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MSc Crisis and Security Management

## **Master Thesis**

# *Explaining Policy Change: A Multiple Stream Model Analysis of the New Year's Eve Bonfires*

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## **Abstract**

This research revolves around the decision-making process surrounding the New Year's Eve bonfires in The Hague. After incidents during the New Year's Eve 2018/2019 bonfires, the municipality of The Hague changed its policy. Even though earlier editions revealed the risks of the bonfires, the municipality waited until after the 2018/2019 edition to intervene.

In order to explain the timing of the policy change, this research uses the Multiple Stream Model by Kingdon (2011). Kingdon's model was created to provide a better understanding of policy change. The analysis of the municipal decision-making process gives an insight into the causes that have led to the change in policy. The conditions surrounding the bonfires in 2013/2014 and 2018/2019 are compared in order to establish which factors play an important role in the occurrence of policy change. By applying Kingdon's model to the two cases, conclusions are drawn on whether the model is able to explain the difference in outcome, namely no policy change and a policy change.

This research argues that changes in the problem and political stream have led to the policy change regarding the New Year's Eve bonfires. The events of New Year's Eve 2018/2019 have helped to identify the bonfires as a problem in need of government intervention. The political context was just right. In the 2013/2014 case necessary conditions were missing, which explains why a policy change did not occur then. This study has shown that Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model is able to explain the policy change regarding the 2018/2019 New Year's Eve bonfires.

**Keywords:** *New Year's Eve bonfires, Policy Change, John Kingdon, Multiple Stream Model, Municipality of The Hague*

## **Foreword**

This thesis is written as completion of the Master program Crisis and Security Management. Throughout the CSM Master my interest was sparked by the events surrounding the New Year's Eve bonfires in The Hague. During the course Before Crisis, I wrote a policy recommendation on the subject. The decision about the continuation of the bonfires was still pending during the writing process of that assignment. Unfolding situations like the decision-making process surrounding the bonfires are what make the crisis and security management field so interesting. The assignment did not only provide me with a thesis subject but helped me to establish what I would like to do in the future.

Even though the process of writing this thesis took a bit longer than planned, I am pleased with the result. The completion of this thesis was a team effort. I therefore like to thank my supervisor Dr. Matthys for his feedback and guidance. During the uncertain times the Corona crisis caused, he proved to be a stable guide in the writing process. His flexibility and honest opinion helped me greatly. My mom, friends and especially my library buddies motivated me to keep going. Their support is something I am very grateful for.

I would like to conclude with a special thanks to Leiden University. I have had an amazing five years at this university, situated in one of the most beautiful cities of The Netherlands.

Safiya van den Berg

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# Table of Contents

<b>Abstract .....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Foreword .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>6</b>
1.1 <i>Topic and Problem Statement</i> .....	6
1.2 <i>Research Question and Framework</i> .....	7
1.3 <i>Academic and Societal Relevance</i> .....	7
1.4 <i>Thesis Structure</i> .....	8
<b>2. Theoretical Framework.....</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1 <i>Policy Process</i> .....	9
2.1.1 <i>Agenda Setting</i> .....	9
2.1.2 <i>Policy formulation</i> .....	10
2.1.3 <i>Public Policy Decision-making</i> .....	10
2.1.4 <i>Policy Implementation</i> .....	10
2.1.5 <i>Policy Evaluation</i> .....	11
2.2 <i>Policy Change</i> .....	11
2.2.1 <i>Conceptualization</i> .....	11
2.2.2 <i>Policy Change Frameworks</i> .....	12
2.2.3 <i>Municipal Policy Change</i> .....	18
<b>3. Methodology .....</b>	<b>20</b>
3.1 <i>Research Design</i> .....	20
3.2 <i>Case Selection</i> .....	21
3.3 <i>Data Collection</i> .....	22
3.3.1 <i>Mainstream Media</i> .....	22
3.3.2 <i>Social Media</i> .....	23
3.3.3 <i>Municipal Documents</i> .....	24
3.4 <i>Data Analysis</i> .....	24
3.4.1 <i>Process Tracing</i> .....	24
3.4.2 <i>Causal configuration</i> .....	25
3.5 <i>Operationalization</i> .....	27
<b>4. Analysis &amp; Results .....</b>	<b>30</b>
4.1 <i>Background on the New Year's Eve Bonfires</i> .....	30
Background on the New Year's Eve Bonfires 2013/2014.....	30
Background on the New Year's Eve Bonfires 2018/2019.....	31
4.2 <i>Analysis of the 2013/2014 case</i> .....	34
4.2.1 <i>The Problem Stream</i> .....	34
4.2.2 <i>The Political Stream</i> .....	35
4.2.3 <i>The Policy Stream</i> .....	35
4.2.4 <i>Decision-making process</i> .....	36
4.2.5 <i>Results</i> .....	38
4.3 <i>Analysis of the 2018/2019 case</i> .....	40
4.3.1 <i>The Problem Stream</i> .....	40
4.3.2 <i>The Policy Stream</i> .....	41
4.3.3 <i>The Political Stream</i> .....	43
4.3.4 <i>Decision-making process</i> .....	44
4.3.5 <i>Results</i> .....	47

<b>5. Conclusion</b> .....	<b>49</b>
5.1 Conclusion .....	49
5.2 Recommendations .....	50
5.3 Discussion .....	50
5.3.1 Reflection on the theory .....	50
5.3.2 Future Research.....	51
<b>6. Annexes</b> .....	<b>53</b>
6.1 News Coverage New Year's Eve bonfire edition 2013/2014 .....	53
6.2 Municipal Documents New Year's Eve bonfire edition 2013/2014.....	54
6.3 News Coverage New Year's Eve bonfire edition 2018/2019 .....	54
6.4 Municipal Documents New Year's Eve bonfire edition 2018/2019.....	60
<b>7. References</b> .....	<b>62</b>

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Topic and Problem Statement

Every New Year's Eve gigantic bonfires are lit at the beaches of Scheveningen and Duindorp in The Hague, The Netherlands. This bonfire building tradition started in 1990. The building competition between the neighbourhoods of Duindorp and Scheveningen decides who receives the award for 'highest bonfire of The Netherlands' (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland, n.d.). The bonfires have grown substantially in size over the years. Every year, the builder organizations were motivated to surpass their previous record. At one point, the bonfires reached an astonishing 46 metres (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 50).

Things however changed after the New Year's Eve 2018/2019 edition. During that edition, the bonfires in The Hague had disastrous consequences. The westerly winds caused a rain of fire and fire tornados which led to multiple fires in the surrounding areas. The estimated damage almost a million euros (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 85). The disaster generated a large amount of negative publicity for the municipality of The Hague. To uncover what went wrong, the Dutch Safety Board was asked to launch an investigation into the bonfires. Their conclusions were relentless, deeming that the municipality made critical errors. The publication of their report even caused Mayor Pauline Krikke to resign (Gemeente Den Haag, 2019a).

The incidents that occurred during the 2018/2019 edition initiated a change in policy. At first, the requirements for a permit were sharpened, implementing the recommendations done by the Safety Board. The municipality of The Hague however announced on December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2019 that the bonfire building competition would not take place that year (RTL Nieuws, 2019). This was the first time the event was cancelled (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland, n.d.).

The 2018/2019 bonfires were however not the first time something went wrong. The risks of the bonfires already became clear in previous years. Fires had occurred in earlier editions on a smaller scale causing damage in the surrounding areas. During New Year's Eve 2013/2014, the burning tower even fell over, fortunately missing bystanders (Omroep West, 2014a). The builders failed to meet safety regulations on multiple occasions, always exceeding the height limitations. The bonfires were therefore a pending disaster. After the incident in 2013/2014, the municipality did establish a covenant. In the following years, they however did little to guarantee that the agreements that were made, were upheld (Omroep West, 2019d). Interventions only took place in 2019, when the municipality sharpened the requirements and eventually cancelled the bonfires. This thesis will focus on providing an understanding of why

now. Why didn't the policy change after the 2013/2014 edition? Which conditions contributed to the difference in outcome, namely no policy change in 2014 and a policy change in 2019?

## **1.2 Research Question and Framework**

This thesis will examine the policy change regarding the New Year's Eve bonfires in 2019. Analysing different aspects surrounding the policy change will help to understand the complex nature of why certain policies are implemented at specific times within a certain political and policy context. The central research question in this study will be:

*How can the policy change regarding the New Year's Eve Bonfires in The Hague after the 2018-2019 edition be explained?*

The New Year's Eve bonfire policy will be researched in the light of John Kingdon's (2011) Multiple Stream Model. The focus is on testing whether Kingdon's model can explain the change of the bonfire policy. This framework is a useful tool to explain changes in public policy. In Kingdon's theory, three sets of variables need to interact. These variables, the problem, policy, and political stream, are influenced by different forces flowing independently from another until they come together at a specific moment. This creates a window of opportunity for policy change. In the right circumstances, the policy window is seized by policy entrepreneurs. These entrepreneurs link issues with possible solutions which creates an opportunity for an issue to enter the policy process and thus an opportunity for a possible change.

Tracking the conditions prior to the policy change can provide an understanding of why, even though incidents occurred in earlier editions, it took the municipality of The Hague until 2019 to intervene and change their policy. The method of process tracing will be applied in this comparative case study. By testing the explanatory value of the Multiple Stream Model in both the 2013/2014 and the 2018/2019 bonfires editions, it will be possible to identify which conditions are necessary for policy change.

## **1.3 Academic and Societal Relevance**

Over the years, many researchers have contributed to the understanding of the dynamics of policy change. Gaps however remain in the literature. The dynamics of a policy change are case-specific, making it necessary to continue research. Policy change is a complex phenomenon since it only occurs in specific contexts. A change in administration could explain

a policy change in one case, but not in another. Not only does the course of a change vary from case to case, but significant differences also exist between policy dimensions in different countries (Burstein, 2014). Even though multiple theoretical frameworks have been developed, it thus remains relevant to research new cases.

By applying the framework of Kingdon, which was created in 1984, to the New Year's Eve Bonfire case, the explanatory power of the theory can be tested. This is especially relevant because over the years many things have changed regarding policy processes. Among others, the scope of the media has changed substantially with the arrival of the internet and social media networks. Studies that include the media often date back multiple years not covering the changing impact of the media.

This research is also of importance to society. The ability to learn from a disaster is important in the prevention of future ones (Birkland, 1997). Policy changes are sometimes necessary to improve security and prevent crises (Henstra, 2010). It is therefore important to get a better understanding of how policy change is established. This research can serve as a guide for actors, such as politicians, on how to establish change. Policy change is a useful tool for actors to intervene in the policy process by introducing their ambitions and new ideas into the policy field. As such, this thesis aims to contribute to the common understanding of policy change.

#### **1.4 Thesis Structure**

This thesis consists of five chapters. To create a solid base for this research, multiple frameworks regarding policy change will be discussed intensively in *Chapter two*. This chapter will also provide an understanding of the concept of policy change and the public policy process in general.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology of this research. It will elaborate on the decision for a comparative case study and the method of process tracing. *Chapter three* will also discuss how the analysis will be carried out.

*Chapter four* is the analysis and results chapter. Background on the New Year's Eve bonfires will be given, and the analysis and results will be presented.

Finally, the conclusions of this research and recommendations for future research will be given in *Chapter five*.



## **2. Theoretical Framework**

Policy change is part of the public policy process. The public policy process entails the manner in which policy is formed. In order to understand policy change, it is necessary to elaborate further on the policy process in general. Policy change is furthermore a complex process. Many works have been published about policy change. Researchers however remain divided on what factors influence change. This chapter will provide a broader understanding of the public policy process and will provide an overview of the main works regarding policy change, serving as the base for this research.

### **2.1 Policy Process**

#### *2.1.1 Agenda Setting*

The process of agenda-setting explains what is necessary for an issue to be put on the agenda. The agenda is the list of subjects or problems to which government officials pay serious attention at a given time. Agenda-setting is about the recognition of a problem by the government (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 120-121). All levels of government have a collection of issues that are available for discussion. Not all issues however reach the agenda. The limited amount of resources and time make it impossible for government officials to attend to all problems. Only a few important problems are actually put on the agenda (Birkland, 1997). The filtering process that decides which issues are important is influenced by actionability and the values of agenda setters. Primarily issues that policymakers believe they can affect are placed on the agenda. What is perceived as important can differ over time. It all depends on the context. Institutional and cultural variations influence agendas significantly (Zahariadis, 2016). The mode of agenda-setting is also determined by the nature of public support for an issue (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 140).

There are four major phases in the agenda-setting process. Issues first need to be initiated. The next step is the specification of their solutions and then support for the issues is expanded. If these phases are completed, an issue enters the institutional agenda. Issues that reach this agenda are deemed important by government officials and are believed to require action. Entering the agenda, however, does not mean the government will undertake action. It only means it will be taking into detailed consideration (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 133).

### *2.1.2 Policy formulation*

The second stage in the policy process is policy formulation. After the government recognized the existence of a problem and deems action necessary, the problem enters the formulation process. This stage of the policy process involves the formulation of courses of action. Various solutions to policy problems are assessed (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 143).

Policy formulation is a complex and diffuse process. Solutions for a problem need to undergo an elimination process. Solutions need to be technically capable of correcting an issue but also need to be considered feasible by policymakers. Policy formulation thus involves the recognition of constraints to state action (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 144). The essence of this part of the policy process is to develop policy options for problems on the agenda.

### *2.1.3 Public Policy Decision-making*

In the decision-making stage a statement of intent will be provided. Actors will decide in this stage whether they will undertake action. This is an inherently political process. Policy options and their feasibility were already established in the previous stage. The decision to undertake action is thus only based on political preferences (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 163).

There are two different types of choices that follow from the decision-making process. A distinction is made between positive and negative decisions. Positive decisions will alter the status quo. A decision is labelled negative when a conscious decision is made to preserve the status quo. With a negative decision, the policy process does not move past the decision-making stage (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 165).

In the case of a positive decision, actors will decide on a particular action. It involves choosing for the small number of policy solutions remaining after the policy formulation stage (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 163).

### *2.1.4 Policy Implementation*

After the decision for a particular policy solution is made, policy decisions are translated into action (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 185). Implementation is an expensive and time-consuming process. It can take multiple years for a policy to be put into practice. Funding is not guaranteed so it requires continual negotiation and discussion between political and administrative state actors (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 187).

### *2.1.5 Policy Evaluation*

Governments often assess how a policy is working. This is the last stage of the policy process. Policy evaluation determines the effectiveness of a public policy in terms of perceived intentions and results (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 207).

The outcome of policy evaluation is threefold. If a policy is labelled successful, it will continue in its current form. Policies that are judged a complete failure, will be terminated. Finally, some policies show potential, but still need improvements. These policies are reformed. The policies will then move back to an earlier stage in the policy process (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 216).

The benefit of policy evaluation is the educational process it can engender. Policy learning is an attempt to improve policymaking by assessing past experiences. This shows the relationship between policy learning and policy change (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002: 220-221).

## **2.2 Policy Change**

### *2.2.1 Conceptualization*

The main concept in this research is public policy change. Before the conditions that trigger policy change can be discussed, a clear conceptualization is necessary. Public policy is a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation (Howlett & Ramesh, 2003: 6). Public policy change can be conceptualized as incremental shifts in existing policies, or the introducing of new and innovative policies (Bennett & Howlett, 1992: 275).

