



MASTER THESIS: THE VIEWPOINTS OF LOCAL POLITICAL PARTIES

Are there differences in points of view between local political parties and
local branches of national parties?

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Abstract

Local political parties become more relevant in the past decade in the Netherlands. In 2018, these parties were even more successful than in the previous municipal elections. Many winners of the 2018 municipal elections were local political parties that had not won an election before. Therefore, it is interesting to study what differences could be related to this success. Earlier studies have been conducted on the topic of local political parties. One of the research aspects is about the points of view. Most of the available knowledge is about broader themes, such as security; but less is known about the differences in concrete points of view between local political parties and local branches of national parties. However, a study by Kalis (2011) was specifically focused on the viewpoints, but it was limited to a specific set of municipalities in one region and conducted way before the 2018 municipal elections. The most important finding was the focus of local political parties on citizen participation.

This study focuses on three municipalities of different sizes and in different regions; Tilburg, Twenterand and Velsen, and is focused on finding an answer to the following research question: *‘To what extent do the concrete points of view of local political parties differ from the points of view of local branches of national parties?’*. Expectations for the study were stated based on theoretical dimensions; localism, populism and the left-wing/right-wing dimension. There were general expectations, and expectation for specific party types, as described by Boogers (2007). A document analysis was conducted to answer the research question. In Tilburg, Twenterand and Velsen, a total of 18 political parties were part of the analysis; three local political parties and 15 local branches of national parties. The data has been acquired from election programmes, and viewpoints have been allocated to a set of themes. The comparison on viewpoints has been done within a municipality, because every municipality has specific issues. After these three separate analyses where viewpoints have been compared, general results were discussed. The results were analysed with the use of the expectations based on the theoretical dimensions.

The results show that most expectations have not been met. There are no significant differences in viewpoints in terms of populism, only for the protest party type. Also, there is no outstanding focus on participation, no significant focus on local issues, no significant differences for the right-wing/left-wing dimension and no differences related to the localistic party type. The results do show one significant difference: local political parties focus more on governmental integrity in the concrete points of view than local branches of national parties.

So, the results only show significant differences to a small extent. The general conclusion is that local political parties also differ a lot from each other in the concrete points of view, and that the study does not show many significant differences in viewpoints between local political parties and local branches of national parties in general. It is, therefore, interesting to focus more on the differences between local political parties in future research.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

Local political parties have become more relevant in the past decades, especially in the Netherlands. As there are many different types of parties and many definitions of the various types, it is important to distinguish the local political party from local branches of national parties. A local political party, such as 'Leefbaar Rotterdam', a local political party in Rotterdam, is different from local branches from parties that also act on a national level, such as VVD (NOS, 2018). The main difference is that local political parties only take part in local elections in one municipality (Schaap, 2015). The number of these independent local parties has grown, as well as the electoral support the parties received (Van Ostaaijen, 2019; NOS, 2018). In 2018, 34% of council seats were filled by politicians coming from local political parties (Ministerie van BZK, 2019). Several studies about this trend have already been conducted in the Netherlands. Current findings on local political parties can be divided in the following aspects: the foundation, organization and members, expenses, concrete points of view, electoral results, the campaign, voters and voting motives, members of municipal council, candidate selection, functioning, governance (Van Ostaaijen, 2019).

For this study, the focus is on the concrete points of view. With the concrete points of view, it is not about broader themes, such as education, security and environment. It is about concrete viewpoints, like 'party x wants to add more bike lanes'. Current findings are mostly focused on the broader topics or themes that local political parties focus on, coming from the analysis of election programmes. Important findings are focused on different dimensions. Local political parties seem to focus more on 'local' themes (Boogers et al., 2007; Voerman & Otjes, 2018). There is also a relation between the success of local political parties and the rise of populism, and most local political parties do not position themselves on the right/left wing dimension and those who do are widely spread across the dimension (Lucardie & Voerman, 2012; Boogers, 2007). Additionally, the specific type of local political party seems to impact the content (Boogers, 2007).

There is a study by Kalis specifically focused on differences in the concrete points of view, but it is dated (Kalis, 2011) and limited to a small set of municipalities in one specific region: De Drechtsteden (Kalis, 2011). The study was focused on finding out what the similarities and differences on the specific points of view are between local political parties and local branches of national parties in three municipalities. The case study was performed with the use of document analysis. The analysis focused on analysing whether the viewpoints are present in the election programmes of the local political party and the local branches of national parties. In addition, the weight of viewpoints was also analysed. It resulted in findings about the focus of local political parties on citizen participation, but on other topics there were no significant differences (Kalis, 2011).

Research problem

Local political parties have been highly successful in the municipal elections of 2018, even more than in the municipal elections of 2010 and 2014. The winners of the elections included many local political parties that have not been successful before (NOS, 2018). It is quite unknown if the concrete points of view from these parties had an impact on the success, and if they differ from those from local branches of national parties. There are, however, findings from studies that do show that local parties tend to focus more on the issue of safety (NRC, 2018). Current research on local political parties is, as mentioned, mostly focused on such broad topics. Concrete points of view have not been studied intensively, and an existing study on the matter is dated (Kalis, 2011). This study is about

what the concrete points of view are of the local political parties 'Lijst Smolders Tilburg', 'Gemeentebelangen Twenterand' and 'Velsen Lokaal'; and if they are distinctive from those presented by local branches of national parties the specific municipalities. So, there is an in-depth comparison on those viewpoints. The study is focused on the municipal elections of 2018; three municipalities are selected for an extensive analysis of the concrete points of view: Tilburg, Twenterand and Velsen. These municipalities are widely spread across the Netherlands, include an election winner (most seats) that has not won the municipal elections before and consist of a big, medium and small municipality.

Research question

To what extent do the concrete points of view of local political parties differ from the points of view of local branches of national parties?

Hypotheses

H0: There are no significant differences in terms of concrete points of view between local political parties and local branches of national parties

H1: There is a significant difference in terms of concrete points of view between local political parties and local branches of national parties

Sub-questions

1.1. What is the difference between a local political party and a local branch of a national party and what are the main characteristics?

1.2. What is already known in the literature on differences in terms of concrete points of view between local political parties and local branches of national parties?

1.3. What is the background and the type of party, according to Boogers (2007), for the local political parties in the different municipalities?

1.4. What are the concrete points of view of local political parties in the relevant municipalities?

1.5. What are the concrete points of view of local branches from national parties in the relevant municipalities?

1.6. Are there differences between both types of parties in terms of the concrete points of view, and to what extent?

Relevance for scientific community and society

At first, the study is relevant because the success of local political parties in the Netherlands has not been fully explained. Focusing on concrete points of view, only knowledge about broader topics such as security is available and did not result in clear results about why local political parties are so successful and what distinguishes them from local branches of national parties. Most studies are broadly focused, focused on specific words in election programmes or voter/local political party surveys (Boogers, 2007; Otjes, 2019; Penninx, 2015; Von Harenberg, 2016).

Earlier research focused on these points of view has been done by Kalis (2011) and since then, local political parties have only become more popular. This research was limited to a few municipalities in a specific region, so much is still unknown. The findings by Kalis were that local political parties in 'De Drechtsteden' are more focused on citizen participation, but that viewpoints were less distinctive on other themes (Kalis, 2011). It is, however, unknown if these findings will be similar for the winners of the 2018 municipal elections where the local political parties were even more successful, and what the findings are in municipalities that are spread geographically across the Netherlands. By focusing

on concrete points of view and gathering data in municipalities different in terms of size and location, the study adds to the current scientific knowledge on local political parties. Additionally, it also adds to society by finding out whether local political parties maintain different concrete points of view, or if they are rather similar to these of national parties. The study could help in informing citizens better about the uniqueness of the new local political parties that successfully took part in the municipal elections in 2018 and local political parties in general.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

Definitions

The local political party

It is important to discuss the characteristics and the differences between a local political party and a local branch of a national party, based on currently available theories and studies. In further sections, they are often also referred to as an abbreviation: LPP and LBNP, for practical reasons.

At first, the definition of a local political party (LPP) is relevant. According to the literature, several definitions are known for local political parties. A short and simple definition comes from Linze Schaap, who defines the local political party as 'partijen die slechts in één gemeente aan de verkiezingen deelnemen' (Schaap, 2015, p.40). So, in English, parties that only take part in municipal elections in one municipality. One of the most complete and fitting definitions, in Dutch, comes from Kiesraad (2018):

- een partij die aan de gemeenteraadsverkiezingen deelneemt, en
- in de naam van de partij niet de naam van een partij op landelijk of provinciaal niveau voorkomt, en
- de partij organisatorisch niet is verbonden met een landelijke of provinciale partij, en
- de partij niet ook in andere gemeenten deelneemt aan de gemeenteraadsverkiezingen. (Kiesraad, 2018).

Local political parties are not to be confused with local branches of national parties, such as Groenlinks in the municipality of Amsterdam. LPP's are also divided into different groups by different studies, including one by Boogers (2007). The following types of parties are discussed by Boogers, a distinction that will be used for this study.

- The 'localistic party'. This type of party includes parties that focus on the common interests and the interests of the municipality. Local and municipal specific issues are important for this type of party. Estimations are that roughly 50 percent of the local political parties are this specific type (Boogers, 2007). The other 50 percent is equally shared between the other two types.
- The 'protest party'. The protestparty is about parties that focus on anti-elitist values and on dissatisfaction about the current municipal government. This type of party includes 'leefbaar' partijen, which are common in the Netherlands and independent citizen parties (Boogers, 2007).
- The 'party for specific interests'. This type of party is focused on the interests of a specific group, such as young people or older people (Boogers, 2007).

In terms of numbers, there are different estimations about the number of LPP's. Recent estimations by Kiesraad (2018) and Universiteit van Twente (2018) are, respectively, 833 and 965 parties. This difference is, assumably, due to different kind of definitions that are used for a LPP (Van Ostaaijen, 2019).

A local branch of a national party

With a local branch of a national party (LBNP), it is about a local branch of a party that is also active on a national level, such as VVD or CDA. There are also often combinations of national parties on a

local level, such as 'ChristenUnie/SGP'. One combination will be part of the analysis (PvdA/GroenLinks), while the others are local branches of a single national party (Derksen, 1998). A complete definition is, paraphrased, one or several individuals that are willing to be part of the municipal elections in a single municipality, while being related to a political party that is part of the elections for either the House of Representatives or the Senate or already in one of both with a share of at least one seat (Necker van Naem, 2013).

Most of the national parties in the House of Representatives and/or the Senate do have local branches that are active in many municipalities. These national parties have different reasons for being politically active on a local level. At first, it provides national parties knowledge on local issues, opportunities to better connect with citizens by making use of local campaigning and marketing. Additionally, the ideology and general viewpoints of a national party can be applied to local issues. New political talents can also be recognized on a local level, where the political environment is often more open and accessible (Boogers, 2007).

Current knowledge

It is also important to acknowledge what is already known about local political parties, focusing on knowledge on assumed differences in terms of the concrete points of view, as that is the relevant information for this study. The current findings are, however, mostly focused on the broader topics that local political parties focus on. Julien van Ostaaijen (2019) combined the current studies on local political parties, and also discusses the findings on the topics and points of view that these parties focus on. These findings did not show many differences between local political parties and local branches of national parties, but there are some important aspects. At first, local political parties are more focused on 'local' issues compared to other kinds of parties, so on municipal specific issues (Otjes, 2019). There are, however, differences in focus between different types of local political parties. According to earlier studies, local political parties with the word 'beter' in the name of the party, are more focused on these local issues. The same study also concludes that overall, local political parties are slightly more right-wing orientated than local branches of national parties (Otjes, 2019). However, the findings of another study are less convincing on the matter (Boogers, 2007). Local political parties are also more progressive in terms of culture, compared to the average national party, although it depends on the specific type of local political party (Otjes, 2019). Another finding is that local political parties mostly focus on the topic of security, more than 60 percent can be characterized as a party of 'law and order'. It is also found that local political parties are not only focused on typical right-wing or left-wing topics. Half of them combine topics as security with more social or environmental themes (NRC, 2018).

Another study showed that in the amount of words used for each topic, there are not many differences between local political parties and national parties. The only theme where a significant difference was found, is environmental issues (Penninx, 2015). The study by Kalis (2011) concludes that local political parties also focus a lot on citizen participation. Additionally, according to older research by Boogers (2007), important goals for local political parties are very broad: making sure that the municipality is governed well and closing the 'gap' between citizens and government.

Analytical framework

In this part, theories and dimensions that are used to study the concrete viewpoints of local political parties will be discussed, to also come up with expectations for the study to be able to value the results of the comparison of concrete viewpoints. Expectations are twofold; there are general

expectations and additional expectations for specific types of parties, as described by Boogers (2007). Concrete points of view are studied to see if there are differences between those of local political parties and local branches of national parties, but what will the results mean? There are different theoretical dimensions on which local political parties can be compared and analysed. At first, the local characteristic of the local political parties, which is about the political focus on their own municipality (Voerman & Otjes, 2018; Otjes, 2019). According to earlier studies, local political parties are more focused on the common interests of a municipality, while local branches of national parties tend to focus more on the interests of a specific group (Boogers et al., 2007). Therefore, the concrete points of view of local political parties are expected to focus more on local characteristics than those of local branches of national parties. This can be noticed in viewpoints by the mentioning of specific locations or institutions, instead of general statements. This is even more expected for a 'localistic party', as described by Boogers (2007). Expectations are that this type of party will show more differences in points of view that are focused on maintaining the municipality as it is and more participation compared to other types of local political parties. Then, the next dimension is about the relation between local political parties and populism. The development in the number of local political parties in the 90s, for instance, has a strong correlation with the rise of populism (Lucardie & Voerman, 2012). Populism in election programmes can be noticed by looking for anti-elitism values, and it can be expected that election programmes of local political parties will contain more populism in the points of view than the programmes of local branches of national parties. Earlier studies have shown that (Von Harenberg, 2016; Gevers, 2016). Expectations are similar for the 'protestparty' type, as described by Boogers (2007). This type of party is expected to be more against current parties and the current government, visible in the concrete viewpoints.

