipality, not only in policy for Berflo Es, but also in the Hengelose Es.

So Scoring in the Neighborhood had much influence on the policies for both neighborhoods. This influence is made more visible in chapter 5, where the actors and the network are compared. In both networks a similar set of actors are active, only Scoring in the Neighborhood stands out. In terms of resources this actor brought not only a set of measures, but moreover reputation and a network to the policy process, which granted the municipality access to national governmental programs and resources. This national governmental policy track also brought in some new policy goals and measures, as was shown in chapter 4.

Then how do the three theoretical models add to this research and this answer? The stream model strengthens the conclusion that more solutions were possible because of the access to extra resources for the municipality in case of the Berflo Es and that Scoring in the Neighborhood opened up extra policy windows, or had the policy window opened for a longer duration. When comparing these two neighborhoods, Scoring in the Neighborhood might be called an external condition, causing a difference between both neighborhoods, proving one of Kingdon's premises on the model.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework on the other hand is more focused on the actions of actors and their available resources within several coalitions. Analysis proved that most of the time no more than one coalition was present in both neighborhoods, in Berflo Es the residents association successfully changed the policy by forming their own coalition for a short period of time, in which they published their own visionary document. In the Hengelose Es a crisis emerged when the old residents associations refused to follow the plans the municipality had in mind. This crisis was eventually resolved by withhold resources needed, although mediating was tried at first. This did not have much influence on the policy, other than the suddenly risen need for a new residents association. So this model does not provide for an explanation to the differences found, but it does provide for an explanation on the similarities found. As only one dominant coalition was present throughout most of the time, the actors in both neighborhoods share the same set of policy beliefs. Also the ACF introduced the importance of resources to the research, which do add to the explanation.

The models about public policy networks also use resources. Strategic cooperation based on the allocation of resources should explain the outcomes of policy and as discussed above, the interference of Scoring in the Neighborhood with its resources reputation, access to networks and knowledge, caused a lot of change in policy in both Berflo Es as well as (however to lesser extent) in the Hengelose Es. Network theories were thus certainly important to this research.

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Appendix: Interview

As all the respondents are Dutch, so has been the interview.

1. Wat zijn volgens uw organisatie de meest belangrijke problemen in deze wijk gedurende de afgelopen vijf jaren geweest?

2. Wanneer bent u betrokken geraakt bij het proces? *Zowel datum als(vooral) de fase van het proces: was dat bij het maken van de (dominante) probleemdefinitie of de oplossingsdefinitie.*

    a. Op wiens initiatief bent u deel gaan nemen?

3. *Indien betrokken bij het probleem definiëringproces:*

    a. Waarom is het initiatief genomen om over dit onderwerp te gaan praten?

    b. Wie waren er nog meer betrokken in het proces?

    c. Wat waren de belangrijkste discussiepunten? (*per punt verder vragen*)

    d. Wat was uw standpunt?

    e. Wat was het standpunt van de andere aanwezigen?

    f. Welke actie heeft u ondernomen om uw standpunten in het proces naar voren te brengen? *Acties of het inbrengen van eigen alternatieven?*

    g. Had u medestanders? Zo ja: wie?

    h. Waren er andere standpunten? Zo ja: welke?

    i. Was daar steun voor? Zo ja: door wie?

    j. Wiens standpunten zijn aan het einde van het proces in de wijkvisie opgenomen? Waarom?

    k. Is er iemand geweest die regelmatig het voortouw nam bij de voortgang van het proces? *Zo ja:* Was dit vooral inhoudelijk sturend of was dit vooral neutraal/procesmatig om conflicten op te lossen?

l. Is het proces ambtelijk ondersteund? Wie was daarbij betrokken? *Vanuit een projectorganisatie, gemeente ambtenaren of een gemengd team bijvoorbeeld.*

4. Wie heeft de uiteindelijke beslissing genomen over de inhoud van het advies aan de Raad met betrekking tot de wijkvisie?

   a. *Een besluit kan op verschillende manieren worden genomen, denk daarbij aan stemmen, sammenvatting van de voorzitter, een dominante coalitie.* Wat was het besluitvormingsmechanisme?

   b. Werd deze wijkvisie gedeeld door alle actoren?

5. *Indien betrokken bij het oplossingstraject:*

   a. Waarom is het initiatief genomen om over het wijkprogramma te gaan praten?

   b. Wie waren er nog meer betrokken in het proces?

   c. *T.o.v. het proces leidend tot de wijkvisie:* Zijn er actoren uit het proces gestapt? Zo ja: waarom?

   d. *T.o.v. het proces leidend tot de wijkvisie:* Zijn er andere actoren in het proces gestapt? Zo ja: waarom?

   e. *Over deze nieuwe actoren*: Konden zij zich vinden in de reeds geldende opvattingen zoals genoemd in de wijkvisie?

   f. Wat waren de belangrijkste discussiepunten?

   g. Wat was uw standpunt?

   h. Wat was het standpunt van de andere aanwezigen?

   i. Welke actie heeft u ondernomen om uw standpunten in het proces naar voren te brengen? *Acties of het inbrengen van eigen alternatieven?*

   j. Had u medestanders? Zo ja: wie?

   k. Waren er andere standpunten? Zo ja: welke?

   l. Was daar steun voor? Zo ja: door wie?

m. Wiens standpunten zijn aan het einde van het proces in het plan van aanpak opgenomen? Waarom?

n. Is er iemand geweest die regelmatig het voortouw nam bij de voortgang van het proces? Was dit vooral inhoudelijk sturend of was dit vooral neutraal/procesmatig om conflicten op te lossen.

o. Is het proces ambtelijk ondersteund? Wie was daarbij betrokken? *Vanuit een projectorganisatie, gemeente ambtenaren of een gemengd team bijvoorbeeld.*

6. Wie heeft de uiteindelijke beslissing genomen over de inhoud van het advies aan de Raad met betrekking tot het uitvoerend beleid / plan van aanpak?

a. *Een besluit kan op verschillende manieren worden genomen, denk daarbij aan stemmen, sammenvatting van de voorzitter, een dominante coalitie.* Wat was het besluitvormingsmechanisme?

b. Werd deze plan van aanpak gedeeld door alle actoren?

7. Welke rol heeft welke actor gehad? *Alle actoren in het traject benoemen*

8. *Beleid kan niet geïmplementeerd en uitgevoerd worden zonder hulpbronnen, hierbij kunt u denken aan: geld, kennis, toegang tot andere netwerken, reputatie, etc. De volgende vragen gelden voor alle actoren afzonderlijk:*

a. Wie heeft wat ingebracht?

b. In hoeverre is de inbreng van *X* van belang geweest voor u? Hoe belangrijk op een schaal van 1-5?

c. In hoeverre is de inbreng van *X* van belang geweest voor de wijkaanpak? Hoe belangrijk op een schaal van 1-5?

9. Zijn er nog andere (externe) factoren die niet in dit interview zijn gevraagd volgens u belangrijk geweest in het beleidsproces, buiten de aanleiding waar we het net al over gehad hebben?