Changes in policy can occur through processes like policy learning and path-dependency (Howlett & Ramesh, 2003: 241). A distinction can be made between normal and atypical policy change. Normal policy change involves altering various aspects of a policy without actually altering the overall shape of a policy regime (Howlett & Ramesh, 2003: 235). Atypical policy change, on the other hand, shows a deep change in the process of policymaking. It involves substantial changes in policy styles and paradigms. Such changes occur in circumstances when normal changes are deemed insufficient for the task at hand (Howlett & Ramesh, 2003: 237-243).

The decision to not allow the bonfires for New Year's 2019/2020, can be explained as a policy change since it shows a reversal in attitude. In the last decade, the bonfires had sustainably grown in scale. During the 2013/2014 edition, the maximum dimensions were 10 x 10 x 12 metres (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 33). Compared with the last edition in 2018/2019,

the allowed height of the stack more than tripled. This exhibits a trend of expansion of the bonfire tradition. The cancelling of the event thus shows substantial changes in policy paradigms, making it an atypical policy change.

### *2.2.2 Policy Change Frameworks*

This subchapter focuses on discussing the main theoretical frameworks regarding policy change. Kingdon's (2011) Multiple Stream Model, Sabatier's (1988) Advocacy Coalition Framework, Baumgartner & Jones' (1993) Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, and Birkland's (1997) Focusing Events will provide a better understanding of the processes surrounding policy change. The main focus is on Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model. This thesis focuses on whether this model can explain how and why the policy change regarding the New Year's Eve bonfires took place and which conditions played a role in this process.

### **Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model**

Kingdon's model of policy streams, also known as the Multiple Stream Model, is a useful tool for analysing the complex nature of policy change. It helps to explain why certain policies are implemented at a specific time in a specific context. A problem needs to be salient, urgent, and solvable to reach the decision agenda. It thus needs to be recognized by policymakers as such. The Multiple Streams Model explains how issues become dominant in policy agendas. The model consists of streams that are set out in threefold: the problem stream, the policy stream, and the political stream.

#### The Problem Stream

The problem stream deals with the complex nature of getting decision-makers to focus on a certain issue. Something can be defined as a problem if specific conditions are believed to require action (Kingdon, 2011: 109). Government officials attend to a long list of problems. They lack the means to attend to every problem, so some problems are ignored. There is a continuing battle between policy problems in society that require attention. Which problems receive attention depends on a range of indicators. Problems come to the attention of government officials via various mechanisms. Systematic indicators like routine monitoring activities help the government to establish whether there is a problem. Academic studies also suggest that an issue is problematic and needs government attention. Based on such figures, policy recommendations can be made. Changes in these figures especially trigger the attention of policymakers (Kingdon, 2011: 90-91).

These indicators are often not enough by itself. Sometimes problems need a push to get policymakers to focus on them. Focusing events like a crisis or a disaster can provide this push. Such crises have the power to get an issue to the top of the policy agenda (Kingdon, 2011: 94-96).

Another way that problems come to the attention of government officials is feedback. Governments receive feedback through different channels. Feedback is received via systematic monitoring, complaints, casework, and bureaucratic experience. Citizens, for example, complain to their legislators creating awareness for an issue. Not all feedback policymakers receive is interpreted as a problem. For legislators to perceive something as a problem, feedback needs to fit in a certain category. If information indicates that a policy fails to meet stated goals, implementation does not fit the intended purpose, exceeds the expected cost of a program, or leads to unanticipated consequences, policymakers will interpret it as a problem (Kingdon, 2011: 100-103). Issues thus need to meet certain requirements to receive the attention of policymakers. Even if problems receive agenda prominence, this can be short-lived. Issues demise as a prominent agenda item sooner than they arrive. There are various reasons why problems fade. When decision-makers feel like a problem is solved since the most extreme consequences are addressed, issues tend to disappear from the agenda. The realization of financial and social costs of action can also impact agenda prominence. Novelty plays an important role in the amount of attention an issue receives. As time passes, interest therefore may fall (Kingdon, 2011: 103-105).

### The Policy Stream

Forces within the problem stream thus influence what issues get the attention of policymakers. The policy stream, on the other hand, consists of policy ideas that flood around in policy communities. Kingdon's refers to this as the policy primeval soup (Kingdon, 2011: 116). Policy communities consist of specialists in a given policy area. These specialists are scattered through different organisations. Examples are interest groups, congressional staffers, agency officials, and researchers. Policy communities generate alternatives and proposals for policies. Many ideas float around, but not all ideas that float around have a chance of survival. There are namely criteria for survival. Ideas need to be technically feasible. This entails that a policy can be implemented without a problem. Details need to be thoroughly worked out and specified to ensure that the idea will actually accomplish the set goal (Kingdon, 2011: 131-132). Proposals that survive also need to be compatible with the values of the specialists. The criterium of value acceptability is important since specialists will not support ideas that go against their ideology.

Views on what role the government should play are values that affect public policy outcomes (Kingdon, 2011: 133). The survivability of proposals also depends on anticipation of future constraints. Policymakers need to be convinced that the costs of a proposal are acceptable, that there is public support, and that there is a possibility that politicians will approve the proposal. Decision-makers use tests to calculate if ideas will survive in the future (Kingdon, 2011: 138).

After following this selection process, only a small list of ideas from the primeval soup will remain. The potential policy solutions the policy stream generates need time to soften up the policy community. Softening up entails letting the community get used to new ideas while gaining support. The emphasis is on persuasion. Policymakers try to convince others of the virtue of their provision. This can take many years. For a policy change to occur, there need to be viable policy solutions in the policy stream (Kingdon, 2011: 143).

### The Political Stream

The last stream part of Kingdon's model is the political stream. This stream refers to three components namely swings of the public mood, the balance of organized political forces, and legislative turnovers. Election results and pressure group campaigns are examples of indicators in the political stream (Kingdon, 2011: 145). The public mood is the notion that a large number of people in a country think along common lines. Changes in this mood have significant impacts on policy outcomes and agendas. Politicians believe they are able to sense the public mood. It affects the agenda since politicians promote items that fit with the mood and stop items that go against it (Kingdon, 2011: 146).

Developments in the political stream are not just limited to swings in the public mood. Turnovers, like changes in administration, can also have a significant impact. The new Reagan administration, for example, changed agenda priorities notably. The turnover of key personnel will have an impact on all levels of government (Kingdon, 2011: 153).

Organized political forces are also part of the political stream. These organized forces have the power to influence politicians. The notions of interest group pressure, political mobilization, and the behaviour of political elites play a role in this. The influence of organized forces like interest groups all depends on consensus. If there is consensus among the organized interest groups, political leaders have a strong incentive to move in the same direction (Kingdon, 2011: 150). Consensus building in the political stream is governed by bargaining. To establish a winning coalition for a proposal, politicians grant concessions (Kingdon, 2011: 159).

### Coupling of the Streams

The three streams of the Multiple Stream model largely flow independent of each other until circumstances lead to a conflux of the streams. This coupling of the streams is most likely when a window of opportunity presents itself. A policy window can be defined as a short opportunity for policy entrepreneurs to persuade receptive decision-makers to adopt a previously formulated solution to a problem (Henstra, 2010: 247). A distinction can be made between a political and problem window. These opportunities for action are thus opened by a development either in the political or the problem stream. It can originate from a change in the problem stream when a problem catches the attention of government officials and their surroundings. Changes occurring within the political stream, like turnovers of political actors, are also an explanation of why policy windows open. Policy windows only stay open for a short period. There are a variety of reasons why windows close. Decision-makers may feel they already addressed the problem or are not able to address it. Another reason that explains the closing of a window is the short duration of events that caused the window to open. Focusing events like oil spills only catches the attention of people for a brief period. Furthermore, the turnover of personnel can both open and close a policy window. Personnel comes and goes, and so do the windows of opportunity they opened. The lack of a policy solution can also close a window (Kingdon, 2011: 168-170).

The coupling of the streams increases the probability of an issue entering the agenda. The joining of the streams happens as follows: when a policy window opens, policy solutions flowing in the policy stream will be attached to an issue from the problem stream. Both of them are then joined to favourable political forces from the political stream. The coupling of the streams then creates an opportunity for policy change (Kingdon, 2011: 172-173). Coupling happens because of policy entrepreneurs. Policy entrepreneurs can be described as advocates who are willing to invest resources to promote a position in return for anticipated future gain. There are always people at the centre of moving an issue up on the agenda (Kingdon, 2011: 179-180). When all conditions are right, an opportunity for policy change can present itself.

Other researchers have used Kingdon's framework to explain policy change. Laraway and Jennings (2002) researched the formation of the HIFA initiative. The opening of the window of opportunity for the HIFA initiative can be originated from changes in the political and problem stream. Changes occurred in administration when Bush succeeded Clinton. The initiative aligned with the Republican ideology, creating momentum. A change in the problem stream occurred when media and academic attention caught the attention of policymakers.

Academic studies are one type of indicator that suggests a problem is significant. Several important studies and reports about the uninsured were published, raising awareness. Media coverage and press releases then put pressure on politicians. The changes opened a window of opportunity. This opportunity was seized, leading to the implementation of the HIFA waivers (Laraway & Jennings, 2002:362-364).

### **Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition framework**

The Advocacy Coalition framework attempts to explain the complex process of policy change over a period of time (Sabatier, 1988: 130). To understand policy change, it is necessary to research a time period of a decade or more. The focus should be on policy subsystems, i.e. the interaction of actors from a variety of institutions who are interested in a specific policy area. The last premise of the framework is to consider public policies as sets of value priorities and causal assumptions about how to realize them (Sabatier, 1988: 131).

Sabatier's framework consists of multiple variables. There are two sets of exogenous variables that influence the actors in subsystems. One set of variables is fairly stable. The other is more dynamic, including changing socio-economic conditions, like public opinion and oil prices. These changes and changes in the systemic governing coalition are some of the principal sources of policy change. They provide constraints and resources for the subsystem actors (Sabatier, 1988: 132-133).

Within the subsystem, actors interact forming different advocacy coalitions. This strategic interaction involves both competitions for power and efforts to develop more means of addressing the policy problem (Sabatier, 1988: 130). These coalitions are composed of people from a range of organizations who share a set of beliefs. Each coalition will adopt a strategy that accords with its policy objectives. Policy brokers will act as mediators between these conflicting strategies to find a reasonable compromise. The result of this process is one or more government programs that produce policy outputs. At this stage, an advocacy coalition may alter its strategy based on new information arising or changing external dynamics (Sabatier, 1988: 133).

This framework of policy change has a particular interest in policy-oriented learning. Policy-oriented learning can be described as alterations of the belief system of coalitions as a result of past experiences. Internal feedback loops in Sabatier's framework show this effect on policy change (Sabatier, 1988: 133).



Policy change can best be described as fluctuations over time in the belief system within a certain policy subsystem (Sabatier, 1988: 158). While policy- oriented learning can strongly affect the belief systems of advocacy coalitions, changes in the core aspects of policies are usually the result of alterations in external factors such as macro-economic conditions (Sabatier, 1988: 134).

### **Baumgartner & Jones' Punctuated Equilibrium**

Baumgartner and Jones' (1993) Punctuated Equilibrium Theory seeks to explain the alternation of long stable periods with short periods of radical change in the policy process (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 4). The theory shows the interaction between policy images and policy venues. A policy image is the way the public and the media perceive a policy. Since a policy may affect different people in different ways, different images exist of the same policy (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 25-26). Government systems are susceptible to new ideas and change. Negative policy images tend to lead to change. Through strategic actions, discontent actors can mobilize new allies by modifying the policy image. Groups in favour of the policy need to defend the policy. By failing to do so, the possibility for punctuation arises (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 28).

The next step for discontent actors is to shop for policy venues. 'Policy venues are the institutional locations where authoritative decisions are made concerning a given issue' (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 32). Issues need to receive the attention of institutions to establish change. If a certain issue does not receive enough attention from an institution or in the case of institutional constraints, actors can search for another policy venue to achieve their goal. Societies consist of multiple policy venues which all have a certain ability to affect the policy image. Every venue has a belief system, thus making it possible for discontent actors to find a favourable audience for their position by looking for a new policy venue. In the case of a favourable venue, the possibility for policy change arises (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 32-36).

Discontent actors thus initiate policy change through a range of mechanisms. By changing the policy image, including previously uninvolved actors into the conflict, and shopping for new policy venues, actors can pressure policymakers to implement change. The interaction between policy images and venues can therefore explain the continuation or destruction of a policy (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 38).

### **Birkland's Focusing Events**

Birkland explains in multiple publications, including in his book, *After Disaster: Agenda Setting, Public Policy, and Focusing Events* (1997), how policy change can be understood as the result of learning processes in the policy process. He focuses on *event-related policy change* where a particular event can be plausibly linked to a change in policy. These focusing events attract increased attention to public problems (Birkland, 1998). A focusing event can be defined as 'an event that is sudden; relatively uncommon; can be reasonably defined as harmful or revealing the possibility of potentially greater future harms; has harms that are concentrated in a particular geographical area or community of interest; and that is known to policymakers and the public simultaneously' (Birkland, 1998: 54). Focusing events are often an important part of policymaking. They namely generate attention more rapidly than other issues. Greater levels of news coverage are closely associated with greater levels of institutional attention to public problems (Birkland, 1997: 30). Opportunities for policy change emerge when issues become dominant. Media coverage does not only pressure policymakers to pay attention to problems but is also necessary for the mobilization of the broad population. Public scrutiny is an important precursor for change (Birkland, 1997: 30-33). More attention to an issue usually leads to negative assessments of the current policy. This creates pressure for policymakers to open up policymaking and change the current policy. Focusing events can thus be a harbinger for policy change.

#### *2.2.3 Municipal Policy Change*

Since this research focuses on policy change on a municipal level, it is important to further elaborate municipal decision-making processes. Studies regarding policy change are often conducted in a national context. Research conducted by Henstra (2011) demonstrates Kingdon's framework, a theory focused on explaining policy change on a national level, is also applicable to municipal decision making (Henstra, 2011: 256). In his article, he attempts to explain policy choices regarding municipal emergency management. He studies emergency planning in Sarnia, Ontario. Before, citizens showed little interest in emergency planning. After the chemical spill in 2010, residents of the affected area complained in the media that they had not been warned about the risks of the chemical plant. A focusing event can quickly broaden and intensify public interest, which then attracts the attention of politicians (Henstra, 2010: 252-254). In this case, the complaints of residents attracted the attention of the mayor. Citizens called upon the mayor to take action. This raised the salience of emergency planning on the agenda. A proposal for new measures was then put forward. A policy window opened when the

different streams coupled. This window of opportunity was then seized by a policy entrepreneur. He gained public and political support with his proposal of installing a siren. The policy solution of a siren was later adopted by the municipality, successfully initiating a policy change (Henstra, 2011: 255).