Furthermore, there is the left-wing/right-wing dimension. The study by Boogers (2007) showed that most local political parties are not able to position themselves on the dimension, and the ones that do position themselves, are widely spread across the dimension. This finding is also confirmed by other studies (Aberg & Ahlberger, 2015; Angenendt, 2018). However, a study by Otjes (2019) did show significant results that local political parties are more right-wing focused, although the differences were limited. So, for this study it is expected that the points of view of local political parties will not be specifically more right-wing or left-wing views compared to the viewpoints of local branches of national parties and if there are differences, they are expected to be slightly more right-wing focused. Then, at last, there are expectations for, as described by Boogers (2007), a 'party for specific interests'. So, possible differences in terms of viewpoints with local branches of national parties for this type of party are expected to be about the focus on a specific group (Boogers, 2007).

Chapter 3: Document analysis

The focus of this study will be on qualitative research, and the method is document analysis. The specific type of document analysis is content analysis. According to Miller & Yang (2008), content analysis is described as 'a technique for analysing a body of text. It treats the elements of the body of text as empirical entities. It establishes and documents aspects of their characteristics and the relationships between them' (Miller & Yang, 2008, p.689). The method is based on an earlier study by Kalis (2011). It is reproduced in different municipalities selected on different terms, and with a slightly different selection of themes. The analysis is performed for three municipalities. The case selection, comparison, the process, and the selection of viewpoints and themes are elaborated on in the different sections.

Objective

For the method, the concrete points of view in the election programmes of local political parties and local branches of national parties are compared, to see whether a distinction can be made between the two. The goal of the method is to acknowledge if there is a clear distinction between the concrete viewpoints of local political parties and those of local branches of national parties. The direct comparison on concrete viewpoints is between parties within one municipality, because of the fact that every municipality has specific issues. Therefore, comparisons take place within municipalities and are then analysed as a whole, to see whether there are significant differences between local political parties and local branches of national parties in terms of points of view.

Document analysis process

Comparison

In this part, the comparison of viewpoints will be explained. All points of view are part of the analysis, apart from the exceptions explained in the 'concrete points of view' section. The comparison is twofold. At first, the comparison is about whether a viewpoint is present in the election programme of the local political party and/or in the election programme of the local branch of a national party. Second, if the viewpoint is present for both types of parties, it is relevant whether the parties disagree on the viewpoint, if they agree and if they both agree, if a party values the point of view more than others. With 'values the point more than others', the following is meant:

1. The concrete point of view is discussed several times.
2. If the text clearly shows that a party values the point of view more in comparison, e.g. party x does not only mention that citizen participation is important, but also comes with concrete propositions for the matter. This is, of course, elaborated on in the text and the footnotes.
3. If it shows in terms of numbers, e.g. party x wants to invest in building 1000 houses instead of 600. If one of these aspects is present, it is elaborated on in the footnotes.

Process

Then, the specific process. The analysis is conducted in several steps. At first, the specific themes are drafted. As mentioned, these are based on the specific party programmes and an earlier study by Kalis (2011). Furthermore, the concrete points of view in the party programmes of the examined parties, apart from the exceptions described in the 'concrete points of view' part, are allocated to the themes. Then, the analysis is performed to see whether the points of view are present in the party programmes of the different parties in the specific municipality. Then, it is analysed if a party agrees or disagrees with a point of view, and if a party values that point of view more than other parties, as

explained above. So, the concrete points of view are coded. Furthermore, the results of the analysis are described in a text combined with tables that contain the codes from the data analysis, including elaboration in footnotes. After the analysis is done, conclusions on differences and similarities in the points of view of local political parties are compared for each municipality. Afterwards, the results of each municipality are compared to get to an overall conclusion.

Case selection

It is carried out with the use of a case study. Three municipalities are studied, in order to study the differences in concrete points of view between the two types of parties. The municipalities are selected on different aspects:

- A local political party has won the 2018 municipal elections, and has not won the municipal elections before (with the winner, the party with the largest number of seats is meant)
- Municipalities of different sizes are selected, large (more than 100.000 citizens), medium (50.000-100.000 citizens) and small (less than 50.000 citizens) municipalities are part of the analysis
- The municipalities are widely spread geographically across the Netherlands

The local political party is compared with five parties that can be described as a local branch of a national party. This ensures that there is a relevant amount of parties with viewpoints that can be compared to those of the local political party.

While taking the time period for the study and the will to gather valuable and reliable results both into consideration, the choice has been made to make three municipalities part of the analysis. With the mentioned criteria; Tilburg, Twenterand and Velsen were the most suitable. They are, respectively, a big, small and medium municipality, are geographically spread across the Netherlands in different kind of regions and have a local political party as winner of the 2018 municipal elections that has not won the elections before.

- The first municipality is Tilburg. In 2018, local political party 'Lijst Smolders Tilburg' became the winner of the municipal elections with 10 seats. Additionally; D66, Groenlinks, SP, VVD and CDA are part of the analysis (NOS, 2018). Tilburg can be characterized as a big municipality, with over 200.000 citizens (Gemeente Tilburg, nd).
- As the second municipality, Twenterand is selected. Twenterand is a small municipality with less than 34.000 citizens (Gemeente Twenterand, nd). 'Gemeentebelangen Twenterand' won the 2018 municipal elections by a mile, with 12 of the 23 seats. In addition, the election programmes of CDA, ChristenUnie, PvdA/GroenLinks, PVV and VVD are analysed (NOS, 2018).
- Furthermore, the municipality of Velsen is part of the analysis. In terms of size and residents, it can be placed in the middle of Tilburg and Twenterand (Gemeente Velsen, nd). 'Velsen Lokaal' became the winner of the 2018 municipal elections with an electoral share of 6 seats. Additionally, party programmes of D66, PvdA, CDA, Groenlinks and ChristenUnie are analysed (NOS, 2018).

Themes

The themes for the document analysis are selected based on their appearance in the party programmes and the themes used in the previous study by Kalis (2011). Kalis (2011) used a specific set of themes, from which most are suitable for the analysis. However, there are some changes, because different issues and aspects were relevant for the 2018 elections than the 2010 elections. All

specific themes in the studied programmes were looked at, to be able to finalise the selection of themes. Because themes are described in various ways, overall themes are drafted. For the analysis, the following themes were used.

1. Crime and security

For this theme, viewpoints that are focused on criminal activities and security are relevant. An example is 'more officers on the streets'.

2. Government and participation

This theme contains viewpoint about government and participation. An example of a viewpoint on government is 'the government should be more transparent on their expenses', and an example of a participation viewpoint is 'citizens should be involved more in decision-making'.

3. Traffic and mobility

This theme is about viewpoints that focus on traffic and mobility issues, like 'there should be more bike lanes in the city centre'.

4. Education, culture and sports

This theme is about viewpoints on education, culture and sports. Examples of viewpoints for this theme are 'more education on drug abuse in schools' or 'more subsidiaries for amateur sport clubs'.

5. Environment

This theme contains viewpoints on the environment, such as 'there should be more wind mills'.

6. Housing and liveability

This theme is about viewpoints focused on housing and liveability. Examples are 'more public housing' and 'better maintenance for parks'.

7. Economy, social and employment

This theme consists of viewpoints focused on the economy, social benefits and employment. Examples of viewpoints are 'More attention for poverty' and 'more support for entrepreneurs'.

8. Immigration and integration

This theme is about viewpoints focused on immigration and integration, such as 'asylum-seekers without a residence permit are welcome'.

9. Care

This theme is about viewpoints on care, in general and also specific, like senior care or informal care. The last theme 'other' did not provide essential results, which can be found in appendice 2.

Concrete points of view

The analysis is focused on the concrete points of view. The focus of the study is on the possible differences between local political parties and local branches of national parties, so the viewpoints that outline these differences are the most important. It is an extensive analysis, each point of view is allocated to a theme and analysed if the viewpoint is visible in the different election programmes.

There are some exceptions that are not part of the analysis, because they are not necessary for finding out to what extent there are differences in points of view between the two types of parties. In the following part, it is elaborated why some viewpoints are no part of the analysis.

A selection is made of viewpoints that meet several demands. At first, the points of view have to be concrete, and not just general statements. An example of a general statement is 'every citizen needs to be happy', as probably every party will agree with that statement. Furthermore, because the analysis is focused on a comparison in terms of concrete points of view, they have to be relevant for answering the research question. So, very specific points of view like 'a bench has to be placed near the fountain' will not be part of the analysis if only one party talks about the subject in this specific

context. So, very specific points of view will only be part of the analysis if multiple parties mention them (in the same or a different form and in the same context). For local political parties, all points of view will be part of the analysis, apart from the exceptions mentioned above. Points of view by the local branches of national parties will be part of the analysis if several of those parties within a municipality mention them. This is because the analysis is aimed at comparing the viewpoints of these parties with local political parties. Differences between local branches of national parties are not relevant for answering the research question.

Reliability and validity of the method

For the reliability, it is important at first to determine whether the method is consistent. So, could the study be repeated and provide similar results (Miller & Yang, 2008). For this study, the method is based on an earlier study by Kalis (2011), which improves the consistency. Additionally, party programmes are studied, which do not change over time. They do, however, change for each election. While this study will provide results that are important for more than just a specific period of time, results would probably be different when the study would be performed in the future, making use of party programmes of the upcoming elections in 2022. Accuracy is also important (Miller & Yang, 2008). Specific points of view are extensively discussed in the party programmes. There could be some points of view that are not mentioned in the programmes, but it remains the most accurate means to compare the concrete points of view of political parties.

Then, the validity. For validity, internal and external validity are important (Miller & Yang, 2008). At first, internal validity, where it is important to determine if the method is the right method to measure the possible distinction in concrete points of view between the two types of parties. As mentioned above, election programmes are the most valuable tool to measure concrete points of view. There is the downside of the connection of a programme to a specific period of time and possible viewpoints being absent, but, in general, political parties represent similar viewpoints over a longer period of time. Therefore, internal validity is relatively high. Additionally, external validity is relevant. This is about to what extent the findings can be generalized for other periods of time and other institutions or places (municipalities in this case) (Miller & Yang, 2008). To increase the external validity, municipalities are not selected out of a specific region, but in multiple regions across the country. Additionally, municipalities of different sizes are part of the analysis, to make the results more generalizable.

Data analysis

For the data analysis part, the concrete points of view will be analysed. As mentioned in the process, the comparison is about whether viewpoints are present or not, but also about differences in points of view that are present in election programmes of local political parties and local branches of national parties. The distinction on concrete points of view is coded. The codes are inspired by the previous study by Kalis (2011). The codes are as followed (also described in the process part).

- The party does not mention the point of view (O)
- The party agrees with the point of view (+)
- The party agrees and values the point of view more than other parties (++)
- The party disagrees with the point of view (-)

The choice for a specific code for each viewpoint is also elaborated on in the footnotes of the table that is used for the analysis, if needed. Complete data files can be found in appendice 3-5.

Chapter 4: The background and type of party for the LPP's in Tilburg, Twenterand and Velsen

This chapter will be about the background of the local political parties in the municipalities of Tilburg, Twenterand and Velsen. It will be analysed as which type of party they can be identified, according to the typology of Boogers (2007). The ideology and election results of the LBNP's can be found in appendix 1.

4.1. Lijst Smolders Tilburg

Party description

Lijst Smolders Tilburg was the winner of the 2018 municipal elections in Tilburg. The party won the elections with an amount of 10 seats out of a total of 45. The party won the election by a small margin of only one seat difference with D66. Lijst Smolders Tilburg also took part in the 2014 municipal elections, where the party gained half of the amount of seats in 2018: five seats (NOS, 2018). The election programme of Lijst Smolders Tilburg is called 'Burgerprogramma 2018', and consists of 16 pages (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018).

Type of party

To identify which type of party, as described by Boogers (2007), suits the most, the characteristics of all three types will be used to analyse the election programme of Lijst Smolders Tilburg. The analysis will end with an conclusion about the type of party that is the most fitting. The first relevant type of party is the localistic party (Boogers, 2007). This party type is characterized as a party which focuses on the quality of local governance and citizen participation. Maintaining the municipal characteristics as they are is important for a localistic party, and, in a sense, they are often apolitical (Boogers, 2007).

At first, Lijst Smolders Tilburg has some 'local' viewpoints and also focuses on the topic of citizen participation. The party mentions viewpoints such as 'Burgers bij inspraak serieus nemen en hen niet alleen met voldongen feiten confronteren.' and 'Wijk- en dorpsraden moeten meer eigen budget krijgen om daarmee de leefbaarheid en de sociale cohesie in hun wijken en dorpen te waarborgen en te vergroten.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.3). The party also mentions 'De LST is geen traditionele politieke partij maar ontstaan als Burgerverzet', which says that they do not recognize themselves as a traditional political party (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.1). Lijst Smolders Tilburg does not discuss the quality of local government in detail, but does mention sentences such as 'Meer kwaliteit in plaats van streven naar kwantiteit' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018; p.2-12). At last, Lijst Smolders Tilburg does not discuss maintaining the characteristics of the municipality a lot. The party, however, does mention something about specific villages. The viewpoints of 'Dorpse karakter van Udenhout en Berkel-Enschot bewaken' and 'Udenhout en Berkel-Enschot moeten mooie en herkenbare dorpen blijven', are clearly about these aspects (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018; p.5-6).

Then, the presence of the characteristics of the protest party will be analysed in the election programme of Lijst Smolders Tilburg. This type of party is focused on the dissatisfaction the current municipal government. Additionally, the party type can be characterized by objection against municipal plans (Boogers, 2007).

The introduction of the election programme is mostly focused on the current government and talking about 'burgerverzet'. Examples are 'Deze gedwongen rol in de oppositie zijn we nu meer dan zat omdat wij geldverkwisting en wanbeleid vanuit de oppositie niet kunnen stoppen of voorkomen',

and 'De gevestigde politieke partijen en hun politici moeten weer gaan beseffen wie ze eigenlijk moeten dienen, niet zichzelf of hun netwerkjes maar de burgers die hen hebben gekozen en via belastingen ook alles betalen' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018; p.1-7-8). In these sentences, the party talks about concrete problems in current government, a lack of trust in the government and that the government has to focus more on its citizens instead of themselves. So, the party is clearly dissatisfied about the current municipal government. There are also clear examples of objection against plans by the municipal government. These are 'stoppen met een Draaiend Huis dat aan reparaties en onderhoud 60.000 euro per jaar heeft gekost' and 'Peperdure zogenaamde kunst in de openbare ruimte, daar hebben de burgers genoeg van' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.2). Additionally, the party mentions dissatisfaction about national plans, such as 'De gevestigde politieke partijen hebben de studiebeurs afgeschaft waardoor onze jeugd wordt opgezadeld met een nog grotere studieschuld, hoe kunnen deze jongeren ooit een huis kopen?' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.10). So, the characteristics of the protest party are very present in the election programme of Lijst Smolders Tilburg.