The research is also often conducted in an American context. It is therefore important to specifically discuss Dutch municipal decision making. Breeman, Scholten, and Timmermans (2015) research how Dutch municipalities allocate their attention. The Netherlands is a decentralized unitary state. Local governments have their own democratic legitimacy and are thus able to set local policy agendas. The country is known for coalition formation at all levels of government. Municipal policy agenda setting therefore mostly takes place during the negotiation of coalition agreements (Breeman, Scholten & Timmermans, 2015: 20-21). The focus is on better understanding what the influence of local factors is on agenda-setting. The findings in this research show differences between the national and local agendas. Local governments allocate their attention to topics like housing, education, and culture. On the other hand, national governments primarily focus on social affairs, labour, foreign affairs, health, and the macroeconomy. Their analysis of local policy agendas shows that variation in party composition does not lead to a difference in agenda priorities. This speaks to the nature of local politics as being problem-oriented and pragmatic. However, the institutional arrangements of policymaking do influence local agenda-setting. There is a division in policy-making tasks for local and national governments. The set of tasks allocated to local governments determines the distribution of attention. Issues that have a relative national character will not receive much attention from a municipality (Breeman et al., 2015).

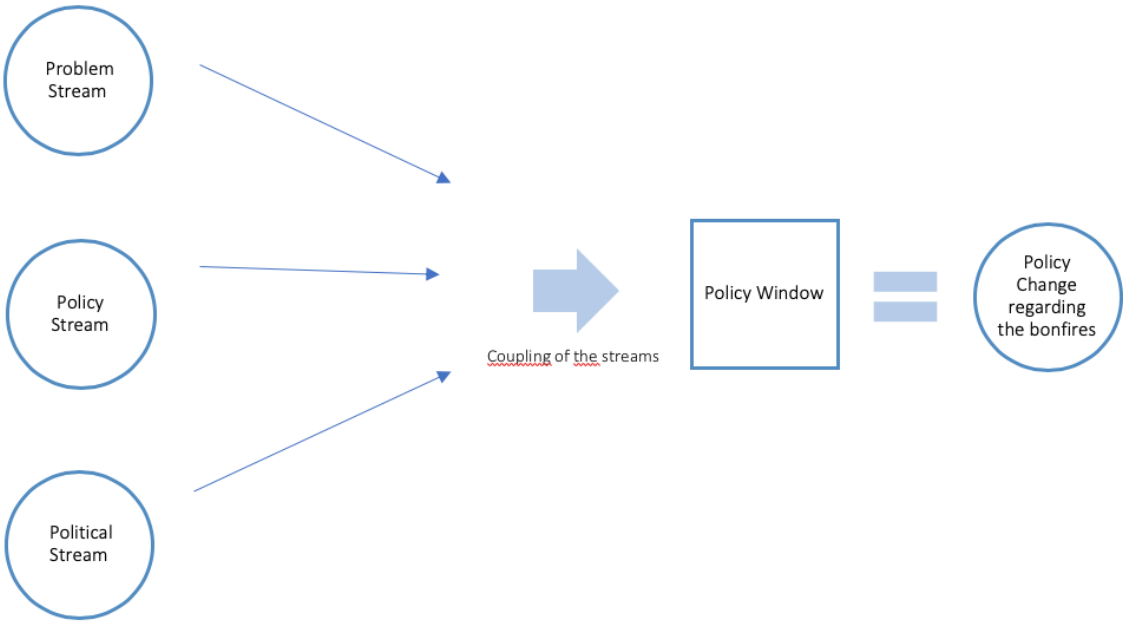
### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 Research Design

This research investigates what influenced the change in policy made by the municipality of The Hague regarding the New Year’s Eve bonfires by testing Kingdon’s Multiple Stream Model. The central research question is: *How can the policy change regarding the New Year’s Eve Bonfires in The Hague after the 2018-2019 edition be explained?*

Kingdon’s model can be visualized in a conceptual framework. Figure I shows that the three streams need to couple in order to open a policy window. The opening of a policy window needs to occur before the possibility of policy change arises.

Figure I: Conceptual Framework



A comparative case study will be conducted to establish which factors led to the policy change regarding the New Year’s Eve bonfires. The cases that will be compared are the bonfire editions of 2013/2014 and 2018/2019. Both cases had different outcomes namely no policy change and a policy change. To test whether the Multiple Stream Model can explain the difference in outcome, the method of process tracing will be applied.

### 3.2 Case Selection

Qualitative research offers the opportunity to gather in-depth insights into a problem. To measure what factors have contributed to the policy change, this research will use a case study design. A case study entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a case. The design offers the ability to research the complexity and particular nature of a case which makes it an ideal design to explain a phenomenon (Bryman, 2012). Case studies are used when dealing with why and how research questions. This design is also suitable when the goal of the research is to uncover contextual conditions. The inability to manipulate the behaviour of people involved in the study is the third circumstance in which a case study is the preferable design. In the case of unclear boundaries between context and phenomenon design, a case study design should also be considered (Yin, 2003: 1). This research revolves around uncovering the contextual conditions surrounding the bonfire tradition, hence the choice for a case study.

This research is a comparative case study. A comparative case study offers the possibility to better understand social phenomena, as implied by the logic of comparison (Bryman, 2012: 72). The decision for a comparative case study is also based on the characteristics of the case. The New Year's Eve bonfire case namely allows for a 'within-case' comparison. Due to the returning character of the event, it is possible to compare different editions. This increases the reliability of the research. Within the comparative case study method, a distinction is made between the Most Different Systems Design (MDSD) and the Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD). The MDSD seeks to present the strength or weakness of a relationship between two variables by testing their validity in a range of different settings. On the contrary, MSSD compares cases that are as similar as possible in as many features of their system as possible and only differ from each other on the dependent variable (Hague & Harrop, 2013). In this case, the dependent variable is policy change. By selecting two cases which only differ from each other on the dependent variable, causes of policy change can be identified.

The focus of this research is on the New Year's Eve bonfire tradition in The Hague. Since the start of the organized bonfires in 1990, safety incidents have occurred on multiple occasions. There were different instances where the bonfires could have led to a disaster. During the previous New Year's Eve celebrations, not only small fires occurred but the stacks toppled, fortunately, missing bystanders (Dutch Safety Board, 2019). These incidents however did not cause a fundamental change. A clear change in policy only occurred after the New Year's Eve bonfires edition of 2018/2019. During the New Year's Eve celebration of 2018/2019, the bonfires caused a rain of fire at the Scheveningen boulevard and its surrounding areas. The

burning wood particles caused significant damage and several small fires (Dutch Safety Board, 2019:5). After the incidents during the 2018/2019 edition, the municipality concluded that the design of the event needed to be revised, eventually deciding to cancel the bonfires (Omroep West, 2019c). The policy change that followed the 2018/2019 edition can be labelled as a radical change. It took the municipality until 2019 to change the policy, even though safety issues occurred during multiple earlier editions. This decision can therefore seem fairly random at a first glance, which makes it an interesting case to research. An in-depth analysis is necessary to get a better understanding of the decision-making process.

The selected cases are the 2013/2014 and 2018/2019 New Year's Eve bonfires editions. The contextual factors of the cases are similar. The only difference is in the dependent variable namely the occurrence of a policy change after the 2018/2019 edition and continuation of the policy after the 2013/2014 edition. Developments did occur after the 2013/2014 edition. After the incidents during New Year's Eve 2013/2014, the municipality established a covenant with the builder organizations. However, this cannot be labelled as a policy change. Rules were namely already in place for the 2013/2014 edition. Among others, the bonfires were not allowed to surpass a height of twelve metres (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)). The establishment of the covenant in 2014 can therefore not be seen as a policy change. This makes these cases suitable for the Most Similar System Design. By comparing these cases it is possible to uncover the conditions that are necessary for the policy change. The comparative aspect of this type of case study design also increases the validity of the research.

### **3.3 Data Collection**

This research used a range of data to establish the causes of the policy change present in the New Year's Eve bonfires cases. The data retrieved for this research consists of mainstream media data, social media data, and municipal documents.

#### *3.3.1 Mainstream Media*

Since the media can help to illustrate causal connections, this research used media data. Media coverage requires further operationalization. In this research, media coverage is demarcated as the total number of articles written discussing the New Year's Eve bonfires.

Many articles have been written following the incidents during New Year's Eve. To prevent a repetition of similar media articles in the analysis, this research focused on four news media outlets in the Netherlands. One of these outlets is the regional broadcaster *Omroep West*.

*Omroep West* especially covers news from the South-Holland province, which makes it suitable for this case. However, since national news media outlets reach a broader audience, and thus have more influence on policymakers, a range of national news media outlets have also been used in the analysis. The selection of these news media outlets consists of the *Volkskrant*, *NRC Handelsblad*, and *Trouw* to have a representation of the political spectrum. The *Volkskrant* can be categorised as a left-wing paper, the *NRC* as a right-wing paper, and the *Trouw* as a centre paper. The data has been retrieved via LexisNexis. LexisNexis offers the possibility to access both online and offline articles. The database has records of both *NRC Handelsblad* and *NRC.NEXT*, *Trouw* and *Trouw.nl*, and *Volkskrant* and *Volkskrant.nl*. Combining the two forms can however lead to overlap. The output of both forms of publication has therefore been cross-examined to search for any overlap. In the case of overlap, one of the articles has been excluded from the analysis. By focusing on both types of articles, a complete image can be formed about the media coverage regarding the bonfires. *Omroep West* has its own database available via its website which have been consulted separately.

In the case of the 2018/2019 edition, articles written from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2019 until, the decision to cancel, December 4<sup>th</sup>, 2019 were selected. The articles that will be used for the analysis of the 2013/2014 edition, were written between January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014 until December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2014. The search term used in the database is ‘vreugdevuren’. Every article that arrives from the selections has been analysed and categorised. This research also took into account the number of articles written, since the amount of attention paid by the media can tell us something about the pressure it generates on policymakers.

### 3.3.2 Social Media

To support the claim that the bonfires are perceived as a problem by the public and policymakers, the data retrieved from newspapers will be underwritten by public reactions on social media. Multiple news outlets post links to their articles on their Facebook pages. A range of posts has been selected and used for an examination of the reaction of the public. The selected posts are articles that are also used in the newspaper analysis. Much of public conversation has moved to social media. Every day there are namely more than 750 million posts published on social media (Kind, Schneer & White, 2017). Reactions on social media are therefore a good indicator of the public mood. If the reactions on news coverage about the incidents during the 2018/2019 bonfire edition show a negative stance, a change in the problem stream can be confirmed. This analysis will thus contribute to establishing whether the bonfires were defined as a problem.

### *3.3.3 Municipal Documents*

Furthermore, documents of the municipality of The Hague have been accessed to recreate the decision-making process regarding the bonfires. These documents include proceedings of council meetings and press statements. The municipality of The Hague has a council information system which is partly accessible to the public. Within this system, it is possible to search for agendas, council meeting documents, and reports on the course of council meetings. The search term entered in the system is 'vreugdevuren'. In the case of the 2018/2019 edition, documents dating from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2019 until, the decision to cancel, December 4<sup>th</sup>, 2019 were selected. The documents that will be used for the analysis of the 2013/2014 edition, date from January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014 until December 31<sup>st</sup>, 2014. In the search for press statements, the same input variables were used.

This type of data helps to determine the chronology of events necessary to prove the existence of the connections described in the Multiple Stream Model. It also helps to determine which policy solutions were considered.

## **3.4 Data Analysis**

The selected data will be analysed by applying the process-tracing method. The method of process tracing will be explained, and the causal framework associated with the method presented.

### *3.4.1. Process Tracing*

Process tracing is used to uncover the complex causes of an outcome, which makes it a Y-centred approach. Researchers using this method are interested in causes instead of effects (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). This makes the method suitable for the research question in this thesis. The goal of this research is namely uncovering the causes of the policy change regarding the bonfires.

The main characteristic of the process-tracing method is configurational thinking. This thinking is based on the assumption that a combination of causal factors works together to create an outcome. Equifinality and causal heterogeneity also play a role. Equifinality entails that divergent pathways can lead to similar outcomes and causal heterogeneity entails that the effects of the same causal factor can differ in different contexts and combinations (Blatter & Haverland, 2012).



The methodology of this approach is that it attempts to identify the intervening causal process between causal conditions and the outcome of the dependent variable. The outcomes in these cases are the policy change that followed after the 2018/2019 edition and the continuation of the policy after the 2013/2014 edition. By applying the process-tracing method to both editions, differences can be identified, making it possible to conclude which combination of factors has the ability to cause policy change.

The notion of Kingdon's framework points to a configurational assumption, making process tracing the most appropriate method. A combination of causal factors is namely necessary to create a policy change. Policy entrepreneurs need to push their policy solutions at the right moment to achieve change (Blatter & Haverland, 2012: 85). The causal process that has to be identified is the relation between changes in the streams and its impact on the policy regarding the New Year's Eve bonfires. Earlier studies have shown a relationship between focusing events and the problem streams and between changes in administration and the political stream. This research may discover similar causes for the change regarding the bonfire building tradition.

The decision for process tracing instead of other methods is furthermore based on the high internal validity process tracing generates. Tracing the process that leads from a causal factor to an outcome namely enhances the internal validity. The method however scores low on external validity. Process tracing is a within-case technique of causal inference, making it hard to generalize results (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). The study of policy change is often not suitable for generalization since policy domains differ sustainably. Conditions in one policy domain may lead to a policy change but not in another. Research on policy change will thus not result in a high external validity. Hence, it is of importance that the method is reliable and generates a high external validity. Process tracing is therefore the most suitable method for this research despite a low external validity (Burstein, 2014).

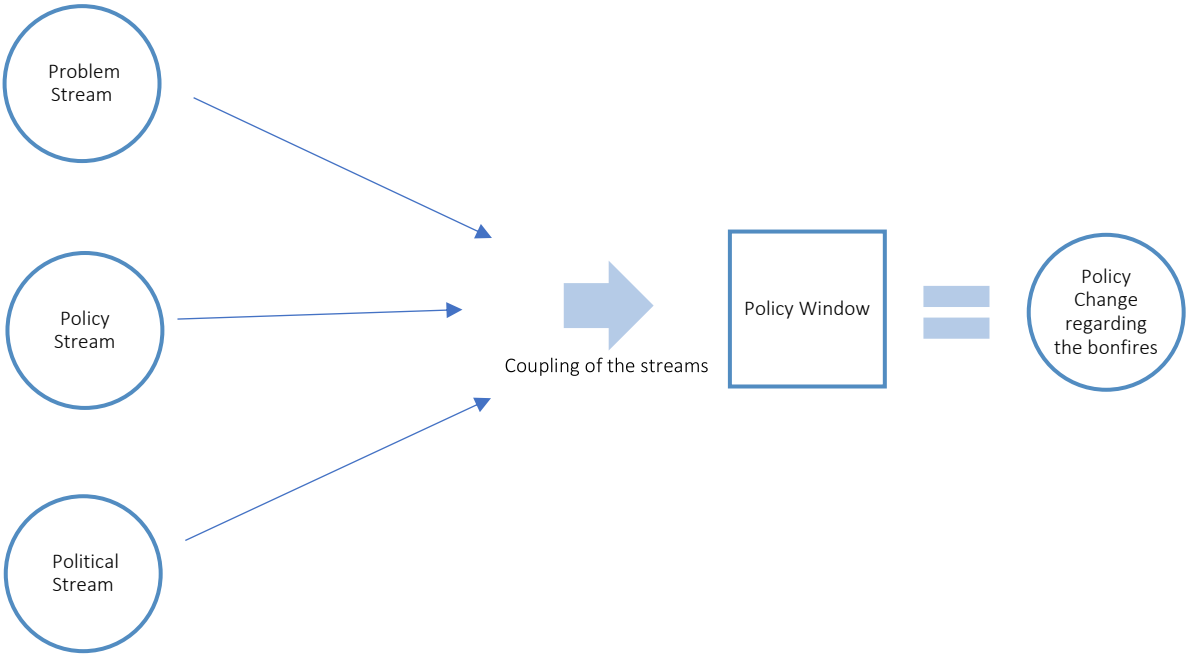
### *3.4.2 Causal configuration*

Process tracing requires a causal conjunction. Causal conjunctions serve as the base for research. They are established according to a certain theory or theoretical framework. In this research, Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model will be applied to the case. Kingdon's model can be visualized in a causal configuration. Causal configurations are used within the process-tracing method to represent causal relationships. There are three types of causal configurations: causal chains, causal conjunctions, and causal mechanisms. Kingdon's model can be identified as a combination between a causal chain and causal conjunction. A 'causal chain' is a causal

configuration in which specific causal conditions trigger other conditions at a later point in time, and this chain leads to an outcome. In other words, the causal conditions work together in a specific sequence. Causal chains are interactive since each condition in the chain is non-substitutable. A ‘causal conjunction’ is a configuration in which multiple conditions work together at a specific point in time to create an outcome (Blatter & Haverland, 2012: 94).

The causal combination that can be identified on the base of Kingdon’s framework is shown in Figure I. The three streams are part of the causal conjunction, needing to work together to open a window of opportunity. The relationship between the coupling of the streams and the opening of the policy window can be categorised as a causal chain. The opening of a policy window will not directly result in policy change. Policy entrepreneurs need to seize the window of opportunity in order to establish change. The conditions together will hypothetically trigger a policy change, making this configuration a causal combination. By applying this model to the New Year’s Eve bonfires, the ability of Kingdon’s framework to explain the policy change is tested.

Figure I: Causal Combination



### 3.5 Operationalization

The next step in the process tracing method is to operationalize the hypothesized causal configuration. The operationalization table (Table I) will elaborate on how each part of the configuration would manifest in an empirical setting and identifies indicators. Within the process-tracing method, different types of evidence exist. The types of evidence are sequence evidence, pattern evidence, account evidence, and trace evidence. Sequence evidence deals with the temporal and spatial chronology of events. Pattern evidence entails predictions of statistical patterns. Account evidence deals with the content of empirical evidence and trace evidence provides proof that part of a hypothesized mechanism exists (Blatter & Haverland, 2012).

Table I: Operationalization Causal Mechanism

<i>Conceptualization of Each Part</i>	<i>Predicted Evidence</i>	<i>Type of Data</i>
<p><b>Changes in the problem stream</b> Expect to see evidence of media and academic publications about the New Year’s Eve bonfires underlining the problematic character of the bonfires</p>	<p>a) Several newspapers will publish works about the aftermath of the bonfires (pattern evidence) b) Academic works will be published dedicated to the bonfires (pattern evidence) c) The public recognizes the bonfires as a problem (account evidence)</p>	<p>a) Overview of newspaper articles discussing the subject b) Overview of academic works discussing the subject c) Data retrieved from social media</p>
<p><b>Changes in the policy stream</b> Expect to see evidence of alternatives being put forward for the bonfires</p>	<p>a) New policy ideas will be put forward by policy entrepreneurs (pattern evidence) b) The list of possible policy solutions is shortened (account evidence)</p>	<p>a) Analysis of media data and municipal documents b) Analysis of municipal documents</p>

<p><b>Changes in the political stream</b></p> <p>Expect to see evidence of changes in administration and swings in public mood</p>	<p>a) A change in the municipal administration will occur (trace evidence)</p> <p>b) The general public will take a negative stance towards the bonfires (account evidence)</p>	<p>a) Records of new appointments in the municipality</p> <p>b) Data retrieved from social media</p>
<p><b>Coupling of the stream</b></p>	<p>a) Policy solutions will be linked to the safety issues surrounding the bonfires, joined together to favourable political forces (sequence and trace evidence)</p>	<p>a) Municipal records regarding the decision-making about the future of the bonfires</p>

The causal configuration, that was established on the base of Kingdon’s Multiple Stream Model, shows the relationship between the three streams and the opening of an opportunity for policy change. The streams need to couple in order to open this so-called window of opportunity. Coupling is driven by developments in the streams.

The first factor that could potentially have influenced the policy change regarding the New Year’s Eve bonfires is the occurrence of changes in the problem stream. Recognizing the bonfires as a problem is a necessary condition according to Kingdon’s theory. Indicators that underline problem recognition are academic and media publications on the subject. Policymakers are influenced by external factors, like public opinion. If the public expresses their dissatisfaction with the bonfires, politicians are driven to act. A common indicator of public opinion is the media. Mainstream media outlets, like newspapers, report on issues making the public aware of a problem. However, not only mainstream media can tell us something about the public mood. People often express their opinions via social media platforms like Facebook. Social media will therefore also be examined. Finding several negative reactions regarding the bonfires on this platform can indicate the presence of problem reognition in society.

The second stream in which a change can occur is the policy stream. When an issue is recognized as a problem, it is expected that solutions will be put forward. These policy solutions

are an indicator of changes in the policy stream. The presence of policy solutions can be found in the media. Actors will seek the attention of the media to promote their solutions. To establish an overview of which solutions are considered, municipal proceedings can be analysed. The municipality council will namely discuss possible solutions. This list shortens since not all solutions are achievable or desirable.

The final stream in which circumstances can change is the political stream. An indicator of a change in the political stream is a change in municipal administrations. Changes in administration open the way for new political influences and ideas. If changes occur, this will be reported by the media and mentioned in municipal documents. Swings in public mood can also influence the political stream. The public mood can be indicated by media coverage and social media.

Changes in the streams are necessary for a policy window to open. Problem recognition needs to be joined by a possible solution within a favourable political setting. When this occurs the opportunity for policy change arises. To determine whether this process occurred the proceedings of municipal meetings can be analysed, which can provide useful information about the course of the decision-making process. This data can be supported by newspaper articles.

The focus of this study is on investigating the explanatory power of Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model for the two bonfire cases. The goal is to conclude whether the difference in outcome can be explained by this model. Since the model requires the presence of certain criteria for policy change, this study will specifically search for the absence of causal factors in the 2013/2014 case. These factors should be present in the 2018/2019 case to explain the policy change that followed that bonfire edition. By searching for the indicators discussed in this subchapter, it can be determined whether this model is relevant in explaining the policy change regarding the New Year's Eve bonfires.

## 4. Analysis & Results

### 4.1 Background on the New Year's Eve Bonfires

This research focuses on the New Year's Eve bonfire tradition in The Hague. The decision for this case is based on the long existence of the tradition. The bonfire tradition was instated by the municipality of The Hague in 1990. The tradition of the building competition between Scheveningen-Dorp and Duindorp was once created to reduce the disturbances caused by the 'Christmas tree hunt'. The days before New Year's Eve, groups originating from different neighbourhoods went around The Hague in an attempt to collect the most Christmas trees. These collected Christmas trees were then lighted during New Year's Eve (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland, n.d.). At the start of the tradition, there was a pleasant atmosphere. Over the years, this changed. The hunts were accompanied by fights, burglaries, and other disturbances even causing a causality at one point. The neighborhoods were a warzone costing the municipality millions in repairs (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 29).

Since the start of the organized bonfires in 1990, safety incidents have occurred on multiple occasions. There were different instances where the bonfires could have led to a disaster. During the previous New Year's Eve celebrations, not only fires occurred but the stacks toppled, fortunately, missing bystanders (Omroep West, 2019d). These incidents however did not cause a fundamental change. A clear change in policy only occurred after the New Year's Eve bonfires edition of 2018/2019. After the incidents during the 2018/2019 edition, the municipality concluded that the design of the event needed to be revised, eventually deciding to cancel the bonfires (Omroep West, 2019c).

#### *Background on the New Year's Eve Bonfires 2013/2014*

During New Year's Eve 2013/2014, the bonfires at the beaches of Scheveningen and Duindorp almost caused a disaster. Not long after the bonfires were lit the burning towers fell over. The towers threatened to fall on top of the bystanders. Fortunately, fences kept bystanders at a safe distance, and nobody was injured (Omroep West, 2014a).

The municipality had placed crowd barriers to keep the public at a safe distance. Due to the height of the towers, a great risk still existed for bystanders. The bonfires namely reached a height of 30 metres despite the agreement that the height of the bonfires would not surpass 12 metres (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)). Agreements on the height and location of the stacks were necessary to ensure the safety of bystanders. Research showed that the safe distance for bystanders needs to be 1,5 to 2 times the height of the stack. The safety of bystanders thus

depends on safety measures based on the height of the stack (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 37). The fences were placed at 30 metres from the stacks, based on the set maximum height. Not long before the ignition of the bonfires on New Year's Eve, the fire department conducted a final check. Their measurements showed the towers were far higher than the set height limit. They, therefore, decided to move the fences back. Looking back this decision proved to be lifesaving. The burning tower landed just within the fenced area, only five metres in front of the press section (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)).

This incident caused worries to arise about the safety of the bonfires. The realisation soon came that a tragedy was barely averted. After the incident, the municipality decided to review the event. The decentralized committee New Year's Eve of the municipality, ACON Scheveningen, evaluated the bonfires. This committee consists of representatives from organizations like the fire and police departments. On the fourth of February 2014, the ACON informed the mayor of their findings. To improve the safety of the bonfires, limiting the height and the number of pallets was believed to be necessary. Furthermore, the competition element increased the risk of accidents. The committee therefore wanted to move towards an alternative competition element.

From April till November consultations took place between the organizing parties and the ACON about the prerequisites for the bonfires. In November 2014, a covenant was established and signed by all parties. This covenant contained different agreements about the bonfires. The maximum magnitude of the bonfires was set at 15 x 15 x 20 (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)). In comparison with the 2013/2014 edition, it was also no longer allowed to use a crane during the construction period. The instating of a maximum height removed the competition element from the event to the dismay of the organizing parties. The organizing parties claimed they were pressured by the municipality to sign the agreement (Omroep West, 2014d). Despite their protests, in corporation with political party *Groep de Mos*, the covenant remained unchanged.

### *Background on the New Year's Eve Bonfires 2018/2019*

During the New Year's Eve celebration of 2018/2019, the bonfire building competition caused a rain of fire at the Scheveningen boulevard and its surrounding areas. The firebrands caused significant damage and several small fires. According to the definition upheld by the Dutch Safety Board, firebrands<sup>1</sup> are burning objects generated by fires, lifted by updrafts caused by

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<sup>1</sup> The English report of the Dutch Safety Board uses the term firebrands

fire-induced buoyancy, and transported downwind with the potential to ignite new fires (Dutch Safety Board, 2019:5). The westerly wind sent the firebrands in the direction of the boulevard. The fire department received a total of 42 calls that night. The days following multiple cases of material damage were reported. A total of €784.000 was claimed at the municipality excluding the claims made at insurance companies. Next to the civil claims, the firebrands caused around €175.000 damage to the public area (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 26).

After the incident, the Dutch Safety Board instated an investigation into the causes of the firebrands. The Dutch Safety Board is an independent body that conducts safety investigations with the goal to learn from incidents to improve safety in the future (Dutch Safety Board, n.d.). The report published by the Safety Board focused on uncovering the causes of the firebrands and what role the involved parties played in the incident. The research showed that the firebrands were caused by a combination of factors. The main causes were the height and shape of the stack, the used materials, and the weather conditions. The height of the stack was estimated between 45.2 and 47 metres. The stack therefore exceeded the height limit with more than 10 metres. The volume of the stack was estimated at 12.000 cubic metres. The builders also used fire accelerants including diesel and ignition gel to light the bonfires. In combination with the strong wind, the lighting of the stack therefore was an enormous safety risk.

Next to the sections focused on uncovering the causes of the firebrands, the report of the Safety Board included a part that focused on the role of the involved parties. Agreements between the parties were set in different forms. The municipality established a covenant with the builders after the incident in 2016/2017. The covenant stated that the dimensions could not exceed 15 x 15 metres. The maximum height was set at 35 metres and the maximum volume at 10.000 m<sup>3</sup>. In the case of exceedance, the builders needed to remove the surplus of material. It was also not allowed to use a fire accelerant. Many provisions in the covenant were thus violated by the builders. The municipality however did nothing to enforce the set agreements. No final measurement of the stack was conducted, and the municipality did not supervise the ignition. The Dutch Safety Board therefore concluded that the municipality and the fire department made critical misapprehensions contributing to the scale of the incident. They underestimated the safety risks of the bonfires. Firebrands can, to some degree, be expected during wood burning. The municipality and other involved parties however claimed to be surprised. The Safety Board argues that their surprise cannot be justified. During the 2017/2018 edition of the bonfires, firebrands also occurred on a significant scale causing material damage. In comparison with that edition, the stack was even larger partly explaining the scope of the firebrands in 2018/2019 (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 58).



Based on their research, the Dutch Safety Board made recommendations to the involved parties. The Mayor of The Hague, who is responsible for public safety, was advised to set proportional demands for the organisation of the bonfires. This entails the separation of the roles involved with an event requiring a permit. The municipality should only act as a permit provider, not also as a facilitator or supervisor (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 62).

## 4.2 Analysis of the 2013/2014 case

The incidents that occurred during the New Year's Eve bonfires in 2013/2014 did not cause a policy change. According to Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model policy change only occurs in specific conditions. If Kingdon's model is able to explain the occurrence of policy change, it is expected that an analysis of the 2013/2014 case will not show the presence of changes in the streams, preventing the coupling of the streams, and the opening of a policy window.

### 4.2.1 The Problem Stream

For changes to occur in the problem stream, problem recognition is a necessary condition. Citizens and policymakers need to define something as a public problem before it is defined as such. During the general evaluation of New Year's Eve, the municipality did not give much attention to the toppling of the stack at the beaches of Scheveningen and Duindorp. The main message was that, overall, they were pleased with the course of the evening (Omroep West, 2014b). The toppling of the stacks did raise some safety concerns. Mayor Van Aartsen therefore announced the ACON Scheveningen would organize an evaluation specifically focused on the bonfires. After this evaluation, the ACON would organize meetings with the bonfire organizations to establish agreements for the next edition (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)).

Other organizations also evaluated the bonfires. Both the police and fire department stated in their evaluations that a disaster was barely averted. Since the builders kept building after they reached the height limit, the placement of the fences did not guarantee the safety of bystanders anymore. The exceedance of the height limit created a dangerous situation in which casualties were unavoidable if the fire department had not intervened (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)).

The incidents that occurred during the 2013/2014 edition and the associated risks however did not receive much attention from the media. Only *Omroep West* devoted attention to the incident in the weeks following the bonfire edition. The news broadcaster published eight articles in total of which three articles discussed the incident (Annex 6.1). These articles did mention the toppling of the stacks but did not discuss the dangerous situation that occurred for bystanders. Media attention tends to generate greater public concern. Although there were signs indicating the dangers of the bonfires, the lack of media attention resulted in the absence of problem recognition with the public. The publication of academic studies also tends to contribute to problem recognition. Since there was also no academic attention devoted to the bonfires, citizens had not generally regarded the bonfires as a safety issue warranting municipal intervention. This lack of problem recognition prevented a change in the problem stream.