The last type of party is the party for specific interests. This type of party focuses on the interests of a specific group, as the name already mentions. This is often a party that specifically focuses on, for instance, seniors or young people (Boogers, 2007). Lijst Smolders Tilburg does focus in two different parts on both seniors and young people. Additionally, there are some concrete viewpoints for both groups, such as 'Onze jongeren moeten worden geholpen met het verkrijgen van betaalbare starterswoningen' and 'Voor senioren en ouderen moet er een doelgroepenbeleid komen' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.4-5). However, Lijst Smolders Tilburg cannot be qualified as a party that focuses on the interests of a specific group, as they clearly focus on several groups.

So, to wrap up, Lijst Smolders Tilburg fits with both of the characteristics of the localistic party and the protest party. Because of the clear focus on protest and resilience against the current government and the frequent use of words such as 'burgerprogramma' and 'burgerverzet', the protest party type is the most fitting for Lijst Smolders Tilburg. Therefore, it is expected that the viewpoints of Lijst Smolders Tilburg will mostly be distinguishable by the focus on the protest against the current government and current plans by the municipal government.

Ideology

Lijst Smolders Tilburg does not specifically talk about the values of the party or ideological motives. The party does mention aspects like 'de Tilburgse politiek weer betrouwbaar en bekwaam laten functioneren' and 'Eigenbelang en partijbelang moeten plaats maken voor het belang van de inwoners van Tilburg, Berkel-Enschot en Udenhout' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.1). So, the party does mention the focus on the interests of citizens and the trustworthiness of local politics.

4.2. Gemeentebelangen Twenterand

Party description

Gemeentebelangen Twenterand won the municipal elections in Twenterand. The party won the elections by a mile, with 12 out of 23 seats, while CDA had the second largest electoral share with 4 seats. Compared to four years earlier, Gemeentebelangen Twenterand was also a big winner, as the amount of seats went from 7 to 12 in the period of time (NOS, 2018). The election programme is called 'Elke kern telt', and consists of 12 pages (Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, 2018).

Type of party

Now, it will be analysed which type of local political party, using the theory by Boogers (2007), is most suited for Gemeentebelangen Twenterand. At first, the localistic party. The first important criterium is about the focus on the quality of governance and local democracy (Boogers, 2007). Local democracy is important for Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, which shows in a separate section about the voice of citizens. The party mentions ‘De stem van onze inwoners telt niet alleen een keer per vier jaar. Deze willen wij steeds horen en meewegen bij beslissingen. Het nieuwe ‘volk regeert’. Ook wel nieuwe democratie genoemd’ (Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, 2018, p.9). The party also mentions several concrete propositions considering local democracy in the municipality. Furthermore, the party does not discuss the quality of governance in great lengths. However, the party does mention sentences such as ‘Een gemeente die niet doet aan vriendjespolitiek’ (Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, 2018, p.11). The next criterion is about an apolitical character and pragmatic character or viewpoints (Boogers, 2007). The election programme of Gemeentebelangen Twenterand can be described as pragmatic. There are not many ideological or general statements, but, after a short introduction, the programme immediately starts with concrete points of action (Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, 2018, p.5). The pragmatic character is also mentioned in the introduction: ‘In simpele taal, rechttoe rechtaan, want iedereen moet weten waar we voor staan’ (Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, 2018, p.2). Then, the apolitical character of the party can be seen in some statements. The party emphasizes its independent character in sentences like ‘Wij zijn een onafhankelijke partij en krijgen daarom geen standpunten van boven opgelegd’ (Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, 2018, p.2). At last, a core aspect of the localistic party is about wanting to maintain the specific character of the municipality. There are some viewpoints on this matter, like ‘Behoud cultuur(historie) en musea’ (Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, 2018, p.5-6). These are about maintaining the culture, history and art as they are right now, important aspects of the character of the municipality.

Then, the protest party. The first important aspect of the protest party is about resistance against municipal plans (Boogers, 2007). This is not really present in the election programme. There are, of course, viewpoints that will change current plans, but Gemeentebelangen Twenterand does not specifically mention its dissatisfaction about current plans by the government (Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, 2018). The second aspect is about dissatisfaction about the current government. The party also does not discuss this in detail in the election programme. The programme mainly focuses on what should be done better, and not on the aspects that the current government failed in (Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, 2018).

At last, the party for specific interests. Gemeentebelangen Twenterand does have specific sections on young people and seniors, just like Lijst Smolders Tilburg, but does not notably focus on the interests of one specific group. The party focuses on citizens as one group, which is shown in sentences like ‘GemeenteBelangen Twenterand is de lokale partij van en voor de inwoners in alle kernen van de gemeente Twenterand’ (Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, 2018, p.2).

So, to conclude, Gemeentebelangen Twenterand fits mostly with the characteristics of the localistic party.

Ideology

The core values of the party are mentioned in the introduction of the election programme.

Gemeentebelangen Twenterand mentions: 'duidelijk is dat leefbaarheid in alle kernen van Twenterand en het behoud van voorzieningen bij GBT voorop staat' (Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, 2018, p.2). Additionally, the party mentions, further on in the programme, 'Een gemeente waar het niet uitmaakt of je naar de kerk gaat, van welke partij je lid bent of dat je de juiste mensen kent. Een gemeente waar we ideeën op de inhoud bekijken en niet waar ze vandaan komen' (Gemeentebelangen Twenterand, 2018, p.11). So, the party focuses on the citizens as individuals, and the livelihood of the municipality and the provision of services are the most important for the party.

4.3. Velsen Lokaal

Party description

Velsen Lokaal has an extensive election programme of 38 pages, and is called 'Meer samen, samen meer' (Velsen Lokaal, 2018). In 2018, the party gained just as many seats as in 2014, but other parties performed less than in 2014. Therefore, Velsen Lokaal became the winner of the elections with 6 of 33 seats (NOS, 2018).

Type of party

The first type of party is the localistic party. So, it is important to determine if Velsen Lokaal focuses on the quality of governance and local democracy (Boogers, 2007). Velsen Lokaal really values local democracy and the inclusion of citizens in local decision-making. There is a separate section on the matter with concrete propositions and the party mentions its importance by stating: 'Wij vinden en weten dat kennis en kunde in de wijken zit. Wij vinden dat de gemeente daar meer gebruik van moet maken. Jij en jouw buurtgenoten weten het beste wat goed is voor jouw woonomgeving' (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.4). The quality of governance is not discussed in great lengths, and if discussed, it is mostly with the context of local democracy (Velsen Lokaal, 2018).

Then, the apolitical character and pragmatic approach. Velsen Lokaal describes itself as an independent local party, and is not focused on 'hoogdravende politieke idealen en vastgeroeste principes' (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.5). The opinion of citizens is also very important for Velsen Lokaal, and mentions 'een gemeente die ruim baan geeft aan ideeën van Velsenaren en ondernemers' (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.1). This shows the pragmatic characteristic of the party. At last, a localistic party focuses on maintaining the specific characteristics of the municipality. This is not discussed a lot, but the party does mention that they are proud of aspects of the municipality, in sentences like 'Het behoud van de museumstatus en voldoende ruimte voor het PVM zijn voor ons essentieel' (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.29).

For the second party type, the protest party, it will be analysed if Velsen Lokaal is openly resistant against municipal plans, and dissatisfied about the current government. This is both not the case, the party does mention some aspects about which Lokaal Velsen is dissatisfied, but there is no great focus on current plans and the current government. They do mention sentences like 'We willen ook dat het gemeentebestuur meer loslaat', but this does not occur often in the programme (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.1).

Then, the party for specific interests. Velsen Lokaal focuses on the interests of all citizens. This is shown in 'Of je nu jong of oud bent, werkend of werkloos, arm of rijk. Wij komen op voor lokale belangen in wijken waar jij woont of werkt' (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.5). Local interests are leading, and the party does not specifically focus on the interests of one group.

So, Velsen Lokaal can be characterized as a localistic party, according to the analysis.

Ideology

Velsen Lokaal describes its ideology as 'Velsen Lokaal past niet in een hokje, links of rechts. Ook wij houden er niet van om mensen in hokjes te plaatsen. Wij laten ons leiden door Velsenaren, niet door hoogdravende politieke idealen en vastgeroeste principes' (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.5). So, the party does not describe itself as right-wing or left-wing, but focuses on the interests of citizens.

Chapter 5: Concrete viewpoints of LPP's and LBNP's in Tilburg

In this chapter, the concrete viewpoints of the local political parties and the local branches of national parties in the municipality of Tilburg will be analysed, to find out what the differences and similarities are. The analysis will be done with the aid of themes; there is a separate analysis for each theme. Each theme will be analysed by a table that consists of a max of 10 viewpoints, to keep a clear overview. Additional viewpoints will be discussed in the text, along with outstanding aspects. After all the categories are discussed, the main similarities and differences will be described, and theories will be used to discuss the implications of the results of the analysis.

5.1. Crime and security

Viewpoints	LST	VVD	CDA	D66	GL	SP
One alderman should be fully focused on all neighbourhoods in Tilburg, Berkel-Enschot and Udenhout. ¹	+	O	O	O	O	O
There have to be more police officers in the neighbourhoods. ²	+	+	+	+	O	O
Private security has to be involved in cases of emergency	+	O	O	O	O	O
A policy of discouragement is needed for drug dealers and users. ³	+	+	+	+	+	O
Zero tolerance ⁴ for criminals. ⁴	++	++	++	+	O	O
Accommodation of drug addicts should not be in the neighbourhoods, but in a care farm near the edge of town. ⁵	+	O	O	O	O	-
Measures to prevent radicalization ⁶	O	O	+	+	+	O
Regulated cannabis cultivation ⁷	+	+	-	++	+	+

¹ LST reports: 'Deze wijkwethouder voor alle wijken kan o.a. fungeren als Eerste Hulp bij Bestuurlijke Ongelukken (EHBO). (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.3).

² LST elaborates: 'Aan de slag met speciaal geselecteerde multifunctionele handhavers. '(Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.5). VVD wants 'boa's' on the streets, mostly for the issue of street intimidation, just like D66 (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.8; D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.60). CDA wants two agents for each neighbourhood (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.4). GroenLinks does mention 'een goede positie van wijkagenten en wijkmedewerkers van de gemeente als aanspreekpunt voor burgers en als oren en ogen in de stad.' (GroenLinks Amsterdam, 2018, p.24).

³ LST also adds: 'Tegelijkertijd moet er meer aandacht zijn voor kleine criminaliteit' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.8). D66 wants an 'health impact bond', for more issues than drug addiction (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.16).

⁴ VVD states that drug criminals have to be dealt with by using 'een harde aanpak', just like CDA (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.16; CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.2-3). D66 mentions 'stevige aanpak' but discusses the issue less firm than other parties (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.59).

⁵ LST elaborates: 'waardoor het in de wijken rustig blijft en de verslaafde in alle rust pas echt aandacht en ritme krijgt in zijn/haar leven.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.12).

⁶ D66 wants education on the matter of radicalization (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.60).

⁷ LST elaborates by stating: 'Het gedoogbeleid m.b.t. softdrugs is nu een

Camera surveillance in the neighbourhoods ⁸	O	+	O	-	O	O
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5.1.1. Outstanding aspects

LST has some outstanding aspects, like the alderman that would have to be responsible on the neighbourhoods, involvement of private security and the care farm for drug addicts (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018). Additionally, LST has some firm viewpoints on security that are not mentioned in the table. Examples are

- 'Om de veiligheid te waarborgen gaan we de grenzen van de wet opzoeken als het gaat om tasjesrovers, verkrachters, roofovervallers, plegers van zinloos geweld en andere personen die een bedreiging vormen voor de veiligheid in Tilburg.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.5).
- 'Tekort aan mankracht en 'geen prioriteit' bij politie mogen niet langer een excuus zijn. Men zal effectiever moeten gaan werken en saneren binnen het managementterreur waardoor meer agenten weer de straat op kunnen.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.5).

LST has some unique viewpoints in comparison to the LBNP's and is also firm and direct in the viewpoints of crime and security. The party seems to mostly agree with the centre to right-wing parties (VVD, CDA, D66), and has a bit more right-wing viewpoints than the LBNP's. The party does not mention camera surveillance or radicalization, but focuses on private security and a care farm.

5.2. Government and participation

Viewpoints	LST	VVD	CDA	D66	GL	SP
Citizens of Tilburg should be more active in voluntary work ⁹	+	+	+	+	+	O
Local government has to increase its integrity.	+	O	O	O	O	O
Communication towards citizens is lacking and needs to be improved	+	O	+	+	+	+
Young people have to get more involved with local politics ¹⁰	+	O	O	+	O	O
Balanced budgetting ¹¹	+	+	O	+	O	+
Investing in ICT government ¹²	O	+	+	O	+	O

dusdanige puinhoop dat je softdrugs (wiet/cannabis) moet gaan legaliseren en reguleren' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.8). CDA also wants a reduction of coffee shops (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.8). D66 wants the municipality to actively participate in cannabis cultivation experiments (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.60). GroenLinks wants a test with cannabis cultivation (GroenLinks Tilburg, 2018, p.24).

⁸ VVD elaborates: 'De VVD Tilburg is voor camerabewaking in de binnenstad, op bedrijventerreinen en op andere plaatsen waar dit de veiligheid en het gevoel van veiligheid vergroot.' (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.16). D66 values privacy and wants to focus on aselect checkups (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.60).

⁹ SP mentions 'Vrijwilligerswerk blijft altijd vrijwillig', and does not discuss increasing the amount of volunteers (SP Tilburg, 2018, p.7).

¹⁰ CDA does talk about getting young people more involved with society (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.18). GroenLinks wants to invest in including young people, but does not discuss including them in local politics and decision-making, same goes for SP (GroenLinks Tilburg, 2018, p.17; SP Tilburg, 2018).

¹¹ LST does not mention the balancing of the budget specifically, but has firm criticism on the expenses of the current government: 'Geldverkwisting en wanbeleid moeten een halt worden toegeroepen.' (LST, 2018, p.1).

¹² ICT mostly for seniors (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.19). D66 does mention the importance of 'digitale instrumenten', but does not discuss investing in digital government systems (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.5).

Include neighbourhoods in decisions that affect them ¹³	O	+	+	+	+	+
Transparency concerning governmental finances ¹⁴	O	+	O	+	O	+
More funding for initiatives by citizens and councils ¹⁵	+	+	+	++	O	+

5.2.1. Outstanding aspects

In terms of government and participation, Lijst Smolders Tilburg has many viewpoints that are focused on (dissatisfaction about) national government or even EU government. Examples are:

- 'De gevestigde politieke partijen hebben de studiebeurs afgeschaft waardoor onze jeugd wordt opgezadeld met een nog grotere studieschuld, hoe kunnen deze jongeren ooit een huis kopen?' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.10).
- 'Ouderen hoeven helemaal niet gekort te worden en jongeren kunnen gewoon een goed pensioen krijgen als de onbetrouwbare en incompetente politiek eens zou stoppen met de enorme geldverkwisting en het desastreuze beleid uit Brussel.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.9).

Additionally, it stands out that LST has many anti-elitist viewpoints on government and participation, and viewpoints 'against' current parties and government, as described by. Examples are:

- 'De gevestigde politieke partijen en hun politici moeten weer gaan beseffen wie ze eigenlijk moeten dienen, niet zichzelf of hun netwerkjes maar de burgers die hen hebben gekozen en via belastingen ook alles betalen' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.7).
- 'Partijen als D66, GL en de PvdA maken jongeren wijs voor hun belangen op te komen, maar het tegendeel is waar. Jongeren moeten dus niet meer in gelikte verkiezingspraatjes trappen' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.10).

There are some differences coming from the table analysis, but the most acknowledgeable differences are the unique viewpoints that did not make the table analysis comparison. Lijst Smolders Tilburg is clearly dissatisfied about the current municipal government and discusses it extensively. Additionally, it stands out that the party focuses extensively on governmental integrity.

5.3. Traffic and mobility

Viewpoints	LST	VVD	CDA	D66	GL	SP
Better connection between public transit and the hospitals, especially for seniors.	+	O	+	+	O	O
Deferred maintenance has to be handled for the roads, sidewalks and bicycle lanes ¹⁶	+	+	+	+	+	+

¹³ LST does mention that the input of citizens has to be valued more considering specific participation events, but does not specifically talk about the inclusion of citizens in decisions by the government (LST, 2018). 'Burgertoppen' and 'dorpsraden' are mentioned by GroenLinks and SP (SP Tilburg, 2018, p.14; GroenLinks Tilburg, 2018, p.24).

¹⁴ Not mentioned by LST, but 'geldverkwisting voorkomen' is mentioned several times, so the party is dissatisfied with the current finances (LST, 2018, p.7)

¹⁵ D66 has a specific paragraph on the matter of including citizens in decision-making, and has many concrete propositions (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.64).

¹⁶ VVD agrees, but does not want 'overambitieuze projecten die de belastingbetaler te veel geld kosten' (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.6).

Level crossings in Berkel-Enschot have to remain open	+	O	O	O	O	O
More free parking options ¹⁷	++	+	+	O	O	+
Investment is needed for A58	O	+	+	+	O	O
Berkel-Enschot needs a train station	O	O	+	+	+	O
More charging stations for electric vehicles	O	+	+	+	O	O
The city-centre should have limited car traffic ¹⁸	-	-	O	+	+	+

5.3.1. Outstanding aspects

There are not many outstanding aspects for this category. LST agrees mostly with right-wing/centred parties but there are differences as well. There is an unique viewpoint on level crossings but also some that are not mentioned, like A58 and the train station; so LST does not clearly have a more local focus.

5.4. Education, culture and sports

Viewpoints	LST	VVD	CDA	D66	GL	SP
More campaigning for young people to make them come to college in Tilburg	+	O	+	+	O	+
More focus on morality and the prevention of loutish behaviour on primary and secondary schools ¹⁹	+	O	+	O	O	+
Less support for cultural initiatives that cannot survive without government support ²⁰	+	+	+	-	-	O
More attention for amateur art	+	O	+	+	+	+
More attention and financial support for amateur sports ²¹	+	+	O	+	O	+
More encouragement for young people to exercise ²²	+	+	+	+	+	+
More investing needed for top-level sports	O	+	+	+	O	O

¹⁷ LST wants free parking for 60 minutes for anyone (LST, 2018, p.6). CDA only wants free parking for 'mantelzorgers and vrijwilligers' (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.9).

¹⁸ LST mentions 'De binnenstad moet voor automobilisten goed bereikbaar zijn' (LST, 2018, p.13). VVD disagrees: 'Het autoluw maken van de binnenstad is betuttelend en zorgt ervoor dat minder mensen naar het centrum van Tilburg komen' (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.7).

¹⁹ CDA talks about 'potentieel risicogedrag bij jongeren', also focused on the aspect of education (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.13). SP wants more attentions for 'leer- en gedragsproblemen' (SP Tilburg, 2018, p.12).

²⁰ D66 mentions 'Tegen de stroom in zijn wij blijven investeren in cultuur, zodat we elkaar blijven ontmoeten.' (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.3).

²¹ GroenLinks is unclear on the issue of financial support, but does value sports and wants it to be more inclusive (GroenLinks Tilburg, 2018, p.23).

²² CDA wants more support, also for families that cannot afford it, the same goes for D66 and GroenLinks (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.15; D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.16; GroenLinks Tilburg, 2018, p.14).

Carnival in Tilburg needs continued support	O	O	+	+	O	O
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5.4.1. Outstanding aspects

LST has notable attention for 'hufterig gedrag', focused on young people (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018). Additionally, the party is clearly against some current cultural initiatives:

- 'Peperdure zogenaamde kunst in de openbare ruimte, daar hebben de burgers genoeg van.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.3).
- 'Nu hebben we weer een kansloze Love Boat in de Piushaven liggen. De LST gaat dit soort wanbeleid en geldverkwisting een halt toe roepen.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.11).

The party wants more focus on local/amateur initiatives in terms of sports and culture, so a local focus is noticeable and more present in comparison to the LBNP's.

5.5. Environment

Viewpoints	LST	VVD	CDA	D66	GL	SP
GFT container needs to be collected weekly in the summer	+	+	O	O	O	O
For the settlement of new companies, environmental consequences are important ²³	+	+	O	+	+	+
Information campaigns, also in schools, are needed for more decency and responsibility in terms of the environment	+	O	O	+	O	O
Focus on energy-neutral buildings ²⁴	O	+	+	+	+	+
Improving biodiversity ²⁵	O	O	O	+	++	O
Sorted waste-bins in public areas ²⁶	+	O	O	+	+	+
Climate neutral Tilburg ²⁷	-	+	+	+	++	+
Improve maintenance public green	+	+	+	+	+	+

²³ D66 even wants 'green deals' with companies (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.52).

²⁴ VVD wants 'energieneutraliteit voor alle nieuwbouw.', just like D66. CDA wants all buildings to be climate neutral in 2040 (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.9; CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.11; D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.51).

²⁵ GroenLinks mentions biodiversity a lot more than other parties (GroenLinks Tilburg, 2018).

²⁶ LST wants more waste-bins but is a bit unclear on the sorting aspect (LST, 2018, p.15). VVD does not talk about sorted waste bins in public areas, but does say 'Wij vinden wel dat iedereen zelf verantwoordelijk is voor zijn afval en de consequenties van het eventueel niet scheiden.' (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.7).

²⁷ VVD wants full climate neutrality in 2040 just like D66, CDA in 2045, GroenLinks 2035, SP 'zo snel mogelijk' (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.9; D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.50; GroenLinks Tilburg, 2018, p.12; SP Tilburg, 2018, p.9). LST mentions 'Geen maatregelen nemen die minimaal of geen effect opleveren en bakken met geld kosten, want dat is pure symboolpolitiek en het paard achter de wagen spannen' (LST, 2018, p.15).

5.5.1. Outstanding aspects

Again, LST talks about shortcomings by the municipal government and even the EU:

- 'GroenLinks, PvdA en D66 zijn blij met het beleid vanuit de Europese Unie. Dat is dezelfde EU die de aanschaf van zonnepanelen niet stimuleert maar juist gigantische importheffingen oplegt voor goedkope Chinese zonnepanelen.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.15).
- 'Het is onbegrijpelijk dat de politieke partijen die zeggen voor het milieu op te komen in het verleden er daadwerkelijk weinig aan hebben gedaan' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.15).

Additionally, it stands out that LST does want information campaigns in schools and focuses on environmental consequences for the settlement of new companies, while not being in favour of climate neutrality for buildings and in general.

LST does not specifically agree more with right-wing or left-wing parties. For the viewpoints, it differs per viewpoint if right-wing or centred parties agree with LST or left-wing parties.

5.6. Housing and liveability

Viewpoints	LST	VVD	CDA	D66	GL	SP
Higher demands for quality of buildings	+	O	O	O	O	O
More affordable senior homes ²⁸	+	O	O	+	O	O
Compaction of the city needs to be stopped ²⁹	+	-	-	-	O	O
Property prices need to decline	+	O	O	O	O	O
Building more public housing ³⁰	O	+	O	+	+	+
More housing for starters ³¹	+	O	+	+	+	O
More housing for middle-income citizens	O	O	+	+	+	+

5.6.1. Outstanding aspects

LST mentions several times in this category, as well as in others, that quality should matter more than quantity when it comes to housing and liveability viewpoints (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018). Then, the table shows some differences. LST is the only party that mentions that the compaction of the city should be stopped, that property prices should decline and the quality of buildings should increase (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018).

There are some differences between the viewpoints of LST and the LBNP's, but the unique

²⁸ CDA does talk about adoptions for current senior homes (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.19). GL does want 'vernieuwende woonconcepten', but not specifically more housing for seniors (GroenLinks Tilburg, 2018, p.19).

²⁹ VVD wants to make more compaction possible (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.5). D66 wants 'hoogbouw', also in the centre (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.35).

³⁰ LST does not mention 'sociale huurwoningen', just like CDA (LST, 2018; CDA Tilburg, 2018).

³¹ VVD does not mention 'starters', just like SP, but does talk about housing for those with low-income (VVD Tilburg, 2018; SP Tilburg, 2018).

viewpoints are not necessarily right-wing or left-wing viewpoints. Additionally, LST does focus on changes for this subject, but does not focus on previous actions or decisions by the current government in the viewpoints.

5.7. Economy, social and employment

Viewpoints	LST	VVD	CDA	D66	GL	SP
More facilities for starting entrepreneurs	+	+	+	+	+	+
Long term vision needs to be developed in terms of the economic development of Tilburg	+	O	+	+	+	O
More and better debt and poverty support ³²	++	+	+	++	+	++
Strict handling of fraud in benefits and social payments	+	+	+	O	O	O
Societal compensation by those that receive social benefits ³³	+	+	+	+	-	-
More focus on debt avoidance	O	+	O	+	+	+
Accountmanager for industrial areas	O	+	+	O	O	O

5.7.1. Outstanding aspects

LST really focuses on better support for entrepreneurs. Some outstanding viewpoints are:

- 'Men moet er zich nog meer van bewust gaan worden wat de enorme gevolgen voor de Tilburgse ondernemers kunnen zijn van gemeentelijke besluiten, evenementen en infrastructurele werken.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.11).
- 'De gemeente moet er voor alle ondernemers zijn (van groot tot zzp-er) en niet alleen voor ondernemers die de weg op het stadhuis goed kennen.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.6).

Then, LST also has firm criticism on the way that poverty has been dealt with by the current government:

- 'Armoede en aanverwante andere problemen zullen de komende jaren toenemen. Ze zijn vaak het gevolg van decennia lang wanbeleid wat gepaard is gegaan met een enorme geldverkwisting.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.13).

LST has notable attention for poverty compared to the LBNP's and discusses previous failure in terms of entrepreneurial support extensively. The differences that are present, can be linked to the characteristics of the protest party: firm criticism on the current government.

³² SP and D66 want supporting arrangements up until 130% of minimum wage (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.24; SP Tilburg, 2018, p.7). LST wants help/certainty in a few hours, values it highly (LST, 2018, p.14). VVD also wants certainty but is not concrete and not extensive on the matter (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.13).

³³ SP wants to shut societal compensation down (SP Tilburg, 2018, p.7). CDA does want to wait for the outcome of an experiment to see if another approach towards those receiving social benefit can help (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.10).

5.8. Immigration and integration

Viewpoints	LST	VVD	CDA	D66	GL	SP
Every citizen needs to learn the Dutch language as soon as possible ³⁴	+	+	+	O	+	+
The reception of refugees/asylum-seekers should not be happening in Tilburg ³⁵	+	-	-	-	-	-
Municipality of Tilburg needs to provide more information that is easy and understandable for	+	+	O	+	+	+
Specific organizations that receive subsidiaries need to add value to the aspects of integration and participation	+	O	O	O	O	O
A custom-made approach is important for integration ³⁶	O	+	O	O	+	+

5.8.1. Outstanding aspects

It stands out that LST uses a lot of populism/anti-elitist language in the viewpoints for this category. Some examples are:

- 'Men kan een voorbeeld nemen aan landgenoten die de taal al wel spreken en zich goed hebben aangepast.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.10).
- 'Er moet voorkomen worden dat grote groepen kansloze asiel- en gelukzoekers de indruk krijgen dat Nederland het beloofde land is.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.10).

The viewpoints of LST are also more right-wing than left-wing for this category. The party agrees most with VVD and CDA, and is unique by not stating that asylum-seekers are welcome and only mentioning 'other safe countries' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.10).