#### 4.2.2 *The Political Stream*

The political context furthermore remained similar in comparison with the previous year. No events occurred that had a significant impact on the political context. There were for example no changes in the municipal administration. Within the municipality, there were furthermore no clear sounds opposing the existence of the tradition. *Groep de Mos*, one of the political parties in the municipality, even pleaded multiple times that the tradition should not be changed. After the establishment of the covenant in November, written questions were submitted (Gemeente Den Haag, 2014). The party called upon the city council to honour the tradition and thus keep the competition element (Omroep West, 2014d).

There were also no signs of a public mood opposing the bonfires. There were several risks associated with the bonfires. Due to the lack of media attention, the public was not aware of these risks. The public therefore did not generally regard the bonfires as a problem in need of municipal intervention. This is evidenced in the interaction with the municipality and messages on social media. No records were found in the council information system of correspondence between worried citizens and the municipality (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)). Messages on social media platform Facebook<sup>2</sup> regarding the bonfires furthermore mostly revolved around sharing images of the bonfires. There were no discussions found concerning the necessity of government intervention. In the 2013/2014 case, no changes in the political stream were thus identified.

#### 4.2.3 *The Policy Stream*

Since there was a lack of problem recognition, there was no incentive for policymakers to prioritize formulating policy solutions. The limited number of resources and time make it impossible for government officials to attend to all problems. In the case of low public interest and competing agenda items, the focus of government officials will shift to other priorities. In the 2013/2014 case, no real policy solutions were therefore put forward. The building organizations wanted the tradition to remain and felt no necessity in changing aspects of the bonfire building competition. *Omroep West* conducted an interview with different bonfire builders. The interviewees agreed that there was no reason to implement measures. According to their perspective, the stack was stable enough and no real dangerous situations occurred (Omroep West, 2014c).

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<sup>2</sup> Facebook Searchterm: ‘vreugdevuren’ – messages – published in 2014

The mayor did express his concerns about the toppling of the burning stacks. To ensure a safe and responsible tradition, it was therefore necessary to evaluate the events. The ACON Scheveningen would perform this evaluation. During their evaluation on January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2014, a list of guidelines was formed for the establishment of a covenant for the next edition. It was concluded that the covenant should consist of agreements on the height and construction of the stacks, the competition element, the location of the bonfires, the prevention of noise disturbances, and the placement of fences. In their update of the evaluation to the municipality, the ACON expressed their aspiration to sign covenants with both parties in May 2014 (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(b)).

Even though the establishment of covenants is presented by the municipality as a solution for preventing dangerous situations in the future, it cannot be identified as a policy solution. There were namely already similar agreements in place for the 2013/2014 edition. These agreements also included rules about the magnitude of the stacks and the placement of fences. A comparison of the agreements made for the 2013/2014 edition and the covenant created for the 2014/2015 edition shows little differences. The differences that exist are in the details. What stood out was the raising of the magnitude limit from 10 x 10 x 12 metres to 15 x 15 x 20 metres (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(b)). There were thus no policy alternatives, and without feasible policy options, there is no change in the policy stream and a policy change cannot occur.

#### *4.2.4 Decision-making process*

For policy change to occur, coupling of the three streams is a necessary condition in the Multiple Stream Model. Since there were no changes identified in the streams, the coupling of the streams could not have occurred according to Kingdon's model. To test whether the absence of changes in the streams prevented a policy change, the decision-making process needs to be recreated.

During New Year's Eve 2013/2014, the bonfires at both the Scheveningen and Duindorp beach toppled not long after they were lit. Fortunately, nobody was injured (Omroep West, 2014a). The incidents attracted the attention of the municipality, who acknowledged a dangerous situation had occurred during the event. The evaluation of the fire department showed a disaster was barely averted. Since the builders exceeded the height limit, the placement of the fences no longer ensured a safe distance between bystanders and the bonfires. On the evening of the lighting, the fire department determined the bonfires were higher than agreed upon and decided

to move back the fences at the last moment. This decision turned out to be lifesaving. Without the relocation of the fences, the burning tower would have fallen on top of bystanders (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)). Due to the occurred dangerous situation, the municipality wanted to evaluate the event, looking into the necessity of stricter rules. The mayor of The Hague, Van Aartsen, stated agreements would be made with the builder organizations before coming New Year's. The focus of these new rules would pay attention to the distance between the bonfire and the bystanders, and the height and stability of the stack (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)).

The ACON Scheveningen, a local coordination group for New Year's Eve, was asked to look into the incidents. The organization evaluated the bonfires in their evaluation on January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2014. The committee established a list of guidelines that served as a guide for meetings with the builder organizations. The goal of these meetings was to establish a covenant (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)). From April until November the meetings took place between the different parties. During the establishment process of the covenants, there were no signs of public concern regarding the safety of the bonfires. After the acknowledgements of the municipality in January, the incidents during New Year's Eve 2013/2014 were soon forgotten. Traditional media did not report on the matter and no evidence was found of people discussing the desirability of the bonfires on social media<sup>3</sup> (Annex 6.1).

Even though the municipality expressed their concerns about the safety of the bonfires and decided to establish a new covenant, the absence of external pressure meant there was no incentive for the municipality to direct towards changing the policy during the establishment process. The New Year's Eve bonfires always had been a sensitive subject. Instated to prevent the disturbances caused by the Christmas tree hunts, the bonfires were a tool to restore the peace in the neighbourhoods during New Year's. The organized bonfire competition turned out to be a remedy for the burglaries, fights, and vandalism (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland, n.d.). Changing or cancelling the bonfires could therefore even have negative consequences. Nobody wanted to return to the situation prior to the instatement of the bonfire tradition in the eighties. This created an incentive for the municipality to not change the policy regarding the bonfires and explains why in November all parties came to an agreement and signed covenants without changing the rules for the bonfire events. The agreements established in the covenant namely did not deviate from the policy in place (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(b)).

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<sup>3</sup> Facebook Searchterm: 'vreugdevuren' – messages – published in 2014

There were namely already similar agreements in place for the 2013/2014 edition, including a height limit of 12 metres (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)).

After the signing of the covenants, the builder organizations expressed their dissatisfaction about the made agreements. They felt that the instatement of a maximum height of 20 metres removed the competition element from the tradition. Their claims gained support from *Groep de Mos*, one of the political parties in the city council (Omroep West, 2014d). Even though a height limit was already in place, the dissatisfaction of the builder organizations can be explained. The bonfires namely reached a height of 30 metres during the 2013/2014 edition (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)). Compared with the new agreements, this meant the bonfires had to be lowered by ten metres. The municipality decided, for some reason, not to intervene when both builder organizations surpassed the height limit during the 2013/2014 edition. This decision however cannot be identified as a new policy, even though it was experienced as such by the builder organizations. The municipality's policy regarding the bonfires namely was the establishment of covenants, instated in 2013, which included agreements about the height (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(a)).

The municipality decided to follow the existing policy, despite the protests of the builder organizations, by keeping the height limit. In comparison with rules set for the previous edition, the municipality did increase the maximum height of the bonfires. With the renewed covenants in place, the builder organizations started constructing the bonfires for the 2014/2015 edition, continuing the tradition as usual. The bonfire building tradition at the Scheveningen beach was even put on the national heritage list (Omroep West, 2014e).

#### 4.2.5 Results

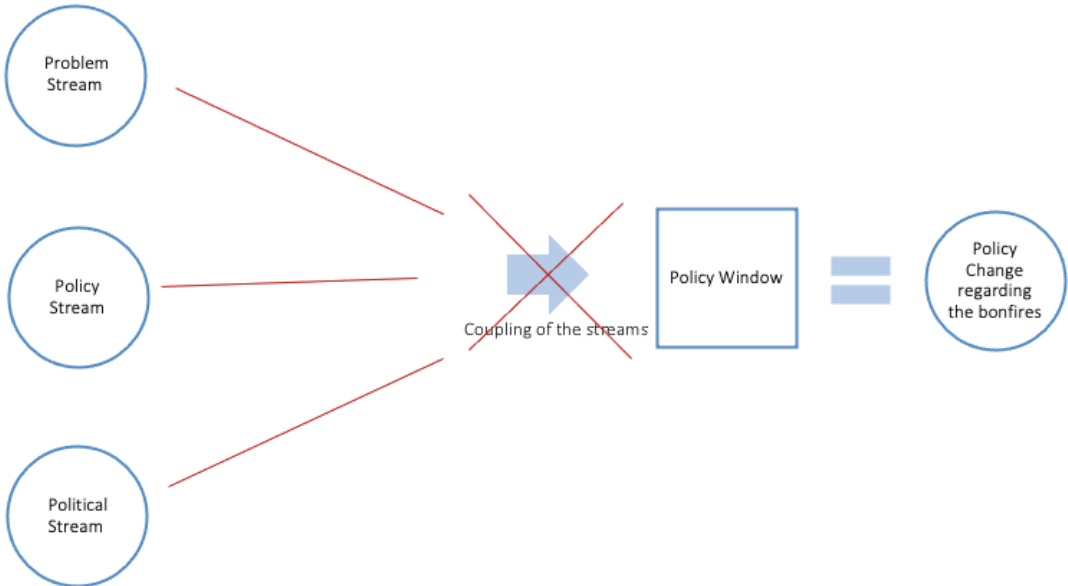
The analysis of the 2013/2014 case has shown why the incidents during that edition did not result in a policy change. Overall, there was a lack of realisation of the dangerous situation that occurred. Even though some parties, including the fire department, concluded a disaster was barely averted, there was no common understanding about the dangers of the bonfires. A big contributor to the lack of problem recognition was the media. The media namely did not pay much attention to the incident that occurred during the 2013/2014 bonfire edition. In total, only eight articles were published, all by the local news broadcaster *Omroep West*. None of the analysed national newspapers paid attention to the bonfires (Annex 6.1).

Media attention is a necessary condition for a change in the problem stream. Otherwise, it is namely difficult for the general public to be aware of a problem. Since the media did not spend much attention discussing the bonfires and the absence of discussions on social media,

there was a lack of problem recognition. It made that it was not commonly known that the builders did not follow the made agreements and surpassed the height limit and that without the last-minute intervention of the fire department bystanders could have died.

Without common problem recognition, a change in the problem stream will not occur. This had a significant impact on the other streams. The absence of changes in the municipal administration also did not contribute to a favourable political context. In the absence of public demands to undertake action, the municipality did not prioritize the bonfires. This explains why no alternatives for the bonfires were put forward by policymakers. The establishment of the covenants by the ACON Scheveningen and the bonfire organizations did not result in a deviation from the policy that was already in place. Politicians did not see necessity in the implementation of a new policy since there was no public demand for change and the negative consequences associated with changing the tradition explains why the municipality did not direct towards stricter rules.

Figure II: Causal Combination 2013/2014 edition



These factors combined explain why no policy change occurred. This is what was expected to be found on the base of the Multiple Stream Model. Kingdon’s model requires changes in the streams before the streams can couple. Since the streams largely flow independently from one another, changes need to occur before the streams can come together. When a change occurs in the problem or political stream a window of opportunity opens. A policy entrepreneur then

needs to seize this opportunity and couple a policy solution to the other streams. The lack of changes in the problem and political streams in the 2013/2014 case prevented the streams from coupling and thus prevented an overall change in policy.

### **4.3 Analysis of the 2018/2019 case**

After a long decision-making process following the incidents during the 2018/2019 bonfire edition, the decision was made to cancel the bonfires for New Year's Eve 2019/2020. If Kingdon's model is able to explain this change in policy, it is expected to see changes in the streams initiating the coupling of the streams. After coupling, the possibility namely arises for a policy to change.

#### *4.3.1 The Problem Stream*

The New Year's Eve bonfires caused multiple fires in the surroundings of the Scheveningen Boulevard. Bystanders had to flee the premises of the bonfires to take shelter (Omroep West, 2019a). The footage of fire tornados and burning wooden particles spreading across the boulevard and the surrounding neighbourhoods, had a large impact across The Netherlands. The incidents were front page news of multiple national newspapers and left a lasting impression. Questions immediately arose about the future of the bonfires (Omroep West, 2019b). Developments regarding the bonfires were closely followed by all analysed newspapers. In the months prior to the decision about the future of the bonfires, 172 articles were published by the four analysed newspapers (Annex 6.3). The media coverage quickly broadened and intensified public interest in the bonfires.

That the New Year's Eve bonfires were a safety risk, was a claim widely supported by society and policymakers. This was evidenced in statements in the media from both politicians and the public. Politicians immediately turned to social media to express their sympathy and intention to undertake action (Omroep West, 2019b). That the bonfires were a problem in need of municipal intervention, also became clear from opinion pieces in newspapers and correspondence with the municipality. Multiple people took the liberty to express their opinion about the incidents on New Year's Eve. Even though the public did not agree on how the safety issues should be addressed, there was consensus about the necessity of change (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(c)). The criticism directed at the municipality evidenced the demand for municipal intervention.



As time passes, interest often falls. This also impacts problem recognition. The attention of government officials namely fades when issues lose their novelty. The publication of report of the Dutch Safety Board in October however resulted in new attention for the safety risks of the bonfires. The publication of academic studies often contributes to problem recognition. The report underlined the necessity of changing the policy. The conclusions were relentless. The municipality failed to perform its main tasks of ensuring the safety of its citizens (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 62). It caused the municipality to see the importance of changing the policy. In the problem stream, the academic and media attention for the incidents helped to define the bonfires as a problem. This caused the municipality to attend to the safety issues surrounding the bonfire tradition.

#### *4.3.2 The Policy Stream*

Improving the safety of the New Year's Eve bonfires is an idea with many potential solutions. During the decision-making process that followed the 2018/2019 bonfire edition, multiple policy options were put forward by different actors. In total, four policy ideas can be identified.

In their report investigating the bonfires, the Dutch Safety Board (DSB) made recommendations to the different involved parties focused on increasing the safety of the bonfires. The recommendations for the mayor of The Hague revolved around setting proportional demands to ensure the safety of the bonfires. The advice consisted of three main aspects. It was advised that the municipality selects a procedure that favours the process of risk assessment, transparency, and comprehensibility of the safety measures. There should also be monitoring, and enforcement possibilities present in this process. The already existing permit procedure for large scale events would suffice (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 62). A large-scale event in The Hague normally requires a permit. An exception was however made for the bonfires. Letting go of this exception would provide the municipality with a tool to ensure the safety of the bonfires (NRC Handelsblad, 2019c). The DSB, furthermore, stated that the mixing of roles should be avoided. In previous years, the municipality acted as supervisor, permit provider, and facilitator. The safety board stretched the importance of limiting the municipality's role to permit provider. Finally, the municipality should ensure that the permit applicant is able to implement the responsibilities deriving from the permit (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 62).

The fire and police department received the advice to provide the municipality with solicited and unsolicited advice regarding the bonfires (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 62).

Following the recommendations done by the safety board, the local fire department constructed an advice for the municipality in consultation with the Institute of Physical Safety of the Fire Academy. It was concluded that the bonfires should only take place under strict conditions. To ensure the safety, the stacks should not exceed a magnitude of 10 by 10 by 10 metres. This to ensure that the bonfires could be extinguished. Also, the distance between the public and the stacks should be a minimum of 75 metres. Since the capacity of the fire department is limited during New Year's Eve, the advice is only to allow one stack per location. Furthermore, agreements should be made about the accessibility for fire engines and a go/no-go for the ignitions of the stacks (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(c)). These two recommendations combined created a policy option in which the builder organizations had to undergo the municipality's permit application process for a bonfire not exceeding a magnitude of 10 x 10 x 10 metres.

Besides the policy solution established by the Dutch Safety Board in combination with the advice provided by the fire department, other policy solutions were presented. One of these solutions was put forward by the organizers of the Scheveningen bonfire. In the last stages of the decision-making process, it became clear that the organizations would not meet the conditions for the permit. As a last resort, the builders therefore published a statement in which they expressed their wish for multiple small bonfires. These bonfires would be built by hand not exceeding the 10 by 10 by 10 metres limit (NRC Handelsblad, 2019d).

The cancelling of the bonfires was also considered as a policy solution. Right after the incidents, the desirability of the bonfires was questioned by multiple groups in society. Not only for safety reasons but also for environmental considerations (Trouw, 2019a). Throughout the decision-making process, the option of cancelling was regularly addressed. The involved parties were however willing to search for a way in which the tradition could continue in a safe manner. This policy idea was therefore seen as a last resort (Trouw, 2019d).

The final policy option present in the policy stream was put forward in the city council. A motion submitted on the 28<sup>th</sup> of November by the *Hart voor Den Haag/Groep de Mos* and 50PLUS requested the municipality to act as a financier to ensure that the bonfires would go ahead as planned (Gemeente Den Haag, 2019b). Due to the high number of damages caused during earlier editions, insurance companies were not willing to issue an insurance. The insurance companies that considered issuing a permit only did so with a high excess. The financial situations of the builder organizations did not allow this. Without an insurance, the

builder organizations would not meet the requirements of a permit (Gemeente Den Haag, 2019b). This policy solution has the same requirements for the bonfires as the option presented by the DSB and fire department. The alternative presented by the political parties, however, specifically asks the municipality to act as a facilitator as well as permit provider, where the other requires the municipality to prevent the mixing of these responsibilities.

#### *4.3.3 The Political Stream*

Directly after the incidents during New Year's Eve bonfires, every political party represented in the municipality expressed their criticism about the course of events. Some parties, including the mayor herself, even questioned the desirability of bonfires in the future (Omroep West, 2019b). After it was announced that the Dutch Safety Board would launch an investigation into the incidents, the city council decided to wait for the conclusions of this investigation before making a decision about the future of the bonfire tradition (NRC Handelsblad, 2019a).

The Dutch Safety Board published their findings on the third of October. The publication of the report did not only provide a policy solution but also caused a change in the political stream. It can namely be seen as the reason for the resignation of Mayor Pauline Krikke. The report concluded that the municipality made critical mistakes in the decision-making process surrounding the bonfires. They namely did not enforce the set agreements. The municipality was aware of the exceedance of the height limitation and the use of fire accelerants and should thus have intervened accordingly (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 60). As a result, multiple parties in the city council questioned the functioning of Mayor Pauline Krikke. In the media, different parties stated they felt Krikke could and should no longer fulfil the position of mayor. The council scheduled a debate to discuss the findings of the report. Before this debate, on October 6<sup>th</sup>, Krikke announced her resignation in a video statement on Instagram. She argued the debate about her future was in the way of the debate about the future of The Hague (Trouw, 2019b).

To restore the peace in the city, the party chairmen appointed Johan Remkes as interim mayor (Trouw, 2019c). This change in administration can be identified as a contributor to the coupling of the streams. The criticism and eventual resignation of Mayor Krikke showed the political consequences of not intervening. The political consequences and the negative publicity the municipality received possibly put pressure on interim Mayor Remkes to prevent incidents regarding the bonfires at all costs. As interim mayor, Remkes did not need to make himself liked by the inhabitants of The Hague (Trouw, 2019c). This created a political context in which policy change was a likely possibility.

The public mood also contributed to a favourable political context for policy change. Inhabitants of the neighbourhood did not feel heard by the municipality. Especially the people who suffered damage were discontent with the course of events. They already expressed their worries about the safety of the bonfires in previous years. The local residents therefore felt that the incidents could have been prevented. Shifts in public opinion put pressure on politicians to undertake action. The public demand for government intervention is evidenced in different forms of media and municipal records. Some newspapers offer their readers the possibility to submit a response to news stories. Multiple opinion pieces discussing the bonfires were published providing a sense of the public mood. In the *Volkskrant* on January 5<sup>th</sup>, a reader believed the New Year's Eve bonfires should be prohibited. He questions the actions of the municipality and argues that the municipality should not take the diplomatic road but should immediately cancel the bonfires (Volkskrant, 2019). A reader of *NRC Handelsblad* argued that the focus should not only be on the safety risks of the bonfires but also on the damage the bonfires cause to the environment. The bonfires should not only be cancelled because of the safety risks but also because the burning of new wooden pallets is not sustainable (NRC Handelsblad, 2019b). A reader of *Trouw* shared this opinion. He called upon the municipality to stand their grounds and forbid the bonfires permanently (Trouw, 2019a).

Not only did the public make use of newspapers to express their opinions about the bonfires but records also exist of people who contacted the municipality directly. There is documentation in the New Year's Eve bonfire dossier about emails sent to the mayor as a response to the incidents. In the six emails that discussed the future of the bonfires, all writers pled for a change of the current tradition. Two even argued the bonfires should be cancelled (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(c)).

#### *4.3.4 Decision-making process*

What was meant to be a festive activity, thus turned out to be a disaster for the inhabitants of Scheveningen-Dorp (Omroep West, 2019a). The incidents caused questions to arise about the future of the bonfires. Various local politicians published statements in the media and on social media, including the mayor of The Hague, expressing their sympathy for the residents and the need for a thorough evaluation. The mayor therefore announced the course of events would be assessed (Omroep West, 2019b). On the ninth of January 2019, the Dutch Safety Board announced they will conduct this evaluation by investigating the incidents that occurred during the New Year's Eve bonfires 2018/2019. The city council decided to wait on their conclusions before judging the acts of Mayor Krikke (NRC Handelsblad, 2019a).

The bonfires faded into the background until the Dutch Safety Board published their findings in a report on the third of October 2019. The conclusions were relentless. The municipality could have intervened on multiple occasions. By not doing so, they created a false sense of security. Since the mayor is responsible for the safety in the city, the municipality is partly to blame for the incidents during New Year's Eve. Based on the investigation, recommendations were formulated for the involved parties. The three main recommendations for the municipality were to select a procedure for the builder organizations to follow and to ensure the organizations are able to implement the responsibilities deriving from the permit. The involvement of the municipality in the bonfire tradition should furthermore be limited to the role of permit provider (Dutch Safety Board, 2019: 62). The conclusions of the report generated a large amount of negative media attention for the municipality. Much of this attention was focused on the role of Mayor Krikke. To discuss the findings of the report, the city council scheduled a debate. The criticism directed at the municipality, and specifically the mayor, however, made the mayor of The Hague, Pauline Krikke, decide to resign before the debate (Gemeente Den Haag, 2019a). Johan Remkes was instated as interim mayor to temporarily fulfil the position of mayor. The decision for Remkes was made based on his reputation as an experienced and stern politician. Remkes' task was to clean house, not to make himself liked by the citizens of The Hague. This can be seen as a harbinger for change. With the instatement of Remkes as interim mayor, the debate about the future of the bonfires was able to continue (Trouw, 2019c).

The report of the Dutch Safety Board and the resignation of Pauline Krikke underlined the necessity to undertake action. It was commonly agreed the New Year's Eve bonfires were a problem in need of municipal intervention. The three streams had coupled, opening a policy window. Interim Mayor Remkes was in the position to seize this window and decide on the future of the bonfire tradition (Trouw, 2019c). Both public and political support depended on the condition that the safety would be ensured. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of October, Remkes therefore stated the bonfires would only take place under strict conditions. The decision was therefore made to implement the policy solution formulated by the Dutch Safety Board and the fire department. It was now necessary for the builder organizations to apply for a permit and the bonfires were not allowed to be higher than ten metres (Trouw, 2019d).

During the permit process, it turned out to be difficult for the organizations to meet all conditions. Obtaining an insurance was especially difficult. The municipality functioned as a facilitator for years. They arranged and paid for everything (NRC Handelsblad, 2019c). Since the bonfire organizations lacked the funds to pay the excess, other parties were not willing to

grant insurance. Without an insurance a permit would not be issued, meaning the bonfires would not take place. Other policy solutions were therefore put forward in the final stage of the decision-making process by the builder organizations, and *Hart voor Den Haag/Groep de Mos* together with 50PLUS to prevent this. The builder organization of Scheveningen pled for multiple small bonfires as an alternative (NRC Handelsblad, 2019d). This alternative however was not taken into consideration. The potential of a policy option depends on the value acceptability and technical feasibility. The fire department had mentioned in their advice that the safety could not be guaranteed in the case of more than one bonfire per location. Publicly going against the advice of the fire department would be harmful for the municipality's reputation and was thus not an acceptable alternative. The organizations therefore continued with the permit application process. Since finding a party willing to provide an insurance deemed impossible, *Groep de Mos*, together with other parties, submitted a motion, on behalf of the builders, asking the municipality to act as a financier. This request went directly against the advice of the Dutch Safety Board to prevent the mixing of roles. The city council therefore rejected the motion (Gemeente Den Haag, 2019b). As a response to this decision, the organizers of the Duindorp bonfire (Duindorp Vreugdevuur Stichting) withdrew their permit application on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November. In a statement on Facebook, the organization declared it was impossible to meet all the conditions set by the municipality (NRC Handelsblad, 2019e).

The withdrawal of the Duindorp organization and the approaching of New Year's Eve was the reason for the city council to make a decision about the future of the bonfires. During the council meeting of November, the majority of the parties, including D66, NIDA, *GroenLinks*, and CD, stated they felt it was not feasible to let the bonfires take place for safety reasons (Trouw.nl, 2019). The submitted permit applications of both organizations were incomplete and did not meet the quality standards. The fire and police department therefore gave a negative advice. The safety measures the organizers took to ensure the safety of visitors was deemed not sufficient (Trouw.nl, 2019). The municipality therefore decided to not issue a permit (NRC Handelsblad, 2019f).

Since the bonfire organisations were not able to meet the permit conditions and alternatives were neither feasible nor desirable according to the advice the municipality had received, the future of the bonfires was uncertain. Due to the lack of feasible policy solutions, the only solution that remained was the cancelling of the event. The large amount of negative attention for the municipality put pressure on the city council to prevent a repetition of previous incidents at all costs. Not only did the incidents of New Year's Eve 2018/2019 cost the municipality more than a million in damages, but the resignation of Pauline Krikke also showed

the political consequences of not intervening. By not following the advice of the Dutch Safety Board and the fire department, the safety of the bonfires could not be ensured. Since the builder organizations were not able to meet the demands set by these actors, only one decision remained. On the third of December 2019, interim Mayor Remkes therefore decided to officially cancel the bonfires for the coming year (Gemeente Den Haag, 2019c). This decision meant a change in policy regarding the New Year's Eve bonfires in The Hague.

#### *4.3.5 Results*

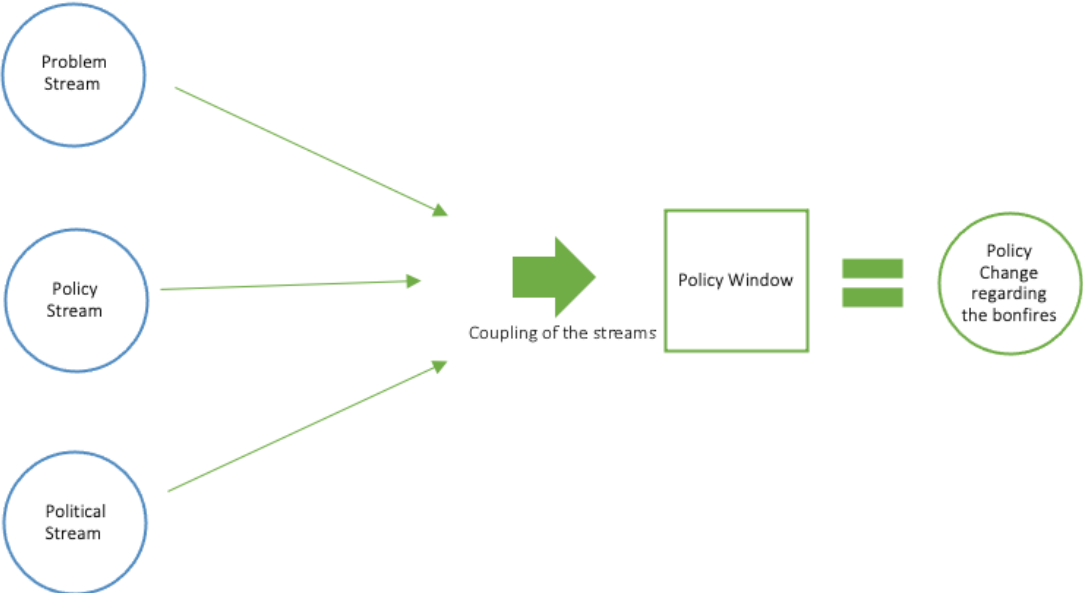
The analysis of the 2018/2019 edition has shown why the incidents during that edition resulted in a policy change. The bonfires were immediately recognized as a problem. After the incidents during New Year's Eve 2018/2019, all four analysed newspapers reported about the incidents and developments surrounding the municipality's policy. A total of 172 articles were published (Annex 6.3). This contributed to the identification of the bonfires as a safety problem. Since the events during New Year's Eve received so much media attention, the public became aware of risks associated with the bonfires. Some citizens even directly addressed the municipality, demanding to cancel the bonfires (Gemeente Den Haag, n.d.(c)). The publication of the investigation conducted by the Dutch Safety Board generated even more attention to the safety issues surrounding the bonfires. These factors were indicators for the occurrence of changes in the problem stream.

The Dutch Safety Board report also influenced the political stream. The report discussed the role the municipality played in the occurrence of the dangerous situation during New Year's Eve. It was concluded that the municipality could and should have intervened. The report focused the attention once again on the bonfires. The pressure from the media and a shifting public mood caused by the publication of the Dutch Safety Board resulted in a favourable political context. It put pressure on the municipality to change the policy and can also be identified as the direct cause for the resignation of Mayor Krikke. Multiple changes thus occurred in the political stream.

The bonfires were clearly recognized as a problem in need of a solution. The recommendations of the Dutch Safety Board in combination with the advice of the fire department created a possible policy solution. For the bonfires to safely take place, the builder organizations needed to follow the municipality's permit application process for large scale events. Furthermore, the policy alternative allowed only one bonfire per beach that does not exceed a magnitude of 10 x 10 x 10 metres.

After the resignation of Mayor Krikke the three streams coupled, creating a window of opportunity. Within the policy window, interim Mayor Remkes and the city council were in the position to decide which policy alternatives would be considered. The builder organizations were not able to meet the permit conditions. After consultation within the city council, it was concluded that therefore only one policy solution remained. Alternatives that were put forward as a last resort to let the bonfires to take place, went against the advice provided to the municipality. The decision was therefore made to cancel the bonfires.

Figure III: Causal Combination 2018/2019 edition



These factors combined explain why a policy change occurred. This is precisely what was expected to be found on the base of the Multiple Stream Model. Kingdon’s model requires changes in the streams before the streams can couple and a policy change can occur. The changes in both the problem and political stream and the presence of possible policy solutions coupled the streams and opened a window of opportunity. Interim Mayor Remkes seized this opportunity to implement the policy solution put forward by the Dutch Safety Board. Since the builder organizations were not able to meet these conditions, the decision was made to cancel the bonfires, resulting in a policy change.