The viewpoints of LST can be compared the most to those of VVD and CDA, but they are also different for this category. LST is more direct, has more populism in its viewpoints and is a bit more right-wing compared to the LBNP's.

³⁴ CDA wants lessons in the Dutch language from day one (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.6). VVD suggests that not learning the Dutch language could have consequences for social benefits (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.6).

³⁵ LST is the only party who does not mention that asylum-seekers are welcome, and argues that there are other safe countries where reception is possible (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.10).

³⁶ GL wants a small-scaled and custom-made approach, also focusing on minors, LHBTI and immigrants whose procedures have finished (GroenLinks Tilburg, 2018, p.24). SP also wants specific attention for those who have experienced traumas (SP Tilburg, 2018, p.14).

5.9. Care

Viewpoints	LST	VVD	CDA	D66	GL	SP
A target group policy is needed for care for seniors ³⁷	+	O	+	+	+	+
Tailor-made approaches are needed for home care, addictive care and other types of care ³⁸	+	+	+	+	+	+
More support for volunteers and informal caregivers ³⁹	+	O	+	+	O	+
Removing own contribution to WMO ⁴⁰	O	O	O	O	+	+
Personal budget for everyone	O	+	+	+	O	O

5.9.1. Outstanding aspects

LST discusses some viewpoints on the ways that seniors add to Tilburg and society as a whole:

- 'Onze ouderen, die dit land met bloed, zweet en tranen hebben opgebouwd verdienen respect en aandacht.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.4).
- 'Ouderen moeten op vele manieren betrokken blijven want hun ervaring en kennis zijn van onschatbare waarde.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.9).
- 'Onze ouderen verrichten een groot deel van het vrijwilligerswerk in onze stad, zonder hen zouden grote sociale en maatschappelijke problemen ontstaan in onze Tilburgse samenleving.' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.9).

Additionally, there are some viewpoints that focus on the current government/parties and contain elements of anti-elitism/populism:

- 'Daarom is het beleid van PvdA, CDA, VVD en D66 om de pensioenleeftijd naar 67 jaar te verhogen belachelijk terwijl onze jongeren werkeloos thuis zitten' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.9).
- 'Bij de pensioendiscussie is een vuil politiek spel aan de gang. Jong en oud worden tegen elkaar opgezet met als drogreden dat de ouderen een bedreiging zijn voor de pensioenen van de jongeren' (Lijst Smolders Tilburg, 2018, p.9).

The care category contains some differences. It stands out that LST has populism elements in their viewpoints and pays a lot of attention to seniors. Furthermore, there are not many differences in the content of the viewpoints.

5.10. Chapter conclusion

A few different aspects will be discussed in the conclusion of the chapter. At first, the similarities will

³⁷ CDA wants to do something about loneliness that seniors experience, just like GroenLinks and SP (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.12; GroenLinks Tilburg, 2018, p.18; SP Tilburg, 2018, p.6).

³⁸ D66 wants the approach to be focused on the neighbourhoods (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.21).

³⁹ CDA wants to reintroduce informal care aspects ('mantelzorgcompliment/mantelzorgpas') (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.13). D66 wants 'respijtzorgers' to unburden informal care givers (D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.21).

⁴⁰ CDA does want to decrease the time period for WMO applications (CDA Tilburg, 2018, p.12).

be discussed, after which the differences will be next. Then, a general conclusion of the chapter will be provided.

5.10.1. Similarities

To be able to acknowledge the similarities, the similarities between LST and the LBNP's in the tables were counted. The O's, so the viewpoints that are not mentioned by both parties, are not part of the count.

VVD	23
CDA	25
D66	29
GL	18
SP	21

The table shows that LST has the most similarities with D66, and then with CDA and VVD. It stands out that in the 2018 municipal elections, D66 was second best in terms of the election results (NOS, 2018). The viewpoints of GBT are the most different from GL and SP, the left-wing parties.

5.10.2. Differences

There are some notable differences between the viewpoints of LST and the LBNP's.

- The results show that LST uses more anti-elitism/populism in their viewpoints than LBNP's, mainly for government and participation, immigration and integration and the environment
- LST discusses governmental integrity more than other parties and has more right-wing viewpoints for 'crime and security' and 'immigration and integration'
- LST is clearly dissatisfied with current municipal plans and the current government; local, national and even EU

5.10.3. General conclusion

LST has the most similarities with D66, and clearly has the least similarities in viewpoints with the left-wing parties: SP and GL. This does show that the viewpoints of LST can mostly be described as centre/right-wing, and the viewpoint comparison shows that LST is a bit more right-wing than the LBNP's. The most important differences are the anti-elitism/populism in the viewpoints, the clear dissatisfaction with the current government and the focus on governmental integrity.

Chapter 6: Concrete viewpoints of LPP's and LBNP's in Twenterand

The concrete viewpoints of the LPP's and LBNP's in Twenterand will be discussed in this chapter. Just like in the previous chapter, the viewpoints comparison will be done per theme. Most of the important viewpoints are shown in the table, while others will occur in the outstanding aspects section. Similarities and differences are discussed with the use of the relevant theories.

6.1. Crime and security

Viewpoints	GBT	VVD	CDA	CU	PvdA/GL	PVV
Closing up drug houses and addressing dealers ⁴¹	+	+	O	+	O	+
Introducing Whatsapp group for neighbourhoods	+	+	O	+	O	O
Addressing privacy of citizens and protecting personal data	+	+	O	+	O	O
More officers on the streets ⁴²	O	+	O	+	O	+
Recovery claims for the accused	O	+	O	+	O	O

6.1.1. Outstanding aspects

There not many outstanding aspects. GBT mostly agrees with VVD and CU, but does not mention more officers on the streets and the recovery claims for the accused (GBT, 2018). So, the viewpoints are not more right-wing in comparison to the LBNP's, there is no populism visible and no substantive focus on local issues.

⁴¹ CDA Twenterand focuses on prevention and education, does not mention closing up houses or addressing dealers (CDA Twenterand, 2018, p.10)

⁴² VVD wants more Boa's, just like PVV (VVD Twenterand, 2018, p.17; PVV Twenterand, 2018, p.4). PVV also wants a police station to be open 24/7 (PVV Twenterand, 2018, p.4). PvdA/GL only mentions 'Wijkagenten, boa's en andere functionarissen dragen zorg voor toezicht en handhaving van regelgeving.' (PvdA/GroenLinks Twenterand, 2018, p.6).

6.2. Government and participation

Viewpoints	GBT	VVD	CDA	CU	PvdA/GL	PVV
Including citizens more in decision-making for certain topics ⁴³	+	+	O	+	+	+
Less hiring external bureaus	+	O	O	+	O	O
More demands for subsidiaries ⁴⁴	+	+	+	+	O	+
More cooperation with other municipalities	O	+	+	+	+	O
More transparency by government ⁴⁵	O	+	+	+	O	+
Local referendums ⁴⁶	O	O	O	-	O	+
Reducing red tape	O	+	O	+	O	+

6.2.1. Outstanding aspects

Aside from the viewpoints mentioned in the table, GBT also mentions viewpoints like:

- 'Betrouwbare gemeente' (GBT, 2018, p.9).
- 'Einde aan 'vriendjespolitiek': wat voor de één geldt, geldt ook voor de ander' (GBT, 2018, p.9).

These viewpoints show a focus on the integrity of local government.

Furthermore, the table shows that GBT has no outstanding focus on participation viewpoints. The party does not mention referendums and does not pay more attention to including citizens than other parties. The viewpoints are also not specifically more right-wing or left-wing.

So, GBT does not focus more on participation than the LBNP's but does notably focus more on governmental integrity.

6.3. Traffic and mobility

Viewpoints	GBT	VVD	CDA	CU	PvdA/GL	PVV
Twenterand should be speed bump free	+	O	O	O	O	O
Improving traffic safety ⁴⁷	+	+	+	+	+	O
No parking fees in Twenterand	+	+	O	O	+	O
Improving the flow of traffic	+	+	+	+	+	+
Investing in N36	+	+	+	+	O	O

⁴³ GBT wants to include citizens in the appointment of the new mayor (GBT, 2018, p.9). Including citizens is positive for CU, but 'aanvullend op mandaat verkiezingen' (CU Twenterand, 2018, p.5).

⁴⁴ GBT wants to see results of subsidiaries within 3 years (GBT, 2018, p.9).

⁴⁵ GBT only mentions transparency with subsidiaries (GBT, 2018, p.9).

⁴⁶ GBT does mention 'burgerpeilingen', but no referendums (GBT, 2018, p.9). CU thinks referendums are not the solution for current issues (CU Twenterand, 2018, p.5).

⁴⁷ PvdA/GL focuses on safety for bike riders (PvdA/GL Twenterand, 2018, p.6). On the topic of traffic and mobility, PVV only mentions 'HINDER VOOR BOEREN EN VERKEER OP DE N36 VOORKOMEN' (PVV Twenterand, 2018, p.8).

More charging station for electric cars	O	+	O	+	O	O
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6.3.1. Outstanding aspects

Apart from the viewpoints mentioned in the table, GBT also has some very specific viewpoints on the topics like 'Aanpassing parkeermogelijkheden Kervelplein in Westerhaar' (GBT, 2018, p.9). The specific viewpoints do show the focus of the party on their own municipality, so a localistic focus for this topic.

Furthermore, there are not many outstanding aspects for this category. GBT has an unique viewpoint on the speed bump free issue, but for other viewpoints there are not many differences.

6.4. Education, culture and sports

Viewpoints	GBT	VVD	CDA	CU	PvdA/GL	PVV
Educating youngsters on the risks of alcohol and drugs	+	O	+	+	O	O
Expanding mountainbike routes	+	O	O	O	O	O
More activities for young people	+	+	+	+	+	+
More attention for healthy food and drinks	+	O	O	+	+	O
Introduce sports election and culture prizes	+	O	O	O	O	O
Education about culture in primary schools ⁴⁸	O	+	+	+	+	O
Focus on the issue of language delay ⁴⁹	O	+	O	O	+	+

6.4.1. Outstanding aspects

In addition to the viewpoints in the table, GBT also has viewpoints focused on maintaining aspects of the municipality, like monuments, art and museums (GBT, 2018). These show the focus of the party on maintaining the specific character of the municipality of Twenterand.

The table shows two unique viewpoints; one on mountainbike routes and one on amateur sports/culture elections and prizes. These viewpoints are not specifically right/left-wing, populism or localistic. The other viewpoints show some differences and similarities, but nothing substantive, only the localistic focus of GBT.

The notable difference for this category is on the viewpoints focused on maintaining the specific character of the municipality, which differs from the LBNP's. In addition, there are some differences in viewpoints in the table but these can only be linked to the localistic aspect.

⁴⁸ CDA mostly focuses on education about music (CDA Twenterand, 2018, p.14).

⁴⁹ PvdA/GL wants pre-school education for preventing language delay, just like VVD (PvdA/GL Twenterand, 2018, p.4; VVD Twenterand, 2018, p.12). PVV thinks that costs of language delay should not be provided by government (PVV Twenterand, 2018, p.7).

6.5. Environment

Viewpoints	GBT	VVD	CDA	CU	PvdA/GL	PVV
No factory farms	+	O	O	O	+	+
Garbage disposal point, executed by a company	+	+	O	O	O	O
No wind farms ⁵⁰	+	O	O	-	O	+
No more gas drillings out of rocks	+	O	O	O	+	O
Limited use of pesticides	+	O	O	O	O	O
Twenterand 2050 climate neutral	O	+	O	+	+	O
Focus on garbage separation	O	+	O	+	O	O
Encouragement for solar panels ⁵¹	O	+	O	+	O	-

6.5.1. Outstanding aspects

GBT wants to get rid of factory farms, wants garbage disposal points and a limited use of pesticides. However, the party does not mention climate neutrality, solar panels and is against wind farms. So, GBT does pay attention to the environment topic but is not clearly right-wing or left-wing in its viewpoints. The party does not agree with one or several parties in particular for the topic. There are also not many municipal specific viewpoints or populism aspects. GBT clearly values the environment but does not specifically agree more with right-wing or left-wing parties.

⁵⁰ GBT only wants windmills up till 25 meters (GBT, 2018, p.9). CU does mention that citizens should profit from the advantages (CU Twenterand, 2018, p.27).

⁵¹ VVD wants encouragement but not subsidies (VVD Twenterand, 2018, p.10). PVV wants no subsidies at all for environmental issues (PVV Twenterand, 2018, p.8).

6.6. Housing and liveability

Viewpoints	GBT	VVD	CDA	CU	PvdA/GL	PVV
Dealing with impoverishment ⁵²	O	+	+	O	O	+
More affordable housing for young people/starters	+	+	+	+	O	O
Focus on vacancy in Twenterand	+	+	O	O	O	O
More housing for seniors	+	+	+	+	O	O
OZB can be increased ⁵³	+	-	+	O	+	-

6.6.1. Outstanding aspects

For this category, there are not many differences in viewpoints. The viewpoints of GBT are mostly also mentioned by centre/right-wing parties. The only unique viewpoint is about the OZB, which shows a lot of differences between parties.

6.7. Economy, social and employment

Viewpoints	GBT	VVD	CDA	CU	PvdA/GL	PVV
Addressing poverty ⁵⁴	+	O	O	+	+	O
Focus on debt prevention	+	O	O	+	+	O
More support for companies originating in Twenterand ⁵⁵	+	+	+	O	+	+
Stimulation for tourism and leisure sector	O	+	+	+	O	O
Societal compensation for those who receive social benefits ⁵⁶	O	+	+	+	O	+
Shopping Sundays should be allowed ⁵⁷	O	+	-	-	+	O
Tailor-made assistance for people with distance to the labour market	O	O	+	+	+	+

6.7.1. Outstanding aspects

GBT addresses poverty and debt prevention in its viewpoints, just like the centre/left-wing parties. Furthermore, there are a lot of viewpoints not discussed by GBT, like shopping Sundays, societal

⁵² GBT does mention 'overlast door hondenpoep' (GBT, 2018, p.5).

⁵³ VVD mentions 'OZB niet gebruiken als sluitpost begroting' (VVD Twenterand, 2018, p.4). PVV wants to lower OZB (PVV Twenterand, 2018, p.5). GBT thinks OZB can only be increased 'om kwetsbare inwoners te helpen' (GBT, 2018, p.9).

⁵⁴ GBT is not very concrete on the issues of poverty and debt prevention (GBT, 2018, p.5). CU wants people in debt to be assisted within two weeks by the municipality (CU Twenterand, 2018, p.21).

⁵⁵ PVV wants tax reduction for all entrepreneurs (PVV Twenterand, 2018, p.4).

⁵⁶ PVV argues that those who turn down a job, should not receive social benefits (PVV Twenterand, 2018, p.9).

⁵⁷ PvdA/GL wants shopping Sundays as an experiment (PvdA/GL Twenterand, 2018, p.2).

compensation and tourism/leisure (GBT, 2018). The viewpoints of GBT are local focused, but not more in comparison to other parties for this category.

6.8. Immigration and integration

Viewpoints	GBT	VVD	CDA	CU	PvdA/GL	PVV
Asylum-seekers are welcome, but in proportion to the population of Twenterand ⁵⁸	+	+	O	+	O	-
Municipality should be involved in language class ⁵⁹	O	-	O	+	O	-
Asylum-seekers whose procedures have finished are still welcome ⁶⁰	O	-	O	+	O	-

6.8.1. Outstanding aspects

GBT does not mention a lot about immigration and integration in its viewpoints, but the party does additionally mention: 'Voor illegalen en diegenen die hier rotzooi komen schoppen is geen plaats in onze gemeente.' (GBT, 2018, p.9).

The views of GBT on this topic are more right-wing than left-wing, but the party mentions too little to be able to jump to conclusions.

6.9. Care

Viewpoints	GBT	VVD	CDA	CU	PvdA/GL	PVV
More attention and support for informal caregivers	+	+	+	+	+	O
Care information centres in Twenterand	+	O	O	O	O	O
Prevention and addressing of loneliness/isolation issues	+	O	+	+	O	+
More checks and balances for provided personal care	+	O	O	O	+	O
PGB should stay	O	O	O	+	O	+
More focus on youth care/social services ⁶¹	O	+	+	+	O	+
Personal contribution for care ⁶²	O	+	+	+	O	O

6.9.1. Outstanding aspects

There are no outstanding differences in the viewpoints for this category. GBT is unique with the

⁵⁸ PVV mentions 'Geen azc in Twenterand' (PVV Twenterand, 2018, p.3). VVD argues that they are welcome, but only until they are able to return to home country (VVD Twenterand, 2018, p.15).

⁵⁹ PVV wants no language lessons at all for asylum-seekers (PVV Twenterand, 2018, p.9).

⁶⁰ CU argues that everyone is welcome, and have to get involved in society as fast as possible (CU Twenterand, 2018, p.14).

⁶¹ PVV only says 'jeugdzorg tot 21 jaar' (PVV Twenterand, 2018, p.10).

⁶² CDA agrees but 'Dubbeling van eigen bijdrage dient te worden voorkomen' (CDA Twenterand, 2018, p.9). CU mentions 'eigen bijdrage mag niet leiden tot zorgmijding' (CU Twenterand, 2018, p.11).

viewpoint on a care information centre and quite unique with the checks and balances for provided personal care, but does not mention PGB, youth care and the personal contribution (GBT, 2018). These differences cannot be described as more right-wing/left-wing viewpoints, populism or localistic for GBT in comparison to the LBNP's.

6.10. Chapter conclusion

The chapter will be concluded, including the similarities and differences in viewpoints between the LPP and the LBNP's in Twenterand.

6.10.1. Similarities

GBT has many similarities with the LBNP's. The party values the environment, is not more right-wing or left-wing than the LBNP's and does not value participation more in comparison. Populism is also not substantively visible in the viewpoints of GBT.

The table below shows the number of similar viewpoints between GBT and the LBNP's. Viewpoints that are not mentioned by both parties (the O's in the table) are not part of the count.

VVD	17
CDA	12
CU	18
PvdA/GL	14
PVV	10

The table shows that GBT has the least similarities with PVV and CDA. CDA was second in the 2018 election, so the viewpoint similarities cannot be related to the results (NOS, 2018). The viewpoints of GBT are the most similar with those of VVD and CU, but the table does not clearly show if GBT is more similar with right-wing or left-wing parties.

6.10.2. Differences

- GBT has a local focus, more than the LBNP's.
- GBT focuses more on governmental integrity than the LBNP's
- GBT has more viewpoints focused on maintaining the specific character of the municipality
- GBT has specific viewpoints that are not mentioned by other parties for multiple categories, which are not related to the theoretical dimensions

6.10.3. General conclusion

GBT differs from the LBNP's in viewpoints with the local focus, the focus on governmental integrity, maintaining the specific character of the municipality and other specific viewpoints that cannot be explained by the theoretical dimensions. However, there are also many similarities. The viewpoints are not more right-wing or left-wing, not anti-elitist and participation is not discussed more than by other parties; which is expected for a localistic party.

Chapter 7: Concrete viewpoints of LPP's and LBNP's in Velsen

The concrete viewpoints of LPP's and LBNP's in Velsen will be discussed in this chapter. Just like in the previous two chapters, the viewpoints will be discussed with the aid of themes. Then, the results are discussed by using theoretical dimensions.

7.1. Crime and security

Viewpoints	VL	CDA	D66	PvdA	CU	GL
Municipality should have more powers to address troublemakers ⁶³	+	O	O	O	O	O
More officers on the streets	+	+	O	O	+	O
Strict enforcement of the rules ⁶⁴	+	O	O	O	+	-
Cannabis cultivation should be legalized ⁶⁵	O	-	+	O	-	O
More focus on the role of citizens in safety issues	+	+	+	O	+	+
No prostitution in Velsen ⁶⁶	O	+	O	O	+	O

7.1.1. Outstanding aspects

There are some differences in viewpoints for this category. VL is the only party that wants to specifically address troublemakers and, together with CU, the only party that wants a strict enforcement of the rules (Velsen Lokaal, 2018; CU Velsen, 2018). In general, the viewpoints of VL for this category are more right-wing than most parties, but no big differences. No outstanding localistic focus or populism for this category.

⁶³ Velsen Lokaal also specifically focuses on young people that cause trouble (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.14).

⁶⁴ Velsen Lokaal does not want more rules, but the remaining rules have to be addressed strictly (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.37). GL mentions 'En daarom geven wij de voorkeur aan de wensen en mogelijkheden van mensen zelf, in plaats van regels en structuren blindelings te volgen.' (GL Velsen, 2018, p.2).

⁶⁵ CDA is focused on reducing the number of coffee shops to zero (CDA Velsen, 2018, p.6).

⁶⁶ CU wants 'uitsterfbeleid' (CU Velsen, 2018, p.17).

7.2. Government and participation

Viewpoints	VL	CDA	D66	PvdA	CU	GL
More opportunities for citizens to influence policies ⁶⁷	+	+	+	O	+	+
There should be referendums in Velsen	+	-	+	O	-	O
Better communication and provision of information by the municipality	+	+	+	O	+	+
There need to be neighbourhood budgets and more representation ⁶⁸	+	+	O	O	+	O
Independent regional complaints institute for municipal decisions	+	+	O	O	O	O
E-democracy in Velsen ⁶⁹	+	O	O	O	O	O
The municipality should have a solid financial policy	+	+	+	O	+	O
Citizens influencing the level of taxation	+	O	O	O	O	O
A merger with other municipalities is an option ⁷⁰	+	+	+	+	+	O
Big reduction in number of rules in Velsen ⁷¹	++	+	+	O	+	O

7.2.1. Outstanding aspects

Velsen Lokaal is very extensive on the matter of participation. It is the only party who (extensively) discussed e-democracy and they even want citizens to influence the level of taxations (Velsen Lokaal, 2018). Additionally, the party is unique in the sense that the party is very concrete on the reduction in rules, 70% less than the number in 2017 (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.36). The party also mentions to be 'Betrouwbaar zijn, is doen wat je zegt en zeggen wat je doet' and to be open about choices that are made by the government (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.5).

The attention for participation is to be expected for a localistic party, which suits Velsen Lokaal (discussed in chapter 4).

Velsen Lokaal clearly focuses on participation and governmental integrity and values it highly in comparison to the LBNP's, which was expected because of the party type.

⁶⁷ D66 wants to involve citizens more in the early stage of a policy, just like GroenLinks (D66 Velsen, 2018, p.7; Groenlinks, 2018, p.11).

⁶⁸ D66 is not clear on the representation part (D66 Velsen, 2018). GroenLinks does not discuss budgets but wants an 'ideeënmanager' for each neighbourhood (GroenLinks, 2018, p.11).

⁶⁹ Velsen Lokaal wants an app, but also democratic initiatives that are digital (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.32).

⁷⁰ VL argues that a merger is not needed, only if its advantages are undoubtedly proven (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.38). CDA shares this view, just as CU (CDA Velsen, 2018, p.9; CU Velsen, 2018, p.12). PvdA thinks it is a good option (PvdA Velsen, 2018, p.9).

⁷¹ Velsen Lokaal is very ambitious, wants 70% less rules compared to the number of rules in 2017 (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.36). D66 mentions 'voorstander van minder rompslomp en meer maatwerk.' but is not as explicit about less rules than other parties (D66 Velsen, 2018, p.7).

7.3. Traffic and mobility

Viewpoint	VL	CDA	D66	PvdA	CU	GL
Increasing the chance of being caught for law offenders and speeding drivers	+	+	O	O	O	O
More investments in technology in traffic and mobility ⁷²	++	+	+	O	O	O
Enhancing traffic flow	+	+	+	O	O	+
More attention for road safety ⁷³	+	+	+	+	+	+
Modernising bicycle policy	+	+	+	+	+	+
Addressing parking standards ⁷⁴	+	+	+	+	+	+
Improving accessibility focusing on public transit	+	+	+	+	+	+
Attention for water transport ⁷⁵	O	+	+	O	O	O

7.3.1. Outstanding aspects

For traffic and mobility, Velsen Lokaal also has some very specific viewpoints that did not make the table, like 'Verder willen we het verkeer vanuit en richting IJmuiden-West stimuleren zoveel mogelijk van de Heerenduweg en Kanaaldijk gebruik te maken, om de Lange Nieuwstraat en IJmuidenstraatweg meer te ontlasten.' (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.25).

For the viewpoints in this topic, Velsen Lokaal clearly focusses on municipal specific/localistic issues. Furthermore, there are not many differences. For most of the viewpoints, VL and the LBNP's tend to agree with each other in general terms.

⁷² VL wants 'smart city', and discusses many propositions for traffic and mobility, more than other parties (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.32).

⁷³ VL wants to reduce maximum speed on Kanaaldijk, and invest in making other roads safer, like 30km areas, just like CU (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.26; ChristenUnie Velsen, 2018, p.62). D66 and GroenLinks explicitly want less cars (D66 Velsen, 2018; GroenLinks Velsen, 2018).

⁷⁴ PvdA wants less standards and blue areas, just like D66 (PvdA Velsen, 2018, p.4; D66 Velsen, 2018, p.25). VL wants blue areas and measures in compliance with citizens (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.26).

⁷⁵ CU and GL do mention water, but not in relation to transport (GL, 2018; CU, 2018).

7.4. Education, culture and sports

Viewpoints	VL	CDA	D66	PvdA	CU	GL
Stimulating entrepreneurship in schools (Techport, secondary schools)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Well thought-out plan for social sporting approach	+	+	+	+	+	O
Less conditions for authorizations/subsidiaries related to cultural initiatives	+	+	O	O	O	+
Stadsschouwburg needs investments	+	O	+	O	O	+
Not selling Witte Theater ⁷⁶	+	-	-	O	O	+
BRAK! Initiative is an option ⁷⁷	+	+	+	O	+	-
The beach in Velsen needs improvements	+	+	+	O	+	O
Addressing functional illiteracy	O	+	+	+	+	+
More sporting attributes in public areas ⁷⁸	O	+	+	+	+	+
Supporting 'Integrale kindcentra'	O	O	+	O	+	O

7.4.1. Outstanding aspects

At first, it stands out that VL has many specific viewpoints for this topic, such as 'In de visie Noordzeekanaalgebied is de mogelijkheid opengehouden voor uitbreiding van de Amsterdamse zeehaven in de Houtrakpolder' (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.30). These specific viewpoints are localistic: focused on municipal-specific issues and more present for VL than the LBNP's.

Then, the table does not show many differences. 'Witte Theater' divides the parties, but the focus on by many other LBNP's, just like the beach and the BRAK! initiative. Additionally, some viewpoints by LBNP's are not mentioned by VL: illiteracy, sporting attributes and 'integrale kindcentra'. For this category, VL has a slightly more localistic approach in comparison to the LBNP's.

7.5. Environment

Viewpoints	VL	CDA	D66	PvdA	CU	GL
Supporting wind mills ⁷⁹	+	+	+	O	+	+
More investment in solar panels	+	+	+	O	+	+
Focus on waste separation	+	O	+	O	+	++
More charging points for electrical vehicles	+	O	+	O	+	+
Investing in shore-side electricity	+	+	+	+	O	O
Against the expansion of Schiphol ⁸⁰	O	O	+	+	+	+

⁷⁶ CDA wants to sell Witte Theater to be able to keep it, just like D66 (CDA Velsen, 2018, p.5; D66 Velsen, 2018, p.28).

⁷⁷ VL only supports BRAK if there is enough external financing, so they are not fully in favour or against the issue (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.17). CU is also neutral (CU, 2018).

⁷⁸ VL is not clear on sporting attributes in public areas (Velsen Lokaal, 2018).

⁷⁹ VL does mention that the living circumstances cannot be damaged by the wind mills (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.23).

⁸⁰ PvdA wants Lelystad Airport instead of an expansion (PvdA Velsen, 2018, p.6). D66, CU and GL only want an expansion if there is a decrease in environmental damage (D66 Velsen, 2018; CU Velsen, 2018; GL Velsen, 2018).

Climate neutral house construction	O	+	+	O	+	+
Investing in water storage	O	O	O	O	+	+

7.5.1. Outstanding aspects

There are not many differences in viewpoints between the LPP and the LBNP's for this category. Velsen Lokaal pays attention to the environment, but not more than the LBNP's and has no unique viewpoints that no other party mentions.