## 5. Conclusion

### 5.1 Conclusion

Policy change remains a complex phenomenon. Different researchers developed a framework in an attempt to explain the occurrence of policy change. This study tested the explanatory value of one of these theoretical frameworks: Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model. A comparative analysis of the New Year's Eve bonfires editions of 2013/2014 and 2018/2019 was executed, focused on answering the following research question: *How can the policy change regarding the New Year's Eve Bonfires in The Hague after the 2018-2019 edition be explained?*

The findings of this thesis suggest that Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model is still relevant 37 years after its creation. The conceptual framework based on the model was able to explain the difference in outcome that followed the New Year's Eve bonfires editions in 2013/2014 and 2018/2019, namely a policy change after the 2018/2019 edition and no policy change after the 2013/2014 edition. Based on the conducted research, it can be concluded that coupling of the three streams and the opening of a policy window are necessary conditions for policy change. Before the streams can couple it is necessary for changes to occur in the three streams. With regard to the 2013/2014 edition, the lack of problem recognition and the absence of public dismay regarding the bonfires explains why changes did not occur in the streams. This prevented the streams from coupling and change in policy. A large contributor was the lack of media attention. This made the public unaware of the safety risks associated with the bonfires and explains why the municipality did not feel pressured to intervene and change the policy.

The combination of problem recognition, a feasible policy solution and a favourable political context explains why a policy change did occur after the 2018/2019 edition. The large amount of media attention and the report of the Dutch Safety Board made the public recognize the bonfires as a problem. This shift in public mood put pressure on the municipality to change the policy. The resignation of Mayor Krikke uncovered the political consequences of not intervening with regard to ensuring the safety of the bonfires, causing the pressure on the municipality to increase. These changes in the problem and political stream resulted in a favourable context for policy change. Since there were policy alternatives present, the streams were able to couple. This created a window of opportunity. Within the policy window, the city council deemed that only one feasible policy solution remained. This explains why the decision was made to change the policy regarding the New Year's Eve bonfires by cancelling the event.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

This study provides some recommendations for actors who are concerned with intervening in the policy process via policy change. The research has shown the importance of problem recognition. Without the recognition of an incident as a problem in need of government intervention, policy change will not occur. Actors that seek to change a policy can do a number of things to aid their process. This study has shown the influence the media can have on problem recognition and the public mood. It is therefore recommended that actors seek the attention of the media to establish problem recognition and change the public mood. Influencing the public mood can also result in a favourable political context. Politicians are influenced by their constituents, explaining why it is important to generate public support for the proposed policy change. So, with these findings, this research created a guide for actors that seek to change a policy. Actors that take into account the results of this research in their strategy for establishing policy change, are able to increase the possibility that policy change occurs.

## **5.3 Discussion**

### *5.3.1 Reflection on the theory*

The conceptual framework based on Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model was able to provide an explanation for the differences in outcome regarding the New Year's Eve bonfires. Kingdon's original model however does not take into account the possible influence the media has on policy change. In his book, Kingdon briefly discusses the role of the media on the policy agenda. Even though he recognizes the effects media attention can have on the policy process, his model does not fully comprehend the influence the media has, especially nowadays. Kingdon established his model in 1984. Times have changed significantly since then with regard to the influence of the media. The developments regarding the internet and arrival of social media resulted in a major shift. The scope of the media has increased substantially. Social media platforms have namely made it possible for media outlets to spread their publications on a massive scale. Facebook, for example, has an estimated of 2.7 billion users.

This research showed that media publications can be an explanatory variable in this case. The lack of media attention in the 2013/2014 case can possibly explain why a change did not occur after that edition. The media has the possibility to contribute to problem recognition and to influence the public mood. These variables form an important part of Kingdon's model and therefore the influence of the media should as well.

The influence of the media on policy change is also confirmed by multiple researchers.

As research conducted by Birkland (1997) shows, the media can have a strong influence on the processes surrounding policy change. Policymakers see media coverage as a shortcut to public opinion assuming that the public is heavily influenced by what they read in the newspaper (Herbst, 1998). Media coverages therefore provide a sense of the broader public agenda. The media have the power to influence how people comprehend issues by using framing (Shanahan et al., 2008). Koch-Baumgarten and Voltmer (2010) argue in their book, *Public Policy and Mass Media: The Interplay of Mass Communication and Political Decision Making*, that if the media enters the policy arena, they can influence the policy outcome in significant ways. The media is involved in the selection of problems and events that are brought to the public and are subsequently put on the agenda (Koch-Baumgarten & Voltmer, 2010).

An analysis by Walgrave and Van Aelst (2006) of nineteen studies researching the link between the media and policy shows that almost half of the analysed studies concluded a strong impact of the media on the political agenda and four studies found a considerable impact (Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006: 91). The role the media plays in the policy process depends on a variety of conditions that moderate the degree and the kind of influence they can exert on policymakers. The media input variables are the kind of issues covered, the sort of coverage, and the specific media outlets. Depending on the political context, a policy change can occur (Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006). Walgrave and Van Aelst replicated their research a decade later. This research covered studies from 2005 until 2015 showing recent and ample evidence of the influence of the media on the political agenda (Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2016).

Kingdon's model thus undervalues the influence the media can have on policy change. It is important to take this into consideration when applying Kingdon's model, since nowadays the media has a large influence on the public mood and problem recognition.

### *5.3.2 Future Research*

Every research has its limitations. In this research, the method of process tracing makes it difficult to generalize conclusions. It is a within-case technique of causal inference. As a consequence, the results of the study are strictly confined to the case that is studied and cannot be representative of other cases. This research therefore has a low external validity. External validity can however be increased via future research when the causal configuration present in the Multiple Stream Model is applied to similar cases. If the same causal configuration is present, it is possible to generalize the findings of those studies.

There is also added value in conducting a study focused on testing the explanatory value of the three main policy change frameworks: Baumgartner & Jones's Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, Kingdon's Multiple Stream Model and Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework. It can then be established which theoretical framework best explains policy change in a case. This will contribute to a better understanding of policy change in general, providing policymakers a guide on how policy change can best be initiated.

Since the recreation of the decision-making process was solely based on written sources, I believe interviewing people involved in the policy process can further support the claims made in this study. An important part of the policy process takes place behind closed doors. Even though the online council information system of the municipality proved to be very helpful in recreating the policy process, not everything can be found in the system. Some documents are full of redactions. It therefore remains difficult to be entirely certain on, for example, whether policymakers felt pressure from the amount of media attention the bonfires generated. Interviewing involved policymakers and actors will therefore strengthen this research.

## 6. Annexes

### 6.1 News Coverage New Year's Eve bonfire edition 2013/2014

Source: [www.omroepwest.nl](http://www.omroepwest.nl)

*Omroep West*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2014 – 31 December 2014

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>Hekwerk voorkomt drama bij brandstapel in Scheveningen</i>	01 January 2014
<i>Gemeenten zeer tevreden over jaarwisseling</i>	01 January 2014
<i>Vuurstapel Scheveningen: 'Hij stort een keer in, daar ontkom je niet aan'</i>	02 January 2014
<i>Nieuwe aanpak vreugdevuren Scheveningen</i>	10 June 2014
<i>Angst voor verdwijnen vreugdevuren Scheveningen en Duindorp</i>	11 June 2014
<i>Vreugdevuren op Scheveningen moeten blijven, vindt Haagse politicus Richard de Mos</i>	19 December 2014
<i>Schevenings vreugdevuur op lijst nationaal erfgoed</i>	27 December 2014
<i>Raadslid Richard de Mos over vreugdevuren: 'Gemeente Den Haag moet erkende traditie niet langer saboteren'</i>	27 December 2014

Source: LexisNexis

*NRC Handelsblad/NRC NEXT*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2014 – 31 December 2014

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>No articles written</i>	

*Trouw/Trouw.nl*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2014 – 31 December 2014

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>No articles written</i>	

*Volkskrant/Volkskrant.nl*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2014 – 31 December 2014

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>No articles written</i>	

## 6.2 Municipal Documents New Year's Eve bonfire edition 2013/2014

Source: Council Information System (RIS)

### *Written Questions*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2014 – 31 December 2014

<b>Title</b>	<b>Submitter</b>	<b>RIS Number</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>Vreugdevuren</i>	Groep de Mos	279849	20 December 2014

### *Motions, Amendments & Initiatives*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2014 – 31 December 2014

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>No documents found</i>	

### *Other documents*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2014 – 31 December 2014

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>No documents found</i>	

### *Process files*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2014 – 31 December 2014

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>Gemeentelijke Dossiers Vreugdevuren Jaarwisseling 2013/2014</i>	n.d.

## 6.3 News Coverage New Year's Eve bonfire edition 2018/2019

Source: [www.omroepwest.nl](http://www.omroepwest.nl)

### *Omroep West*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2019 – 04 December 2019

Amount: 106 articles

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>Boulevard Scheveningen ontruimd na vonkenregen en branden</i>	01 January 2019
<i>Krikke: 'Onderzoeken of er volgend jaar weer vuurstapels mogen zijn'</i>	01 January 2019
<i>Organisatie vreugdevuur Scheveningen: 'Waarschijnlijk laatste vuur geweest'</i>	01 January 2019

<i>Politiek over vreugdevuur Scheveningen: Hoe heeft de gemeente hoogte gecontroleerd?</i>	01 January 2019
<i>Bewoners Scheveningen zwaar aangeslagen na vonkenregen: 'Het was een rampscenario'</i>	01 January 2019
<i>Burgermeester Krikke: bouwers hebben afspraken geschonden</i>	01 January 2019
<i>Vuurtornado's Scheveningen ook in buitenlandse media onderwerp van gesprek</i>	01 January 2019
<i>'Goed gesprek' tussen organisaties vreugdevuren en burgermeester Krikke</i>	01 January 2019
<i>Van plaagstootjes tot intimidaties en dreigementen: Afgelasten vreugdevuren was geen optie</i>	01 January 2019
<i>Haagse driehoek: 'Geen sprake van angst of intimidatie bij vreugdevuren'</i>	02 January 2019
<i>Geen vergunning nodig voor vreugdevuren, wel 'stevige afspraken'</i>	02 January 2019
<i>Bouwers vreugdevuren Scheveningen ontkennen beschuldigingen Krikke: 'Wij herkennen ons hier niet in'</i>	02 January 2019
<i>Deel bewoners na vonkenregen naar huis</i>	03 January 2019
<i>Gemeente opent informatiebalie over vreugdevuur Scheveningen</i>	03 January 2019
<i>Vorig jaar ook al vlieg vuur over boulevard Scheveningen</i>	04 January 2019
<i>Instituut Fysieke Veiligheid doet onderzoek naar vuurstapels Scheveningen</i>	04 January 2019
<i>Bewoners en ondernemers in Scheveningen bedanken brandweer</i>	04 January 2019
<i>Deskundigen: Gemeente had vuren Scheveningen niet mogen toestaan</i>	05 January 2019
<i>Brief en uitnodiging van Krikke voor getroffen Scheveningers</i>	05 January 2019
<i>Burgermeester Krikke praat met kritische leden oppositie</i>	05 January 2019
<i>'Laat Onderzoeksraad voor Veiligheid vreugdevuur Scheveningen bekijken'</i>	05 January 2019
<i>Twijfels bij onafhankelijkheid instituut dat vonkenregen onderzoekt: Krikke zit zelf in bestuur</i>	05 January 2019
<i>Ook Groep de Mos twijfelt over onderzoek vuurzee Scheveningen</i>	06 January 2019
<i>Advocaat roept inwoners Scheveningen op om aangifte tegen gemeente te doen</i>	07 January 2019
<i>Handvol Scheveningers bij bijeenkomst vreugdevuur: 'Ik ben gewoon boos'</i>	07 January 2019
<i>Zware kritiek deskundigen op handelswijze burgermeester Krikke na vonkenregen Scheveningen</i>	07 January 2019
<i>Onderzoeksraad voor Veiligheid denkt 'serieus' na over studie naar Scheveningen</i>	07 January 2019
<i>Vonkenregen Scheveningen: Onderzoeksraad voor Veiligheid doet onderzoek</i>	09 January 2019
<i>Bouwers Scheveningen willen kleiner vreugdevuur</i>	10 January 2019
<i>Haagse coalitie verdeeld over noodzaak debat vonkenregen Scheveningen</i>	10 January 2019
<i>Docu vreugdevuren: 'We gaan voor de 10.000 kuub. En eigenlijk misschien nog wel mee'</i>	11 January 2019
<i>Spijkers vreugdevuur Scheveningen op strand door springtij</i>	11 January 2019
<i>Onderzoek: verdeeldheid over toekomst vreugdevuren</i>	15 January 2019

<i>Haagse PvdA wil snelle schadevergoeding Scheveningers: 'Maak burgers geen slachtoffers'</i>	15 January 2019
<i>Forse kritiek oppositie op Krikke tijdens vonkendebat</i>	16 January 2019
<i>122 schademeldingen na vonkenregen Scheveningen</i>	16 January 2019
<i>Convenant met bouwers openbaar: stapels mochten niet hoger zijn dan 35 meter</i>	22 January 2019
<i>Haagse PVV wil spoeddebat over vreugdevuren</i>	23 January 2019
<i>Burgermeester Krikke zegt niks over afspraken met bouwers</i>	24 January 2019
<i>Vreugdevuren dreigen open zenuw te worden in Haagse politiek</i>	24 January 2019
<i>Krikke: alles over vreugdevuren wordt toch openbaar</i>	30 January 2019
<i>Haagse raad blij én ontevreden met alle informatie over vreugdevuren</i>	30 January 2019
<i>Kritiek op burgermeester over onderzoek naar vreugdevuren</i>	14 February 2019
<i>Dossiers vreugdevuren openbaar: Bedreigde ambtenaren en te hoge stapels</i>	14 February 2019
<i>Haagse politiek blokkeert debat over vreugdevuren-dossier</i>	20 February 2019
<i>Veel kritiek Haagse raad op 'denkproces' burgermeester Krikke rond vreugdevuren</i>	06 March 2019
<i>Haagse oppositie wil af van convenanten bij risicovolle evenementen</i>	07 March 2019
<i>Sponsors vreugdevuur Scheveningen twijfelen over nieuwe bijdrage</i>	21 June 2019
<i>Schade vonkenregen nog niet hersteld: 'Wachten op verzekering'</i>	21 June 2019
<i>Hart voor Den Haag/Groep de Mos wil sponsor vreugdevuur blijven</i>	22 June 2019
<i>Eindelijk thuis na vonkenregen: 'Ik wil het liefst vooruit kijken en alles vergeten'</i>	01 July 2019
<i>'Geen toekomstplan voor vreugdevuur Scheveningen, dan geen vuurstapels'</i>	04 July 2019
<i>Vonkenregen Scheveningen leidt tot drukte bij verzekeraars</i>	24 July 2019
<i>Haagse Rekenkamer onderzoekt geheimhouding</i>	06 August 2019
<i>Onderzoeksraad: 'Vonkenregenrapport klaar in eerste weken van oktober'</i>	03 September 2019
<i>Analyse: Vonkenregen bepaalt toekomst Haagse burgermeester Krikke</i>	27 September 2019
<i>'Verboden brandversnellers waren medeoorzaak vuurtornado Scheveningen'</i>	28 September 2019
<i>Rapport onderzoek vreugdevuur Scheveningen komt donderdag</i>	01 October 2019
<i>Van traditie op straat naar traditie op strand: tientallen jaren vreugdevuren</i>	03 October 2019
<i>Onderzoeksraad: Den Haag liet bewust bouwers vreugdevuren gang gaan</i>	03 October 2019
<i>Oorzaak vuurregen Scheveningen: extreem hoge stapel en brandversnellers</i>	03 October 2019
<i>Burgermeester Krikke: We zullen handhaven, dat garandeer ik</i>	03 October 2019
<i>Voorzitter OvV: 'Een geloofwaardige overheid moet bereid zijn om afspraken te handhaven'</i>	03 October 2019
<i>Steun voor Haagse burgermeester brokkelt af na onderzoeksrapport</i>	03 October 2019



<i>Bouwers vreugdevuur Scheveningen houden kaken op elkaar: 'Eerst rapport bestuderen'</i>	03 October 2019
<i>Verdeeldheid onder Scheveningers over doorgaan vreugdevuren na rapport</i>	03 October 2019
<i>Vreugdevuren kosten zo 'n zes ton: kan nog meer dan verdubbeld worden</i>	03 October 2019
<i>'Rapport vonkenregen helpt gedupeerden om schade vergoed te krijgen'</i>	04 October 2019
<i>Wat vindt Den Haag? Kan burgermeester Krikke aanblijven?</i>	04 October 2019
<i>Pauline Krikke stapt op als burgermeester van Den Haag</i>	06 October 2019
<i>Vertrek Krikke stort Den Haag in ongekende bestuurlijke chaos</i>	06 October 2019
<i>Waarnemend burgermeester van Den Haag staat 'een stevige klus' te wachten</i>	08 October 2019
<i>Haagse raad heeft twijfels over veiligheid vreugdevuren</i>	17 October 2019
<i>'Als vreugdevuren doorgaan, dan maximaal 10 meter hoog'</i>	17 October 2019
<i>Den Haag rondt schades vonkenregen nog dit jaar af</i>	17 October 2019
<i>Duindorp vraagt vergunning vreugdevuur aan</i>	23 October 2019
<i>Gemeente 'buigt zich snel' over Scheveningse idee voor meerdere vreugdevuren</i>	24 October 2019
<i>Gemengde reacties op meerdere vreugdevuren: 'Veiligheid belangrijker dan hoe het vroeger was'</i>	25 October 2019
<i>Bouwers vreugdevuren krijgen ultimatum voor aanvraag vuurstapel</i>	29 October 2019
<i>Brandweer Haaglanden over vreugdevuren: 'Vuurstapels van tien meter niet te blussen'</i>	29 October 2019
<i>Vrijdag deadline aanvraag vergunning vreugdevuur: 3 december eindelijk duidelijkheid</i>	30 October 2019
<i>Scheveningse vonkenregen: Wil Den Haag wel vreugdevuren?</i>	30 October 2019
<i>Bouwers vreugdevuren doen uiterste poging om vergunning te krijgen</i>	01 November 2019
<i>Scheveningen wil toch maar één vreugdevuur bouwen</i>	06 November 2019
<i>Vreugdevuren nieuwe stijl: dit willen de bouwers deze jaarwisseling anders gaan doen</i>	09 November 2019
<i>Vreugdevuur Scheveningen op losse schroeven</i>	12 November 2019
<i>Nog geen verzekering voor vreugdevuren Scheveningen en Duindorp</i>	14 November 2019
<i>'Den Haag stelt onmogelijke eisen aan bouwers vreugdevuren'</i>	14 November 2019
<i>Cruciale fase voor vreugdevuren: het wordt lastig voor Scheveningen en Duindorp</i>	22 November 2019
<i>Verzekering voor bouwers vreugdevuren wordt vrijwel onmogelijke opgave</i>	22 November 2019
<i>Doorgaan vreugdevuren 'zeer twijfelachtig'</i>	26 November 2019
<i>Ook Haagse gemeenteraad ziet weinig kansen voor vreugdevuren</i>	27 November 2019
<i>Organisaties vreugdevuren geven strijd niet op</i>	27 November 2019
<i>Bouwers vreugdevuren bij debat: 'Laat zien wat er aan ons plan schort'</i>	28 November 2019
<i>Eisen voor vuurstapels niet versoepeld: 'Wij zijn geen vrije republiek'</i>	28 November 2019

<i>Duindorp trekt stekker uit vreugdevuur</i>	29 November 2019
<i>Duindorp vreest voor onrustig nieuwjaar zonder vuurstapel</i>	29 November 2019
<i>ME ingezet bij onrustige avond in Duindorp: 13 mensen aangehouden</i>	02 December 2019
<i>Scheveningen houdt vertrouwen in eigen vreugdevuur</i>	02 December 2019
<i>Duindorp maakt zich zorgen: 'Ze hebben niet door dat ze hun eigen dorp kapot maken'</i>	02 December 2019
<i>Twaalf aanhoudingen tijdens weer een onrustige avond in Duindorp</i>	02 December 2019
<i>Dag van de waarheid voor Haagse vreugdevuren</i>	03 December 2019
<i>Invalen in Haagse wijk Duindorp vanwege ongeregelheden</i>	03 December 2019
<i>Buurtbewoners Duindorp ongerust door ongeregelheden: 'Je zit 's avonds te trillen in huis;</i>	03 December 2019
<i>Deze jaarwisseling geen vreugdevuren in Den Haag</i>	03 December 2019
<i>Politiek verdeeld over afblazen vreugdevuren: van 'dramatisch' tot 'verstandig'</i>	03 December 2019

Source: LexisNexis

NRC Handelsblad/NRC NEXT

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2019 – 04 December 2019

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>Reportage brand Scheveningen (front page)</i>	02 January 2019
<i>Vliegvuur</i>	02 January 2019
<i>Was de gemeente wel de baas in Scheveningen?</i>	03 January 2019
<i>Draaiende slurven die van alles mee omhoogzuigen</i>	03 January 2019
<i>Een vreugdevuur ga je niet met regeltjes te lijf</i>	03 January 2019
<i>Vliegvuur in Scheveningen</i>	12 January 2019
<i>Zelfkritiek tonen, dat is niet de stijl van Krikke</i>	16 January 2019
<i>De wind was precies goed voor de vuurkolken</i>	16 January 2019
<i>Krikke overtuigd van veilige vuren</i>	17 January 2019
<i>Vreugdevuren te hoog, maar minder hoog dan gedacht</i>	15 February 2019
<i>Hoe hoog waren de Scheveningse vreugdevuren?</i>	23 February 2019
<i>Gemeente speelde decennia actieve rol bij vreugdevuren</i>	26 February 2019
<i>De gemeente betaalt, de bouwers wanen zich de baas</i>	26 February 2019
<i>Gedogen zet de burger buitenspel en maakt overheid kwetsbaar</i>	01 Maart 2019
<i>Zeven cruciale dagen voor Krikke</i>	03 October 2019
<i>OVV over vuren: risico's onderschat</i>	03 October 2019
<i>Stadhuiscrisis kan Krikke redden</i>	04 October 2019
<i>Na de gemeenteraad verloor ook de stad het vertrouwen in Krikke</i>	07 October 2019
<i>Burgermeester Krikke terecht opgestapt maar op verkeerde wijze</i>	08 October 2019
<i>Remkes: niet gegarandeerd dat vreugdevuren doorgaan</i>	18 October 2019
<i>Scheveningen wil meerdere kleine vuren</i>	25 October 2019
<i>'Hoogstwaarschijnlijk' geen vreugdevuren Scheveningen</i>	27 November 2019
<i>Geen vreugdevuur in Duindorp tijdens aanstaande jaarwisseling</i>	29 November 2019

<i>Beetje steun voor bouwers Haagse vreugdevuren, maar vooral veel twijfel</i>	29 November 2019
<i>In Duindorp is geweld en onrust terug</i>	03 December 2019
<i>Remkes kiest voor regels niet voor rust</i>	04 December 2019
<i>Dit vuur is religie, daarom is het afscheid zo pijnlijk; Duindorpers. Je snapt ze pas als je het vuur als hun religie ziet</i>	04 December 2019

Trouw/Trouw.nl

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2019 – 04 December 2019

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>Den Haag bezint zich op vreugdevuur</i>	02 January 2019
<i>Meebewegen bij tradities is het devies</i>	03 January 2019
<i>Niet zwichten voor dreiging</i>	03 January 2019
<i>'Ik heb twee emmers water op het balkon gedonderd'</i>	03 January 2019
<i>Politiek: geen nieuwe regels, wel harder optreden</i>	03 January 2019
<i>Immaterieel erfgoed, concrete ellende</i>	04 January 2019
<i>Een kleiner vuur, maar toch een feest</i>	18 April 2019
<i>Tegenslag genoeg in Krikke's loopbaan</i>	03 October 2019
<i>Geen vreugdevuur? Dan breekt de pleuris uit, vrezen ze in Duindorp</i>	04 October 2019
<i>De orde handhaven: ook elders lukt dat zelden</i>	04 October 2019
<i>Krikke: Wél handhaven was ook gevaarlijk</i>	04 October 2019
<i>Lezersreacties</i>	05 October 2019
<i>Burgemeester Krikke houdt de eer aan zichzelf</i>	07 October 2019
<i>Lezersreacties</i>	07 October 2019
<i>Krikke ontsnapt aan kritisch debat</i>	08 October 2019
<i>Remkes gaat puinruimen op stadhuis van Den Haag</i>	10 October 2019
<i>Een schande voor de derde stad van het land</i>	11 October 2019
<i>Deur op kier voor Haagse vreugdevuren</i>	18 October 2019
<i>Kleinere vuren op strand Scheveningen</i>	25 October 2019
<i>Er komen waarschijnlijk geen vreugdevuren tijdens de jaarwisseling in Den Haag</i>	26 November 2019
<i>Fracties Den Haag somber over doorgaan vreugdevuren</i>	28 November 2019
<i>'Wat je in Duindorp op straat hebt gezien, is frustratie'</i>	02 December 2019
<i>Wat moet Den Haag nu, zonder vreugdevuren?</i>	04 December 2019
<i>'Alsof je carnaval afpakt van Brabant en Limburg'</i>	04 December 2019

Volkskrant/Volkskrant.nl

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2019 – 04 December 2019

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>Met pannetjes je dak op om het vuur te blussen</i>	02 January 2019
<i>Op het strand</i>	03 January 2019
<i>In Scheveningen is het grote vingerwijzen begonnen</i>	03 January 2019
<i>Waarom lijden onder de hobby van anderen?</i>	03 January 2019
<i>Den Haag maakt stukken openbaar</i>	31 January 2019

<i>Gemeente Den Haag riep vuurregen over zichzelf af</i>	15 February 2019
<i>Kost vreugdevuur Krikke de kop?</i>	30 September 2019
<i>Onderzoeksraad: vaten diesel en veel te hoge vuurstapels in Scheveningen</i>	03 October 2019
<i>Krikke keek toe hoe vreugdevuur een hellevuur werd</i>	03 October 2019
<i>'Vanaf nu gaan we echt handhaven'</i>	04 October 2019
<i>Onder controle</i>	04 October 2019
<i>Haagse burgemeester Krikke stapt op vanwege kritiek op functioneren rond vreugdevuren Scheveningen</i>	07 October 2019
<i>Hoe keert de rust terug in Den Haag?</i>	08 October 2019
<i>Remkes stond al klaar om in te vallen in Den Haag</i>	10 October 2019
<i>Remkes: Scheveningse brandstapels maximaal 10 bij 10 bij 10 meter</i>	17 October 2019
<i>Scheveningen wil niet één, maar meerdere vreugdevuren</i>	25 October 2019
<i>Waarschijnlijk geen vreugdevuren in Den Haag</i>	27 November 2019
<i>Geen vreugdevuren in Duindorp dit jaar, Scheveningen nog onbekend</i>	30 November 2019
<i>Is het tijd voor regulering van alle Oud en Nieuw-festiviteiten?</i>	03 December 2019
<i>De begrijpelijke bokkigheid van Johan Remkes zal olie op het vuur zijn</i>	03 December 2019
<i>Geen vergunning voor vreugdevuur Scheveningen en Duindorp</i>	03 December 2019
<i>Weer onrustig in Duindorp: 'Het is allemaal de schuld van Scheveningen'</i>	03 December 2019
<i>Hoe Johan Remkes Den Haag door een van de meest turbulente periodes in jaren loodst</i>	04 December 2019
<i>Als er in de beleving van de Duindorpers één ding wordt gestapeld, is het verlies</i>	04 December 2019
<i>Rust lijkt terug in de Haagse wijk Duindorp, wel veel brandjes in rest van stad</i>	04 December 2019

#### 6.4 Municipal Documents New Year's Eve bonfire edition 2018/2019

Source: Council Information System (RIS)

*Written Questions*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2019 – 31 December 2019

<b>Title</b>	<b>Submitter</b>	<b>RIS Number</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>Facilitering vreugdevuren</i>	Hart voor Den Haag/Groep de Mos	304188	13 December 2019

*Motions, Amendments & Initiatives*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2019 – 31 December 2019

<b>Title</b>	<b>Outcome</b>	<b>RIS Number</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>Motions</i>			
<i>Schadevergoeding Vreugdevuren Scheveningen</i>	Rejected	301678	24 January 2019
<i>Tegemoetkomen gedupeerden vreugdevuren</i>	Retained	301680	24 January 2019
<i>Betrek omwonenden bij vervolg traditie vreugdevuren</i>	Adopted	303764	28 November 2019
<i>Garantstelling vreugdevuren Duindorp &amp; Scheveningen</i>	Rejected	304053	28 November 2019
<i>Monitoring en evaluatie nieuwe gang van zaken</i>	Rejected	304057	28 November 2019
<i>Veiligheid als doorslaggevende eis</i>	Rejected	304059	28 November 2019
<i>Vuur uit de sloffen voor vreugdevuren 2020-2021</i>	Rejected	304060	28 November 2019
<i>Gevolgen Oudjaar zonder vreugdevuren</i>	Rejected	304285	28 November 2019

*Other documents*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2019 – 31 December 2019

<b>Title</b>	<b>Catergory</b>	<b>RIS Number</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>Vreugdevuren Scheveningen</i>	Council statement	301521	01 January 2019
<i>Vreugdevuren Scheveningen en Duindorp</i>	Council statement	301552	09 January 2019
<i>Openbaarmaking Convenant vreugdevuren Scheveningen</i>	Council statement	301632	22 January 2019
<i>Gemeentelijk dossier t.b.v. onderzoek vreugdevuren door de Onderzoeksraad Veiligheid</i>	Committee letter	301723	30 January 2019
<i>Vreugdevuren Scheveningen en in Duindorp</i>	Council statement	304008	26 November 2019
<i>Vergunningverlening vreugdevuren Scheveningen en Duindorp</i>	Council statement	304079	03 December 2019

*Process files*

Searchterm: Vreugdevuren

Dates: 01 January 2019 – 31 December 2019

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
<i>Gemeentelijke Dossiers Vreugdevuren Jaarwisseling 2018/2019</i>	n.d.

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