7.6. Housing and liveability

Viewpoints	VL	CDA	D66	PvdA	CU	GL
More housing for single person households	+	O	O	O	O	O
Expanding the hospitality industry in Velsen ⁸¹	+	+	+	O	O	O
Developing policy for vacancy	+	+	O	O	+	+
More housing for seniors	+	+	+	+	+	+
Reducing waiting period for public housing	+	+	+	+	+	+
More focus on starters	+	+	+	+	+	+
Including the neighbourhood for the establishment of the living environment ⁸²	+	+	O	+	+	O

7.6.1. Outstanding aspects

Velsen Lokaal is the only party that mentions single person households specifically (Velsen Lokaal, 2018). The other viewpoints are shared by most LBNP's for this category.

⁸¹ VL mentions more bars, and stimulating entrepreneurs to reach this goal (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.31).

⁸² VL wants to involve the neighbourhood in, for instance, designing parks in the area (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.24).

7.7. Economy, social and employment

Viewpoints	VL	CDA	D66	PvdA	CU	GL
Focus on assistance for and prevention of poverty ⁸³	+	+	+	+	+	O
Focus on positive stimulating and rewarding good behaviour instead of punishment ⁸⁴	+	O	O	O	+	O
Investing in local communities	+	+	O	O	O	O
Supporting 'IJmond Werkt!' ⁸⁵	-	O	O	+	+	+
Supporting Visie op Velsen 2025	+	O	+	O	O	O
Investing in business establishment policy	+	+	+	+	+	O
Improving business desk and service for entrepreneurs	+	O	+	O	+	O
Reducing regulatory burden for entrepreneurs	+	O	O	O	O	O
Effective re-integration of social benefits to a job	+	O	O	O	O	O
Municipality should set an example for people with disabilities	O	+	O	+	+	O

7.7.1. Outstanding aspects

Velsen Lokaal has some unique viewpoints for this category. It is the only party that mentions the regulatory burden for entrepreneurs, and the re-integration of social benefits to a job. In addition, it is also one of the only parties mentioning the focus on positive stimulance and the value of local communities, and the only party that is clearly dissatisfied with 'IJmond Werkt' (Velsen Lokaal, 2018). The focus on local communities shows the interest of the party in the topic of participation, which is also shown in other categories, which is a characteristic of the localistic party. The other unique viewpoints are not clearly right-wing or left-wing (apart from the regulatory burden), localistic or anti-elitist.

There are some differences, but apart from a slight focus on participation, the differences in this category cannot be explained by the theoretical dimensions.

⁸³ VL wants special attention for 'Velsenaren met een inkomen net boven bijstandsniveau, en met een middeninkomen' (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.11).

⁸⁴ VL thinks this new focus should be achieved by collaborating with numerous organizations (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.11).

⁸⁵ Velsen Lokaal is not satisfied with IJmond Werkt! and wants to evaluate the program (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.18).

7.8. Immigration and integration

Viewpoints	VL	CDA	D66	PvdA	CU	GL
Allocation of refugees should be widely spread throughout Velsen	+	O	+	O	+	O
Only refugees with a residence permit are welcome in Velsen	+	O	O	O	-	O
Focus on language for the newly-arrived	O	+	+	+	+	O

7.8.1. Outstanding aspects

For immigration and integration, VL is unique with only wanting to welcome refugees with a residence permit. The other parties don't mention it apart from CU, who disagrees with VL. This viewpoint difference can be seen as more right-wing in comparison to the LBNP's.

7.9. Care

Viewpoints	VL	CDA	D66	PvdA	CU	GL
More attention for social neighbourhood teams	+	+	O	+	+	O
Investing in informal caregivers ⁸⁶	+	+	O	O	+	+
Collaborating with a health care provider for a long period of time	+	O	O	O	O	O
Recognizing and solving financial issues for seniors	+	O	O	O	O	O
Improving application procedure for WMO applications ⁸⁷	+	+	+	+	+	O
Reducing overhead costs and bureaucracy for care issues	+	+	O	O	+	+
Optimalising social cohesion in neighbourhoods ⁸⁸	++	+	+	+	+	+
Addressing loneliness for seniors	+	+	+	O	+	O
More focus on confused/troubled people	O	+	+	O	+	O
Focus on prevention for care issues	+	+	+	O	+	+

7.9.1. Outstanding aspects

The table shows two unique viewpoints by VL; about collaborating with the same care provider for a longer period of time and financial issues for seniors. It also stands out that VL pays a lot of attention to social cohesion. So, participation is again really important for VL in this category, also shown by the attention for social teams in the neighbourhoods.

Apart from the table, VL also wants independent client support for care issues and focuses on collaboration.

⁸⁶ VL want to include caregivers in the plans for improvement (Velsen Lokaal, 2018, p.13).

⁸⁷ CDA wants a better transition between different types of care, just like CU (CDA Velsen, 2018; CU Velsen, 2018). D66 wants to remove differences between WMO and care for minors (D66 Velsen, 2018).

⁸⁸ VL focuses a lot on social cohesion and addresses it more than other parties (Velsen Lokaal, 2018).

7.10. Chapter conclusion

The conclusion of the chapter will include the similarities and differences in viewpoints between VL and the LBNP's.

7.10.1. Similarities

Below, a table is visible with the similarities in viewpoints between VL and the LBNP's.

CDA	41
D66	37
PvdA	17
CU	38
GL	25

Velsen Lokaal has the least similarities with PvdA and GL, the left-wing parties. VL agrees mostly with CDA and CU, but also with progressive party D66. This does not show more similarities with either right-wing or left-wing parties, and the similarities can also not be linked to the 2018 elections results, as CDA, D66 and CU were not the best performing parties (NOS, 2018).

7.10.2. Differences

- Velsen Lokaal has more right-wing viewpoints for the categories 'crime and security' and 'immigration and integration' than the LBNP's
- Velsen Lokaal focuses more on participation and governmental integrity than the LBNP's
- Velsen Lokaal has more municipal specific viewpoints than the LBNP's for the categories 'education, culture and sport' and 'traffic and mobility'

7.10.3. General conclusion

VL has many similar viewpoints with CU, D66 and CDA; but does not clearly agree more with right-wing or left-wing parties. The main differences are in the content of the viewpoints: VL has more right-wing viewpoints, focuses more on participation and governmental integrity and has more municipal specific viewpoints. The last two differences are to be expected of a localistic party.

Chapter 8: Analysis of results

In this chapter, the results of the previous three chapters will be analysed by comparing within results within themes, and by using the theoretical dimensions described in chapter 3. There were general expectations for the results, and results for specific party types, as described by Boogers (2007).

Theme results analysis

Crime and security

- In Tilburg, the viewpoints of the LPP had a different focus than those of the LBNP's. LST had some firm and direct viewpoints that were not mentioned by LBNP's, on, for instance, the involvement of private security. The viewpoints are a bit more right-wing than those of the LBNP's.
 - The municipality of Twenterand showed no outstanding differences.
 - In Velsen, VL had more right-wing viewpoints in comparison to the LBNP's for this theme
- To conclude, this theme only showed outstanding differences for two municipalities, no general assumptions can be made based on these results for crime and security.

Government and participation

- It stands out that LST discusses governmental integrity extensively, more than other parties. The LPP is also clearly dissatisfied with the current government.
 - GBT also focuses on governmental integrity, but not any other differences in viewpoints with the LBNP's. No outstanding focus on participation.
 - Velsen Lokaal is more extensive on participation than the LBNP's, and also emphasizes on governmental integrity.
- The theme shows notable differences in Velsen, but in the other municipalities the LPP's do not extensively discuss the topic of participation. However, it can be concluded that the results show that LPP's notably value governmental integrity in comparison to the LBNP's.

Traffic and mobility

- Tilburg showed no notable differences between the viewpoints of LST and the LBNP's.
 - In Twenterand, the LPP has some more municipal specific/local viewpoints than the LBNP's.
 - Velsen Lokaal also has a local focus in its viewpoints, compared to the LBNP's.
- In Twenterand and Velsen, the LPP's had more municipal specific viewpoints than the LBNP's, but Tilburg showed no differences. So, general assumptions cannot be made for traffic and mobility.

Education, culture and sports

- The LPP in Tilburg discusses 'hufterig gedrag' extensively and is clearly dissatisfied with the current municipal plans on culture, in comparison to the LBNP's. Additionally, the LPP has a local focus and some unique local viewpoints.
 - Some differences in viewpoints which show a more local focus of the LPP in Twenterand compared to the LBNP's.
 - In Velsen, the LPP has a more local focus in its viewpoints than the LBNP's.
- In education, culture and sports; all LPP's focus more on municipal specific/local issues in its viewpoints than the LBNP's.

Environment

- In Tilburg, LST has viewpoints about dissatisfaction with the current government on the environment, not mentioned by the LBNP's.

- The LPP in Twenterand does not discuss the environment more than other LPP's, and no other differences in the content of the viewpoints.
- Velsen Lokaal does not pay more attention to the environment in their viewpoints than the LBNP's. There are only differences in viewpoints in Tilburg, but no general differences in viewpoints on the environment between LPP's and the LBNP's.

Housing and liveability

- LST has a few unique viewpoints and focuses more on quality than quantity for housing and liveability in Tilburg. The LPP discusses the theme more than the LBNP's.
- GBT mostly agrees with right-wing parties in Twenterand, but no outstanding differences in viewpoints with LBNP's.
- No outstanding differences in viewpoints between the LPP's and the LBNP's in Velsen. There are no general differences for this category.

Economy, social and employment

- LST has firm criticism on the government for this theme, more than the LBNP's in Tilburg.
 - The LPP has local viewpoints and mostly agrees with left-wing parties, but no substantive differences with the LBNP's.
 - VL has some unique viewpoints and focuses a lot on participation by citizens in comparison to the LBNP's.
- There are differences between the LPP and the LBNP's in Tilburg and Velsen for this theme, but they are not the same differences.

Immigration and integration

- LST uses more anti-elitism/populism in their viewpoints than the LBNP's for this theme. The LPP also has more right-wing viewpoints than the LBNP's.
 - GBT also has right-wing viewpoints compared to the LBNP's in Twenterand, but mentions too little about the theme to be able to jump to conclusions.
 - VL also does not mention a lot about immigration and immigration, but has more right-wing viewpoints than the LBNP's in Velsen.
- The LPP's have more right-wing viewpoints than the LBNP's, but the LPP's in Twenterand and Velsen discuss it too briefly to be able to make hard assumptions.

Care

- LST uses more populism in their viewpoints compared to the LBNP's and focuses more on seniors.
 - GBT has some unique viewpoints but is not more extensive on care than the LBNP's.
 - Participation and social cohesion are important for VL, but no other differences in viewpoints in Velsen.
- There are no differences in viewpoints that occur in all municipalities, only differences that may be linked to the specific party type.

Theoretical dimensions

Local characteristic

The first general expectation of the results was about LPP's focusing on local characteristics and the common interests of the municipality in their viewpoints, in comparison to the LBNP's. The results show that this is not the case for all LPP's. GBT and VL are more focused on municipal specific issues in their viewpoints than LBNP's, but this is not the case for LST. Therefore, general statements cannot

be made for this aspect.

The focus on municipal specific issues was even more expected for a localistic party, as described by Boogers (2007). As chapter 4 discussed, there were two localistic parties part of the analysis; Gemeentebelangen Twenterand and Velsen Lokaal. These parties did have these aspects in their viewpoints, but not more than Lijst Smolders Tilburg, which is not a localistic party. So, the party type did not make a difference for this aspect.

Another aspect of the localistic party is the focus on participation in their viewpoints. Therefore, it was expected that both Velsen Lokaal and Gemeentebelangen Twenterand would pay more attention to participation than the LBNP's. The results showed that only Velsen Lokaal lived up to this expectation. Gemeentebelangen Twenterand did not show outstanding differences on the participation subject in their viewpoints. So, the link between the localistic party and participation cannot be confirmed based on these results.

Populism

It was also expected that the points of view of LPP's would contain more populism than the viewpoints of the LBNP's, which can be detected in the form of anti-elitism. In general, this was not the case for the LPP's in this analysis. Populism was even more expected for the protest party, as described by Boogers (2007). This type of party was expected to be against current parties and government, visible in the viewpoints.

There was one protest party part of the analysis: Lijst Smolders Tilburg. The results show that this party does have more anti-elitism/populism in their viewpoints in comparison to the LBNP's. LST also showed more dissatisfaction with the current local and national government in their viewpoints. So, the general expectation about more populism in the concrete points of view is not lived up to, but the protest party type does have more populism in their viewpoints.

Left-wing/right-wing

For the left-wing/right-wing dimension, the expectations were that the viewpoints of LPP's would not show many differences in comparison to those of the LBNP's, or would not be explicitly right-wing or left-wing. If there are differences, they were expected to be slightly more right-wing. Differences on this dimension were only visible for the LPP's in Velsen and Tilburg. The analysis of these municipalities showed that, for the categories 'immigration and integration' and 'crime and security', the viewpoints of the LPP were more right-wing than those of the LBNP's. So, the expectation of slightly more right-wing viewpoints was only visible for those two municipalities. Therefore, based on these results, it cannot be concluded that LPP's have slightly more right-wing viewpoints than LBNP's, as only two out of three LPP's showed these results. It can also not be concluded that viewpoints of LPP's are not right-wing or left-wing; because Velsen and Tilburg showed more right-wing viewpoints for the LPP.

There were also additional expectations if a 'party for specific interests' was part of the analysis, but this was not the case (Boogers, 2007).

Chapter 9: Conclusion

In this chapter, the main conclusion will be provided.

The conclusion will answer the main question: *'To what extent do the concrete points of view of local political parties differ from the points of view of local branches of national parties?'*. It will also include the expectations based on the theoretical dimensions.

At first, the specific party type was acknowledged for the local political parties in Tilburg, Twenterand and Velsen. Furthermore, a protest party and two localistic parties were part of the analysis. For each municipality, the concrete points of view of those local political parties were compared with those of five local branches of national parties. For the results, there are results for each theme and general outcomes of the expectations, based on theoretical dimensions. The differences that were acknowledged will now be discussed.

The theme results show that local political parties discuss governmental integrity more than the LBNP's; visible in the theme 'government and participation'. Furthermore, the local political parties have more municipal specific viewpoints for the theme 'education, culture and sports'. The LPP's also have more right-wing viewpoints for the theme 'immigration and integration', although these differences are limited.

Then, the expectations based on the theory. The first dimension is about the local focus of local political parties in its viewpoints. It was expected that the local political parties would focus more on municipal specific/local issues in their viewpoints than the LBNP's. This expectation is not visible in the results, only two out of three LPP's focus more on these issues in the viewpoints for several themes. This was even more expected for the party type 'localistic party'. Two localistic parties were part of the analysis, but the viewpoints of those parties did not show more municipal specific issues than those of the other local political party type; the protest party. So, this expectation did also not come true. For the localistic party, it was also expected that this party type would pay more attention to the aspect of participation than the LBNP's. This was not the case, as the results show that only one out of two localistic parties met this expectation.

It was also expected that local political parties would show more populism in the concrete points of view than the LBNP's. In general, this expectation was not met. It was even more expected for the specific party type 'protest party', in this case Lijst Smolders Tilburg. This expectation was met: LST showed more anti-elitism and was more explicitly against the current local and national government in its viewpoints than the LBNP's.

The third theoretical dimension is about left-wing/right-wing viewpoints. Based on earlier studies, it was expected that local political parties would not show many differences with the LBNP's in terms of left-wing/right-wing, and if there are differences, they were expected to be slightly more right-wing. The results show that there were only clear differences in the viewpoints for two municipalities. It can also not be concluded that the viewpoints are not right-wing or left-wing in comparison to the LBNP's, because Velsen Lokaal and Lijst Smolders Tilburg have more right-wing viewpoints than the LBNP's.

There are differences in the viewpoints of local political parties and local branches of national parties. These differences are to the following extent. In general, the results show that local political parties focus more on governmental integrity. In addition, the specific party type 'protest party' uses

more populism in its viewpoints. No general differences in viewpoints were visible for the populism dimension and the localistic parties showed no party type specific differences, based on the expectations. The viewpoints of local political parties are also not more right-wing/left-wing. The finding by Kalis (2011), that local political parties focus more on participation, can also not be confirmed with the results of this study. So, most expectations have not been met on the theoretical dimensions.

In general, the results of the study do not show many significant differences between the viewpoints of LPP's and LBNP's. The specific party types by Boogers are also not enough to explain the differences, as only one party specific expectation was met. Therefore, the main conclusion of the study is that local political parties also differ a lot from each other in concrete points of view. More focus on the differences between local political parties can be important for future research.

Chapter 10: Discussion

Implications of the results

The results do not fully comply with the expectations stated before the study, based on theoretical dimensions, and the results are different from the study by Kalis (2011). Most of the expectations were not met. This can be explained by the different time period of the study, and the different municipal elections. It can also be explained by the variety in local political parties and regions. The three different municipalities are of a different size, and the local political parties are not the same type of party. Therefore, it can be explained that there are differences between the viewpoints of the local political parties, and that general expectations for the differences in viewpoints between LPP's and LBNP's are not the same for all municipalities. And, because the previous study by Kalis was conducted in a specific region, it was expected that this study could provide different results.

Limitations of the study

- Not all viewpoints of a political party are mentioned in the election programmes. It could be that a party does have a view on a subject, but does not discuss it in the election programme. It remains the best source for the concrete points of view of a political party, but this is a limitation of the document analysis method for this study.
- Despite the fact that the study has been conducted in three different municipalities in terms of size and location, it is not certain that another representative set of municipalities would provide similar results. The municipalities are different in terms of size and location and consist of two different types of local political parties, but a larger data sample could provide more deepening results, as the study also showed that local political parties differ from each other.
- For the selection of viewpoints, specific terms were stated as mentioned in the methodology section, and viewpoints have been selected consistently. However, it could be that another researcher would make some different choices for which viewpoints should be part of the table analysis, and which not. So, some differences could occur if the study was to be repeated.

Possibilities for further research

- A more extensive study to be conducted; including more municipalities and more and different kinds of local political parties. For different kinds, the study should include several protest parties, localistic parties and parties for specific interests; to be able to come to more deepening results and conclusions on the differences in viewpoints.
- More focus on the differences between local political parties, as the study showed that the party types by Boogers are not enough to explain the differences in viewpoints.

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Appendices

Appendice 1: Ideology and election results LBNP's

Local branches of national parties

The following local branches of national parties, coming from the municipalities of Tilburg, Twenterand and Velsen, will be part of the analysis: D66, Groenlinks, SP, VVD, CDA, CU, PvdA/Groenlinks and PVV.

At first, the ideology of the parties, based on the election programmes in the municipalities, will be briefly described. Then, the election results in 2018 and 2014 will be discussed.

Ideology and election results

D66 (Tilburg, Velsen)

D66 values several aspects. The party wants 'eerlijke kansen voor iedereen' and 'streeft naar een grotere rol van inwoners in de maatschappij en bij politieke besluiten' (D66 Velsen, 2018, p.2). So, equal opportunities and the inclusion of citizens in decision-making are important for the party. Briefly, D66 describes its core values as 'vertrouwen op de eigen kracht van inwoners, streven naar een duurzame en harmonieuze samenleving en eerlijke kansen voor iedereen' (D66 Velsen, 2018, p.2). In Tilburg, the party was the second party in the elections of both 2014 and 2018, gaining 9 seats in both elections. Then, in Velsen, the party had an electoral share of 4 seats in 2018, which is a reduction of two compared to 2014 (NOS, 2018).

GroenLinks (Tilburg, Velsen)

In short, Groenlinks describes itself as 'GroenLinks staat voor verandering. Wij staan voor een nieuwe manier van politiek bedrijven. Voor een politiek waarin niet de winst op korte termijn centraal staat, maar het gemeenschappelijke belang op de lange termijn. Wij staan voor een groene, schone gemeente. Wij staan voor eigen keuzes en gelijke kansen in een sociale gemeente' (Groenlinks Tilburg, 2018, p.1). So, the party focuses on change. The environment is key for the party and equal opportunities are important. In Velsen, GroenLinks had an electoral share of 3 seats in the 2018 municipal elections, which is an increase compared to 2014, where the party gained only one seat. The party also increased its electoral share in Tilburg, where the party gained 6 seats, which is more than the 4 seats in the 2014 elections (NOS, 2018).

SP (Tilburg)

The election programme by SP in Tilburg mentions 'De SP staat voor menselijke waardigheid, gelijkwaardigheid en solidariteit' (SP Tilburg, 2018, p.4). So, that are its core values. Additionally, an important aspect for SP is 'Wij willen vooral dat mensen veel meer zeggenschap krijgen over wat er zich in hun omgeving afspeelt' (SP Tilburg, 2018, p.4). Humanity, equal opportunities, solidarity and the inclusion of citizens are important for the party. The party gained 4 seats in the 2018 municipal elections in Tilburg, which is a loss compared to the 6 seats in 2014 (NOS, 2018)

VVD (Tilburg, Twenterand, Velsen)

The core values of VVD are described like: 'een krachtige maar kleine overheid die efficiënt en doelmatig haar taken uitvoert. Een samenleving waarbij mensen de ruimte krijgen om iets buitengewoons te maken van hun leven. Vrijheid voor iedereen met verantwoordelijkheid naar de ander' (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.2). So, the party is focused on a small government and giving people space and freedom to live your life. In Tilburg, the party gained 6 seats, one more than the amount of

seats in the 2014 elections. VVD Twenterand gained only one seat in the 2018 elections, just as many as in 2014. Then, in Velsen, VVD gained 4 seats in 2018, just as many as in 2014 (NOS, 2018).

CDA (Tilburg, Twenterand, Velsen)

CDA describes its ideology as 'Als CDA zijn wij een christendemocratische volkspartij. Ons bindt, naast geloof in democratische waarden, de Bijbelse boodschap als grondslag en inspiratiebron bij het zoeken naar oplossingen voor hedendaagse problemen. Het CDA wil graag een bloeiende en bruisende gemeenschap als inspirerend hart van de gemeente Twenterand. Een te dominante overheid of te veel marktwerking staan wij niet voor. Wij willen een gezond bedrijfsleven, een actief verenigingsleven en een gezellig uitgaansleven' (CDA Twenterand, 2018, p.3). The party thus focuses on democratic values, the bible as an important source and limited influence from government or the market. CDA gained 4 seats in the 2018 municipal elections in Tilburg, one less than in 2014. Furthermore, in Twenterand the party had an electoral share of 7 seats in 2018, being a winner having gained 3 more seats than in 2014. At last, CDA Velsen had the same electoral share in 2018 as in 2014, 3 seats (NOS, 2018).

ChristenUnie (Twenterand, Velsen)

ChristenUnie talks in the election programme of ChristenUnie Velsen about its ideology in the following way: 'Wij willen geen samenleving waarin ons verteld wordt wat we moeten denken en doen, maar wij willen vrijheid om te geloven en om zelf verantwoordelijkheid te nemen. Wij willen een gemeente waar een bescheiden overheid ruimte biedt aan inwoners die maatschappelijk initiatief tonen. We willen een wereld waarin we omzien naar elkaar. Een wereld die leefbaar blijft, ook voor onze kinderen' (ChristenUnie Velsen, 2018, p.3). So, the party is focused on a limited government, freedom and looking out for each other. The bible is also important for the political party (ChristenUnie Velsen, 2018). In Twenterand, the party gained 3 seats in the 2018 elections, one less than in the 2014 elections.

PvdA/GroenLinks (Twenterand)

The combination of the two political parties is talking about 'een nieuwe koers' (PvdA/Groenlinks Twenterand, 2018, p.1). Its ideology is described as 'Samen gaan we voor een sociaal Twenterand, een duurzaam Twenterand, een Twenterand waar meedoen centraal staat en waar solidariteit het uitgangspunt is' (PvdA/Groenlinks Twenterand, 2018, p.1). The party gained one seat in the 2018 municipal elections (NOS, 2018).

PVV (Twenterand)

PVV does not really describe its ideology in the election programme of PVV Twenterand, but starts immediately with the subjects and its viewpoints (PVV Twenterand, 2018). The programme does tell that PVV is focused on the Islam and the citizens. PVV gained one seat in the municipal elections, competing for the first time in 2018 (NOS, 2018).

Appendice 2: Other theme

5.10. Other

Viewpoints	LST	VVD	CDA	D66	GL	SP
Eliminate tax for owning dogs ⁸⁹	+	-	O	-	O	O
Fines for those who do not clean up dog shit ⁹⁰	+	O	O	O	O	O

5.10.1. Outstanding aspects

For dog tax and other issues, LST mentions those more than other parties and even wants to eliminate the tax.

Viewpoints from the category 'other' differ because LST is the only party that wants to eliminate dog tax and discusses fines for not cleaning up.

6.10. Other

Viewpoints	GBT	VVD	CDA	CU	PvdA/GL	PVV
Free Wi-Fi in public areas	+	O	O	O	O	O
Abolishment of dog tax ⁹¹	+	-	O	O	O	+
Final resting place for affordable price	+	O	O	O	O	O

6.10.1. Outstanding aspects

The viewpoints on free Wi-Fi, dog tax and the final resting place are not discussed by most LBNP's, so there are some differences. The differences can be seen as a localistic focus by GBT, but there are no other theoretical aspects that are visible.

GBT is the only party that mentions Wi-Fi in public areas and the final resting place price in Twenterand, which does show a localistic focus, but no other outstanding differences.

7.10. Other

Viewpoints	VL	CDA	D66	PvdA	CU	GL
Digital platform for young people ⁹²	+	O	O	O	O	+
Focus on maintaining enough capacity for fire workers	+	O	O	O	O	O
Using smart technology for many areas ⁹³	+	+	+	O	O	O
Wi-Fi in important public spaces	+	O	O	O	O	O

7.10.1. Outstanding aspects

The table shows a unique viewpoint about Wi-Fi and the attention for fire workers. Additionally, VL is

⁸⁹ VVD and D66 want to reduce the tax (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.7; D66 Tilburg, 2018, p.44).

⁹⁰ VVD does want more zones for dogs (VVD Tilburg, 2018, p.7).

⁹¹ VVD mentions 'Hondenbelasting moet worden ingezet waar het voor bedoeld is, namelijk om overlast van hondenpoep tegen te gaan.' (VVD Twenterand, 2018, p.20).

⁹² GL mentions 'e-democracy' initiatives to reach young people (GroenLinks Velsen, 2018, p.11).

⁹³ VL mentions preventing trouble and trash as an example (Velsen Lokaal, 2018). CDA mentions using new technology for care and mobility (CDA Velsen, 2018). D66 mentions 'slimme technieken' for mobility (D66 Velsen, 2018, p.24).

one of the only parties to discuss a digital platform for young people. The viewpoints about the fire workers and the Wi-Fi can be seen as municipal specific.

There are some additional unique viewpoints for VL, which show a localistic focus in comparison to the LBNP's.

Appendice 3: Data files Tilburg



Crime and
security.xlsx



Government and
participation.xlsx



Education, culture
and sports.xlsx



Environment.xlsx



Economy, social and
employment.xlsx



Housing and
liveability.xlsx



Immigration and
integration.xlsx



Care.xlsx



Traffic and
mobility.xlsx



Tilburg Lijst
Smolders.xlsx

Appendice 4: Data files Twenterand



Crime and
security.xlsx



Economy, social and
employment.xlsx



Government and
participation.xlsx



Education, culture
and sports.xlsx



Traffic and
mobility.xlsx



Immigration and
integration.xlsx



Care.xlsx



Environment.xlsx



Housing and
liveability.xlsx



Gemeentebelangen
Twenterand.xlsx

Appendice 5: Data files Velsen



Crime and
security.xlsx



Economy, social and
employment.xlsx



Education, culture
and sports.xlsx



Care.xlsx



Environment.xlsx



Government and
participation.xlsx



Housing and
liveability.xlsx



immigration and
integration.xlsx



traffic and
mobility.xlsx



Velsen Lokaal.xlsx